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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS

MEN OF AMERICA,

DISTINGUISHED IN THE ANNALS OF THE REPUBLIC

AS

LEGISLATORS, WARRIORS AND PHILOSOPHERS.

BY

W. L. BARRE.

EMBELLISHED WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

H.3.1

"What constitutes a State?
Men—high-minded men—
Men, who their duties know—
Know too, their rights, and knowing, dare maintain."

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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this work we have been long, anxiously, and laboriously engaged; the field of research and investigation has been extensive and varied. We feel that a just conception of the magnitude and responsibility of the undertaking, and our own inability to do it full justice has at all times been had. Infallibility, therefore, is not claimed for the following pages, nor is it supposed that a work of this kind, perfect in all its parts, outline and detail, could be expected by the intelligent reader.

Such a performance would require a discrimination more just than we presume to possess,—that, in endeavoring to avoid afflicting the reader with minor detail, would not introduce seemingly more important events less relevant to the subject being considered,—that in the portraiture of individual character, would never sacrifice matter essential to connected historical narration. He who attempts it must aspire to excellence not yet attained by the most successful delineators of ancient or modern times.

Neither do we claim to have thrown any great amount of new light upon the subjects introduced. To attempt this would be assigning to them positions of obscurity belonging to no character in the work. Happily for the student of our country's history, the deeds and characters of those connected with the rise, progress, and development of the confederacy, are not

enshrouded in the mystery of tradition and fable. Prominently identified with our civic and political institutions, their names have been handed down by historian and biographer, in connection with great events, indisputable as truth, and lasting as memory itself. Guiding us with their splendid intellects and pure patriotism, through scenes of colonial strife, and the throes of a terrible revolution, they organized our duplicate form of government, under the wise provisions of which, we have attained our present position of renown. No one, then, could be expected at this day to be pioneer in bringing before the country the deeds of such men,—men who were

——"not for an Age,
But for all Time."

Their names and deeds have called into action, and excited to emulation abler pens than ours, which have left the student, in fullness of detail and purity of diction, records voluminous and instructive. We have sought, therefore, from this vast mine of mental treasure and national worth to condense into a volume, the leading events with which the characters treated of were connected, and the means by which they made themselves what they were. In doing this, while we have made, in every instance, the most reliable authorities our guide, reference to corroborative testimony has been copiously and carefully made. Though different biographies of most of the subjects have been at our service, large indebtedness is acknowledged to various historians of the country, particularly to the standard works of Hildreth, Bancroft, and Benton. In many instances, to the casual observer, extensive reference might seem unnecessary. Take for example the life of Clay, comprising several large volumes by Colton: the author had before him every material fact,—availing himself of biographies previously issued of the statesman, and prepared the work, for the most part, under his immediate eye. It would seem but reasonable, then, to conclude that he had furnished all that was essential to be known in regard to his subject. In one sense this conclusion might be correct,—but it should be borne

in mind that biography frequently degenerates into indiscriminate eulogy, to prevent which, and effect the removal of erroneous impressions, full and elaborate investigation becomes absolutely indispensable. While, therefore, in our sketches of Washington and Clay, Irving, Sparks and Colton have been our principal guides, deep research into other authorities has been made, and in no case has an assertion or opinion been adopted, unless deemed fully justified by all the facts at hand. The same may be said of the other characters in the work. Proceeding in this way it will be readily perceived, that one difficulty has existed, entirely to overcome which, was utterly impossible. The relation of events, of the same data, and connected with the same persons, of which numerous authors, both historical and biographical, have spoken, in point of fact, necessarily involves repetition; and in a work where condensation is and must be a primary feature, enforces frequently the adoption of the same terms, or those of similar import. The undertaking, then, has not been one wholly admissive of strict originality of idea, nor in every instance even of diction itself. Let, for instance, two persons describe a battle,—the description will, in the main be alike, or one incorrect,—a third condensing a report from the two, must evidently use the same facts, without that opportunity for variation which space and latitude would confer. In the commencement of the work copious references were made, which marring greatly the beauty of the page, have, to some extent been omitted, taking it for granted that the reader must know our information was derived from those who preceded us, and assuring him that we have drawn only upon sources the most authentic and reliable.

Though to the various authorities consulted, due weight, deferential respect and consideration were given, our own views and opinions have not been withheld, but expressed openly and frankly. Something, therefore, is claimed for this work more than a mere compilation of facts and events thrown hastily together without reference to utility, style, or arrangement;—it aspires to a vindication of the title page,—Lives of Illustrious

Men of America. We have endeavored to furnish in a form attractive as possible, a faithful record of the lives and characteristics of our most eminent men, and the leading events with which they were connected,—introducing from their own speeches, writings, and correspondence, such passages as were thought most illustrative of the positions we ventured to assign them,—trenching upon history and biography for facts forming the connected narrative.

The main object of the work has been to bring together accounts of those prominent men of the country who have passed off the stage, unincumbered with matters and details of secondary importance, the record of which, has heretofore left them dispersed in volumes more than thrice the number of the characters introduced. The utility of such a work if successfully completed, and in the right spirit, will surely be admitted. It would embrace within comparatively small compass, and reduce to a trifling expense, most that is necessary to be known,—particularly by the younger class of readers,—of our leading men, which has required an amount of reading few have time to undergo, and an outlay still fewer are able or willing to incur. We have thus endeavored to bring to every one's door in a cheap and an acceptable form, the lives of the illustrious founders of the Republic, and some of our almost cotemporaries, that he and his may ponder their deeds, cherish their virtues, and emulate their examples.

In preparing the work, truth, clearness, and brevity, have been at all times kept in view. We have labored faithfully to do each impartial justice, without the slightest reference to political proclivities or personal preference. In doing this, it has sometimes been thought proper to differ widely with other authorities upon the same subject;—whether discrimination and prudence have been observed others must decide. Though anxious to exhibit agreeable composition, it is confessed that clearness has been a primary consideration,—desiring more to instruct the mind than please the ear,—to record facts than disarm ciriticism. The very nature of the work has required that we should be brief,—some-

times more so than inclination could submit to without reluctance. No event has been dwelt upon unless thought to possess direct bearing upon the subject, or inseparable connection with narrative,—nor has any detail been introduced unless deemed essential to a correct appreciation of character, or understanding of something to which it was directly relevant.

As to the time during which the men lived of whom these pages treat, it was over a century pregnant with more important events and results, to America and the world, than any that has passed by modern civilization. Since the birth of Franklin what has not been accomplished? Many of the characters in this work never rode on a railroad car, or traveled on a steamboat;—and still more, never received a telegraphic message, nor read a paper from a power press. Aside from these considerations, it begins with men ruled by the provincial governors of thirteen subordinate colonies, follows them through the mightiest war of opinion that ever agitated mankind or puzzled monarchy, till independence was recognized,—thence to the Federal Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and closes with the civic and military heroes through whose efforts our last territorial acquisition was effected,—extending our limits from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

We have introduced such men as were deemed most appropriate representatives of the various departments of American greatness,—military, executive, legislative, and judicial. Though, sometimes, as in the case of Washington and Jackson, Marshall and Rutledge, the combination of military and executive, or legislative and judicial services and talents in the same person, has imposed, in one sense a double task, if a character has been selected, in view of his higher distinction in a certain sphere, he has been considered generally with more exclusive reference to that sphere than otherwise.

In the arrangement of the characters, though chronological order has not been wholly lost sight of, it has in some instances been sacrificed to what was deemed a more appropriate record of events, and an entertaining diversity of matter

We may have subjected ourself to the charge of unjust discrimination in the selection of the few, from the many names forming our national coronet. There may have been those whom we have not introduced, who filled wider space in the public eye, and took deeper hold upon the people than some others to whom we have given place. Upon this point, again, we leave the reader to decide. We could not treat of all who have made themselves mighty, and rendered imperishable renown, to themselves and their country, and trust that the seleptions may be regarded as just and judicious.

With these introductory remarks, we submit our work, with whatever of merit it may possess, to that faithful and unerring umpire,—public opinion.

W. L. B.

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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN OF AMERICA.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The family-name of Washington can be traced through a long line of ancestry. It is found upon the English Archives as far back as the thirteenth century. The Washingtons were honored and respected residents of England, filling various offices of trust and importance, until the civil war between Cromwell and the Stuarts resulted in a temporary overthrow of the British monarchy and the establishment of the Protectorate.

Possessing a preference for deeds of chivalry in the field, to the more quiet duties of civil station, they enlisted in the cause of the Stuarts until they were driven from the throne. Their identification with his opponents, and the signal services rendered by them in the royal cause, so soon as he was firmly enough established in power to exercise it, incurred the vengeance of Cromwell. To avoid the persecution that followed the dethronement of their legitimate Sovereign, many royal adherents were induced to seek shelter in foreign lands.

To such, the young colonies of America, over which the Protector had asserted no jurisdiction, offered a home, and became the asylum of many noble Englishmen. Among those of note who thus came to this country, was John Washington.

He settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia, and engaged in agricultural pursuits: was successful as an extensive planter, and

eventually selected as a Colonel of Virginia militia against the Indians. He finally became a member of the House of Burgesses, and so distinguished himself in every capacity, the citizens, through admiration of his services, transferred his name to the parish of which he was a resident.

His son, Lawrence, married, and had three children, the youngest of whom, Augustine, was the father of our WASHINGTON. Augustine married twice and had quite a numerous offspring. The maiden name of his second wife, was Mary Ball, forever honored, as the mother of GEORGE WASHINGTON. The issue of this last marriage, were six children, the eldest of whom was George.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the oldest of the six children, by this second marriage, was born on the 22d day of February, 1732, in Westmoreland county, Virginia. Of his father, though much has been said in regard to the paternal solicitude he felt for his children, and many incidents related of the methods he adopted to impress their minds with virtuous precepts, there is really little known. Yet, that he was a man possessing those elevated ideas, characteristic of the Washington family, there is no room to question. It is evident that George was not of sufficient age to profit much from any instructions he may have received from his father, who died before he attained his twelfth year. His circumstances, at the time of his death, were those best calculated to insure the happiness of his children. He left them sufficient means, with judicious management, to become valuable citizens, deprived of nothing requisite to their advancement, but not enough to meet the wants of prodigal extravagance engendered by idleness and inactivity.

Young WASHINGTON was left, at the age of eleven years, to the care of his mother, who, bowed under the affliction of her husband's death, assumed the responsibilities of directing the moral and intellectual culture of five children, and the entire superintendence of unsettled domestic affairs.

This excellent woman, anxious that they should be of service to their country, would gather her children around the domestic hearth, and inculcate those lessons of morality, best calculated to make useful and lasting impressions.

This maternal tuition sank deep into the mind of George, as clearly manifest from his subsequent career, wherein, notwith-

standing the excitements incident to its eventful vicissitudes, he never once deviated from the path of honor. The reverence in which he held his mother's memory, when in the midst of his successes, the world's gaze was riveted upon him, shows he appreciated full well her early devotion. As a result of this parental solicitude, he possessed in childhood a scrupulous love of truth, nothing could corrupt, and the warmest filial affection. Many incidents have been related illustrating these traits of his boyhood, showing that, when aware of violating parental injunction, he preferred a frank confession, at the risk of incurring their displeasure, to the hypocrisy of denial and concealment. On such occasions, much as his parents would regret the trivial loss sustained by his thoughtlessness, they had too much good sense to censure rashly their noble boy, when the result might be to dim the potent fire of truth in his breast, which, if preserved, would illume the pathway of his life.

Of WASHINGTON's early education, in consequence of the inefficient facilities of the country, for any very great progress in the various departments of science and literature, but little can be said. From a teacher of common schools, whose attainments extended no further than the branches of an ordinary English course, he derived all the assistance he received, in the pursuit of knowledge. He possessed an active, vigorous mind; and in circumstances favorable to its expansion, he would doubtless have reached a position among the scholastic celebrities of the world, commensurate with the one he attained among her civic and military heroes. Among the traditional incidents of his school-days, are many exhibiting inherent military propensities, characteristic of his ancestry. We are told that he would marshal his companions into miniature armies, with the gravity of a veteran tactitian, and fight mock battles with as much animation, as though imperial destinies were dependent upon the issue. For those manly exercises that tend to develop the muscular system, such as running, jumping, wrestling and lifting heavy weights, he also is said to have had great fondness, and to compete for the mastery with his juvenile friends, as though an Olympic crown were to wreathe the brow of the victor.

He had strong partiality for mathematics, and after mastering the principles of arithmetic, commenced the more difficult branches of geometry and surveying. To these studies he applied

himself with great care and diligence, and in the solution of their problems, subjected his mind to a rigid discipline, well calculated to strengthen and enlarge its naturally strong analytical powers. Aside from his preference for this branch of science, he no doubt had decided to devote himself to surveying, which from the vast amount of unsurveyed territory in the colony, was then a highly profitable and honorable business to those having the requisite qualifications.

But the most distinguishing trait of WASHINGTON's boyhood, was an elevated moral principle, that proves him in advance of his years, in a correct appreciation of proper and fixed rules of action. Impressed at the age of thirteen with the solid qualities of maturer manhood, and convinced of the importance of a consistent course, he drew up a system of rules regulative of his conduct in company and conversation, which are not excelled in sentiment by the maxims of Seneca. Among these rules are the following, which indicate clearly his judgment, and depth of moral inclination:

"Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation: for it is better to be alone than in bad company.

"Wherein you reprove another, be unblamable yourself: for example is more prevalent than precept.

"Speak not evil of the absent: for it is unjust.

"Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called Conscience."

These rules, fifty seven in number, embracing, as they do, the very essence of moral refinement, evince very exalted ideas for a schoolboy of his age.

While engaged in his studies, Lawrence Washington, his half-brother, the eldest of the family by the first marriage, returned from the West India war, where he had won some distinction as Lieutenant under Admiral Vernon, and entertaining strong military preferences himself, was anxious for George to join the English navy. He communicated this design to his young brother, who, instead of being averse to it, was dazzled with the idea of gratifying his martial inclinations, as midshipman on board a British man-of-war. This scheme, however, though fully matured, was thwarted by the interposition of his mother, who dissuaded him from embarking. Washington's filial love prompted him to

forego the anticipated pleasure and fame of a naval voyage, and, almost with tears in his eyes, to abandon his midshipman honors, for the more quiet but honorable duties of surveying. Thus, by the influence of this good woman, the destinies of her son, doubtless those of America, were changed for all coming time. Our country knows full well its obligations to Mary Washington.

His projected naval pursuits being finally abandoned, he became a member of the family of Lawrence Washington, who resided at his estate on the Potomac, which, in honor of his old commander, he called Mount Vernon,—a name consecrated in American annals.

Immediately after this change of residence, in view of the confidence in his ability as a surveyor, with which he had inspired Lord Fairfax, an English nobleman of great wealth, who owned extensive, but unsurveyed land estates, in the Allegheny valleys, he was selected by that nobleman to survey these lands into parcels, affixing to each its proper boundary.

Washington had just entered his seventeenth year when he set out on this surveying expedition, among the uninhabited and sterile rocks of the Alleghenies. Crossing the lofty mountains, capped with snow, he entered a wilderness hitherto almost unseen by the eye of civilization, where, with no shelter but that furnished by nature, amid melting snows and bleak mountain rains, retarded in his operations by swollen streams, rocky crags, and swamps, he and his party endured the severest privations.

By unwearied application, however, he surmounted every obstacle, and acquitted himself of the perilous task to the entire satisfaction of his employer. It was while engaged in these almost frontier duties, that he, for the first time, had an opportunity of becoming somewhat familiarized with the manners and customs of the Indians, against whom he was destined to win some military distinction. After the completion of this engagement, he was appointed public surveyor; to the duties of which post he devoted himself, with incessant energy, for the period of three years. During this time, clambering mountain crags, penetrating marshy swamps, and measuring the unsettled wilderness, he was subjected to every conceivable exposure.

When we reflect that his circumstances in life did not necessitate him to undergo these hardships, and that it was the result of a love of business, and a determined will to make himself useful,

to his country, we must accord to his industry the highest commendation.

Through the influence of his brother Lawrence and Lord Fairfax, both of whom entertained for him the strongest attachment, WASHINGTON, at the age of nineteen, was appointed, by the Virginia House of Burgesses, military inspector, and received the rank of Major. Under this commission, in view of the warlike tone of the French and Indians against the frontier, it became his duty to take charge of the militia within the limits of his jurisdiction, and use every precautionary measure necessary to counteract the threatened encroachments. While in this position, upon which duties he entered with alacrity, as the field promised fair for the exercise of his martial spirit, he sailed with his brother for Barbadoes, whither he went for the purpose of recruiting his health. During this brief voyage, he made many observations, and gathered much practical information. Returning to Virginia, after an absence of four months, he resumed the congenial duties of his office with unremitted energy, until the arrival and death of his brother Lawrence made it incumbent upon him to settle the affairs of his estate, which produced a temporary relaxation from official labor.

Henceforth, WASHINGTON must be considered in a public capacity, exercising incalculable influence over the destinies of America,—lending his aid and his counsel in the field and the cabinet, with a power and weight that knew no competition.

We are now about entering the first of those eventful periods that crimsoned Colonial soil with blood, and developed the talents and energy of WASHINGTON equal to his immortal destiny.

The hostile demonstrations of the French and Indians changing from threats to open warfare, they invaded Ohio, and commenced the erection of fortifications. The object of this invasion was to suppress the rising growth of the Colonies, and to wrest from England a portion of her newly-acquired possessions, to which she asserted her claim by virtue of treaties, but which the French claimed by right of pre-discovery. As soon as information of these movements reached Williamsburg, WASHINGTON was dispatched, by Governor Dinwiddie, as commissioner, to confer with the French commander, and demand the right whereby he presumed to enter the provincial borders with hostile intentions.

WASHINGTON departed from Williamsburg in October, 1753, on this perilous mission of diplomacy, with instructions to visit the Indian settlements on the Ohio river, and thence to proceed, with an Indian escort, to the headquarters of the French army, and, in the king's name, demand satisfaction. After a wearisome journey through a rough, unimproved country, he reached the Indian settlements, and, according to instructions, convened their principal chiefs, and, through his interpreter, disclosed the object of his mission. He was kindly received by the sachems, who, instead of manifesting enmity toward the whites, expressed a strong desire to maintain amicable relations.

His demand for an Indian escort being readily complied with, WASHINGTON hastened on to the French garrison, where he arrived, without any occurrence worthy of note, on the fortieth day after his departure from Williamsburg.

He was kindly received by the French commander, St. Pierre, who, from accounts, was a man of some refinement and soldier-like qualities. WASHINGTON gave him the letter from Governor Dinwiddie, wherein was set forth the Colonial claim to the lands he had invaded, and the reasons assigned for insisting upon a speedy withdrawal of his troops. This letter elicited courteous consideration, and a reply re-asserting the French claim, by occupancy, to the territory in question, and a positive, though dignified refusal to withdraw his army, without orders from Duquesne, Governor of Canada. This reply, WASHINGTON was directed to deliver to Governor Dinwiddie, and was, in one sense, equivalent to a formal declaration of war.

The object of his mission being accomplished, having conferred with the Indians, and acquainted himself with the number of the French troops and the extent of their fortifications, and negotiations being broken off by the refusal of St. Pierre to evacuate the disputed territory, WASHINGTON prepared to return to Williamsburg. But winter having set in with rigorous severity, he found it next to impossible to travel on horseback. His horses, therefore, were dispatched to Venango, whither he and his party proceeded in a canoe, well stored with provisions furnished by the French commander.

On reaching Venango, he found his horses in a condition wholly unfit for use, and, with but one companion, his gun on his shoulder and knapsack on his back, he proceeded, on foot,

across the mountains, arriving at his destination on the 16th of January, after an absence of eleven weeks.

This return of WASHINGTON from the French camp to Williamsburg, is replete with suffering, toil, and narrow escapes from the Indians and swollen streams. He was not one of those, who, "having eyes see not, and ears hear not," when engaged in travel or important transactions; but, with an observation acutely perceptive, he kept a correct journal of all that occurred during his embassy, which, for its valuable information, was published on his return, and subsequently re-issued in London. On his return, his journal and letter from the French commander were laid before the Governor's council, who, without awaiting the convention of the House of Burgesses, took immediate steps to raise two companies of volunteers, and, by their unanimous voice, selected WASHINGTON for their commander-in-chief.

One of these companies, under the command of Captain Trent, proceeded to the Ohio, for the purpose of building a fort at the forks of that river,—a spot formerly designated by WASHINGTON for that purpose.

The rendezvous of WASHINGTON was at Alexandria, where he remained for some time in comparative inactivity. The deliberations of the Assembly, which had convened in the meantime, resulted in nothing more than difference of opinion among members, and an entire failure to furnish recruits, or other requisites essential to a vigorous prosecution of the campaign.

But, as the danger increased, and the hostile spirit of the French became manifest in overt acts of violence, the state of things assumed a more alarming aspect, and efficient steps were taken for the prosecution of the war. In response to the Governor's proclamation, which promised great rewards, in the shape of bounty lands, to all who would join the army, for a sparsely inhabited colony, whose militia had never before been called into requisition against a civilized foe, the enlistment of Virginia recruits went on with tolerable success. Some of the other Colonies, following the example of Virginia, voted men and money to meet the emergency, so that by spring, the army had increased to six companies.

These were placed under the command of Colonel Fry, a gentleman whose polished manners and mental discipline may have suited the walks of private life, but were of little avail in the field

of pioneer warfare. WASHINGTON, still holding the rank of Colonel, broke up his head-quarters at Alexandria, in April, and proceeded into the interior, to a little stream called Will's Creek. Before arriving at that point, however, he learned that Captain Trent's advance division had been surprised by a detachment of French troops and taken prisoners. On receiving this intelligence, notwithstanding the critical extremity in which he found himself at Will's Creek, with no barrier between him and the enemy's outposts, he boldly resolved to push forward, pierce the woods of the Monongahela, open the road for the main forces, and erect fortifications.

While engaged in this toilful march, wherein his progress was impeded at almost every step by dense forests, miry swamps, or mountain spurs, information was received through his scouts, of the vicinity of a body of French troops, whose maneuvers indicated an attack.

Upon this intelligence, which was soon after corroborated by another scout, WASHINGTON marched with dispatch to an open glade, watered by a small creek, and surrounded by gradually sloping hills. This glade, from its extreme levelness and abundant grass, was called Great Meadows, distinguished as the place of WASHINGTON's first military engagement, and where in reality commenced the seven years' French and Indian war.

Here he made some hasty preparations of defense, and kept his scouts on the alert, to ascertain the proximity of the foe, resolved, at the first opportunity, to give battle. From his active spies he soon learned that a body of French troops, under the command of M. de Jumonville, was obscurely concealed among the rocks at no great distance from the camp. WASHINGTON immediately prepared for an encounter; placing himself at the head of his men on the right, and the Indians on the left, he took his line of march, single file, toward their retreat.

On seeing these movements, the French put themselves in a position of defense, and a brisk discharge of musketry ensued from both sides, which continued for some time. Their commander and several of their men being killed, the enemy ceased firing and yielded the day. At this victory, in which he took several prisoners, WASHINGTON was much elated, and in his first dispatch to Governor Dinwiddie, is said to have described it in glowing terms.

But while his little army was making these exertions in the field, the Assembly, actuated by a parsimonious spirit unaccountable in a legislative body, upon the eve of so great a crisis, curtailed the pay allowed the officers and soldiers of the army, which was before insufficiently remunerative for services so perilous and important. This measure was received by the army with murmurs, and followed by threats of resignation from the most valuable officers, which was only prevented by the influence of their commander, who, although far from justifying the course of the Assembly, appealed to their love of country, and inspired them with a part of his own high ideas of duty. In his letters to the Governor, he denounced, in the strongest terms, the low estimate placed upon the army, by the reduction of its before pitiable allowance, but says of himself, did his circumstances permit, he would prefer serving as a volunteer without pay, as the honor of serving his country was his main incentive. This lofty sentiment, which no other could have infused into his soldiers, carried Washington triumphant through the Revolution.

Colonel Fry having died shortly after the affair of M. de Jumonville, he was superseded in the chief command by Washington, who, apprehending an attack from the main French army stationed at Fort Duquesne, commenced the erection of a fort at Great Meadows, which, when completed, was called Fort Necessity. Leaving this rude fortress in the command of Captain McKay with a guard of two hundred men, Washington pushed on with the main army, hewing the way for his munitions and baggage through mountain-passes and wild forests, toward the Monongahela.

Arriving at a place called Gist's settlements, a distance of thirteen miles from Fort Necessity, which, from the difficulties on the route, it took as many days to accomplish, he learned the French army had been largely reinforced and was preparing to march against him. In this extremity he sent orders to Captain McKay to join him, with his command, with all possible dispatch, which were complied with.

But when this reinforcement arrived, learning that the strength of the French was much greater than at first supposed, he resolved to retrace his steps, fall back upon Fort Necessity, and await the approach of the enemy.

Reaching the fort after much suffering, the jaded troops were

set to work strengthening it with intrenchments and breastworks, encouraged by the presence and spirited example of their commander, who well knew the pressing occasion, allowed no time for repose. While engaged in these preparations, information was brought by his scouts, that the enemy, nine hundred strong, were within a short distance, advancing upon his position. In a few hours, the advance columns of the French and Indians appeared before the fort, and commenced a random fire, at a distance too great to do much execution. Supposing this a species of strategy to which they resorted, to allure his men from their position, WASHINGTON ordered them to reserve their fire, until a nearer approach would render it effective; but seeing no disposition of the foe to advance, he changed his tactics, and instructed them to fire at discretion.

All day the rain fell in torrents, and rendered the arms of the men unfit for use, and the enemy being protected by a rising ground and clumps of trees, of which they took advantage to screen themselves after discharging their own pieces, the fire of the Americans did little execution. The battle was continued in this way for several hours, when the French proposed a cessation for the purpose of considering terms of a surrender of the fort. WASHINGTON, knowing the perfidious nature of his foes, at first supposed this a stratagem, for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of his position, and rejected the proposal. Being convinced, however, of their sincerity, the firing ceased on both sides, for the purpose of arranging preliminaries of agreement, which were finally adjusted, and signed by the respective parties. The most important items of this capitulation, guaranteed an unmolested departure of the American troops from the fort, with all their baggage, and the honors of war, and obligated them to release the prisoners taken in the action of Great Meadows.

WASHINGTON now retired to Will's Creek, where provisions were stored sufficient to relieve the wants of his weakened army, and thence proceeded to Williamsburg, and laid before the Governor and his Council an account of his campaign, which had been conducted with such discretion, prudence and patriotism, that he received the plaudits of the people, and a vote of thanks from their representatives. Soon after these events, the army was increased to one thousand men, but entirely crippled in its

operations by the establishment of an independent regiment system, adopted by the Assembly upon the recommendation of Governor Dinwiddie, who was entirely ignorant of military affairs. By the working of this unwise arrangement, WASHINGTON lost his Colonel's commission, and was expected to serve as Captain of one of the regiments, subordinate to those who had served under him in former campaigns; whereupon, seeing no concert of action, or prospect of being able to achieve any good for his country, he left the army, conscious of having endeavored to perform his duty.

He remained an inactive, though not an inattentive observer of military operations, as directed by Governor Sharp of Maryland, who had succeeded to the command, until the arrival of General Braddock, from England, with two regiments of British regulars, for the American service. General Braddock, though a man of some capacity as a commander, was so arrogant and presumptuous, that the high hopes entertained of a speedy termination of the war were soon blighted, and nothing characterized his campaign but ruin and disaster.

He arrived in the spring of 1754, and requested WASHINGTON, with protestations of esteem, which, if felt, were afterward not respected, to attach himself to his staff and assist in the struggle. Aware of Braddock's inability to grant him a commission he would accept, and being sufficiently patriotic to serve his country as a private in her armies, he complied with the request, and volunteered as aid-de-camp.

General Braddock's army, collected at Will's Creek, where it was some time detained, procuring means of transporting the baggage and munitions into the interior; WASHINGTON was commissioned to Williamsburg, to procure funds to defray the expenses of the expedition. On his return to camp he was consulted as to the line of march, and in accordance with his opinion, the army proceeded in two divisions, the front under the command of General Braddock, and the rear under Colonel Dunbar. He also urged, with emphasis, the importance of sending Indian scouts in advance of the main army, to avoid the danger of ambuscades; this advice was disregarded, and the friendly Indians, whose fidelity and knowledge of the woods and defiles through which they must pass, had been tried, were so contemptuously treated, they left the army. The cautionary character of WASHINGTON, as

shown in his strict vigilance to prevent surprise and accidents, stamps his whole military career.

Soon after the army commenced its march, WASHINGTON was taken severely ill; and deprived of his prudent advice, it proceeded leisurely toward Fort Duquesne, without sentinels or guards, and more resembled a caravan of merchants on a trading expedition, than a disciplined body of soldiers going to capture a hostile fort. He recovered of his illness and rejoined the army, on the evening of the 8th of March, when they were within a few miles of the fort, just in time to urge advice, a compliance with which would have prevented the slaughter at Monongahela the ensuing day. Understanding well the nature of the country, and the cunning of the enemy, he begged General Braddock to send active scouts through the defiles, to ascertain whether any lurking foe was concealed for their interception. These entreaties, though obviously important, were received with contempt by the General, who being used to marshal his troops on the level fields of Flanders, against practised veterans, despised the children of the wilderness, over whom he expected an easy victory, and marched on, heedless of all admonitions of caution, to the Monongahela.

On the morning of the 9th, after the sun had risen, the army was put in motion, and the passage of the river commenced. Proceeding in good order, they reached the opposite bank, and, after a momentary halt, resumed their line of march, in two divisions, through the thick woods and ravines. WASHINGTON, it is said, as he looked at the soldiers, with their arms and uniforms glittering in the sun, inspirited with the hope of a speedy entrance into Fort Duquesne, felt his bosom swell with pride and animation. The front division of the army, under General Gage, commenced the ascent of the hill, and proceeded, though ignorant of the fact, into the very jaws of death. Reaching a position, where the ground was elevated on the right and covered with thick woods, and filled with ravines on the left, a terrific discharge of musketry from unseen foes, poured from all sides upon them, and mowed them down by scores. Panic stricken, they turned in the utmost consternation to retrace their steps; but scarce had they begun this broken retreat, when they were met in the strait by General Braddock, who with the rear division was hastening to their relief. The confusion that followed this collision was terri-

ble. Compressed in a dense mass, surrounded by a numerous and hidden foe, who poured upon them an incessant fire with deliberate and deadly aim, the slaughter was immense. In this way, for hours, they remained in this mountain slaughter-pen, turning in confused evolutions, between the streams of death that blazed from the wood and ravines, and piled them in heaps at every discharge, without being able to see their murderous foe. So stupefied and bereft of their senses were the men from the first discharge, that instead of thinking of escape, in vain endeavors to form themselves into platoons, they wheeled from one side to the other, and fell by hundreds without firing an effective shot. After withstanding this galling fire for hours, and many of their companions were cut down, they broke and fled, in indiscriminate confusion.

Washington and his brave Virginians, who from the first adopted the Indian mode of fight, fired, every man for himself, from behind the trees, doing the only execution that in the least annoyed the enemy. He exposed himself, with heroic daring, in the thickest of the fight, and made several hairbreadth escapes, while men were falling all around him. Bullets passed through his clothes, and he is said to have had two horses killed under him.

By his cool courage and discretion, he preserved the lives of his valued rangers, and was enabled to cover the retreat of the remnant of Braddock's army, less than half of which, chagrined, wounded and covered with shame, recrossed the river that, a few hours before, they passed with such confidence, discipline and pride. Of eighty-six officers belonging to the army, sixty-three are said to have been killed, or mortally wounded, among whom was General Braddock: over seven hundred privates fell in the engagement.

The loss of the enemy was less than forty, all told. Such a fearful carnage and waste of blood has few parallels in history. Washington, with the horses and wagons belonging to Colonel Dunbar's rear division, unannoyed by the enemy (who, like vultures at their prey, instead of pursuing, hovered over the slaughter-field of Monongahela), conveyed the wounded, as best he could, to Fort Necessity.

Here, filled with chagrin and mortification, Braddock soon died of his wounds, according to Washington all praise for his bravery, and admitting the great wisdom of the advice he so

contemptuously rejected the evening previous to the battle. Well he might. His grand army, which, had this advice been taken, would have been masters of Duquesne, mouldered at Monongahela, a mournful monument to his arrogance. General Braddock was buried near the fort; and the army, with the loss of its baggage, which occurred soon after, proceeded to Fort Cumberland, whence, after a short repose, sick and depressed, WASHINGTON returned to Mount Vernon.

The campaign of General Braddock, resulted disastrously to every thing connected with it, except the fame of WASHINGTON, which thenceforth shone with brightest luster. The Assembly, for carrying on the war, voted larger supplies of both men and money; and, indeed, the unexampled distress and consternation that followed the defeat of General Braddock, made this step imperatively necessary. WASHINGTON, having proved himself the most efficient officer they had during previous operations, now received the most pressing solicitation to rejoin the army, and assume the chief command of the Virginia troops.

His experience in military affairs had developed a considerable sacrifice of his private funds, and sad inroads upon his constitution, vigorous as it was; yet, ardently attached to his country, and anxious to render her service, he complied with the request, and accepted the command. WASHINGTON took up head-quarters at Winchester, whence, after putting his men in a situation for duty, and making an estimate of available forces, he went the rounds of the various military posts to see their condition, and put them in a state of defense. While performing this service, he received intelligence that the Indians had made an incursion into the settlements and were laying every thing waste, which induced him to return to their protection.

WASHINGTON, on assuming the command, devoted himself first to remodeling the militia laws, which were sadly defective, and finally succeeded in getting them so formed, that by legal process, proper penalties could be enforced for mutiny and desertion. After the adoption of these measures, he took a journey to Boston and New York, where, his fame having preceded him, he was treated with marked deference and respect. In New York, while a guest of Mr. Robinson, he is said to have been smitten by a young lady of great beauty sojourning at the same house, and remained there until duty called him to his post.

Returning to Williamsburg, he devoted himself with energy to the service, and made active preparations for carrying on the war. In the summer the army was augmented, and having re-established himself at Winchester, he kept his men on the alert to protect the inhabitants from the Indians, who were visiting ruin and death throughout the settlements. During that spring and summer, the distressing condition of the country presented a spectacle sufficient to chill the blood of anchorites. Houses were burned, and families driven for refuge to the mountains; mothers were butchered and their babes left upon their dead bosoms; fathers and brothers were shot in the fields, and left unburied, a prey to vultures; the brow of beauty was cleft by Indian hatchets, or left to wither in orphanage, at their more brutal touch.

Against this state of things, WASHINGTON was regarded as the main support. Deploring the miseries of his country, he says, in a letter to a friend, "I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering foe, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

In the meantime the shafts of slander and detraction were not idle. Chiefly through the agency of Colonel Innes, who had been elevated to position through the partiality of Governor Dinwiddie, and who was envious of WASHINGTON'S growing fame, glaring falsehoods were industriously circulated against him, with a view of inducing the people to believe all their sufferings originated through his negligence and inability to conduct the war.

But, as sooner or later is the case of all vile traducers of innocence or true worth, the charges recoiled upon the originators with fearful effect, and WASHINGTON remained the idol of the people.

During the defensive operations of the present summer and fall, which were confined to the erection of fortifications and frequent Indian skirmishes, WASHINGTON was almost paralyzed by the imbecility of the Governor, and directions from the Assembly, that were in direct contrariety; and finally, seeing the utter hopelessness of accomplishing any good results, while thus crippled, he resolved to await the arrival of Lord Loudon, from England, who was expected to assume the direction of affairs.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, WASHINGTON repaired thither, and urged before the convention of provincial Governors, who

had been called together for the purpose of planning a successful campaign, the importance of a vigorous expedition against Fort Duquesne, which had all along been the general rendezvous of the enemy.

Before the commencement of active operations, WASHINGTON, in compliance with his physician's advice, retired to Mount Vernon, where, soon after, he was prostrated by a fever of the most malignant type, that confined him to his house for several months.

His school of preparation had been a severe one; his only remuneration was a place first in the hearts of his countrymen, which he ever after maintained, and will, until the name of America is lost in the hour of final doom.

In the winter of 1758, Governor Dinwiddie, whose total ignorance, of military matters had caused numerous difficulties, from the commencement of the war, took his unregretted departure for England, and was superseded by Lord Loudon.

Under the direction of William Pitt, who succeeded to the British Ministry, and was years afterward chief controller of England's finance, an expedition was planned against Fort Duquesne, and the command given to General Forbes; while the expenses of the war were, in the future, to be met by the English treasury.

New hope was now infused into the minds of the dejected people; the army, greatly increased, was united to the regular troops under General Forbes, and every thing put in readiness for the projected enterprise.

WASHINGTON, who still held chief command of the Virginia forces, having regained his health, joined the army with buoyant hope, and under more favorable auspices than he had yet witnessed. His favorite measures had all been adopted, and he readily foresaw the happy results of these systematic operations.

After a conference with the Quarter-master General, he assembled his men, drilled them to proper discipline, and in compliance with orders marched to Fort Cumberland. General Forbes, for the purpose of reaching the enemy, resolved to open a new road through the Alleghenies, and proceed with his army in two divisions; both of which intentions WASHINGTON strenuously opposed, and urged, though without avail, the importance of pursuing the beaten route Braddock had taken across the Monongahela. Had these suggestions been heeded, the result would have been a speedy capture of the fortress, almost without the loss of life;

for the French, emboldened by the success of their predatory parties, were so scattered into fragmentary squads, through the country, that no more than a thousand soldiers could have been concentrated in time to make head against General Forbes' army of five times that number.

But, while consuming time in the slow process of opening a new road through woods and mountain gorges, the enemy, if actively on the alert, could have availed themselves of the time, to so reinforce their garrison, as to present more formidable resistance.

After weeks and months had been spent in incessant labor, upon the preparation of a route, during which, one entire detachment was cut to pieces by the Indians, and much useless labor incurred, the advance party had accomplished a distance of forty miles, with General Forbes and the main army confined in the rear, when they could have been conquerors of Fort Duquesne.

WASHINGTON, however, notwithstanding his opposition to the manner in which the expedition was being conducted, with characteristic devotion, rendered all the assistance of which he was capable, and was gratified to find importance attached to his counsels, by the General, who sought them on all occasions.

The army, on commencing its march, being separated into two divisions, WASHINGTON, at his own urgent request, was placed in the front ranks, actuated doubtless by a desire to guard effectually against a Braddock disaster. They proceeded with due caution, and at length reached the fort, which they found almost destroyed, and deserted by the French and Indians, who had fled at the first sign of danger.

Thus General Forbes, at the head of five thousand men, had been several months hewing a new road through the mountains, to capture an undefended fort, when a few weeks' time, along the old route, as WASHINGTON suggested, would have accomplished the same result. Fort Duquesne being taken, a small force was stationed there to prevent its re-occupancy by the enemy, and its name was changed to Fort Pitt, in honor of the Prime Minister.

Thus ended a war of seven years, replete with mismanagement, and conducted contrary to the suggestions of WASHINGTON throughout, and whose history is full of suffering and wretchedness. Passing the fiery ordeal, as a conspicuous actor in the tragedy, through all its changing scenes, WASHINGTON came out

unscathed, well schooled for the duties of a higher and more important sphere, to which he was soon called.

The war having been brought successfully to a close, and the rich blessings of peace again procured, WASHINGTON, who had contributed so largely to the desired result, was looked upon with high admiration by his fellow citizens, and regarded as a future champion.

Soon after the close of the war, he was married to Mrs. Martha Custis, widow of John P. Custis, a lady of great beauty, accomplishments, and wealth. She is described as having been a woman of unexceptionable qualities of heart, and most happily adapted to the temperament of her husband. During the period of forty years, she discharged the duties of wife, in a manner most exemplary, adhering to his fortunes through every vicissitude, and contributing to his happiness. This union was, in every respect, a happy one, but resulted in no issue.

Over her two children, the issue of her first marriage, her husband exercised the kindest paternal guardianship.

During his last Indian campaign, WASHINGTON had been elected a member of the House of Burgesses, by a heavy majority; a position which he continued to fill with marked ability, for fifteen years; giving as decided evidence of civic capacity, and superior qualities of statesmanship in the cabinet, as he had already furnished of military talents in the field.

His entrance into that body was attended with an incident illustrative of his extreme modesty. The Speaker of the House delivered a vote of thanks, accorded to him by that body, for past services, and took occasion to apply some very extravagant language of commendation. The tone of his remarks so embarrassed WASHINGTON, that in his attempt at acknowledgment, he could not find utterance for a syllable. The Speaker, seeing his awkward position, as a very timely relief, exclaimed, "Sit down, Mr. WASHINGTON, sit down, your modesty alone is equal to your merit, and that is more than I can find language to express."

WASHINGTON had great influence, as a member of the Assembly; his advice was sought on all important measures, and had much to do with their adoption, or rejection. He acquainted himself thoroughly with the various subjects coming before the House for consideration, and gave his views upon them, in a clear, unpretending manner, never intruding upon their delibera-

tions long speeches, consuming time rightfully belonging to the public, for the purpose of making a display of his talents. For, says he, "if you have a mind to command the attention of the House, speak seldom and on important subjects, except such as relate particularly to your constituents; and in the former case make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust."

Rejoiced with the prospect of devoting himself to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, WASHINGTON, in April, 1757, settled with his family at Mount Vernon, where, adorned by every virtue that lends a charm to life, he remained, an exemplification of the most liberal hospitality, until recalled from the fields of harvest to those of war.

A second Cincinnatus, in the supervision of his fields, he loved to labor; and when placed at the head of the army, he was taken from the quietude of domestic life.

WASHINGTON, it is said, had a fondness for seasonable amusements, and availed himself of the frequent opportunities now afforded, to take his gun and go in search of game, or his hounds and join a fox-chase,—the exciting diversion of which he enjoyed with high relish. His willingness, and even anxiety, to serve his neighbors, while at Mount Vernon, often caused him much labor, by having to comply with requests for assistance in different affairs, from those who knew his generous nature; yet it was always cheerfully rendered. He was also vestryman of his parish church, and took an active part in the diffusion of religious sentiments. For, said he, "Religion is as essential to Reason, as Reason is to Religion."

WASHINGTON, while enjoying his retirement and quietly promoting his country's interests as one of her legislators, was suddenly startled, as were the colonists, by the enormity of the doctrine entertained in England, that affirmed entire Parliamentary jurisdiction over her transatlantic possessions. This doctrine was asserted in the enactment of measures imposing onerous duties on imports, of which the Stamp Act was a specimen.

Immediately after the passage of that act, WASHINGTON became sternly identified with its opponents, and regarded it as odious in principle, and subversive of the people's most cherished rights.

It must be with feelings of pain, the historian enters upon a delineation of the consequences of this assertion of Parliamentary power. It is extremely mortifying, after a portraiture of the calamities of savage warfare, happily checked by the combined efforts of parent and offspring, to unsheath the "battle-blade" in conflict for the spoils, and rebaptize the land with the blood of brothers.

After having fought together the wild savage, ascended the hights of Quebec, and won laurels for both equally fadeless, it was a sad necessity that turned our arms against each other.

But the colonists, though they venerated England's warrior sons, were far from yielding, in tame submission, to an infringement upon their rights, so palpable, as embodied in the Stamp Act.

WASHINGTON was an active co-laborer against this unwise measure until its repeal, when it was hoped that further aggressive experiments of that sort would not be repeated. In this, however, they were mistaken. Blinded by a false policy, and warped by prejudice, the principle of deriving revenue by a system of coercive taxation upon American citizens, became a cherished one with many influential members of Parliament, and the repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by others no less obnoxious.

Upon these re-assertions of disputed prerogative, the colonists took fire. Virginia, though far less apprehensive from the enactment of such measures than the New England States, led the van in the opposition. They met at Williamsburg soon after, and drew up a non-importation agreement, binding themselves to have no commercial interchange, whatever, with Great Britain, while the odious acts imposing duty on commodities shipped to America remained unrepealed. This agreement WASHINGTON was to present in person, to the Assembly, at its next session.

But when that body convened, the encroachments of Parliament being the topic of discussion, some very denunciatory remarks were made, and resolutions presented, an acquiescence in which would have made the Governor disloyal to his Sovereign, and he, though opposed to the course of his country, arose and dissolved the Assembly. They met, however, soon after, and without the presence of the Governor, unanimously adopted the non-importation agreement.

This bold step of the Assembly was a virtual assumption of the

right to regulate their own concerns, without the sanction of governors commissioned from England,—a right they continued to exercise, by the institution of Corresponding Committees, which the critical state of affairs made essential to a union of feeling and concert of action throughout the different States. Immediately after the convention of the next Assembly, news of the Boston Port Bill, and its consequences upon the citizens of Massachusetts, reached Williamsburg.

A day of fasting and prayer was appointed, and preliminary measures adopted for the assemblage of a General Congress, with representative delegates from all the colonies, for the purpose of preparing for the storm which they saw prefigured in the measures of the mother country.

WASHINGTON, though a resort to arms he looked upon as the last expedient, with that cool, firm courage, for which he was proverbial, still hoping that a reconciliation would take place without bloodshed, presided over meetings in his county, held for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the people, and meeting the exigencies of the times. His views in regard to the measures of the British ministry, were identically coincident with those of the mass of the people, modified only by a degree of firmness and discretion, requisite to elicit weight and influence.

After an unceremonious rejection by Parliament, of petitions and remonstrances presented by the colonists against the assumed right of taxation, and the destruction of all hope of an amicable adjustment of difficulties, a General Convention met at Williamsburg, which, in addition to the non-importation agreement already mentioned, advised the prevention of exports also.

The deliberations of this body, of which WASHINGTON was a prominent member, resulted in the appointment of himself, Patrick Henry, and others, delegates to the National Congress.

The first Continental Congress of America assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, and resulted in a firm avowal of colonial rights, and an expressed determination to maintain them at all hazards. Petitions, addresses and memorials were prepared for presentation to the people of Great Britain and the Canadas, which evinced great wisdom, foresight and sagacity.

The dignified and lofty bearing of WASHINGTON, throughout its deliberations, won for him the reputation of having more correct

views and sounder judgment than any other member of that body.

The labors of the First Congress being brought to a close, WASHINGTON, again at Mount Vernon, was devoting himself to those peaceful pursuits so congenial to his feelings, when, in view of the threatening state of affairs, and his superior military skill, he was selected to take command of a volunteer company of militia. Attending as a delegate the next Virginia Convention at Richmond, he was placed on the Committee on the subject of the public defense, and also of arts and manufactures; in both of which capacities he exercised his accustomed influence, and expressed his intention of devoting his life and fortune to his country, if occasion required.

The second Continental Congress convened on the 10th of May, 1775, and finding that remonstrance and petition only elicited contempt and derision, they adopted a course of decisive action, and commenced preparations for the crisis. Already, blood flowed at Concord, and the "walls of the capitol shook with the boom of an enemy's cannon." Beating high for liberty, the American pulse quickened with the fire of revenge and revolution.

Congress immediately appointed a committee of defense, with WASHINGTON for its chairman,—his sphere of action being the selection of posts for occupancy by the Continental army, its provision with arms and ammunition, an estimation of its necessary funds, and the preparation of rules for its discipline and government,—duties onerous, important and complicated.

Steps being taken preliminary to the commencement of hostilities, and the entire control of affairs being assumed by Congress, it devolved upon them next to select a commander-in-chief.

From the beginning, in the event of war, WASHINGTON was expected to assume the command of the Virginia troops; and though he was the choice of many delegates from different States, for the chief command, his advancement to that position, it was feared, would operate unfavorably upon the minds of the New England States, which furnished the greater portion of the Continental troops.

General Ward of Massachusetts, a gentleman of military ability, who had long been at the head of the army, and much esteemed by the New England States, it was apprehended by the friends of WASHINGTON, would be urged for the post against him.

Their fears were based upon too low an estimate of the patriotism and virtue of the times; that, disarmed of favoritism, towered above all personal preference and local prejudice.

On the 15th of June, Thomas Johnson of Maryland arose and nominated GEORGE WASHINGTON, then a member of Congress, for commander-in-chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, in America. Upon this nomination the house proceeded to ballot, which resulted in his unanimous election.

"'T was then *America* the foundation laid
Of freedom's fair structure."

He accepted the appointment in a short speech expressive of distrust in himself, confidence in the wisdom of Congress, and a firm reliance on the God of battles. On the 19th of June he received his commission from Congress, who solemnly pledged to him their "fortunes and their lives" throughout the struggle.

WASHINGTON, under his new and unsolicited commission, took his immediate departure for Cambridge, the head-quarters of the American army; passing through New York and Philadelphia, where the fame of his former exploits was not unknown, he was honored with public receptions, the flattering cordiality of the dignitaries, and the deference of all classes, who were inspired with confidence in his capacity for the delicate position he had assumed. On his arrival at Cambridge he was received with unbounded joy by the army, which seemed infused with new hope and vigor by the presence of one possessing such an extraordinary combination of generalship. Having assumed the command, he began operations by acquainting himself with the strength and position of the army, which was stationed in several divisions on Bunker, Winter, and Prospect Hills, and on Boston Neck, near Roxbury. On consultation with his officers, he learned that the British army in Boston, under General Gage, amounted to eleven thousand men. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, he resolved to maintain his present position at all hazards.

A review of his army showed but fourteen thousand five hundred men fit for duty, when twice that number was essential to effective operations.

With this undisciplined army, hastily drawn together,—each soldier acting more upon his own individuality than under military rule,—unpracticed in the art of war,—raw recruits, most of whom had never seen battle,—but poorly provided with arms

and ammunition, and supported by a Congress not fully convinced of the utility of a standing army, against which they affirmed all history pointed in solemn warning,—WASHINGTON began the war of independence.

Amid these difficulties he commenced the formation of a regular army, and the establishment of military system. Exercising both the legislative and military power of the continent, he devised plans in the field to be approved in the Cabinet, for his own execution. Seeing what regulations were necessary to success, he prepared them for Congressional sanction, and became their executor at the head of his army.

He thus succeeded in establishing some order and system. Soon after his accession to the command, he adopted a course that was of much subsequent use, by refusing to detach a portion of his troops to defend the coasts of Massachusetts against the depredation of a small British force. Aside from the danger of exposing his main army by thus weakening it, it was evident that similar solicitations from all parts of the country could not be complied with, and if they could, it would prevent action of the state militia, by inducing them to rely solely upon him for local protection. Learning that the prisoners taken at Bunker Hill, and confined in Boston, were badly treated by the British, WASHINGTON remonstrated against such proceedings to General Gage, who, spurning all commissions not of kingly derivative, in his reply affirmed, "that as rebels in arms against their Sovereign, the Americans were outlaws, and their prisoners deserved to be treated as such." This left WASHINGTON no redress but the same kind of retaliation, which was too repugnant to his humane nature for him to exercise.

In the summer, the forces of the army were considerably increased by the accession of some rifle corps from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and militia recruits from the New England States.

Maintaining his position at the head of his army, WASHINGTON dispatched Colonel Benedict Arnold,—who had won high praise for his bravery at Ticonderoga,—with eleven hundred men, upon the famous expedition up the Kennebec.

His instructions were to proceed, without molesting the inhabitants, through Canada,—act in concert with General Schuyler, who had been sent against Montreal,—make an attack upon Quebec, and divert the British from interfering with the operations of the

main army of the north. The management of this perilous enterprise was well invested; Arnold, after performing one of the most heroic feats of the revolution, camped where fell the dauntless Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham.

As expected, Guy Carleton suspended operations against Schuyler, hurried to the rescue of Quebec, while Montgomery was enabled to penetrate Canada, capture Montreal, and unite his forces with those of Arnold, which he did soon after.

It is sad to think of the fate of these gallant officers. Montgomery soon slept in glory's grave, while with colder heart than the snow that drank his blood, Arnold stamped his name with treason.

WASHINGTON continued to occupy his post, prevented from offensive operations against the enemy at Boston, by want of ammunition, his time was taken up in strengthening his fortifications and disciplining his troops.

British cannonades, and slight skirmishes between small parties at intervals, were the only contests that occurred, and they with no visible result to either party.

At length, though in a condition that made it most perplexing, it became WASHINGTON'S duty to devote himself to a reorganization of the army. The time for which the old soldiers enlisted being nearly expired, he proposed a plan by which twenty-thousand men would be under his command, and a more thorough understanding established with Congress in regard to his supplies. Schooners and armed vessels were also provided, to cruise along the coast and act in concert with the land army.

Two of these vessels were soon after sent on a cruise to capture some English brigs, laden with ammunition for Quebec, but not succeeding in the enterprise they anchored off St. John's Island, and plundered and took the inhabitants prisoners. WASHINGTON, with characteristic magnanimity, censured severely the instigators of this movement, set the prisoners free, and took immediate steps for their conveyance back to the island. The British soon after retaliated with barbarous cruelty, by the destruction of Falmouth, and declared a similar fate awaited the other towns along the coast. This produced such terror among the inhabitants, that, in response to their supplications for assistance, the Commander had to reaffirm his determination not to break his army into fragments, for the protection of remote and unimportant points, at the risk of its entire destruction.

About this time General Gage, who had spilled the first blood at Lexington, was recalled by the British ministry, and superseded in the command of their forces in America by General Howe. That officer assumed the position, infected with the same false ideas of his predecessor, that he was contending against rebels in arms against their king, though in every other respect he was much his superior.

WASHINGTON, though not discouraged, was mortified at the tardiness with which enlistments went on, and the recruits came in; his difficulties were increased, too, by a spirit of displeasure manifested by some of the troops, especially those of Connecticut, who, disappointed in their expectations of bounty, as an additional reward for services, raised murmurs and complaints.

He was consoled, however, by the appearance of his wife in camp; following his movements through winter and war, with her love, she reached his head-quarters in December, and continued by his side until spring, when with regret she took leave for Mount Vernon.

In January, the active movements of General Howe, who was secretly engaged in the equipment of armed vessels of war in the Chesapeake Bay and Boston Harbor, indicated an attack upon New York, which was in no position of defense, being already annoyed by British men-of-war in the Hudson.

To maintain the metropolis was, to the Continental army, especially that portion of it operating in the north, a matter of momentous importance.

WASHINGTON, contending with the main army in Boston, and meditating an attack upon their lines, was in no condition to detach from his command a force for the protection of New York. General Lee, therefore, was intrusted with this duty. He hastened with his usual zeal to call together the troops of Connecticut and New Jersey, and in conjunction with the civic and military authorities, to put the city in a state of defense. Before these measures were completed, however, it was ascertained that the object of the naval equipment, was an attack upon the Carolinas, whither it soon sailed under the command of Sir Henry Clinton.

WASHINGTON, anxious to commence active operations, held a council of war; it was adjudged by his officers unwise to make an attack upon the city, in their present weakened situation and scarcity of supplies. The commander deferred the assault, with

a view to increased preparations, but was so mortified to find his situation growing worse instead of better, by a refusal of the old soldiers to re-enlist on the expiration of their terms of service, that he regretted bitterly his decision.

In this predicament, renewed efforts were made to increase the army by a demand for thirteen regiments of troops from the New England States, and urgent appeals for ammunition requisite to their proper equipment. To highten his distresses, he received intelligence that the brave Montgomery had fallen at Quebec, and the northern army was repulsed with loss. This intelligence was accompanied with an order from General Schuyler for three thousand troops. What was to be done?—the army cut to pieces in Canada,—WASHINGTON's soldiers returning home at the end of their terms,—recruits not coming in fast enough to fill their places, and no supplies for those who remained. The British, on the other hand, emboldened by reinforcements, well equipped and disciplined, were encompassing the country with their fleets, and quartering their soldiery, almost unopposed, in the cities and towns. It must be confessed, times began to look threatening.

Ardently attached to liberty, WASHINGTON, amid the threatening aspect of affairs, maintained his equanimity. "*He trusted that Divine Providence, which wisely orders the affairs of men, would enable him to discharge his duty with fidelity and success.*" Buoyed with this unshaken confidence, and fully satisfied of the justness of the cause, his sentiments in regard to the course of Great Britain suffered no change. Instead of being in the least despondent, his energies arose proportionably to the necessity that called them forth.

The importance of forcing the British to leave Boston became every day more apparent. Early in March, the condition of the army being somewhat improved, he commenced active operations to accomplish that object.

It has been said of military men, that those who gain their victories with the least bloodshed, give the best evidences of superior generalship. Subjected to this test, the martial talents of WASHINGTON certainly shine conspicuously through all his campaigns.

His great foresight in seeing results, sagacity in penetrating designs, vigilance in preventing surprise, his wisdom in planning

attacks, and deep, clear insight into human nature, gave him great advantage in the field.

He commenced efforts against the British garrison in Boston, by taking possession of Dorchester hights, whence his guns could play upon the fleet in the harbor, and sweep another eminence, called Nook's Hill, so as to prevent its occupancy by the enemy. This movement was conducted with such prudence and caution, that the British were ignorant of it, until he was securely in position. Their surprise was great when they found the Americans firmly established upon a point of so much importance, commanding, as it did, their entire positions.

For the purpose of diverting General Howe from his movements, WASHINGTON ordered generals Putnam, Greene and Sullivan, with four thousand men, to manuever on the side of the city opposite the hights.

General Howe, finding himself thus in a state of siege, exposed to the raking fire of the Americans, and the anchorage of his vessels in the harbor untenable, and being scarce of supplies, proposed to evacuate the city, provided his troops were allowed to embark on board the fleet without being fired upon.

To spare the city from the consequences of an assault was one great object of the American general, and he willingly accepted this proposition.

On the 17th of March, 1776, the British marched out of Boston and departed on board the fleet for Halifax; and WASHINGTON, almost without bloodshed, took possession of the city, to the joy and congratulations of the inhabitants. The Massachusetts Assembly, relieved from their fears of an assault, expressed its admiration of his skill in terms of enthusiasm, while the Continental Congress rewarded him with a vote of thanks and a gold medal, expressive of their approbation.

Upon its departure from Boston. WASHINGTON, fearing the real destination of the British fleet to be New York, and resolving in such event not to be behind hand, sent a large portion of his army, under the command of General Putnam, to that city, whither, after leaving Boston to the care of General Ward, with sufficient force for its protection, he immediately proceeded in person.

He reached New York the 19th April, and began a careful inspection of its fortifications, and resources, which he strengthened

and increased. Having made these preparations, after remaining in the city a short time, he proceeded to Philadelphia to confer with the Continental Congress. He found that body warmly aroused upon the subject of independence, and electrified by the cries of "give me liberty or give me death," "independence now, and independence forever,"—sentiments which met a response in his own bosom.

The State of Virginia had previously, by conventional vote, recommended Independence to Congress, which met the concurrence of WASHINGTON. He left Philadelphia, when that measure occupied almost the entire deliberations of that body, with a majority of the members favorable to its adoption.

Shortly after his return to the army, he received a copy of the Declaration of Independence, signed by the members of Congress, which he caused to be read to the army on the evening of the 9th of July.

Grand spectacle!—hostile fleets in their harbors from Boston to Carolina,—their army in the north repulsed,—in sight of forces ten times their number, and in arms with the greatest power of the world,—with rewards upon their heads as rebels, that gallant band paraded under arms, as the sun went down, and rent the air with shouts of INDEPENDENCE.

The British ministry finding the indomitable courage of the Americans unaltered, but rather strengthened by previous results, now commenced gigantic preparations, which, it was thought, would quash the "rebels" at once. In addition to their forces already in the field, under generals Clinton and Howe, they fitted out a large and well equipped fleet under the command of Lord Howe, an experienced commander, that was expected to intimidate them into immediate subjecti — These arrangements were on a far more extensive scale than anything yet witnessed. The ships were large and well built, and manned with the flower of the English soldiery. Lord Howe arrived in July, and united his forces with those of his brother, stationed at Staten Island.

England, thinking that America might not choose to measure arms with such preparations as these, provided Lord Howe, before his departure, with instructions and terms of reconciliation with the Colonies. This was a mere pretext to which she resorted, as a specious justification of her acts, and to delude the people. These terms were, in substance, nothing more than assurances

of pardon to all rebellious subjects who would lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. By these shameful terms, if by her imposing displays of power the Americans were not awed into submission, she presumed to throw upon them the blame of the war and its consequences, and in this way to create a colonial reaction favorable to her interests.

Thus Lord Howe came to this country, with slavery in one hand and the sword in the other;—the sword was preferred. This offer of pardon came too late;—"rebel" was a word she could no longer pretend to apply. Patriot blood dyed the plains of Concord, and Bunker Hill claimed their hero ashes. England had cut the bond of union, and the Declaration stamped upon America the seal of Independence, while the name *colonists*, gone with things that were, had dropped into history. It was to men who claimed to be independent, that Lord Howe came with promises of pardon. The terms were so ridiculous, that, for the purpose of showing the people the low estimate placed upon their rights, they were published by order of Congress, and did much toward cementing a bond of union among the Colonies.

Upon his arrival the British army amounted to near thirty thousand men, well disciplined and provided for, while to compete with it, WASHINGTON had but about twenty thousand effective troops. The British being entire masters of the harbor, and having a numerous land army, WASHINGTON was every day expecting an attack upon New York. He stationed a portion of his army at Brooklyn, which had been quite strongly fortified during previous operations, and which was separated from the city by the waters of East river.

The British soon after took possession of Long Island, designing thence to cross over to the city. The two armies were now only separated by a range of hills, through which several gaps or passes opened from one to the other; these passes the Americans took care to fortify to the best advantage. On the 27th of August, 1776, the British army, fifteen thousand strong, was put in motion, with evident intentions of attacking the Americans, amounting to but five thousand men. Their plan of attack was well arranged. Generals Grant and Heister led the center, and commenced the action in front with just spirit sufficient to keep Lord Sterling and General Sullivan, who had been sent to oppose them, annoyed, until Clinton and Cornwallis, at the head of the British

right wing, by a circuitous and unprotected pass around the hills, came upon the rear of the American army. These arrangements succeeded as desired; generals Grant and Heister attacked the center of the American army, and made a show of fight against General Sullivan and Lord Sterling, until the guns of Cornwallis, in the rear, gave the signal for vigorous action.

The Americans, thus surrounded and hemmed between two destructive fires, though they fought with heroic bravery, at length gave away.

Lord Sterling fought bravely with the superior forces of General Grant, until he was attacked in the rear by Cornwallis, when he was compelled to retreat, which he did in tolerable order, within his lines.

General Sullivan, who for hours withstood the efforts of Heister, being thus unsupported, and surrounded on all sides by overwhelming numbers, was forced to surrender. The battle of Long Island can boast of no great exhibition of generalship, so far as the American arms were concerned. Whether it should have been fought at all, under the circumstances, the enemy numbering three to their one, is indeed questionable. The oversight of leaving a pass wholly unguarded, of sufficient dimensions for the enemy to gain their rear and take them almost by complete surprise, was certainly a very great one. The results of the battle were most lamentable. It was a repulse from which the army was long recovering.

The Americans lost in the action two hundred killed and wounded, and over a thousand prisoners, among whom were General Sullivan and Lord Sterling. This was the commencement of a series of disasters that followed, which [illegible]uman wisdom or sagacity could prevent.

On the 30th, WASHINGTON held a council of war, in which it was thought unsafe to remain longer in their present position. He accordingly collected his entire army, artillery and baggage, abandoned Long Island and Brooklyn, and retreated with secrecy and safety to New York, passing within a few hundred yards of the enemy's sentinels.

The condition of the American army after the battle of Long Island was truly distressing. WASHINGTON wrote a long letter to Congress, wherein he set forth the situation of affairs, and pointed out the numerous disadvantages under which he labored, among

others, the shortness of the time for which the soldiers joined the service. Not despondent at his reverses, he recommended to that body such measures as were deemed necessary for their deliberation, and re-affirmed his intentions to devote himself to his country, and her alone, as long as he could be of service.

From the movements of the enemy, WASHINGTON began to suspect their intentions were to invest New York on all sides, reduce the Americans to the necessity of a capitulation, and establish winter-quarters in the city. Foreseeing the disasters likely to result from a close siege, in his present straitened condition, he resolved to retire with his army to a place of safety and watch their movements. He stationed nine thousand men at Fort Washington, conveyed his military stores to a place of security, sent his disabled soldiers into New Jersey and proceeded in person with the main army to Harlem hights.

In their evacuation of New York, the Americans lost in various skirmishes several killed and over three hundred taken prisoners.

The British being now in possession of New York, WASHINGTON collected his troops upon Harlem hights, fortified himself with intrenchments and breastworks, and fixed his head-quarters at Morris House, close to Fort Washington. General Howe, resolving to keep a close watch upon his movements, established himself near by, where the two armies remained for some time in comparative inactivity, interrupted by occasional skirmishes, that had little effect upon either party, both being unwilling to hazard a general engagement.

WASHINGTON, in assuming the defensive, adopted a course wise and judicious,—so much so, that General Howe wrote to the British ministry, despairing of all hopes of bringing the war to a close by a signal blow, and soliciting large reinforcements for the spring campaign. WASHINGTON also wrote again to Congress an elaborate statement of affairs with the army, urging an increase of forces, and appealing to them by everything dear as Americans, to obviate the difficulties arising from the six and twelve months' enlistment system and to adopt measures suited to the emergency.

The Declaration had placed America essentially upon her own resources, and Congress was fairly aroused to the necessity of their full development. At the suggestion of WASHINGTON, they

resolved upon the organization of a new army, composed of soldiers, who would enlist either for three years or during the war.

They also raised the salaries of the officers, increased the soldiers' pay, and gave the commander the right, in certain contingencies, to select his own officers. Under these arrangements, strong appeals were made to the different States to furnish their respective quota of men for the new army. Some of these, by way of inducement, offered additional rewards in the shape of bounties, which eventually did more harm than good, by making the militia wait for higher bids before enlisting, and creating invidious distinctions after they were brought together.

While WASHINGTON was thus engaged in organizing a new army under a new system, furnishing supplies and attending to the appointment of its officers, General Howe sent armed vessels up the Hudson and cut off his communication with the Highlands. Next, leaving Percy with 5,000 men near Harlem to watch the movements of the Americans, he embarked his army in boats and proceeded to Pell's point, landed, marched into the county, and took possession of Chester hights, where he was soon after joined by a large body of Hessian mercenaries under General Knyphausen. WASHINGTON, upon these movements, evacuated his position, took possession of, and fortified, Valentine's Hill; whence forming a chain of intrenched camps along Bronx river to White Plains, he established himself, resolved on defense in case of attack.

His camp at White Plains possessed some natural advantages. The rear and right wing were protected by a curve in the river; the left was secured by a large pond, while parallel intrenchments protected the front.

No great leisure, however, was afforded for adding strength to his position, by the enemy, from whose movements the intention of an attack became early manifest. WASHINGTON immediately concentrated his force within the lines, to be prepared for their reception. On the 28th of October the British made their appearance, and engaged the Maryland and Delaware troops under General McDougal, stationed at Chatterton Hill. The attack was made simultaneously upon the rear and flank of the Americans, who being thus exposed to the advance of superior numbers, after a brave resistance, abandoned their works. The loss, in this action,

was not heavy on either side, but its results were favorable to the enemy, who had gained an advantageous eminence, that would be of service in a general engagement. General Howe, unwilling to lose his advantage by risking a general action, after a careful reconnoissance resolved to keep a vigilant watch upon the Americans, and await the appearance of Earl Percy with reinforcements from Harlem, when he hoped the whole army would be in his power, and an easy victory sure. Percy at length arrived, and the 31st was set for the capture of the American army. WASHINGTON, in the meantime, knowing that in his defeat all would be lost, with the utmost secrecy drew off his army, and retreated unobserved to an elevated position in the rear, well secured by fortifications previously erected.

The chagrin and surprise of General Howe on the morning of the 31st, at seeing the army he thought so completely in his power securely fortified in a place beyond his reach, knew no bounds.

Being disappointed in his wishes to engage the American general under circumstances favorable to victory, Howe took a retrograde movement toward the Hudson. WASHINGTON placed a large body of troops under General Heath, to guard the passes of the Highlands along the river, and another detachment under General Lee at White Plains, with instructions to hold himself in readiness to follow the main army, which was dispatched to New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Hackensac, where he joined it in person.

Lord Howe approaching King's bridge, in the vicinity of the American lines, they abandoned their position, and retreated to Fort Washington, then in command of Colonel Magaw. The fort was immediately invested by the British, and peremptorily ordered to surrender, which the commander refused.

On the morning of the 16th of November, General Knyphausen made a bold assault on the north side of the fort, while Percy made a similar demonstration on the south; at the same time a third party assailed it on the side next Harlem river. The fortress was valorously defended for several hours, but they were compelled to desert their posts and surrender. The American loss was two hundred killed and near three thousand taken prisoners,—a heavy loss indeed, at that important juncture. The commander, General Greene, committed a great fault in holding that post.

The main object of its occupancy was to command the Hudson, and prevent the British ships from ascending that river; but their ships had all passed, and WASHINGTON indicated, in a previous dispatch, the necessity of its abandonment. Had this been heeded, the disaster would have been avoided.

Immediately after the surrender of this post, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of six thousand men, passed over to New Jersey, in the vicinity of Fort Lee ,which was evacuated by the Americans, leaving all their artillery, provisions, and camp equipage in the hands of the enemy. WASHINGTON, finding himself hemmed in on almost all sides, with forces insufficient to risk an engagement, and liable at any time to an attack by superior numbers, resolved to retreat.

This retreat of the American army through New Jersey, forms the darkest, yet the brightest, pages of our history. Full of suffering and distress, yet of constancy and devotion unsurpassed in the annals of the world, it reached Brunswick with less than four thousand hungry veterans, closely pursued by the well-equipped army of Cornwallis. Thence it proceeded to Trenton, the soldiers leaving their tracks marked with the blood of frozen feet, and crossed the Delaware with but three thousand men fit for duty. WASHINGTON, on the banks of the Delaware, with three thousand half-famished troops, was the only hope of Liberty. With this small band as a nucleus, increased by Sullivan's division, and some troops from the north, he had to combat the combined power of England's army and navy, everywhere victorious.

Thus far the past had been a succession of disasters. Defeated at Long Island, the American army retreated to New York; outnumbered there, they intrenched at Harlem hights; to counteract the enemy, they camped on White Plains; again beaten and threatened with destruction, they crossed to New Jersey. With the loss of three thousand men, they retreated to Brunswick; thence, to avoid a victory-flushed foe, they fled to Trenton,—crossed the Delaware a disheartened band, and occupied their present position.

The enemy was everywhere triumphant. Complete masters of the waters, with success they sought victory, and occupied the metropolis,—unopposed they entered Rhode Island, and claimed it by conquest,—no enemy but her snows, they penetrated the Jerseys, and planted their standard,—no foe in the field, they

threatened the capital, and Congress fled before them. Without an army,—without a navy,—amid defeat and destitution, still rang the echo, "give us liberty, or give us death." Britain might subdue her armies, beat her navies, take her forts, wrest her cities, and claim her capital, but not her freedom.

Truly a gloom-cloud hung over our country. Congress adjourned its deliberations to Baltimore, while General Putnam assumed the command at Philadelphia. Availing himself of the general depression, as a reprieve to condemned criminals, General Howe again presented his specious terms of pardon to all who would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance. Some, from the hopeless aspect of affairs, were induced to accept these conditions, but far the greater portion would let "their right hands forget their cunning," sooner than submit to vassalage so base and vile. WASHINGTON stood firmly amid the tempest, determined to yield only when freedom fell,—then shroud himself in the folds of her winding-sheet.

It was a darksome day when Congress opened its deliberations in Baltimore. The warmth and enthusiasm that drew the Declaration, gave place to feelings earnest, deep, and solemn. WASHINGTON wrote them an appeal full of stern resolve, pathos, and exhortation. Behind them was pictured disaster, before them gloom. Fully worked up to the pressing crisis, they deliberated with seriousness what was to be done to avert it. Seeing no means left untried, they turned to WASHINGTON; his judgment and capacity they believed adequate to the emergency, and with patriotism of purpose, worthy a Roman fame, invested him with almost dictatorial power. He could now raise his own armies, adapt its regulations, appoint his officers, and procure supplies wherever found. With cautious prudence, fearless determination and deliberative activity he exercised this power, without personal reference, wholly for the public good, and only when absolutely necessary.

Hitherto, under Congressional rule, we have seen undertakings fail, and prospects wither as by the glance of doom. Henceforth, under WASHINGTON's control, we are to see a succession of victories crowning the American arms, until his cannon had conquered a peace on the plains of Yorktown.

Under the directions of Congress, he had proved he knew how to obey, though they led to defeat; now, under regulations of his

own, he knew how to command, while they led to victory. Though under circumstances eminently more distressing, a second Fabius, he guarded the destinies of liberty and empire.

"Heedless of what a censuring world might say,
ONE MAN restored the state by wise delay;
Hence, time has hallowed his immortal name,
And with increasing years increased his fame."

WASHINGTON, now having entire control of the military, devoted himself to the effective organization and equipment of his army, and the judicious appointment of its officers. Knowing the importance of valuable officers, he felt that too much caution could not be bestowed in their selection. In regard to this part of his duty, as expressed in his directions to one of his colonels, he always selected gentlemen as essential to order in his command; he never yielded to personal preference, as it was public service, or to local prejudice, as it was a national cause; he never selected old men, as being too much enfeebled for active labor, nor very young ones, as they lacked experience.

Being re-enforced by Sullivan's division, the troops from the north, and some Pennsylvania recruits, and seeing the necessity of arousing the low spirits of the army, WASHINGTON resolved to commence offensive operations, and determined on a step bold and hazardous.

A division of the British army, mostly Hessians, fifteen hundred strong, was stationed at Trenton, and another detachment not so large, at Bordentown, some distance below. Against these, WASHINGTON planned an attack. He determined to re-cross the Delaware with his army, and take them by surprise. General Cadwalader was dispatched at the head of his brigade, with instructions to cross the river below, and fall upon the force at Bordentown. General Ewing was directed to cross opposite Trenton, and attack from below, while WASHINGTON in person, crossed above, and came upon the town from the upper side. These attacks were to be made simultaneously, on the 25th of December.

In this blow all was at stake; WASHINGTON and his little army were fully up to the crisis. He exhorted his soldiers with warm appeals; to his officers, he gave minute directions, and inspired them with hope. It was near night-fall, when, nine miles from Trenton, WASHINGTON drew up his men upon the icy shores of the

Delaware preparatory to crossing. The river was much swollen and full of floating ice, that presented an angry barrier to their boats, yet he determined to cross. It was no Rubicon,—no Tigris or Danube, rolling between ambition and conquest, but their own free stream, separating the sons of liberty from their foes. Embarking in their boats, they made for the opposite shore. Long hours they battled with angry waves and floating ice, endeavoring to land. More than once they came near being capsized, but were prevented by the stern energy of the men. The soldiers, though wearied, manned the ark of independence;—the boats though frail, carried more than "Cæsar and his fortunes."

To commemorate great deeds, Greece tells the tale of Thermopylæ,—the mountain Swiss, engrave the name of William Tell, and Scotland consecrates the heart of Wallace; but WASHINGTON, that night, standing in front of his boat, buffeted upon the wave, his eye fixed sternly upon the opposite shore, presents a picture of moral sublimity that surpasses them all.

Just after the sun had risen, they reached the Trenton side. Few words were spoken as they formed in silent lines. Sullivan, with one division proceeded along the river, while WASHINGTON at the head of his chosen men, took a road to the right, so as to reach the enemy about the same time. Though benumbed with cold, they marched with a firm step,—their raiment was worn and soiled,—their patriotism was pure as the "snow beneath their feet." Their feet cold,—their souls warm,—with compressed lips and steady step they ascended the snowy hill with the sternness of desperation. They reached the British lines, ready for the conflict. They waited the word of command, with "conquer or die" carved deeply on each veteran brow. No war-cry of "Hercules the Invincible," or "up, guards, and at them," rang over that battle field of liberty. Glancing at his men, rising in majesty, all the energies of his soul aroused, with a gesture full of meaning, WASHINGTON pointed to the hostile tents, and exclaimed, "there are the enemies of your country!" It was enough. His men rushed like lions to the charge. The British flew to their arms, and tried to defend themselves, but in vain. The surprise was complete,—all was confusion. They tried to escape, but so well had the attack been planned, that no avenue was left open. Surrounded on all sides, and seeing nothing but death, they surrendered prisoners of war.

WASHINGTON took a thousand prisoners, a thousand stand of arms, and all their stores and artillery. The American loss was two killed, and two frozen to death; of the enemy thirty were killed or mortally wounded, among whom was Colonel Rahl of the Hessian regiment.

This was the turning point of the Revolution. Henceforth, WASHINGTON was admired by the world; while other nations began to feel the truth of Chatham's remark, that America could not be enslaved.

Creasy, for one of his "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," from her fields may select Saratoga, but penetrating the gloom of "'76," posterity goes back to Trenton for the Marathon of America. Had his other generals succeeded in carrying out their instructions, which was found impossible, the enemy would have been routed at all points. WASHINGTON with his prisoners returned to camp, while the British, thunderstruck at the bold daring of an army they thought nearly annihilated, and mortified at their own repulse, abandoned their positions on the Delaware and fell back upon Princeton. WASHINGTON immediately re-crossed the Delaware to Trenton, where, being joined by General Cadwalader with 1,800 men, he resolved to follow up his advantages. Lord Howe, learning the state of affairs, dispatched Lord Cornwallis from his head-quarters at New York, in all haste, with a strong force against WASHINGTON, then near Trenton.

By forced marches he proceeded to Brunswick and Princeton, took the troops stationed at those points, and soon approached the American encampment; WASHINGTON, to gain time and prepare for his reception, sent out active parties to retard his progress, by annoying him with skirmishes. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the advance guard of Cornwallis marched into Trenton. WASHINGTON, with his army, took possession of an elevated eminence near by, separated from the British by a small creek, over which there was a bridge defended by his artillery; from this point a brisk fire was kept up upon the enemy's advance columns until night-fall.

Late in the evening, Cornwallis arrived on the spot with his main army, and encamped in sight of the Americans, resolved to overwhelm them the ensuing day. WASHINGTON in the meantime, kindled fires, placed sentinels at the bridge, and made a careful reconnoissance of the enemy, whose forces he found twice

as great as his own. Unwilling to risk an engagement with such superior numbers, with great caution he re-kindled his fires, directed his sentinels to remain at their posts until near daylight, to prevent suspicion, and removed all his baggage and artillery to Burlington. These arrangements, which were conducted with as much silence as a funeral procession, were all completed without detection, and WASHINGTON took his line of march to Princeton, which Cornwallis had just left defended by three regiments of British troops. Again he was outgeneraled; Cornwallis' surprise may be imagined, when, next morning, the American army was nowhere to be seen.

Thus his lengthy march and sharp maneuvering brought to his possession only a frozen hill. While wondering what course the American army could have taken, he heard the boom of WASHINGTON's cannon at Princeton. The mystery was solved. The Americans had eluded his grasp, and were cutting his troops to pieces at that point. WASHINGTON, after his secret departure from his camp at Trenton, had pushed rapidly for Princeton; he reached that place about sunrise, just as two of the three regiments stationed there, in obedience to prior orders, were commencing their march for Trenton to join Cornwallis, in the final attack upon the American general. Never was surprise more complete. The engagement was begun by the Americans, and sustained with spirit by the enemy for some time. But they were so overwhelmed by the American general and his army, whom they supposed completely in the power of Cornwallis, that they were quickly thrown into the utmost confusion. After standing their ground for a short time, they broke and fled toward Brunswick, leaving one hundred killed on the field, and three hundred prisoners in the hands of the Americans.

The generalship, coolness, and bravery of WASHINGTON in these engagements, have seldom been equaled. The heaviest loss in this action was General Mercer, a gallant officer, who was killed while leading on his men. After these brilliant achievements, WASHINGTON, who knew not only how to gain victories but how to make use of them, not deeming it prudent in the present exhausted condition of his men, to expose himself to the superior forces of Lord Cornwallis by an attack upon Brunswick, went into winter quarters at Morristown. Cornwallis had marched all the way from New York, made extensive preparations, and expected nothing less than the capture of the entire American

army; he had been marching and countermarching from Brunswick to Princeton, hence to Trenton, and back again for some time. Puzzled by the superior skill of the American general, only having seen him once, with the loss of several hundred prisoners he was now compelled to abandon his posts on the Delaware, and leave the Americans almost entire masters of New Jersey. Thus, in a short time, by masterly exhibitions of wisdom and prudence, almost without loss, too, WASHINGTON had beaten back the enemy at every point, regained the Jerseys, and protected the capital. Hope again dawned upon the continent,—new life and zeal were infused into the minds of the people,—joyous peans rang again over "the homes of the brave," while WASHINGTON received the merited homage of all.

The American general now issued from his head-quarters a proclamation, counter to the one formerly issued by Lord Howe, urging all who had taken the oath of allegiance under his promise of pardon, to gather at his camp, and re-assert their free citizenship. This step, though disapproved by Congress had a good effect. Those who had accepted the terms of the British commander, had been most shamefully abused. His troops, in the conquest of New Jersey, had committed indiscriminate depredations, without reference to friend or foe; those who had taken the oath, suffered equally with the balance. Smarting under their treatment, and seeing a change in affairs, they enrolled under the American banner, and threw off the yoke, unwillingly assumed, for that protection which was denied them. With renewed hope, WASHINGTON began operations for the spring campaign, by urgent appeals to Congress to hasten recruits and needful supplies, to enable him to maintain his advantages. Congress, re-inspired by his success, early in February had the army augmented by the accession of additional officers and troops.

By regulations mutually acquiesced in, prisoners had hitherto been exchanged, officer for officer, and man for man; but pretending that General Lee was a deserter,* the British subjected him to cruel treatment, and threatened him with a court martial; upon which, Congress recommended the severest retaliation upon officers taken prisoners at Trenton. Here again, the humane feelings of WASHINGTON shone conspicuously. He remonstrated

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* He had, long prior to the Revolution, been in the British service.

with Congress against such means of redress, as being unworthy the dignity of civilized warfare. While deliberating upon the exchange of prisoners, a detachment of British troops proceeded under the command of Tryon, to Danbury, and destroyed a large magazine of military stores at that place. In this expedition the Americans lost General Wooster, a brave officer, who died soon after of his wounds. WASHINGTON, in May, seeing from his movements, that General Howe designed to cross the Delaware, and perhaps aim a blow at Philadelphia, collected his troops at a strong point called Middlebrook, on that river, and prepared to prevent their execution. General Howe, withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, resorted to various strategies and movements to bring on a general action in the level country; these, WASHINGTON had too much good sense to regard. Disappointed in this expectation, he suddenly crossed to Staten Island, embarked his men on board the fleet, and started out to sea, leaving the Americans in the greatest perplexity, as to its destination. Supposing his intention to be against Philadelphia, WASHINGTON marched his army to Germantown, to be prepared for the defense of that city. At Chester, he learned that Howe had taken an easterly course, and was in greater uncertainty than ever as to his destination. Determined, however, to keep a close watch upon his movements, the army remained in its present position, awaiting further intelligence.

After remaining in this position during several days, he received information that the British fleet was coming up the Chesapeake bay, with evident designs against Philadelphia,—though from his round-about movements, having steered far south of the Delaware capes, General Howe, no doubt, expected to mislead the American army. Meanwhile the struggle of America, and the heroic bravery of her sons, began to elicit consideration and sympathy in other lands; France, especially, began to side with them in the contest.

The Marquis de Lafayette, an enthusiastic French nobleman, ardently attached to liberty, arrived in Philadelphia and offered his service to Congress. They gratefully accepted his offer, and gave him a brigadier-general's commission. WASHINGTON had met the Marquis in that city, and conceived so warm an attachment for him, that he invited him to become a member of his family. Henceforth, until the close of the war, he is to be

found siding with the American arms, and rendering them efficient services on several important occasions.

General Howe landed his troops near the American lines, when some pretty sharp skirmishes ensued. In these the Americans took sixty prisoners, without much loss. WASHINGTON, perceiving the design of the British commander to bring on a general action, by endeavoring to turn his right flank, crossed the Brandywine, and stationed himself upon an eminence near Chadd's ford. Having occupied this position, he took command of the center, General Sullivan of the right, and Armstrong the left wing. Lord Howe commenced the action by separating his army into two divisions; one, under General Knyphausen, was directed to make an assault upon Chadd's ford; the other, under Lord Cornwallis, was to proceed along the margin of the Brandywine, turn the American right flank, and gain their rear. Knyphausen led the attack with much spirit, and overcame General Maxwell's light troops, which made an effort to arrest his progress. The Americans opened a brisk fire upon his advance columns across the river, which prevented him from attempting the passage of the ford, though he returned their fire with some spirit. About 12 o'clock, information was received that the enemy was in force approaching the upper fords, with the view of turning the flank of Sullivan. WASHINGTON immediately ordered that general to cross the river and attack them vigorously, while he passed Chadd's ford to engage Knyphausen. Just then, however, different intelligence of the enemy's position reached him, and these orders were withdrawn. This misunderstanding lost the day. It was soon discovered that Cornwallis had crossed the Brandywine above, and gained the hights in the rear of Sullivan's right wing. Before General Sullivan could form his troops for the onset, Cornwallis swept down against him with such resistless force, that he was compelled to retreat; they again rallied, but to no purpose; and finally retreated in confusion. At the same time, General Knyphausen boldly crossed the river, attacked the Americans under General Wayne, in front, and drove them from their posts. The Americans, beaten at all points, retreated, or rather fled in the utmost confusion, in companies and fragmentary bands, to Chester hights, leaving the enemy masters of the field.

The probable loss of the Americans in this battle was 250 killed, about the same number taken prisoners, and 300 wounded, among

whom was LaFayette. Immediately after this action, WASHINGTON re-crossed the Schuylkill by the Lancaster road, to intercept the British army and offer battle, which was only prevented by a heavy rain storm that set in after the advanced columns of the two armies had exchanged a few shots.

During all these continued efforts and severe marches, over a thousand of WASHINGTON's men were without shoes. Barefooted armies may fight for liberty, but for monarchy, never. The two armies being now separated by a distance of five leagues,—the British at Germantown, and the Americans on a little stream called Shippack's creek,—WASHINGTON resolved upon one of those bold movements he often practiced, of taking them by surprise. The 3d day of October, he disclosed his plan, which was well devised. Generals Sullivan and Wayne, were ordered to follow the main Germantown road, and attack the enemy in front. Armstrong, with his brigade, was directed to take a road to the right, turn the left wing, and fall upon their rear. General Greene, by a similar movement on the left, was expected to engage the British in the right, while Smallwood, with a detachment by a route still farther to the left, was instructed to come upon their right flanks and act in concert with Armstrong, against the rear.

Just after night-fall, the generals took their respective lines of march, and reached the British lines about sunrise. A warm attack began in front, and the engagement soon became general. The officers performed their duty admirably, and every thing promised victory;—but the enemy's numbers being greater, and more strongly posted than was supposed, the Americans, after a gallant display of courage, were compelled to retreat, which they did in tolerable order, leaving the British in possession of the field, though little to boast of. The Americans at one time, in this engagement, seemed about grasping a glorious victory, and doubtless would, had not a thick fog made them mistake their friends, for foes, and thrown them into confusion. The American loss, as nigh as could be ascertained, was 151 killed, 521 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners; the loss of the British was not so heavy.

While these operations were going on in the vicinity of Philadelphia, the American arms were everywhere triumphant in the north. Burgoyne had surrendered with his entire army, at Saratoga. The political bearing of recent events was not less

favorable to America, than the military. Through her commissioners at Paris, a treaty of alliance was completed with the French, which promised assistance. Whether prompted by patriotism, or motives of ambition against England, the French nation was induced to enter into this treaty, it is not necessary to discuss. The long intimacy between WASHINGTON and Lafayette, and the devotion of the latter to our cause, show that he, at least, was a disinterested participant. But the motives actuating the French, as a nation, are, from previous and subsequent acts, susceptible of being called in question.

At the darkest period of the Revolution, when national encouragement and sympathy were most needed, no indications of receiving them from France were manifest; not until a series of brilliant victories crowned our arms, and began to promise success and a prospect of humiliating Great Britain, did the subject of our independence receive consideration in the French cabinet. Subsequent events also place their motives in a light somewhat questionable.

After the Revolution, when we had conquered a peace, France, being engaged in war with England, sent her commissioners to America to engage our co-operation; they made their appeals, by reminding us of services rendered by them in the Revolution. Upon the refusal of the United States to engage in her cause, seeing no prospect of the debt being canceled by rendering like assistance, she, forgetful of former relations, threatened us with war. So far as the services rendered by her troops in the field were concerned, they amounted to no great things; the most essential benefit they rendered in any sense, was the consideration it gave us abroad,—it being the first recognition of our independent nationality.

WASHINGTON, being joined by a portion of the troops from the north, retired to Valley-forge, a short distance from Philadelphia, to winter-quarters. Rude huts, of sufficient numbers and dimensions, were constructed for the accommodation of the army. The site was in a thick wood, protected on one side by a range of hills, and watered by the Schuylkill.

About this time the famous Conway cabal commenced operations against WASHINGTON. Conway, from whom this faction or cabal took its name, was an Irishman of large pretensions and small merits, serving as a subordinate under General Gates.

Basing his claims on many scars and long services, he applied to Congress for promotion, and upon the recommendation of Gates, would have been advanced to an important post, had not WASHINGTON, who wanted officers of "sterner stuff," prevented it. Smarting under this disappointment, and goaded on by Gates, who had high aims in view, in which this pet darling could be a tool of service, Conway was ready for any sort of business. Gates, whose vanity always predominated sufficiently to eclipse every other quality, after the battle of Saratoga imagined himself the greatest general the world ever saw, or ever would see. WASHINGTON he regarded as a very good Virginia farmer, but wholly unfit for the army. To cut the matter short, Horatio Gates, no doubt, aspired to the chief command of the army.

After the battle of Saratoga, where he was first in command, he thought it a favorable time to make an effort. The first thing to be done was to pull WASHINGTON from the high position he occupied in the minds of the people and army. To accomplish this he laid a deep scheme and availed himself of the service of Conway. There is little doubt but this was the origin of the "Conway cabal." Anonymous letters, pamphlets and tracts, reflecting severely upon WASHINGTON, were extensively circulated, both in Europe and America. The numbers of his army were falsely stated, his movements derided,—the continuation of the war was owing to his want of skill,—he was opposed to the war from the outset, etc.;—letters were written over his forged signature, misrepresenting his views in every sense.

When we reflect that WASHINGTON was the sole cause of Gates being elevated to his position as general, against the wishes of Congress, he might well view these attempts against his character, and exclaim, "*et tu, Brute.*" Among the people and the army, where he was enthroned an idol, these missiles fell harmlessly—we wish the same could be said of Congress. In that body there was a party who, on the reception of Gates' official report of his Saratoga victory, thought him almost as great as the future hero of Camden thought himself. Another board of war was instituted with Gates at its head,—another expedition to Canada was planned, with Gates at its head; these measures were consummated, too, without so much as consulting WASHINGTON; and Gates, with base ingratitude, assumed these positions without conferring with his commander. Thus far his machinations succeed finely; pity

that in his southern command, such "vaulting ambition should o'erleap itself," and his great "cabal" end in cowardly flight from the field of Camden.

In the Canada expedition, for the purpose of winning over Lafayette to the new party, he was offered the command; but not being quite so pliable as was imagined, the Marquis declined, and disclosed the whole thing to WASHINGTON, which was his first intimation of the project. WASHINGTON, inwardly conscious of patriotism without personal motive, and of having aimed to do his duty without selfish promptings, was not disconcerted by the movements of his enemies; he advised the Marquis to accept. Minds truly great, are always above the reach of envy and the bitterness of faction. An eagle's wing, waving in mid heaven, is not more safe from fangs of the creeping reptile, than is a truly great mind, from the shafts of slander and envy.

Let the base and vile traducer of character read the confession of Conway, who, when he thought life's sands ebbing away, in the hour of retribution, thus wrote to WASHINGTON: "My career will soon be over,—justice prompts me to declare my dying sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of those States whose liberty you have gained by your virtues." How his spurious slanders against the very embodiment of moral grandeur weighed upon him then! This faction, though it drew to its support some members of Congress, effected little, and finally covered its abettors with shame and disgrace.

During the winter of 1778, one of the most rigorous known, the American encampment at Valley Forge was the scene of suffering and endurance seldom witnessed. Huddled together in small huts, constructed in a pressing emergency,—their feet frost-bitten,—without food—no blankets or raiment of any kind suitable to their condition,—they were compelled to pass that wretched winter. To aggravate the distresses of the commander, a danger-ous mutiny began to manifest itself in camp, which was suppres-sed with much difficulty. In their destitution, they were forced to go in parties in search of provisions, and take them wherever found, for sustenance. Yet they were censured! censured with their general, for not continuing active operations. Brave veterans and leader! Those who believe that any man but WASHINGTON could have kept that distressed army together, at Valley Forge,

under all the circumstances,—suppressing mutiny,—silencing complaints, not without just cause,—enforcing discipline,—inspiring love, and commanding obedience,—have more confidence in human capacity than we are prepared to indorse. WASHINGTON loved his army as a father,—he mingled with them,—sympathized with them, and shared their hardships; he encouraged, alleviated, gladdened and diffused his own lofty attributes among his men; they, in turn, loved him. Thus a bond of feeling prevailed through all their difficulties, though sometimes marred by trials almost beyond human forbearance.

In view of his difficulties, a Congressional committee waited on WASHINGTON at his head-quarters, and acquainted itself of his condition. They found the sufferings of the army in no way exaggerated in his letters to that body. Soon after, Congress, though with tardy reluctance, increased the salaries of the officers and pay of the soldiers, so fixing it as to create inducements for their continued service during the war.

Notwithstanding the severity of his condition, WASHINGTON's wife joined him at camp, as was her custom during his winter campaigns, and shared by his side the privations of his rude hut until spring. To Mrs. Warren she wrote: "The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log-cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."—Why did they prefer that log-cabin to the quiet seclusion of Mount Vernon?—he loved Liberty—she loved him.

Immediately after establishing himself at Valley Forge, "Lord North's Conciliatory Bills," as they were termed,—a new project for wheedling the Americans into submission, were presented to Congress. Their tone was much modified, and less objectionable than any previous terms they had offered; they insisted, however, upon a return to the old Colonial rule, as subjects of Great Britain, with more privileges than she had hitherto expressed a willingness for them to exercise. But it was too late to talk of peace, short of American independence. WASHINGTON opposed these conditions from the start, in strong terms. Independence had been declared, and was on the eve of being recognized by a powerful nation; the American arms had been successful and would be again, and amid ominous reiterations of "liberty or death," the ministers bearing the propositions returned to England. WASHINGTON remained at Valley Forge, enduring all the hard

ships incident to destitution, winter, and war. His foraging parties frequently met detachments of the enemy, in fierce and bloody combat. Husbanding their strength and resources for a vigorous campaign, when warm weather opened each party seemed willing to act on the defensive. Thus the winter of 1778 passed away. With spring came renewed hope, and sources of unlimited joy to the Americans. The treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, acknowledging the independence of the States, was concluded with France, and formally signed on the 6th of February. The treaty was presented to Congress the 2d of May, while in session at Yorktown, and afforded cause for general rejoicing.

On the 8th of May it was found that the American army amounted to fifteen thousand men, while the enemy had thirty thousand in the field; and with this odds against them, the Americans began operations in buoyant spirits. General Howe having resigned his position and departed for England, Sir Henry Clinton succeeded to the command of the British army in America. He opened the campaign by evacuating Philadelphia, and proceeding with his army to New York. WASHINGTON immediately dispatched Arnold to take command in that city. The divisions of generals Scott, Maxwell, and Morgan were ordered to watch the movements of Clinton, and harass him on his route. WASHINGTON in person led the main army across the Delaware, toward Princeton. The British army soon after crossed the Delaware river, designing to embark at Amboy, and proceed by water to New York. They were prevented from this, by a judicious movement of the American general, that threw his forces between them and that point. Being thus thwarted in their designs upon the metropolis, the British proceeded toward Monmouth. WASHINGTON was very anxious to bring General Clinton to an engagement. Placing General Lafayette at the head of three thousand men, with instructions to gain the enemy's left, he prepared for action. General Lee on this occasion, waived his right of command in favor of Lafayette. He changed his mind, however, just before the battle, and applied to WASHINGTON for his command of the advance divisions, already near the enemy, under Lafayette. This vascillation placed WASHINGTON in great perplexity. He placed two of the divisions, however, under Lee, and advised Lafayette of the fact. On the morning of the 28th of June, General Clinton encamped near Monmouth, at a place

possessing many advantages, it being surrounded by thick woods and other natural defenses. WASHINGTON ordered Lee to commence the action, and proposed sustaining him in person with his own troops. Supposing that Lee would carry out these orders, he made hasty preparation to join him in their execution. On his way to the scene of action he learned that Lee was in rapid retreat from the enemy, against whom he had made comparatively no resistance. The British, thus in full pursuit of his advance columns, WASHINGTON was apprehensive that his entire army would be thrown into confusion. He immediately rode up to General Lee, and addressed him in terms more excited than was usual with him, and ordered him to form, face the enemy, and sustain the battle.

After considerable difficulty, the orders of his general were complied with. Lord Sterling now took command of the left wing, and directed his guns against the enemy in gallant style; the right wing, under General Greene, protected the American right flank. The British began the action in front, where, finding that they were getting the worst of it, endeavored to turn the American left; beaten back there, they directed an assault upon the right; here they were met with so much spirit by General Greene, that they were forced to desist. General Wayne coming up at the same time, attacked the enemy with impetuosity in front, and completed their confusion. They now retired to a swamp, and to avoid being attacked the next day, secretly decamped in the night and proceeded to Middletown, leaving the Americans in possession of the field. The British loss, in the battle of Monmouth, was 280 killed, 300 wounded and 100 taken prisoners; before Clinton reached New York,—whither he proceeded from the field of battle,—near six hundred of his men deserted, making in all, a loss of over 1,200 men. The American loss was 69.

Immediately after this battle, a correspondence of no very amiable nature was opened between WASHINGTON and Lee. The latter, nettled by the remarks of his commanding general at Monmouth, applied language to him wholly unworthy an officer addressing his superior. This led to consideration of the matter, and Lee, at his own request, was court martialed. The charges preferred against him were disobedience, misbehavior in his retreat, and disrespect toward his superior. These charges were all

sustained. General Lee was deprived of his commission in the army by action of the court. At Monmouth, Lee closed his military career; he never rejoined the army. He died about the close of the war in the city of Philadelphia.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, Count D'Estaing, an able French naval officer, reached America with a strong fleet to assist in the struggle. Accompanied with a congratulatory address, he received orders to attack the enemy's fleet, and drop down to Sandy Hook. Owing to the tonnage of his vessels he found it impossible to execute these orders. He proceeded to Newport, with a view of attacking the British garrison at that place; WASHINGTON made every exertion to be on the spot, to render aid with the land army. Misunderstandings, however, occurred between the parties,—no union of action could be obtained, and the expedition was a perfect failure. The French admiral soon after left Newport; he did not get far from his anchorage, when he encountered a severe gale, in which his shipping was much damaged. WASHINGTON now learned that the enemy intended evacuating New York. This induced him to separate his army into several divisions, for the purpose of protecting the eastern posts. His head-quarters were established at Fredericksburgh. He next stationed a part of his army at Hartford, and sent Gates to the command of Boston.

General Clinton, in the meantime, smarting under his repeated defeats and losses, poured his foraging parties and Indian mercenaries over the Jerseys and back countries. They plundered, burned and robbed, and carried indiscriminate slaughter and ruin wherever they went. The employment of savages by England in the Revolution,—paying them so much per scalp,—counting out to them so much gold, for so much blood, was an act of cruelty too monstrous for barbarism itself. A Cain-mark, it stamps her escutcheon among the nations of the earth.

The summer campaign having closed, and seeing no means of striking an effective blow, WASHINGTON went into winter-quarters. He made such disposition of his army as he felt would best secure their own comfort and the protection of the country. In December, Lafayette obtained leave to visit France. In an interview with that gentleman, Congress had planned an expedition into Canada; in regard to this, he was expected to confer with Franklin, then our minister at Paris, and his own government.

This plan was subsequently submitted to WASHINGTON, who opposed it strongly, on account of its impolicy and difficulty of accomplishment.

Though Congress had bestowed much deliberation upon the conquest of Canada, they yielded deferentially to the commander, and abandoned the enterprise. WASHINGTON, after conferring with the American Congress upon the method of prosecuting the war, resolved to keep his army entirely on the defensive, during the campaign of 1779. The process of recruiting was begun immediately, and the army increased to the required number. More than former care was bestowed, too, upon their discipline. Baron Steuben, one of the best tacticians of his day, who had been brought up in the field an aid-de-camp to Frederick the Great, was selected to superintend the martial training of the army; which duty he performed with credit to himself and service to the country.

The British continued to occupy New York, while WASHINGTON sent a portion of his men on an expedition against the Indians, which was successful. They were driven back to the neighborhood of Canada, and all their settlements broken up. General Clinton, meanwhile, sent a strong detachment of troops into Virginia, which pillaged and burned several towns, and after being reinforced, took possession of Stony Point, commanding King's ferry, designing thence to get command of the entire Hudson. WASHINGTON, to prevent this, drew his army together with all possible speed, and threw himself between Clinton and the Highlands, and established himself at Windsor. Clinton, foiled in his expectations, leaving large divisions at Verplanck's and Stony Point, proceeded with his main army to New York. Thence a detachment of his army, under Tryon, spread themselves over the country, about Long Island, and carried destruction and death before them. New Haven was burned, Fairfield pillaged, and Norwalk laid in ashes by their incendiary torches. Such predatory excursions as these were of advantage in the end; they aroused the people from their apathy to a sense of duty, and gave them clear evidences of what they might expect, in the event of ultimate subjugation. WASHINGTON, not allured from his strongholds by these depredations in the level country, resolved upon an attack upon Stony Point, and placed a strong body of troops, under General Wayne, with instructions for that purpose.

That officer, after a night march of fourteen miles, on the 15th of October arrived near the enemy's outposts, and carefully reconnoitred their position; he then pushed on in two divisions to the attack upon the fortress. The orders of the soldiers were to charge with the bayonet, and make brisk work of the enterprise. The soldiers executed their orders with great daring; the impetuous bravery of the charge threw the enemy into immediate confusion. Wayne took 550 prisoners, all the baggage and artillery belonging to the fort, and 63 killed of the garrison, with the loss of but 15 killed.

A plan was now devised for an attack upon Verplanck's Point, but from some misunderstanding in regard to conveying intelligence to the various officers expected to participate, concert of action was lost, and the expedition abandoned. In the spring, Lafayette returned from France, bringing intelligence that a large fleet, with soldiers for both sea and land service, was on its way to the United States. This armament reached Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th of July. The land army under Count Rochambeau disembarked, and received instructions from the commander-in-chief for the campaign. Clinton, who began to feel that but little credit was being brought to the British arms through his immediate agency, and chagrined, at being so outgeneraled by WASHINGTON, now directed his efforts chiefly against the French. He sent Admiral Arbuthnot, with six thousand men on board his squadron, with directions to attack the French at Newport. Rochambeau, being reinforced by General Heath, presented such formidable opposition, that the enemy gave up all hopes of taking the town, and returned to New York. During this time, WASHINGTON had taken a strong position east of the Hudson, despite Clinton's efforts to prevent him. Arbuthnot succeeded in blockading the French fleet in Newport harbor, and keeping Rochambeau's land army inactive. In these positions, the two armies remained for some time on the defensive. Defensive warfare always operates more favorably to the invaded, than the invader. At Hartford, WASHINGTON and Rochambeau arranged the plans of operations for the allied armies. These arrangements were mutually satisfactory, though somewhat inefficient from contingencies, to whose control they were partially subjected.

We must now notice a melancholy affair, one that cast a gloom over the army, pained its commander, and filled the country with

surprise. Benedict Arnold, the hero of Crown Point and Ticonderoga,—of Quebec and Saratoga,—the Ney of the Army,—the Hannibal of the New World, was intrusted with the command at West Point,—one of the most important posts of the country. To regain a fortune, wasted by a life of display and extravagance, he presented forged claims to Congress for liquidation, which they refused to allow. This resulted in a court martial, and a mild censure from WASHINGTON. Stung to the quick by these proceedings, and hoping to improve his desperate condition, he determined to betray his country. He opened correspondence with Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army. The command of West Point was procured for the purpose of consummating his end. Andre contrived to have a personal interview with Arnold; this took place in the night, near King's ferry. Arnold gave the Major a written statement of the strength of West Point, and expressed his willingness to deliver it up to the British. He also gave him an exact written account of the American army, its plans and dispositions, with instructions to give it to the British. General Andre put these papers in his boot, designing to return as he came, in a sloop of war, anchored at no great distance from the place of interview. He found, however, that an attempt to reach the vessel would involve great danger. Another plan was hit upon; he assumed a disguise, changed his name to Anderson, procured a pass signed by Arnold, and proceeded on horseback to New York. The next day he was intercepted by four militiamen; he was compelled to show his pass; the name of Benedict Arnold was deemed sufficient, and he rode along. The destinies of West Point,—perhaps those of the country,—were suspended on the moment. No sooner had he turned away, than one of the militiamen remarked that "he didn't like his looks." He was recalled and searched. In his boot they found the traitorous documents. He was put under arrest and sent as a spy to Colonel Jamison. Jamison was astounded that such writings should emanate from Arnold, as clearly shown by the pass and handwriting. He very imprudently sent a messenger to Arnold at West Point, informing him of Andre's capture; this gave the traitor time to escape. The clemency of the American general was the only hope left for poor Andre. He wrote WASHINGTON a frank and full exposition of the affair, confessing his connection with it, and imploring his lenient interposition in his-

behalf. WASHINGTON received this letter just after he reached West Point. It stung him to the soul,—both on account of the unfortunate Andre, and the dastardly conduct of Arnold. Andre was soon after sent to the head-quarters of the army, tried, convicted, and sentenced as a spy. Andre was young, handsome and accomplished; he possessed a generous nature, the tone of a high-bred gentleman, and many excellent qualities of heart. The approval of the sentence by WASHINGTON, was one of the severest trials of his life; tears are said to have mingled with the ink that signed his death-warrant. Andre was executed on the 2d day of October, in sight of the army. He met his fate heroically, and with resignation. Previous to his execution, he begged that he might be shot, instead of dying a felon's death. This, however, was denied him. Divest the transaction of the rigor of military rule, and it is a source of regret that this request of young Andre was not granted.

Arnold in the meantime, on the reception of Jamison's letter, knowing that it was all up with him, in great agitation mounted a horse, fled to the river, jumped into a boat and reached the British vessels in safety. No more will he furbish his gallant sword in the cause of liberty. To render his fate more sad, he had a lovely young wife, who sank in paroxysms of grief under the stroke. His separation from her was mournfully touching. He was made an officer in the British service, and held his rank until the close of the war. He then went to England, and dragged out a miserable existence, despised and shunned by everybody. Such was the premium received for his treachery. Unhappy Arnold! His victor laurels changed to cypress wreaths,—the light of former deeds shines upon his name only to make its infamy immortal.

The Americans, by their system of defensive warfare, in accordance with the clear foresight of WASHINGTON, had made England weary of a contest that was making havoc of her treasury, but bringing no credit to her flag. She had some very false notions in regard to the Americans, at the commencement of the war. She had been schooled, however, by our hardy yeomanry into more correct opinions. Prospects were now decidedly against her. The campaign of 1781 was commenced, on the part of the Americans with vigor. A considerable loan was negotiated with France, the investment of which was left discretionary with WASHINGTON. By the assistance of this, more active military

operations were set on foot. The principal efforts of the English generals seemed concentrated, for a time, against the south, where Gates had command. Arnold, at the head of a body of British troops, passed into Virginia and burned Richmond to the ground; he also took command of a British squadron in the Chesapeake. The French Admiral, Destouches, being relieved by a storm from his blockade at Newport, dispatched a small force under M. de Tilly against him. On his appearance, however, Arnold retired with his small crafts to a point inaccessible to the French men-of-war.

WASHINGTON now instructed Destouches to proceed with his fleet to Virginia, and be prepared to act in concert with the land army in that quarter. While endeavoring to execute this order he was overtaken by Arbuthnot, who pursued with his squadron and gave battle. Though no decisive result was obtained by either party in the action, the French Admiral was compelled to return to Newport. WASHINGTON now sent General Lafayette, at the head of twelve hundred men, to the Chesapeake, with instructions to act in concert with M. de Tilly against Arnold. This gave Lafayette the chief command of all the troops in Virginia. For some time no very important events characterized the movements of either army; each seemed maturing plans and coming to an understanding with reference to future operations. The British had for some time been inclined to unite their forces in Pennsylvania, and the Chesapeake bay. A squadron of their light vessels came into the bay eventually, and proceeded up its tributaries, plundering the inhabitants along its banks. One of these vessels ascended the Potomac, and actually landed at Mount Vernon and demanded entertainment from WASHINGTON's overseer, who, to save the mansion, readily provided on board their vessels all the refreshments they desired. WASHINGTON was so pained on learning this, that he wrote to his overseer, censuring him in strong terms,—telling him that the entire destruction of his plantation would have been preferable to such truckling.

In May, the American and French commanders met at Weathersfield, for the purpose of deliberating upon the course to be pursued. The result of this conference was the planning of an expedition against New York. WASHINGTON called upon the States to fill up the vacancies in the army with all possible dispatch, for the enterprise. Preliminary steps, however, were only taken to consummate this object, when the welcome intelligence

was received that Count de Grasse would soon arrive with a large fleet, and three thousand men for the land service. Upon this information, WASHINGTON changed his plans. General Greene had superseded Gates in the southern command, after his defeat at Camden, and Lafayette was winning laurels in Virginia, against Cornwallis. WASHINGTON now determined to proceed, with the combined armies, to Virginia, and concentrate his forces for a decisive blow. To keep Clinton ignorant of his designs, and thus be enabled to cope single-handed with Cornwallis, he resorted to various strategies. Letters were written, purposely to be intercepted, wholly misstating his object; a large supply of forage and cooking utensils were so arranged as to convey a false idea of his intention. These being done, the two armies crossed the Hudson and proceeded southward. It had been agreed that WASHINGTON, Lafayette and Rochambeau should meet at Williamsburgh and confer together in regard to the campaign. WASHINGTON, intrusting the army, during its march, to General Lincoln, proceeded to Philadelphia. Thence, being in advance of the army, he returned to his beloved Vernon.

Six years replete with change, destiny and revolution, had passed away since he had been at home; yet, unlike the Roman general who expressed his intention to the senate of resigning his post "lest his fields should go unsown," he had never grown weary in the service, or murmured at his lot. Remaining there a few days, he continued his route to Williamsburgh, where the three generals met at Lafayette's head-quarters. Lord Cornwallis, in the meantime, having sent dispatches to General Clinton for reinforcements, took possession of Yorktown, and began to fortify himself in the best possible manner.

On the 30th of September, 1781, the combined allied armies, amounting in all to sixteen thousand men, formally invested Yorktown. The Americans were on the right, and the French on the left, each in the form of a crescent. A heavy cannonade opened upon the city from the American lines, which did great execution. After continuing the fire for some time, without any serious loss by the enemy, they resolved to storm the redoubts erected by Cornwallis, in which he had posted the flower of his army. Lafayette, at the head of a body of American troops, led the charge against one of these; he advanced bravely through a galling fire, and led his men victoriously into the redoubt.

Viomenil, at the head of a French detachment, charged the other with equal success. The Americans were successful everywhere. Their trenches had been advanced, and their fire increased, until its effects upon the city were fearfully manifest. From the 30th of September to the 17th of October, they had been vigorously assailing the place with bombs and shot, and storming the redoubts. At length Cornwallis, seeing the utter folly of submitting to a general assault, and despairing of assistance from Clinton, proposed to capitulate. WASHINGTON accordingly suspended operations, and drafted the basis of capitulation. These terms were, that Cornwallis and his army should surrender prisoners of war; their ships, boats, arms and accouterments were to be delivered up to the Americans. These terms were accepted, and a capitulation entered into and signed by commissioners from each party. On the 19th of October, the British garrison marched out of Yorktown and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The British loss, during the siege, was 500 killed; the number of prisoners surrendered by Cornwallis was 7,000. This was the total overthrow of British power in America, and was, in one sense, the closing of the Revolution.

At Yorktown WASHINGTON fought his last battle. The tone of Great Britain, toward America, lost its hitherto dictatorial arrogance. A strong peace party formed a part of her Parliament. All indications were favorable to an early adjustment of difficulties. The news of Cornwallis' surrender reached England, and fell like a bomb-shell upon the ministerial lords and aristocrats, opposed to peace. Lord North is said to have swooned away, so powerful was its effect upon his nerves. Notwithstanding these favorable prospects, exertions were continued, and vigorous measures adopted, for another campaign.

In the south, the Americans were in the aggregate, victorious; a speedy termination of the war was looked upon as almost certain. With accustomed vigilance and sagacity, WASHINGTON foresaw the apathetic attitude in which these peace prospects were likely to place the different States. He took prompt and effective steps to prevent any laxity of discipline or energy, until the last cloud had blown from the horizon, and the sun of liberty shone genially upon the "land of the free."

About this time, murmurs and discontents broke out among the soldiers in regard to their pay. So high a place did WASHINGTON

occupy in their esteem, that they urged him to take their grievances into his own hands, and assume the title of *king*. He could at this time have established an American monarchy, and himself assumed the regal diadem. Make a *king* of WASHINGTON! They could have made Cæsar of Fabius as well. Their request, of course, met a positive, not to say an indignant, refusal.

In the summer of 1782, Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded General Clinton in the command of the British forces in America, gave notice that negotiations of peace, upon the basis of a recognition of American independence, were then pending in Paris. This resulted in a cessation of hostilities. These negotiations were protracted through the fall and winter; they were finally consummated, to the satisfaction of all. In the spring of 1783, the glad tidings reached America that her blood-bought Declaration was stamped by treaty. On the 19th of April, 1783, PEACE was proclaimed throughout the land. Glorious day! It was, according to history, on that same day eight years before, that Gage commanded the "rebels" to lay down their arms at Concord! Now regenerated,—divested of her stained garments,—her banner streaming in triumph and flouting defiance across the wave,—robed in LIBERTY'S vestments,—America sang glad peans, while the clangor of arms rolled away along the margin of her bloody decade. Born in the cradle of tyranny,—nursed in the lap of misery,—matured by the productions of a wilderness, and revolutionized by the spur of oppression,—young America had leaped to glory's summit, whence, pointing to the nations of earth, she bade man—BE FREE.

Soon as active service was suspended, the French troops departed for home,—our happy sharers of imperishable honor. The American army, no longer needed in service, and in a state of inactivity, became more clamorous than ever, in regard to their dues. They thought Congress could alleviate their distresses if it would. The officers of the army were infected with this opinion. Memorials were drawn up expressive of their grievances, for presentation to that body, and addresses were penned denouncing public officials. At length they became so inflamed, that thrilling, eloquent, anonymous communications were written and circulated among the army, calling upon the soldiers to meet and take preliminary steps for redress. At this crisis, WASHINGTON'S wisdom,

prudence and influence interposed. He mingled with his officers and soldiers, and acknowledged their causes of complaints were just; at the same time, he impressed them with a sense of duty and remembrance of past glory. He issued a proclamation, calling his officers and soldiers together, for the purpose of consulting what was best to be done. They met at the time appointed. WASHINGTON, with that indefinable dignity which he possessed to a degree unequaled, and a love for his army glowing in his face, arose and addressed them solemnly upon the subject of *agitation*. This was the occasion when, looking benignly at his brave old comrades, and wiping his glasses, he said, "you perceive, fellow soldiers, that I have not only grown old, but blind, in the service of my country." The feeling evinced in the remark, almost drew tears from his soldiers, as he directed his full, clear gaze steadfast upon them. He reviewed their devotion through the past, and eulogized their patriotism; he reminded them of the fact that for liberty they fought, and liberty had won. He referred to the name they had acquired in other lands, and appealed to them, by all that was sacred and dear, not to tarnish fame so fair by deeds of anarchy. He concluded with inspiring assurances that all would yet be well.

WASHINGTON knew his army,—knew, too, the hidden springs of the human heart, and how to allay its excitements. His remarks on this occasion had the desired effect. The soldiers went quietly to quarters, and passed a vote of thanks to their beloved general. Noble men! WASHINGTON's connection with his companions in arms was soon to cease. Watchful of their interests, and linked to them by strongest ties, as a last proof of devotion he addressed a circular to each of the different States, wherein their heroism and fortitude, and claims upon the country, were set forth in a true light. In these circulars, he touched upon several matters of importance, essential to the perpetuity of their independence. As a sacred legacy, bought with blood and treasure, its preservation was to him an object of deepest anxiety. Through colonization and revolution,—two important national epochs,—we had passed in safety. Organization was now the great subject of solicitude and attention. Among the measures regarded necessary to good government, WASHINGTON recommended, a close union of the several States; a secred regard for pubiic justice; a military peace establishment as being vitally important. He now took a brief

tour through the States; he was everywhere hailed as the benefactor of the nation,—"the Father of his country." He returned to the army to perform the painful duty of bidding it adieu. On the 2d of November, he delivered his farewell address. His soul full of love, gratitude and emotion, he arose before his army; a shade of deep sadness passed over each face as they saw, for the last time, their noble chief. He looked at the army as he alone could look. Before him were the veterans of Trenton,—the heroes of Brandywine,—the sufferers of Valley Forge. The eventful past came in long review before him as, in solemn dignity, he bid them farewell. His address was not lengthy, but replete with the essence of wisdom and patriotism. Though years have passed since that November day, his parting words are still heard. His next delicate and equally sad duty, was to take leave of his brave officers. On the 4th of December they met at Francis' Hotel,—met as they had often met, around the camp fire,—met as they should never meet again. WASHINGTON entered; his countenance was sad, his heart too full for words. The fountain of his great soul was convulsed, and waves of feeling were ready to gush from his eyes. No words were spoken. WASHINGTON filled a glass,—turned to his old comrades,—a brother each,—with a look full of deep remembrance, and exclaimed: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He then requested each one to take him by the hand. It was too much. Their pent up feelings, as they took his hand for the last time, found vent in tears. Those stern veterans, who never quailed in battle, were subdued. They threw their arms around their beloved commander, clasped him to their bosoms and wept like children. Not a word was uttered during this scene. WASHINGTON retired through the saddened throng to the water's edge, entered a vessel and waved adieu.

WASHINGTON now proceeded to Annapolis, Maryland, where Congress was in session, and visited that body. On the 23d of December, while in session, and before a very large audience, convened to witness the ceremony, with impressive dignity, all eyes fastened upon him, he delivered a short address. It closed with these words: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action; and bidding an affectionate

farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." As he said this he advanced to the president, placed in his hands the commission he received from the same body eight years and a half before, and GEORGE WASHINGTON was again a private citizen.

Having thus laid down a power he had exercised with so much wisdom and justness, he retired to Mount Vernon, and again devoted himself to the pursuits of agriculture, anticipating final release from public duty. His home, as usual, became the scene of the most liberal hospitalities and kindly greetings. Men of distinction came to Mount Vernon from all parts of the world, to see the "Great WASHINGTON, and enjoy his conversation." These he entertained in the most agreeable manner, and impressed with loftier conceptions of him than they had before, notwithstanding the exalted character previously attached to his name.

From the enjoyment of his domestic quietude, however, he was again called to public services. America had declared and maintained her independence as a nation; her foes from without had been subdued, but her internal political organization had yet to be constructed. WASHINGTON, who had contributed so much to her military victories, was now called to her aid in a civic capacity. The political regulations of the country were sadly deficient. A center of political power was to be established, and its sphere of action defined, its jurisdiction asserted, and its supremacy maintained. Congress had hitherto, been invested with powers sufficient to raise supplies, organize the militia, and adopt measures of defense; but the authority of raising revenue, contracting or liquidating national debts, or promoting her commercial interests, was nowhere vested in the confederacy A general Convention was proposed, to meet at Philadelphia, with representatives from all the States, for the purpose of regulating the government. WASHINGTON was the chosen delegate from Virginia. He devoted himself with great care to an analysis of the existing state of things, and acquainted himself thoroughly with the systems of other republics, to be better prepared to see the defects of his own. This Convention met in May, 1787, and selected WASHINGTON for its President. Their deliberations continued through several months of severe labor, and resulted finally in the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, which was signed by

the delegates. Meeting the approval of Congress, it was referred to the several States for adoption or rejection. Subordinate conventions were held throughout the States, for the purpose of considering the claims of the Constitution, which resulted in its adoption. Under the Constitution, a President was to be elected for the first time. As to who should fill this station, there was but one opinion. In WASHINGTON, all saw a proper person for chief magistrate. With reluctance he yielded to the wishes of the people. The first presidential election of the United States was held on the first Wednesday in February, 1789, and resulted in the unanimous election of GEORGE WASHINGTON. He entered upon the duties of the office, well aware of its responsibilities. "About ten o'clock," says WASHINGTON, "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful cares than I have words to express, set out for New York, in company with Mr. Thompson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country, in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

On the 23d of April he reached New York, then the seat of government. He took the oath of office on the 30th, delivered his inaugural, and entered upon his duties as President of the United States. Congress was busy, in the meantime, regulating a correct form of national government. Under the powers guaranteed to that body by the Constitution, the military, judiciary, commercial and monetary interests of the country were to be protected by its wisdom. They at length established a department of State, of war, and of the treasury, styled the Executive departments of the government, requiring a secretary at the head of each. These secretaries were to be a part of the President's *Cabinet;* WASHINGTON'S first duty, then, after election, was to select suitable persons to fill these stations,—or in more modern parlance, to select his Cabinet, he appointed as

Secretary of State, THOMAS JEFFERSON;
Secretary of the Treasury, ALEXANDER HAMILTON;
Secretary of War, HENRY KNOX;
Attorney-General, EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Such were the first President and Cabinet of the United States. Three rules governed WASHINGTON, in his appointments to office; first, the fitness of men for station: second, their just claims to

public favor; third, the distribution of offices among all the States as much as possible.

During WASHINGTON's first administration, the machinery of government was successfully put in operation. Many important measures were enacted for the protection and prosperity of the country. Foreign affairs were regulated, and preliminary steps taken to settle domestic matters. A system for the liquidation of the national debt, contracted during the war, was submitted. A wise and judicious policy toward the Indians was adopted. A national bank,—a measure then regarded by the ablest men, as being of infinite utility,—was established. A tax was levied upon distilled spirits, and many other measures of usefulness to the young confederacy were introduced.

It was during this administration that dissensions arose between Jefferson and Hamilton, upon political issues, that eventually resulted in the formation of two great political parties in the country; of which more in the proper place. Before the expiration of his term of office, he was besieged by men of note and capacity, especially the members of his Cabinet, with pressing solicitations to consent to re-election. So sure was he of retiring to private life at the close of his term of office, that he had prepared a farewell address to the people. But the urgent appeals of his friends, who portrayed to him the condition of the country, and insisted that it was his duty to continue in office, induced him to forget personal preference in his anxiety to promote the public good. He accordingly entered the second time, upon the discharge of his duties as President, on the 4th of March, 1793. One of the first national questions of magnitude, requiring the consideration of the President, was our foreign relations. France, our former ally, was about entering upon the elaboration of her stupendous scheme of Democracy, which resulted in her revolution, and displays of Napoleonic genius. Her declaration of war against Holland and England, met the approval and elicited the sympathies, of many Americans, who in addition to an ardent attachment to universal freedom, entertained prejudices against the latter power, never to be forgotten. WASHINGTON foreseeing, that to be mixed up in a war between England and France would greatly derange our then young commercial interests, and that embroilment with the hostile parties would be very difficult to prevent, after consultation with his Cabinet, issued a proclama-

tion of strict neutrality, urging its observance upon all, as being of vital interest to America. The French minister Genet, arriving in America soon afterward, construed the warm reception given him by the people,—who were not unappreciative of services rendered by his country, in the war of independence,—into a willingness to side with France; he secretly organized factious assemblies, and formed hostile opposition to the neutrality proclamation, and excited them against the administration. He went so far as to procure an entry into our ports with the prizes taken by his privateers. This step excited the remonstrance of Great Britain, and was pronounced by the Cabinet, illegal. Genet now became so enraged, that he violated every rule of decorum, and conducted himself in a manner unworthy a national diplomatist. He still continued to incite the people to side with France,—denounced the President and his Cabinet, and encouraged his schemes of privateering. Against all this blustering zeal, WASHINGTON adhered to his convictions, and determined upon a strict enforcement of the neutrality laws. With Great Britain, also, our relations were in an unsettled condition. The treaty of peace had not been fully complied with, in all its terms; right of search and impressment of our ships and seamen, had not in every instance been abandoned,—Indian annoyances had been continued, and privateering kept up. Finally, however, the British Cabinet signified a willingness to settle peacefully all existing difficulties. John Jay was, therefore, dispatched minister to England, for the purpose of establishing a definite treaty with that power; Congress, in case of his failure to accomplish this object, took steps to place the country in a state of defense. He succeeded in effecting a treaty, which, though not entirely satisfactory, was submitted to Congress, which convened the following June, for the purpose of its ratification. It being approved after some modifications by just two-thirds of the members, involved WASHINGTON in some perplexity. England had not approved the alterations, and should he sign it without such approval? While considering this question, England becoming seriously complicated with France, reaffirmed the right of preventing the shipment of provisions from America to that country. While thus perplexed, an imperfect form of the treaty was published by the enemies of the administration, before WASHINGTON gave it his approval. Its defects were displayed in all

their magnitude, and its more meritorious features suppressed. Upon its appearance in this form, the people took alarm; the Bostonians especially, were almost as indignant as when they received news of the old Stamp Act. They passed denunciatory resolutions, and forwarded them to the President. The country was everywhere stirred up upon the provisions of the treaty, and the excitement was on the steady increase. But in spite of popular prejudices to stop the clamor and opposition, and show the utter uselessness of its continuance, WASHINGTON, after mature deliberation, repaired to Philadelphia, convened his Cabinet, and recommenced the immediate ratification of the treaty, as essential to the preservation of peace, and the establishment of tranquillity. The treaty was finally signed by the President, and all the members of the Cabinet, except the Secretary of State. Petitions were now extensively circulated against the treaty, to be presented to Congress at its next meeting. When that body convened, these remonstrances were read, and resulted in the passage of resolutions calling upon the President for papers and documents, containing Mr. Jay's instructions to the Court of Great Britain. Basing his objection upon constitutional grounds, WASHINGTON refused to furnish these documents, asserting that making treaties did not belong to the powers of Congress. This was followed by a long and heated debate upon the floor of the House of Representatives.

While thus engaged with the affairs of government, WASHINGTON learned the imprisonment of his old friend and companion in arms, General Lafayette; he made every effort in his power to procure his release, but without avail. Before the close of his administration, he was urged again to continue in office. But in addition to his determination to return to the enjoyment of private life, which, in fact, became necessary for him, after services so long and arduous, patriotism dictated it; believing, that more than twice as chief executive, would be a precedent dangerously inimical to the best interests of the country. About six months before the expiration of his last term, his immortal "Farewell Address' was published, which, for its wise and patriotic sentiments, was appended to the Statute laws of many of the States. On the 7th of December, 1796, WASHINGTON appeared for the last time before the Houses of Congress, and delivered an able address, of which, as being the last words of

GEORGE WASHINGTON to his country as her public servant, we give the closing sentence:

"The situation in which I now stand for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration commenced; and I can not omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

Seeing his successor, Mr. Adams, inaugurated into the responsible station he had just vacated, WASHINGTON made preparations for his retirement to Mount Vernon. Prior to his final exit from the stage of public action, a dinner was given him, at which the distinguished of other countries, as well as his own, were guests. On the day of the entertainment he was President of the United States,—on the next, he would be a private citizen. While enjoying the repast with a degree of festivity, WASHINGTON filled his glass, and turning to his distinguished company said: "Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness." A shade of sorrow passed over each face as he uttered this. Some of the company expressed their feelings in tears. Forever free from public anxieties, with feelings that kings might envy, he at once took his departure for home.* On his route, he received every conceivable demonstration of honor and love from the people. Again an unostentatious farmer at Mount Vernon, he devoted himself to congenial pursuits. He exemplified in his daily vocations the highest traits of the citizen, the man, and the Christian. His regular habits were renewed, without the interruption of public cares. Soon after he became established at home, he thus wrote Lafayette: "Breakfast being over, I mount my horse and ride around my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss seeing strange faces, come, as they say, out of respect to me;

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*The political events of WASHINGTON'S Administration, will be dwelt upon more at length, in subsequent pages of these "Lives."

and, how different is this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board. The usual time of sitting at table, a walk and tea, bring me within the dawn of candle-light, previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve that as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing table, and acknowledge the letters I have received. Having given you this history of a day, it will serve for a year."

But this quietude came near being again interrupted. The French, from the first issue of the neutrality proclamation, had been insidiously endeavoring to alienate the people of the United States from the doctrine of non-intervention. After the Jay treaty their tone became haughty and imperious. Pretending that the conclusion of that treaty, without their co-operation, was an infraction of former stipulations between them and us, they denounced our ministers; Charles Pinckney was treated with great indignity, and finally ordered to leave the country. This was followed by gross violations of agreements between the two countries. Outrages upon our commerce became quite frequent. Congress immediately assembled, and made vigorous preparations for war. A call for ten thousand men was made, and steps taken to bring them together. WASHINGTON received solicitations from all sides, to take the chief command. President Adams wrote him, "we must have your name. There will be more efficiency in that, than in many an army." WASHINGTON replied, deploring the necessity that required a resort to arms, and affirming a desire to remain in private life. He says, however, "I shall not intrench myself under the cover of age and retirement." He was finally placed again at the head of the American army, and began active exertions to render it efficient. But while these movements were going on, great changes took place in France. On the ruins of the Directory, Napoleon Bonaparte had built his mighty power. Again, ministers were sent from America to France. Napoleon had too much good sense to embroil himself in a quarrel with this country just at that time. A treaty of peace, adjustive of all difficulties, was speedily concluded.

These efforts of WASHINGTON to form a new army were his last. Though he had long enjoyed uninterrupted good health, the time had come when he must fall from among men. WASHINGTON had an excellent constitution, but was of a short-lived family. On the

12th and 13th days of December, he exposed himself in sleet and snow, while going his accustomed rounds about his farms. The result was a sore throat and a severe ague. On the morning of the 14th, he was bled by one of his overseers. Finding no relief, Dr. Craik was sent for, and afterward Drs. Brown and Dick. Their skill could not avert the stroke. He continued in great misery through the day. At 5 o'clock in the evening, speaking to Dr. Craik, he said, "Doctor, I die hard, but thank God, I am not afraid to die." At 6 o'clock in the evening, addressing himself to Drs. Craik, Dick and Brown, he said with much difficulty, "I feel myself going,—I thank you all for your attention. But I pray you, take no more trouble about me," again he said: "Let me go off quietly,—I can not last long." At 10 o'clock in the evening, he said to Mr. Lear: "I am just going. Have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault, in less than three days, after I am dead." Just after 10 o'clock, in that solemn death-chamber,—his wife at his side, his physicians bending over him, and members of his household in the room,—he looked at them all, and exclaimed, "Father of mercies, take me to thyself." Having said this, his eyes closed,—his heart stilled its pulsations,—GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS DEAD.

Congress, on learning his death, closed deliberations, and resolved to wear mourning the residue of the session. The speaker's chair was draped in black, and every manifestation given, to testify the deepest grief. The whole nation mourned, and everywhere were seen indications of sorrow. Nor to America alone was grief confined. The British fleet lowered England's flag at the news, as if her troops would sigh over his bier. France mourned his fall. Napoleon circulated the following notice to his army, on hearing of the event: "WASHINGTON is dead. This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will to all the freemen of the two worlds." This notice concluded with an order, that all the banners and flags throught France, should be dressed in crape for ten days.

WASHINGTON was buried the 18th of December, 1799. In the last month of its last year, the eighteenth century claimed God's noblest work, and departed with WASHINGTON. Vernon is his resting place,—America, his mausoleum.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

In looking over the names of illustrious cotemporaries for that one appropriate to place next to Washington, we have concluded none embraced more merit, or afforded a better type of his times, than BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Though no halo of military fame circles his brow, it is adorned with chaplets no less lasting or brilliant.

Indeed, if his name could be erased from the records of empire, it would still embellish those of science, and live in the great book of nature. In studying his life, we find such a blending of sagacious diplomacy with scientific inquiry, that we are alternately thrown into the presence of the statesman and philosopher, without knowing which most to admire.

His paternal lineage, it is claimed, can be followed to Northamptonshire England, where his forefathers dwelt in 1555.

During the flame of persecution that prevailed in the reign of Queen Mary, his family adhered to their Protestant faith, notwithstanding the risk incurred. His great grandfather, it is said, kept the family Bible tied on the under side of a stool, and when he wished to instruct the children from its pages, one was put on watch at the door, while the stool was turned upside down; if the sentinel gave warning of the approach of any clerical official, the stool was immediately placed in its proper position.

His father came to this country in 1685, and settled in New England. His ancestors, seem to have entertained exalted ideas of religions liberty, the full enjoyment of which, induced their emigration to America.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was born in Boston, on the 6th of January, 1706 (O. S.,) being the youngest son of his father's second marriage. In fact he tells us, in his autobiography, that he was "the youngest son of the youngest son, for five generations back." His father was a dyer by trade, but the profits accruing from that business after his arrival in America, not being sufficient to meet the wants of a numerous family, he embarked in the vocation of soap boiler and tallow chandler. Both his parents reached extreme old age, and according to the epitaph placed over their remains, "lived lovingly together in wedlock fifty-five years; and without estate, or any gainful employment, by constant labor and honest industry, with God's blessing, maintained a large family comfortably, and brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren reputably."

To go back to the cradle for indications of future greatness, and to take their subjects from the humblest obscurity and place them in the highest positions, with a disposition to praise every act of their lives, are faults too common with biographers. If, however, any individual ever arose from the smallest beginnings, to high position, essentially through the medium of his own efforts, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN did.

In his father's employ, during his early boyhood, save an eccentric inquisitiveness, he gave no evidences of extraordinary capacity. Between the awkward lad at the soap kettle, and the unrivaled diplomatist, or the little urchin cutting candlewicks, and the man who was to tame the lightning, certainly there is not the remotest semblance of connection. Nor can it be said of FRANKLIN, that his talents were in any way the development of circumstances. To no influential benefactor, who became early interested in his behalf, was he indebted for being placed on the road to fame. By his own industry he ascended step by step, to distinction, and by his judgment made it the precursor of happy results. Until he was twelve years of age, he was kept at his father's trade, assisting in the lighter parts of it; but becoming dissatisfied with his business, he manifested a disposition to "go to sea." To prevent this, he was apprenticed to the cutlers trade, but by some misunderstanding he remained but a short time, and returned home.

Soon after, he began to exhibit a taste for books, and read those he could procure, with avidity. Among the books of which he

speaks, as being read with great profit, about this time, were Plutarch's Lives. This turn for reading, determined his father to apprentice him to the printing business, under his brother James, then editor of the New England Courant newspaper. In this position he soon found access to the library of a very worthy gentleman, and devoted himself more closely to the study of letters. In addition to other books, he read the Spectator with great interest, and was so pleased with the style, that he afterward tried to imitate certain portions of it, for the purpose of improving his own composition. The writings of FRANKLIN, though vigorous and instructive, are in all respects so different from those of Addison, that one would never think he tried to imitate the classic author of the Spectator. If he was really trying to adopt its style, the failure was evidently complete.

About this time, also, he conceived a passion for verse-making, and published several pieces, which, he says, "sold prodigiously about town," though they "were wretched stuff, in street ballad style." We have no doubt they were. The plain matter of fact qualities of his mind, and its grasping philosophical profundity, were certainly unadapted to the muses. They were, doubtless, more the result of his peculiar desire to experiment in rhyme and measure, and to try his powers upon every thing that presented itself, than any fervor of poetic fancy. Though his criticism on Pope's,

> Immodest words, admit of no defense;
> For want of modesty, is want of sense,—

when he suggested that:

> Immodest words, admit *but* this defense;
> For want of modesty, is want of sense,—

is certainly not so bad. It seems, from his rendering of the couplet, a "want of sense," he thought sufficient apology for "immodest words," notwithstanding Pope's expression to the contrary. Such was his common-sense way of viewing things, and thinking for himself, at the age of sixteen.

At this age, he "met with a book, written by one Tyron," that advocated a strictly vegetable diet, as essential to health. He read the work, and, true to his experimental nature, desiring to test practically that method of living, he "determined to go into it." From the experience of his culinary investigations, no very satisfactory results were obtained, and he soon after repudiated

the doctrine of "one Tyron," and returned to animal food, with a degree of high relish.

He possessed through life great powers of inspiring confidence, and reconciling men to his way of thinking. This success in enforcing his opinions, he attributes, in a great measure, to the Socratic mode of arguing points,—that is, instead of flat contradiction, and positive affirmation, he substituted the milder way of "I should not think so," or "I imagine, thus and so." He was induced to adopt this method of disputation, by a perusal of "Xenophon's memorable things of Socrates." The influence exerted by that eminent philosopher, upon FRANKLIN, whose docile mind became thus early impressed with his example, continued through life.

His brother publishing some article that gave offense to the Assembly, the publication of his paper was suppressed by that body; it was continued for some time, however, in the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. To consummate this evasion, it was necessary for his brother to cancel the indenture of Benjamin's apprenticeship, with a discharge. A misunderstanding arose between the brothers soon after, and Benjamin threatened to leave his employ, and availing himself of his discharge, asserted his freedom. This act, he afterward considered "unfair," and reckoned among "the first *errata* of his life."

Under his discharge, granted merely for the purpose of continuing his brother's paper, he clandestinely left Boston, selling his books to raise means to go upon, and went to New York city, where he arrived in October, 1723, without money, friends, or recommendation. After making an unsuccessful effort to get employment as a printer, he started to Philadelphia, which he reached the same month. His entrance into that city, where he was destined to win distinction, was, from his own account, not very imposing.

His first transaction was to buy three "great rolls" of bread. His pockets being "stuffed out with shirts and socks," he put one of these rolls under each arm, and commenced eating the other. In this way he commenced an inspection of the city, "looking in the face of every one he met." It is not surprising that his future wife, Miss Read, who was standing in the door of her father's residence, as he passed by, should think he made an "awkward and ridiculous appearance."

While thus walking the streets, he was attracted by a large assemblage of persons, "all going one way," and resolved to follow. He soon found himself in the first Quaker church of the city, in the midst of a large congregation, who had met for public worship.

"After looking around awhile, being very drowsy" he "fell fast asleep," in which state he continued through the service, and would doubtless have so remained during the day, had not "some one been kind enough to rouse him, when the meeting broke up."

Such was BENJAMIN FRANKLIN's first appearance among the citizens of Philadelphia, whom he was destined to surprise by his superior wisdom. He was not long in finding employment, which, by continued industry, he made agreeable and remunerative. While engaged in the wretched printing office of Keimer, he attracted the consideration of Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania, who was anxious to establish him in business in Philadelphia, and gave him a letter for presentation to his father for that purpose, promising him, at the same time, the public printing. With this letter FRANKLIN left the office of Keimer, and returned to Boston, where he gave a glowing description of Philadelphia, and astonished his old companions by exhibiting among them his "watch," and a pocket full of silver, which he says, was to them "a kind of *raree show*." Basing his objections upon his youth, his father was decidedly opposed to his embarking in business for himself at Philadelphia, notwithstanding the promised patronage of Governor Keith, and wrote that gentleman accordingly. He returned to Philadelphia and gave Keith the letter from his father, who, far from falling into his prudential way of thinking, with every protestation of esteem, told FRANKLIN he would set him up in business himself, and wait until the profits of his trade would enable him to cancel the obligation. FRANKLIN supposing him actuated by correct motives, accepted this liberal proposition, and thought he was "the best man in the world." It was finally agreed between the governor and himself, that he should go to Europe for the purpose of purchasing printing materials and fixtures, upon the next vessel; there being at that time but one ship a year plying from Philadelphia to London.

FRANKLIN, in the meantime, by close application to business, had established a bright reputation as a young man of sober,

industrious habits, and withal, about the best workman in the city. By availing himself of all odd moments from business, and by a continuous search after knowledge, he also began to elicit consideration among literary men. His associations were confined to the strictly virtuous and moral, and mostly with those possessing social affinities, and taste for literature, etc. Literary societies were formed, and friendly circles among the young, for mutual benefit, wherein FRANKLIN took a lively interest, and was looked upon somewhat in the light of a leader.

In accordance with the plan of Governor Keith, he furnished him an inventory of articles needed to begin business, and their cost, and prepared for his trip to Europe. Keith was to give him letters of introduction to many notables, and also letters of credit, upon which money was to be drawn, after he reached London, to buy his materials with. He postponed giving these letters, however, from time to time, until the vessel was ready to depart, when he sent FRANKLIN word to go aboard, and he would bring them in person to the ship before her departure from Newcastle. He accordingly "took leave of his friends, and exchanged promises with Miss Read," who it seems had discovered some fine qualities in the awkward youth with the rolls, and left Philadelphia. Arriving at Newcastle, he learned the governor was there, who excused himself from an interview upon a plea of business, but promised to send him the letters on board. The infamous designs of this precious governor will soon be developed.

Such men as Governor Keith imposing upon susceptibility, form one of the greatest barriers to the progress of young men who have to rely exclusively upon their own energy and judgment for success. To thus deceive a youthful struggler with pretended friendship, at the risk of blighting his prospects, is the very essence of meanness.

The voyage to Europe was not a very agree one; they encountered some very unpleasant weather, and the ship furnished no extra accommodations. FRANKLIN, in the meantime, had received a package purporting to be the governor's letters, upon which his hopes were based.

He reached London, December 24th, 1724, and proceeded to look up the stationers and printers, to whom he imagined the letters were introductory. He succeeded in finding them, and presented the letters; the stationer read them, and remarked to

Franklin that he had never heard of such a man as Governor Keith. His other letters from that gentleman amounted to about the same thing. The fact is, the governor had neither credit nor friends in London, and the whole thing was a base deception.

Franklin, now separated from home by the ocean, found himself in the metropolis of the world without any money or introductory letters. He had, however, that best of mediums for young men without means, a good trade, of which he was complete master, and plenty of industry to prosecute it. Thus, his establishing himself in business on his own account in Philadelphia, proved an air bubble, that exploded without a tinge of probability. He soon got a situation, however, as journeyman printer for a Mr. Palmer, in which he continued about a year. While here, he committed the folly of publishing a tract, entitled, "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity,—Pleasure and Pain,"—rather difficult and comprehensive subjects. His motive in publishing, this was certainly to make an effort in the literary line, as he neither expected nor realized any thing from it. It proved, however, a medium to form acquaintance with men of congenial feelings, which was doubtless the main object in view.

He soon after left the office of Palmer, and entered the establishment of a Mr. Watts, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. He now concieved the idea of laying up some money, and adopted a system of frugality; to which he adhered, though without parsimoniousness, through life. He also stuck closely to his habits of sobriety and industry, losing no time, and drinking nothing but cold water. This strict adherence to temperance, acquired for him, among the other workmen, who were in the habit of taking their daily potions, the name of "Water American." After remaining in London near a year and a half, he was persuaded by a Mr. Denham, a merchant of Philadelphia, to return to that city and assume the position of clerk for him in a dry-goods store. Accordingly, on the 23d of July, 1726, he sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived the 11th of October. Denham opened an extensive stock of goods, in a business part of the city, while Franklin commenced duty as his clerk, with which he was well pleased, until the death of his principal, which occurred the ensuing February, threw him out of employment. He again had recourse to his trade, however, and re-entered the office of his old

employer, Keimer, as general superintendent or foreman. A young man named Hugh Merideth was in the office at the same time. But a short time elapsed, however, before Keimer's irritability became intolerable, and using some harsh language toward FRANKLIN, he took his hat and left the office, requesting Merideth to call at his room in the evening: Merideth complied, and the project of going into co-partnership in the printing business was discussed between them. It was finally agreed that they should establish a printing firm in the spring, and Merideth's father, who approved of the plan, made arrangements to procure the materials from London. Keimer having a job to perform soon after, that required more skill than he had in his office, sent for FRANKLIN, rather apologizing for his conduct, to execute the work. In compliance with the request of Merideth he returned, and in the prosecution of the work, which was the printing of some bank notes, he prepared a kind of copper-plate press, which, he says, was the first ever seen in America.

Shortly after their printing materials reached the city, when FRANKLIN and Merideth settled with Keimer, and commenced business for themselves near Market Street. To give some idea of the city and of its inhabitants, as well as some peculiarities of our subject at the time he commenced business, we subjoin an extract from his autobiograpy:

"There are croakers in every country, always boding its ruin. Such a one there lived in Philadelphia; a person of note, an elderly man with a wise look, and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped me one day at my door and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing house. Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost; for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half bankrupts, or near being so." * * * * * *

"Then he gave me such a detail of misfortunes, now existing, or that soon were to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business, probably I never should have done it."

About this time he started a literary society, composed of the best read young men of the city, called the Junto, of which he was the soul for a long while. This was, for a time, the best

association in the country, and afforded FRANKLIN a fine opportunity of cultivating his taste for literature. He devoted himself to business with great energy, often working at his type, until twelve o'clock at night, and began to thrive tolerably well, for a young beginner.

He now conceived the idea of starting a newspaper in Philadelphia, there being none of importance published in the city. Accordingly, on the 25th of September, 1729, the Pennsylvania Gazette was issued, in the name of FRANKLIN and Merideth. FRANKLIN assumed the editorial department of the paper, and soon brought it into considerable repute by his bold, vigorous way of handling the different issues of the day. His subscription list increased with wonderful rapidity, and he soon established a permanent reputation, and was elected public printer by the Assembly.

While editor, he is said to have used some persons of note in the city rather roughly, while speaking of their public acts, which met the condemnation of some of his subscribers, who informed him of the fact. FRANKLIN sent an invitation to all his patrons who were displeased with his editorial, to come and take supper with him; which was promptly accepted. His guests came at the hour, and were very kindly received. They were at length seated to supper, which consisted of coarse corn meal, "or sawdust" puddings, as they were called, and some pitchers of water. FRANKLIN began eating, and asked his guests to eat also, which they endeavored to do, but their stomachs rebelled against the fare, while vainly trying to partake of the meal. FRANKLIN soon arose, in an independent manner, and exclaimed: "*My friends, an editor who can subsist on sawdust and water, as I can, needs no man's patronage.*"

Soon after the establishment of his paper, the co-partnership existing between him and Merideth was dissolved, he becoming sole proprietor. One of the first measures of importance that presented a theme for newspaper discussion, was the "necessity of a paper currency." Fifteen thousand pounds was the entire circulation in the state of Pennsylvania. FRANKLIN took sides in favor of it, which, while it gave him popularity with the people, elicited opposition from capitalists. The measure was finally adopted by a decisive majority of the Assembly, and he was warmly commended for the active part taken. In addition to his printing

office, he opened a book or stationery store, on a small scale, which he made remunerative, applying himself to business with untiring energy.

Miss Read, with whom he "exchanged promises" on his departure for London, was married during his absence, but not living agreeably, her husband being a worthless individual, they separated shortly afterward. FRANKLIN now renewed his visits to her house, repeated his addresses and was accepted. They were married on the 1st of September, 1730, and lived a life of uninterrupted conjugal felicity. "She proved," says FRANKLIN, "a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavored to make each other happy."

FRANKLIN fully understood the importance of reading, and manifested, during his life, a deep solicitude for the moral and intellectual enlightenment of the people. A general diffusion of knowledge among the masses, so as to make its mediums available to all, especially the American youth, he looked upon as a matter of paramount importance, and contributed greatly to its consummation.

Soon after his embarkation in business, he took steps for the establishment of the Philadelphia Library, that has since become one of the finest in the United States. He drew up a subscription, to be signed by those favorable to the project, each subscriber annexing to his name a certain amount to be paid down, and a small annual fee for the maintenance of the institution. In this way, with an advance cash capital of one hundred pounds, and a yearly subscription of twenty-five pounds, through the agency of FRANKLIN, the Philadelphia Library was founded, and its doors thrown open one day during each week. It was the precursor of much good; a taste for reading was infused among the citizens, which was attended with beneficient results. Its utility at length became so manifest, that it was the recipient of public and private patronage, and some considerable donations. It has since continued to increase, having a more enlarged sphere of doing good, until it can boast of a collection unsurpassed, perhaps, in the Union.

FRANKLIN now began to prosper in business, and attain easier circumstances in life. So great indeed had been the change, that his wife thinking "*her* husband deserved a silver spoon, and

China bowl as well as any of his neighbors," contrary to his hitherto frugal sentiments purchased those articles at the "enormous cost of twenty three shillings," and surprised him by placing them before him at the breakfast table.

FRANKLIN, notwithstanding his frugality, was liberal and high souled, though not without a species of inherent aristocracy. He wished to accumulate wealth, and attain position, which, especially in our day, cover a greater multitude of sins than charity, in the world's estimation. His economical way of living, with patient industry, he knew was essential to success. Thus, he eventually reached celebrity and accumulated means, so that his wife's silver spoon was the pioneer to several hundred pounds of rich silver plate that found its way to his table. His frugality was the result of a just appreciation of its importance, as shown from the following regulations of his life at that time:

"It is necessary for me to be extremely frugal for some time, till I have paid what I owe."

"To endeavor to speak the truth in every instance; to give nobody expectations not likely to be answered, but aim at sincerity in every word and action,—the most amiable excellence in a rational being."

"To apply myself industriously to whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind from it by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for *industry and patience* are the surest means of plenty. I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and upon proper occasions, speak all the good I know of everybody."

Young man! the above are sands of gold,—treasure them.

As regards FRANKLIN's moral sentiments, they were most unexceptionable. There is a certain standard fixed by public opinion, to which all men's morals must be subjected. But, occasionally, we meet with characters, a subjection of which to any fixed criterion or rule is essentially difficult. There are those whose actions, like rays from a great moral luminary, shine far beyond the radius of rule and ordinance. The noble philanthropist, who acts from principle, and scatters abundance among the needy, is often unappreciated by those who do less, in conformity to discipline. Some men endeavor to do right through fear of being punished for doing wrong; others, through exvectations of

reward for so doing. Some think doing right consists merely in not doing wrong, and live perfect negatives and "barren fig trees" in God's vineyard,—no benefit to themselves or to their country. Others again, conform strictly to specific regulations, to which are affixed rewards and penalties, for the purpose of meeting the one and avoiding the other; while a third class, actuated by no premium held out to virtue, impelled by no threatened lash of punishment, labor to do good from an elevated inherent moral principle. They do not stop to inquire, "if we do not do this, what punishment we shall suffer," or if we do that, what benefits receive; but, obeying the dictates of a principle broad enough to make them benefactors of the human race, they make opportunities to do good on all occasions. To this class belongs BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. From an inherent love of virtue he endeavored to reach moral perfection, and exemplified it by his own acts. Impelled by this high moral principle, he adopted the following code of morals, and methods of conforming to it:

"1. *Temperance.*—Eat not to dullness, drink not to elevation."

"2. *Silence.*—Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation."

"3. *Order.*—Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time."

"4. *Resolution.*—Resolve to perform what you ought,—perform, without fail, what you resolve."

"5. *Frugality.*—Make no expense, but to do good to others or yourself; that is, waste nothing."

"6. *Industry.*—Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions."

"7. *Sincerity.*—Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly; and, if you speak, speak accordingly."

"8. *Justice.*—Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty."

"9. *Moderation.*—Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve."

"10. *Cleanliness.*—Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation."

"11. *Tranquillity.*—Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

"12. *Chastity.*"

"13. *Humility.*—Imitate Jesus, and Socrates."

The above partakes, to some extent, of the peculiarities of their author; it is perceived, he places the Athenian philosopher, Socrates, next the Saviour; yet, for a purer or better code of morals, we are forced to the Decalogue.

For the purpose of a closer and more constant adherence to these principles, he prepared a form with seven upright lines, representing each day of the week, intersected with thirteen horizontal lines, for the virtues just enumerated, thus:

	Sun.	Mon.	Tu's.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.
Temperance.							
Silence.		*		*		*	
Order.	*				*		*
Resolution.		*				*	
Frugality.		*					
Industry.			*				
Sincerity.							
Justice.							
Moderation.							
Cleanliness.							
Tranquillity.							
Chastity.							
Humility.							

When he violated either of these virtues, such violation was marked by a star, in its appropriate column, under the day of the week, and opposite the virtue, as indicated above. Such was his extreme anxiety to live in accordance with the golden rule, that he was ever watchful of his duty, and studiously careful in its faithful performance. As an independent embodiment of moral purity, Franklin had no equals. For the motto of his book he adopted the following lines from Addison:

> "Here will I hold. If there's a power above us,
> (And that there is, all nature cries aloud,
> Through all her work), He must delight in virtue;
> And that which He delights in must be happy."

"And conceiving," he says, "God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it necessary to solicit his assistance and added the following prayer, for daily use:"

"Oh powerful Goodness! bountiful Father! merciful Guide! increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interests. Strengthen my resolution to perform what that wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children, as the only return in my power, for thy continual favors to me."

Additional evidence of his morality is furnished by the time-table or "scheme," adopted to assist him in keeping his "order columns" free from marks, and in his arrangement of the hours of the day, assigning to each its proper employment. Commencing at five in the morning his first duty was to "rise, wash, and address powerful Goodness;" then, after a careful inquiry as to "What good can I do this day," its labors were begun with exact system, and closed in the evening with a review of its transactions, and the question: "What good have I done to-day?" His personal application of these virtues, he saw, was so beneficial to himself, that he soon conceived the idea of forming a "United Party for Virtue," extending it over his own and other countries, to consist of those who were inclined to moral progress, and be controlled by judicious regulations. This, however, he never attempted to put into execution. Among his written observations about this time, are found the following:

"That there is one God, who made all things.

"That he governs the world by his providence.

"That he ought to be worshiped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable reverence to God, is doing good to man.

"That the soul is immortal,

"And that God will certainly reward virtue, and punish vice."

In 1732, he commenced the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac," and met with the greatest success.

Few periodicals of any sort have attained a reputation commensurate with "Poor Richard's Almanac." In its table of contents, as published in the Pennsylvania Gazette, upon its first issue, are seen "Many Pleasant and Witty Verses," "Jests and Sayings," "Moon no Cuckold," "Bachelor's Folly," "Parson's Wine and Baker's Pudding," "Breakfast in Bed," "Oyster Lawsuit, etc." From Poor Richard, a valuable little work, under the title of "Way to Wealth," has since been compiled.

FRANKLIN, when near thirty years of age, applied himself to the study of languages, and made sufficient progress in French, Spanish, and Italian, to be enabled to read each with some facility. Of the Latin, he already had a partial knowledge, but he now devoted himself to it again with profit. He shortly after visited Boston, for the first time during ten years, and had an interview

with his brother, who, laying all old difficulties aside, gave him a cordial greeting. On his return home he was selected clerk of the Assembly, and was soon after appointed postmaster of Philadelphia. In every capacity he proved faithful, and was regarded one of the most useful citizens of the place. Indeed, he sought for opportunities to render himself of service to the community. Through his agency, improvements were made in the city patrol, and the "Union Fire Company," the first in Philadelphia, was organized.

About this time the celebrated Whitefield came to Philadelphia, and having occasion to get FRANKLIN to do considerable printing for him, it was the medium of an intimacy and attachment between them. FRANKLIN relates of himself, that being in attendance while he was preaching one day, and having cause to suspect a collection for some object of which he did not approve, he determined not to give a cent. He had in his pocket some coppers, a few dollars in silver and some coins of gold. After Whitefield began his sermon, such was his influence upon him, that FRANKLIN concluded he would give him his coppers;—as he proceeded with his remarks, he was farther worked upon, and thought he would give the silver also; the preacher finally closed his sermon so admirably, that when the collector came around, he "emptied his pockets" to him, silver, gold and all.

FRANKLIN'S success in the printing business induced him to establish copartnerships or branch offices in the different colonies, each of which terminated happily. In this way he did much good, by establishing worthy young men in profitable business, all of whom eventually bought his interest and continued for themselves. About this time FRANKLIN organized a Philosophical Society, for the encouragement of science and literature, that was attended with good results. His next efforts were directed to defensive preparations of the province, for contingencies likely to grow out of the war, in which Spain, France and Great Britain were engaged. There were no state militia laws, or other means of defense in the province; this state of things elicited his tract entitled "Plain Truth," which so aroused the people, that they assembled in a body,—formed themselves into companies,—furnished their own arms, and made provisions for being properly drilled and taught the art of war. He also invented an improvement in stoves, which came much into use, and was

eventually patented, and made the patentee quite a handsome fortune, FRANKLIN himself disapproving of patents.

In 1749, he commenced efforts for the establishment of the University of Philadelphia, for the education of youth, which were attended with so much success that, before the expiration of the year, it was open for the reception of pupils, and soon became the most popular institution in the country. FRANKLIN continued one of its trustees, during a period of forty years, and had the satisfaction of seeing many young men reach distinction who had been recipients of its advantages.

FRANKLIN having accumulated a very handsome property, and being relieved from incessant labor, resolved to devote himself to philosophical pursuits, and began his experiments in electricity. He was interrupted, however, in his quietude, by calls from the country to public capacities. He was appointed justice of the peace, city alderman, and chosen a member of the Assembly, all about the same time. Of the office of justice of the peace, he says: "I tried it a little, attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possessed, was necessary to act with credit in that station, I gradually withdrew from it, excusing myself by being obliged to attend to the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly." He continued for ten years a member of the Assembly, and was one of the most practical common-sense men in that body. His selection to these posts, though he confesses to a gratification of ambition, was wholly unsolicited on his part. He was also, in conjunction, with a Mr. Norris, selected to negotiate a treaty with the Indians, which was satisfactorily concluded without difficulty. His next exertions were directed to the founding of the Philadelphia Hospital. For the furtherance of this commendable enterprise, he wrote in its behalf for the papers, and instituted subscriptions to raise the necessary funds. Being a member of the Assembly, he introduced a bill, and by his labor and influence, procured its passage through that body, making an appropriation for its benefit. Money was at length obtained, and the Pennsylvania Hospital building erected upon an eligible site; the institution flourished with the greatest success. He also successfully proposed plans for lighting the city and paving the streets of Philadelphia. The practical powers of his mind were always seeking to be of service to his fellow-men. One day he was

experimenting upon methods of converting the lightning into purposes of usefulness, the next, making improvements in stoves; sometimes founding hospitals and universities; at others, turning his attention to the best method of cleansing the streets of dust; to-day, philosophizing with Socrates and adopting a code of morals, to-morrow satirizing under the caption of an "Oyster Lawsuit;" founding a city library on one day, the next he joins the Union Fire Company; earnestly engaged in the establishment of a philosophical society, soon after his success in which, he turns his thoughts to an improvement in lamps. He desired to be useful to his country in any and all spheres, and by his industry and practical common-sense powers, few have ever been more so. Since his entrance into Philadelphia an awkward, penniless lad, he had traveled through Europe, organized a Literary Society, established a City Library, founded a Hospital, instituted a Philosophical Society, started a Fire Company, effected a Treaty with the Indians, made arrangements for paving the city, and made such discoveries in Electricity, that he was honored with the degree of Master of Arts, from both Harvard and Yale Colleges. He had conducted an able paper, raised a family, and accumulated a handsome fortune in the meantime. Such are the triumphs of industry.

In 1754, about the time hostilities of the French and Indian war were beginning to be manifest, FRANKLIN was sent as delegate to the Albany Convertion, which met for the purpose of considering means of defense. He there presented a plan of union and consolidation among all the colonies, which, after slight modification, was adopted by that body. His plan provided a governor, or president, appointed by England, for all the colonies, and a kind of Congress composed of delegates from each colony, by its Assembly. The plan, however, was not adopted,—the Assemblies affirming it contained too much prerogative, and England, that it was too democratic.

During the administration of Governor Morris, contentions between the Assembly and the executive ran high; FRANKLIN was always selected as the member to reply to the governor's abusive messages, which he did with decided ability, and a degree of tartness, that made him grow weary of the contest. FRANKLIN still felt attachment for the land of his nativity, and often thought of Boston. When Mr. Quincy came from that city to Philadelphia,

to procure aid for Massachusetts to prosecute the war against the French, through FRANKLIN's influence, he obtained funds to the amount of ten thousand pounds. This act produced between the two the warmest attachment, that continued through life.

After the arrival of General Braddock in America, the prosecution of French and Indian hostilities assumed a new aspect, and all thought would be speedily terminated. Braddock assembled his army at Will's Creek, where he was promised horses and wagons to convey his provisions into the interior. In this, however, he was disappointed: he gave vent to the severest invectives against those who had failed to perform their agreements. The difficulty was finally obviated by FRANKLIN, who had, in the meantime, been appointed Postmaster-General. He visited the general's camp, and agreed, upon certain stipulations, to furnish horses and wagons sufficient for the expedition. To the fulfillment of this agreement, he devoted himself with energy. At length, by advertising, and arousing the people to the necessity of the movement, after giving *his own bond* for their services, a hundred and fifty wagons, and as many horses as were needed, were procured and delivered at Will's Creek. General Braddock was lavish of encomiums bestowed on him for this service, and spoke of it in his dispatches to England, as the greatest or only real exhibition of patriotism witnessed during his campaign. FRANKLIN, after the disastrous termination of this expedition, undertook the establishment of an organization to promote the interests of the German population of Philadelphia,—their moral and intellectual elevation.

After the defeat of General Braddock, an act, in the passage of which FRANKLIN had been mainly instrumental, was adopted by the Assembly, appropriating men and means for the general defense. He was selected, in conjunction with others, to see the funds judiciously invested, and was afterward appointed by the governor to take charge of the north-western frontier, and erect fortifications. In military operations he was entirely out of his sphere,—could not have been placed more so. With his usual industry, however, he assumed the command of five hundred men, marched to the post of duty, and began building a chain of forts. Having completed these arrangements, he was re-called by the Assembly of which he was still a member. He gave the command into other hands without reluctance, and returned to

Philadelphia. Here he was made colonel of a regiment, and became, strangely as it may sound, for awhile, *Colonel* FRANKLIN. It was an honor, however, of which he was not very vain, if we may judge from the mortification he expresses to have felt, when his regiment would parade the streets and fire salutes at his door, or when his officers would assemble, upon his leaving home, and escort him out of town. Soon after this he was offered a general's commission, by Governor Morris, who insisted upon his undertaking an expedition against Fort Duquesne. FRANKLIN, knowing his military inability, positively refused.

In 1746, he applied himself more closely to his philosophical studies, and especially to the subject of *electricity*, which at that time elicited considerable attention, in all parts of the world. He received from London some glass tubes, by the aid of which some imperfect experiments could be made; of these he had patterns taken, and others blown, similar in construction. He immediately began his investigations, and wrote their result to Europe. In one of his letters to Europe, he, at length, indicated his belief in the similarity of lightning with electricity. It was read before the Royal Society, where the idea was derided, and FRANKLIN laughed at, for advancing it. His writings, however, were published, and created quite a sensation. Buffon, the eminent French philosopher, was so struck with them, that he procured their translation, and Nollet, another French celebrity, wrote a lengthy reply, denouncing his theories entirely; but not long after, FRANKLIN demonstrated the truth of his experiments, when with his kite, during a thunder storm, near Philadelphia, he succeeded in transferring the lightning from the cloud to a bottle, and making it subservient to his will. The results were entirely satisfactory: they were published, and the fame of FRANKLIN flew, bright and vivid, over Europe and America.

The "Philadelphia experiments," as they had been called, were elsewhere repeated, and similar results obtained The idea of drawing lightning from the clouds, was a novel one. The world was electrified, and the name of FRANKLIN became co-extensive with its limits. He was soon after elected a member of the London Royal Society, and presented with a gold medal. Morris was superseded, in the governorship of the province, by a Mr. Denny, but, instead of a cessation of the vexatious differences between the Assembly and the executive, they continued with

extreme rancor. As agent for the State of Pennsylvania, FRANKLIN was at length commissioned with instructions to the king of England, where he arrived the 27th of July, 1757, after rather a disagreeable voyage.

The object of this trip to Europe, was to settle the incessant wrangle, in the presence of William Penn, between Governor and Assembly, proprietors and people, which had been kept up for years. That a colony, settled by the peaceful Penn, and occupied by the Quakers, should have been the most quarrelsome in America, seems most strange; yet such was the case. These quarrels originated in this way; there were in the province large landholders, some owning immense tracts, these were called *Proprietaries*. The lands held by them amounted, in the aggregate, to almost as much as held by the people. The governors, each, went into office by appointment from the crown, and were instructed to hold proprietary lands exempt from taxation. In time of peace, this created little dissatisfaction; but when war broke out, and its expenses had to be met by the imposition of land taxes, these lands, being exempt, threw the whole burden upon the people.

The Assembly passed acts levying a tax equally upon all the lands, but the governors, under their instructions, would as often annul them. Thus the governor and Assembly were always at variance, and FRANKLIN, whose pure democracy was true, as his mind was great, became the champion of the Assembly and people.

Other good results attended FRANKLIN'S mission to Europe. His philosophical pursuits, especially his electric discoveries, made him as great a favorite with the learned and ingenious, as his tact, as a statesman, did with the diplomatists then thronging the capitals of Europe. When not engaged in the perplexing duties of his immediate mission, it was very congenial to his feelings to turn aside for the communings of science.

On his arrival in Europe, his society was courted by her most celebrated scientific men, who regarded themselves, as peculiarly fortunate in having opportunities of converse with FRANKLIN. Among his intimate associates were Collinson, of the Royal Society; Mr. Strahan, member of Parliament; Boccaria, the eminent Italian electrician, and others of no less note. From FRANKLIN'S colloquial powers, and vivacity of mind, it is needless

to say such associations were infinitely pleasurable. In the friendly circle, composed of such personages, his wisdom, wit, and virtues shone sufficiently conspicuous to make him the reigning star.

During the delay for the fulfillment of his mission, he traveled through England, and acquainted himself not only with her institutions and resources, but contracted the intimacy of her great and learned men. He visited the place of his ancestors, and instituted successful investigations in regard to his genealogy, of which he says, in the commencement of his autobiography, he "ever had a pleasure in obtaining information." Shortly after, the "Political History of Pennsylvania," or its "Historical Review," was published. It was a history of the political workings of the province, setting forth the difficulties of the Assembly with the proprietaries, with a bold defense of the former. A review of Pennsylvania's political history, from the refractory condition of the colony, engendered by her proprietary distinctions, FRANKLIN very aptly denominated "A Disagreeable Journey." This work, though published anonymously, was ascribed to FRANKLIN, who was greatly abused, especially by the proprietary party; in consequence, he afterward disavowed its authorship, though Sparks says, in his Life of FRANKLIN, "the book was written under his direction; and he may fairly be considered responsible for its contents." This was no doubt the case. FRANKLIN confesses to having prepared the "Remarks on the Proprietary's Estimate of his Estate," "some of the inserted Messages, and Reports of the Assembly" it contained, and being truly recognized as the champion of the Assembly and people, during the whole vexatious proprietary controversies, it is very reasonably inferable, that the work was originated, prosecuted, and given to the world under his direction. His connection with it is farther indicated in a letter from Europe, in which he says, speaking of the removal of the prejudice existing in England against the province of Pennsylvania, "this, I hope, we have it in our power to do by means of *a work now nearly ready for the press*, calculated to engage the attention of many readers, and remove the bad impression received of us." This "Historical Review," was the book referred to as being then "nearly ready for the press," and, true to his prediction, it *did* "engage the attention of many readers," and by its masterly expose of their conduct, made the proprietaries,

who had been chiefly instrumental in fomenting the prejudice referred to, smart unmasked before the public gaze. It is said of him, also, that he first suggested Canada as the theater of operations for the English, instead of Germany, in the war with France, and advised the successful expedition against Montcalm. What he may have given as his opinion, in conversation with others in regard to the military movements of the two nations, we are not prepared to opine; but, to ascribe the conquest of Canada, and the trophies won by the heroic Wolfe at Quebec, to FRANKLIN, seems evidently rather far-fetched, and too much a disposition to render unto Cæsar, things which are not Cæsar's.

William Pitt was then England's motive power, in her wars; and after several unsuccessful efforts for an introduction to that statesman, FRANKLIN himself pronounced him "*inaccessible.*" Yet, complicated with the difficulties of a perplexing mission,—traveling over Europe,—conferring with the learned and philosophic,—debarred from an interview with her prime minister,—the honors of the conquest of Canada were chiefly due to FRANKLIN (?) We think not. He did not need them or want them; and the affirmation may be safely ventured, that he would not have claimed them.

Before the completion of his business, he traveled through Scotland, and formed intimacies with her scientific men,—visited her institutions of learning, and acquired much valuable information. Speaking of this trip, and its pleasing reminiscences, to use his own singular but comprehensive word, he calls it the "*densest* happiness" of his life.

While in England he urged, by his able pen, the necessity of her retaining Canada, in a clear and forcible manner, that, no doubt, had some influence in the negotiations that resulted in its annexation to Great Britain. He devoted considerable time to traveling over the continent, and making observations upon government, literature, and science. In these travels he frequently renewed his philosophical experiments. A peculiar kind of stone, called *tourmalin*, was placed in his possession, which he found to contain electric properties; on another occasion, he demonstrated, the then little-known fact, that cold could be produced by evaporation. He also invented a musical instrument, called the *harmonica*, which came considerably in use. He had much taste for music, from boyhood, as is shown in the arrangement of his

"scheme of hours," to which we have referred, where, in the evening, he assigns to one hour "*music*, diversion, or conversation." He thus continued a student, and turned the results of his pursuits not only into means of personal enjoyment, but of public utility.

While in England, he was made Doctor of Laws by the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford; hence the familiar appellation of *Dr.* FRANKLIN. Before his departure, so great a hold had he taken upon the learned and the noble, that he became fairly domesticated, and received pressing invitations to remain. His stay had been so agreeable and profitable that, to all, his leave was a source of profound regret. Among other regrets, those of Hume were thus expressed to him, in a letter: "I am very sorry that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc.; but you are the first philosopher, and, indeed, the first great man of letters for whom we are beholden to her." After a sojourn in England of more than five years, wherein he completed his mission, he sailed for America, where he arrived in November. His son, in the meantime, had been made governor of New Jersey. On his return to Philadelphia, he received the congratulations of the citizens, and a vote of thanks from the Assembly, for the fidelity with which he had served the country during his long absence.

The Lancaster Massacre, which occurred soon after, in the county of that name, called to work the pen of FRANKLIN. In the county lived a settlement of friendly Indians, twenty in number, who were peaceable and inoffensive. Notwithstanding this, they were surrounded in the night-time, by a band of desperadoes, who murdered their chief and all present. The absent Indians, on their return, were placed in the workhouse for safety; but it was broken open by the same men, and all the Indians butchered. FRANKLIN wrote a pamphlet condemning the act in the strongest terms, and appealing to the citizens to wipe out the stain of such an outrage by an assertion of the supremacy of the laws. The friendly Indians throughout the province being similarly threatened, FRANKLIN was placed at the head of an armed association, to suppress the mischief; which he promptly did, by making propositions to protect such as fled for safety to Philadelphia. He went in person, as deputy from the Assembly, to meet the leaders of the marauders,

then on their way to the city, and succeeded in persuading them to disband their forces.

In 1763, John Penn succeeded to the governorship of Pennsylvania. Immediately after the convention of the Assembly, the old disputes were revived. In raising means to defray the expenses of the Indian war, the Assembly assessed a land tax, and, conformably to Parliamentary decision, placed all lands on an equal footing. The governor, availing himself of a clause in the decision, that said, "all lands, of *equal quality*, should have a fixed valuation," he said that it meant, "the *best* of the proprietary lands should only be taxed as much as the worst lands of the country." Miserable interpretation! He was a kinsman, however, of the proprietaries, and acted from selfish motives. Here the whole controversy was re-agitated, looking no better in its new phase. FRANKLIN resumed his old station, as champion of the Assembly, against such assumption; he was afterward selected to draft a petition from that body to the king, "praying him to take the provincial government into his own hands." This measure being consummated, the Assembly gave instructions in regard to another, which was, eventually, to be of more moment than local quarrels; these were remonstrances, to their foreign agent, against the idea that began to be entertained, in England, of deriving revenue from the colonies by taxation. In 1764, after having been fourteen years a member of that body, FRANKLIN was beaten for the Assembly, by a small majority for his opponent. This was owing to his advocacy of a change of government. He was again appointed minister to England, with a view of bringing about the measures proposed by the last Assembly; he departed thither on the 7th of November. Early in December, he found himself again in London, for the third time,—twice since his trip at the instance of Keith.

While there, his duties filled a broader sphere than special agent for Pennsylvania. In the primary object of his mission he would have been successful, had not the proceedings of the ministry developed events that *nationalized* his business. The Stamp Act, the "mother of mischiefs," as he termed it, began to be agitated soon after his arrival. That measure he opposed with all the power and zeal his pure democratic principles could dictate, until its final passage; he then wrote to America, that "her sun was down, and it might be a long while before it arose again." He

also wrote, insisting upon a strict adherence to their non-importation agreements. In regard to these, he was questioned by members of Parliament, as to "whether the Americans would not become weary of them?" He answered, "Never!" He was asked, "What used to be the pride of Americans?" He replied, "To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain." Also, "What was *now* their pride?" "To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones," was the reply. Through the exertions of FRANKLIN mainly, that act was repealed; though William Pitt said, "he was glad America resisted it,"—that Parliament had no right to pass it. The Stamp Act was followed by other schemes of colonial taxation, all of which FRANKLIN strenuously opposed. From London he traveled through Holland and the Germanic States, everywhere making such investigations as would naturally crowd upon a great and philosophic mind.

All the acts levying tax upon imports into America, were finally repealed, except the one requiring duty on *tea*, which was just enough to maintain the odious principle and bring about the famous "Boston Tea Party." Shortly afterward, FRANKLIN visited Paris, where his discoveries in electricity, from the patronage of Buffon, and others no less eminent, had created a greater sensation than in any other part of the world. He was there the recipient of marked distinction from the greatest men of the French nation.

During these movements, his pen was not idle; that mighty weapon of peace was vigorously wielded in a truthful cause. He wrote an elaborate cause of the colonial discontents, showing the usurpational intrusions of Parliament upon their rights, and proving that, in the settlement of each, under charters granted by the king, that he and his privy council alone had jurisdiction over them, and also exposing the unconstitutionality of Parliamentary taxation, over a people who had no representation in that body. This was one of FRANKLIN's masterpieces, and created quite a sensation in Europe and America.

From the primary object of his mission, as agent for Pennsylvania, he had become the general minister of most of the colonies, and was complicated with the duties of representing the sentiments of each, against the oppressive series of revenue acts passed by Parliament; yet, amid this complexity of business, he found time

to devote to science; he was selected as President of the American Philosophical Society. In view of the non-importation agreements, a rigid adherence to which he urged upon the colonies, the full development of provincial resources became a matter of permanent interest. He insisted upon an encouragement of all kinds of manufactures, and successfully urged the culture of silk in Pennsylvania.

He soon after had an interview with Lord Hillsborough, who had succeeded to the Secretaryship of America, and presented that gentleman with his credentials of agency from the Pennsylvania Assembly, which he angrily almost refused to accept or recognize, averring his disapproval of colonial agents appointed by the Assemblies. This was another instance of the extreme littleness of the English nobles of the George Germain and Townsend school, who, mortified and chagrined at not being able to awe the Americans into submission by threats, vented their spleen upon their leading champions. Afterward, meeting FRANKLIN in Dublin, Ireland, where he was an honored guest, ashamed of his former conduct, or, as FRANKLIN expresses it, "designing to pat and stroke the horse, to make him more patient, while the reins were drawn tighter and the spurs set deeper into his sides," he was fawningly obsequious in his civilities. He protracted his stay in Dublin until the convention of the Irish Parliament, when he took occasion to strengthen their proverbially warm susceptibilities, in their good opinion of America, and their cause in the coming troubles. Proceeding to Scotland, he received the warm greetings of his old friends, Lord Kames, Hume, and Robertson, the eminent historians, and others of equal celebrity. All over Europe, he had warm friends, of the most distinguished characters. No American has ever had the influence and reputation, across the waters, equal to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. During this excursion he saw, for the first time, Richard Bache, who had been his son-in-law for four years, by marriage to his only daughter, Sarah Franklin. We shortly after find him, in connection with other electricians, selected to devise means for the protection of the Purfleet powder magazines from lightning. He suggested to the other members of the committee, the now common, pointed lightning-rod. One of them dissented from this, which resulted in a controversy as to whether pointed, were better than blunt rods. This was essentially a *pointed* quibble on one side, and a *blunt*

one on the other, as Franklin, by renewed experiments, demonstrated the advantages of the pointed rod over the other.

Lord Dartmouth was now placed at the head of American affairs, in the place of the arrogant Hillsborough: he was far more acceptable to the colonies. In the meantime, Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, received his salary from the king, which, being contrary to colonial usage, and regarded as a dangerous precedent, produced the famous Boston Resolutions, which, accompanied with a petition, he was urged to present to the king; they were sent to Franklin. This petition prayed the crown that, inasmuch as the governor derived his office from it, that, as a bond, uniting him to the people, he should look to them for his emoluments. The resolutions denounced the course of Parliament, and were couched in language bold and explicit. These Franklin prefaced with wise and judicious remarks, for republication in London. He also wrote, at this time, his two famous satirical productions, entitled "Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one," and an "Edict by the King of Prussia." The first was an ironical, yet good-humored expose of Parliamentary proceedings toward the colonies, under the head of General Rules, an adherence to which would result in the reduction of a "great empire" to a "small one." The other was a happy satire upon the various schemes resorted to for taxing the colonies. It claims to be an edict from the King of Prussia, who commences with all the pomp and verbosity of preamble and resolution, "That, whereas the first settlers of the island of Great Britain were Saxons and Germans, and subjects of his predecessors, therefore, by virtue of such settlement, he, the King of Prussia, claimed entire jurisdiction over the continent of Great Britain, and did, by said edict, *levy a tax* upon its inhabitants for his own emolument."

The whole thing was exceedingly ingenious, and created such a stir among the nobility, that Lord Mansfield denounced it a great "mischief maker." In fact, so watchful was he of the interests he was deputed to represent, that, in America, they gave him the name of the "GREAT DIRECTOR." About this time his writings, five or six editions of which had already been printed in England, were translated into French, at Paris, where they are, at this day, in high repute.

Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, and others friendly to Parliament, wrote some lengthy letters to one of its members, of

the most vindictive nature toward the colonists, filled with falsehoods, alleging that all colonial discontents were engendered by corrupt leaders,—that the people were not averse to the schemes of Parliament, etc. These papers, by what means is unknown, fell into the hands of FRANKLIN. He, at the risk of incurring the enmity of the ministry, transmitted them to Pennsylvania, for the inspection of discreet patriots, with the injunction that they were not to be published or copied. From these documents being on public matters, and directed to a member of Parliament, though actuated, in their testimony, by motives of pure patriotism, he expected Parliamentary abuse.

They fell into the hands of the Assembly, that, with closed doors, deliberated upon their character. Their contents became known to the colonists, and finally reached England. Great excitement followed. Whately, the member of Parliament to whom they were originally addressed, on his death gave his papers to his son, who was severely denounced for suffering them to be sent over. A Mr. Temple had been allowed to inspect his father's papers, by Whately, who suspected his having purloined the documents in question. A duel ensued between the parties, in which young Whately was wounded. As to who should have been so disloyal as to transmit the papers, now became a question of inciting inquiry. Here FRANKLIN, regardless of the avalanche of bitter invective which he knew would pour against him, issued a publication in which he assumed the entire responsibility of their transmission. The ministry was startled. FRANKLIN was denounced as an "incendiary," and kept aloof from them. What cared he for ministerial favor, when, as he expresses it, he "found men bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, and negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people?" Whately instituted suit against him for such clandestine use of his father's papers, which was soon after suspended. At length the petition from the Assembly was granted a hearing, if a perfect farce of a trial can be so called. After the arguments of its advocates, and long and abusive speeches from the opponents, against the colonies, in which FRANKLIN came in for the principal share, it was unceremoniously dismissed. The final result, of having sent over the letters, was a formal notice to FRANKLIN that he was no longer at the head of the American Post-office; which he was fully prepared to receive.

Upon this he thought of returning home, and doubtless would, had he not been advised of the assemblage of the First Continental Congress of America, which induced him to remain, until he learned the result of its deliberations. That body drafted a petition to the king, praying a redress of grievances, which was sent to FRANKLIN for presentation. This petition was given to the king, who laid it before Parliament, where FRANKLIN was not permitted to appear in its behalf. It was dismissed from that body by a large majority. He now became convinced that if this state of things continued, war between the two countries would be inevitable, and sought, in conjunction with the venerable Chatham, means of a reconciliation. After conferring with Chatham, and others of eminence favorable to the American cause, he drew up articles of pacification, which, had the ministry not been wholly disinclined to peace, were not in the least objectionable. These embraced a repeal of the revenue acts; provided remuneration for the tea destroyed at Boston; asserted colonial right to regulate its internal trade; that Parliament should exert no control over her Assemblies; and that in public emergencies, the colonies should bear a proportionable part of the expenses, etc. Lord Chatham went into the House of Lords on the 20th January, whither FRANKLIN was invited to meet him. On the assemblage of the House, Chatham arose and moved the withdrawal of the British forces from Boston, which was lost by a heavy majority. He now told his intention of presenting terms of general accommodation. After the loss of his motion, Lord Chatham and FRANKLIN conferred together several days, drafting such a plan, which was finally completed, but differing so essentially from FRANKLIN'S former articles, that, if received by the ministry, he felt it would not be acceptable to the colonies. It was submitted to Parliament on the 1st of February, and despite the wise predictions of Chatham, in the event of its non-acceptance, it was rejected by a large vote. The remarks of the Lords, favorable to the ministerial views, were as vindictive and vehement, as the others were logical and patriotic. One of the Lords was disposed to question Chatham's being the author of the plan, and, turning to FRANKLIN, said, "he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies England ever had." At this, the eye of Chatham kindled; he arose, avowed its authorship, and replied to the charge against

FRANKLIN, by saying, with emphasis and pride, "he was a gentleman whom Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with her Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor not to the English nation only, but to human nature."* Other efforts were made without avail. Every means had been resorted to, to induce FRANKLIN to yield some essential points, but he refused. Negotiations were finally broken off, and FRANKLIN, after an absence of ten years, on the 21st of March, 1775, sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived the ensuing May. His wife, whom he so ardently loved, and with whom he lived happily for forty years, had died of a sudden illness during his absence.

On his arrival, and about the time the first blow was struck in the cause of the Revolution, at Concord, FRANKLIN was selected a member of the Continental Congress. It convened amid a whirl of public excitement. Active measures of defense were advocated by some,—overtures to the Crown, by others. The latter was adopted, though defensive steps were also taken. Another draft was prepared by a committee, of which FRANKLIN was a member, to be presented to the king. With this draft Dickerson, a zealous advocate of the petition, was highly pleased, and exclaimed, "Mr. President, there is but one word in the draft which I disapprove of, and that word is *Congress;*" whereupon, Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, an equally strong opponent of the measure, arose and said, "Mr. President, there is but one word in the draft which I approve, and that word is *Congress.*" FRANKLIN was appointed chairman of the Safety Committee, to provide for the defense of the country. To these duties he devoted himself with vigor, and prepared a plan of general Confederation, that was ultimately of much service to Congress, in its formation.

He was also placed at the head of the American Post-office, which had come under the regulation of Congress, and made a member of their Secret Committee, for the procuring of arms for the Continental army. Each of these duties met a faithful discharge, and FRANKLIN became, in the Cabinet, a firm champion of liberty. He attended as one of the committee that waited upon Washington at Cambridge, and devised a plan of operations mutually agreeable. The attachment between these co-patriots, in different spheres, was warm and lasting. While on this duty, he

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* Sparks' Life of Franklin, p. 388.

was selected to represent the City of Philadelphia, nor flinched from duties thus placed upon him.

After the fall of Montgomery, with Charles Carroll, and Samuel Chase, he was deputed to Canada, for the purpose of attending to the wants of the army, and conciliating the inhabitants. This mission, as might have been foreseen, was fraught with no important results. On his return, the great measure of Independence was the exciting topic of the day, as, indeed, it had been for some time. FRANKLIN was for it, and for it *then*. It was proposed in Congress, and Jefferson, FRANKLIN, Adams, Livingston and Sherman were appointed to prepare a Declaration, which was done by Jefferson, and adopted. During the discussion of his draft, Jefferson tells the following, of FRANKLIN. While he was vexed by alterations and changes suggested in the document by various members, FRANKLIN noticed his restlessness, and addressed him thus: "I have made it a rule, whenever in my power, to avoid becoming the draftsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body. I took my lesson from an incident I will relate to you. When I was a journeyman printer, one of my companions, an apprenticed hatter, having served out his time, was about to open shop for himself. His first concern was to have a handsome sign-board, with a proper inscription. He composed it in these words: "John Thompson, hatter, makes and sells hats for ready money," with a figure of a hat subjoined. But he thought he would submit it to his friends for their amendments. The first he showed it to, thought the word *hatter*, tautologous, because followed by the words, *makes hats*, which showed he was a hatter. It was struck out. The next observed, that the word *makes* might as well be omitted, because his customers would not care who made the hats; if good, and to their mind, they would buy, by whomsoever made. A third said, he thought the words, *for ready money*, were useless, as it was not the custom of the place to sell on a credit; every one who purchased expected to pay. They were parted with; and the inscription now stood: "John Thompson sells hats." "*Sells* hats!" says his next friend; "why, nobody will expect you to give them away. What, then, is the use of that word?" It was stricken out, and hats followed, the other, as there was one painted on the board. So his inscription was reduced, ultimately, to "John Thompson," with the figure of a hat subjoined. Through the deliberations incident to

this great measure, FRANKLIN was one of the most active, serviceable members. Just before the Declaration was signed, John Hancock, whose signature stands first, exclaimed with earnestness, "Gentlemen, we must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together." "Yes; we must all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately," exclaimed FRANKLIN, laconically. There were rewards upon the heads of Hancock and others at the time. These good-humored, common-sense witticisms, were not uncommon with him.

Not long after, when he was president of the convention to form a Constitution, when advocating but one Assembly, instead of an Upper and Lower House, he carried his measure by comparing "a legislature with two branches, to a loaded wagon with a team at each end pulling in opposite directions." He also likened it to the snake in the fable, that had two heads; it started to the brook to drink, but, coming to a twig in a hedge on the way, one head wanted to go on the right side, the other on the left; so, following each its peculiar mood, it bent around the twig, one head on each side, where neither would yield, but continued to pull against each other until it died of thirst. FRANKLIN was soon after appointed minister to France, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of alliance; whither he sailed the 26th of October, 1776. Before his departure, like Morris, he lent Congress money to the amount of four thousand pounds.

He reached Paris the 21st day of December, entirely unexpected by the people, who had not been apprised of the embassy. FRANKLIN was then a venerable man,—a true type of departed sages,—adorned with the light of modern refinement. In his intercourse with the great, who thronged to his presence, he practiced no formality to that polite court; yet all were charmed by his kind simplicity, awed by his virtues, and did homage to his wisdom. Of America, her prospect, condition and defeats, he spoke with deep concern, and created a lively interest in her behalf. His influence and character were powerful, in any cause, and did much for the American in France. Large sums of money, supplies, arms, etc., were obtained, through his agency, for their use, upon terms most favorable to the United States. This timely aid was of the greatest moment to the army. The Marquis de Lafayette, who became fired with zeal for America, and fitted out a ship at his

own expense, for his voyage to this country, was warmly recommended by FRANKLIN to Congress.

During the year 1776, though he was admitted to audience, and terms of a treaty were talked of in the French Cabinet, the hopeless aspect of affairs, in America, operated unfavorably to its formation. The next year, however, after the surrender of Burgoyne with a large portion of the British army at Saratoga, he easily succeeded in effecting "a treaty of amity and commerce," upon the basis of his congressional instructions, in which, the independence of America was recognized by the court of Versailles. Soon after, a treaty of alliance, also, was concluded between the two powers, amounting virtually to one, offensive and defensive in its nature, making the war of independence a cause common to both parties. These treaties were signed at Paris, February 6th, 1778, and on the 20th of March following, FRANKLIN and his colleagues were admitted to the court of Versailles, in due form, as embassadors of independent America,—the first event of the sort in her diplomatic history. FRANKLIN, with all his kindness, knew little of, and cared little for, court etiquette, though he was careful to give no offense. Count du Nord, of the imperial family of Russia, arrived in Paris, and, in sending his cards to the notables, one was accidentally left at the house of FRANKLIN, who applied to an old embassador to know what he must do. The old minister thinking, as he did, the card had been left purposely, told him he must drive to the prince's door, and leave his name with the porter. This was done, and in the porter's book was placed the name of "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN," who, though ignorant of the fact, was soliciting a visit from the prince. FRANKLIN returned home, where he was soon followed by a mutual friend, who told him it would be impossible for the prince, though he esteemed him very highly, to pay him a visit, as his country had not recognized the independence of America, whence he was minister. FRANKLIN, after explaining his attitude, told the friend he "thought the remedy was easy, he had only to erase his name out of his book of visits received, and he would burn their card."

The treaty just effected, resulted in a declaration of war between England and France, and immediate preparations for hostilities. While these were making, secret propositions were advanced to FRANKLIN, by ministerial emissaries, for peace between England and America. It is needless to say, they

amounted to nothing. Notwithstanding FRANKLIN'S uniformly correct course, he had enemies,—*enemies will spring from envy, as weeds from a hot-bed.* Unknown to the virtuous heart, it lurks in the bosom of the base, who delight in the destruction of characters they can not imitate. Among these enemies, the bitterest was Arthur Lee, one of his colleagues to Paris. This hatred originated in nothing more than the great weight attached to FRANKLIN'S name at the court of Versailles, and the comparative insignificance attached to his own. Through FRANKLIN, the treaties were effected, no importance being given to Lee's opinions, which indeed, were not sought for by the former. Lee immediately sent letters, reflecting upon FRANKLIN, to America. He also found accomplices, famous among whom was Ralph Izard, to assist in promulgating his misrepresentations. True to a great mind, FRANKLIN cared nothing for them, and paid no attention to their machinations; fully satisfied of the omnipotence of truth and virtue, he placed his character on their summits, and knew the vulture beak of falsehood and vice could never reach so high.

FRANKLIN, in the meantime, had been appointed sole minister to France, and his associates, Messrs. Adams and Lee, withdrawn from the embassy. While at Paris, he received the visits of the most eminent men of that country. Among these were Buffon, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Voltaire, and others of distinction. The circle of Philosophers thronging together, seemed for a time, a reassemblage of the "sage seven" of olden time.

As a result of his negotiations, a French land army under Rochambeau, and a navy under Count de Estaing, were sent to the United States. FRANKLIN was a peacemaker in principle, and in war disapproved of all dishonorable measures among nations, as much as he did among private men, in their dealings one with another. Privateering he regarded as a species of national robbery, and condemned in the strongest terms. A system of neutrality, in the promotion of which he was instrumental, was adopted by all the powers not parties to the contest. His maxim was, "*there never was a good war or a bad peace.*"

His enemies reiterating their false charges against him, endeavored, as they had before, to effect his recall from France. But, of his valued services, Congress saw too much practical attestation, to think of such a thing, especially, as distinguished members of the French Cabinet wrote them that he "was patri-

otic, wise, and discreet," and that "his recall would be very embarrassing, in the present state of things." The truth is, FRANKLIN, they knew, had more influence at court than any man they could select. True, he became a little obnoxious to the English Parliament, but it was owing entirely to his unbending opposition to their measures regarding America.

He was now getting advanced in years, and from the complicated duties of his official station, needed repose, and indicated his wish to return from it to the quietude of his home, having been the public servant half a century. Emissaries of Parliament were constant, though somewhat insidious in their efforts to effect, through FRANKLIN, a disagreement between France and America, insisting upon the little dependence to be placed on the former,—the small service she would be, etc. In the medium selected for this purpose, they were wide of the mark, and circumstances then existent between England and France, were such as could give no indications of bad faith, on the part of the latter, toward us.

Events, in 1782, had taken place, which promised not only repose to FRANKLIN, but to America. Cornwallis had surrendered, and Parliament, brought at length to their senses, were getting their fill of colonial taxation, and thought strongly of peace. Ministers were sent from England to confer with FRANKLIN upon the subject of negotiations. FRANKLIN had grown old in service, and so like a father was he regarded by Americans, that he was looked upon as a proper person to adjust a matter of such importance. He drew up the essential articles of the treaty, upon the basis of American independence, and devoted himself to its effectual consummation, with all the energy of more youthful years. After various suggestions, and many preliminaries, the treaty between the United States and Great Britain was concluded, and signed at Paris. The treaty having been signed, and his desire to return home repeated, Congress, compliant with his request, recalled him.

The same regrets that followed his leave from England, in former days, now prevailed in France, where he inspired the same veneration and attachment. Being unable, from bodily distresses, to ride in a carriage, he was borne from the scene of his labors to Havre de Grace, in the queen's litter, followed by the esteem of thousands. Thence he proceeded to Southampton, where he made a brief sojourn. On the 27th of July, he bid

a last adieu to Europe, where he had passed over twenty years of his life. After an absence of eight years, he reached Philadelphia on the 14th of September. He was now at home. Congratulatory letters welcomed him from all parts of the country. Washington wrote him with great cordiality. He also received a public welcome from the Assembly. Soon after his return, he was chosen president of Pennsylvania by the Assembly, "with but one dissenting voice out of seventy-seven." For two successive terms, he was unanimously selected to the same office, though in his eighty-second year; he was selected as State delegate to the convention that formed the Constitution. In that body, amid a convention of pure patriots, there was much difference of opinion, and some confusion. FRANKLIN arose one morning, after some excitement, and moved that "their daily deliberations should begin with prayer," for, said he, "the longer I live, the more convincing proof I see of this truth, *that* GOD *governs in the affairs of men.*

FRANKLIN has been called an infidel: as the above would seem a refutation of the charge, we also insert the subjoined, lest we are accused of partiality. A few weeks before his death, the president of Yale College, talked with him upon religious subjects. During the conversation, FRANKLIN remarked to him, "I believe in one God, the creator of the universe; that he governs it by his providence; that he ought to be worshiped; that the most acceptable service we can render him is by doing good to his other children. I believe the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life, respecting its conduct in this."

After saying, he regarded these as "the fundamental points of all sound religion," he goes on to speak of the Saviour, thus: "As to Jesus of Nazareth, I think his system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is like to see; but, I apprehend, it has received various corrupting changes, and I have some doubts as to his divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it." Of his religious faith, we shall enter upon no defense,—no word of eulogy,—his acts tell their author.

In the fall of 1789, his disease, which was stone in the bladder, began to increase, and in April following, to assume an alarming aspect. He continued to sink, suffering extreme torture, until the middle of the month. Just before he died, he requested his bed

to be made, that he might "die in a decent manner." His daughter remarked, she hoped he would live many years. "*I hope not,*" was his answer. He was requested to turn over, that he might breathe easy. "*A dying man can do nothing easy,*" was the reply.

These were the last words of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. At eleven o'clock, on the 17th of April, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, he departed this life. He retained his mental faculties up to the moment of death, and only twenty-four hours before, is said to have written an able document. On the 21st, the city officials, the Assembly, students, and college faculty, accompanied by an immense concourse of persons, repaired to the cemetery, to perform the last sad rite of burial. He was buried beside his wife, in Christ Church cemetery;—in a Pennsylvania grave he mingles with dust,—thunders peal his requiem.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

If the political history of our country is peculiarly interesting, the actions and motives of those immediately connected therewith, are equally so. Some of our early statesmen, who assisted in laying the basis of our national government, continued to direct its workings, and with its development, lived and acted its history. They infused into our republican system the vigor of their purely democratic principles, and left upon it their influential reflex, that brightens with its expansion, and will through coming time.

Among those whose wisdom gave shape to our young institutions, and have continued to exert perceptive, if not controlling influence, upon their destinies, we may well class THOMAS JEFFERSON. His place of nativity was that nursery of great men, Virginia. He was born in Albemarle County, on the 2d day of April, 1743. Peter Jefferson was his father; Jane Randolph, the maiden name of his mother. On the father's side, he was of Welsh descent; the Randolphs were old Virginia stock, of Scotch derivation. JEFFERSON had an erudite mind, which was cultivated by all the advantages of a classical education, and a love of science. He was put to a primary school at the age of five, when his education commenced. At about ten, he began the study of the classics; at seventeen, well prepared by previous discipline, he entered the college of William and Mary, of whose advantages he availed himself with great credit. His favorite pastime was hunting deer and turkeys in the woods and mountains of Albemarle. He was very studious, both before and after he entered college. When a young man, he had an expression of serious gravity upon his



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

countenance. While a student at college, he is described as being tall and very lean. He had red hair, a thin visage, face freckled, with high cheek bones and sharp features. For his college recreation, he loved feats of horsemanship, and to play the fiddle. He conversed fluently, and, notwithstanding his unprepossessing appearance, had a pleasing expression of countenance, a rather graceful carriage, very kind, winning manners, and was quite a favorite with the ladies, which, from his personal homeliness, was an excellent commentary upon his mental qualities; for, as some pass well through society with the advantages of a fine form and no mental attainment, others pass better with those of a cultivated mind, that will elicit respect, be it clothed in whatsoever garb.

Like most young men, at the age of seventeen, JEFFERSON fell in love with a Williamsburgh beauty, while at college, but which resulted in no more than a few "woeful ballads to his lady's eyebrow." He was not married until nearly thirty. Among those with whom he was thrown into frequent contact in his youth, were Mr. Page, Dr. Small, and Governor Fauquier, the latter of whom exerted no small influence upon JEFFERSON, whose faultless manners especially, were, to a great extent, the result of his daily association with that accomplished gentleman; but whether his influence stopped in the formation of fine manners, is questionable. Fauquier was, in morals, a disciple of Bolingbroke, and that the well-known notions of JEFFERSON, upon the subject of religion and morals, that were fostered by his naturally bold, meditative mind, had inception from this intercourse, is quite probable.

After the conclusion of his collegiate course, he studied law under Chancellor Wythe, with great care, and commenced the practice in his twenty-fifth year. While a student with the chancellor, the colonial revenue excitement prevailed at Williamsburgh. He listened with delight to the fervor of provincial oratory, upon the floor of the Assembly. Patrick Henry made such an impression upon his mind, that, after a period of fifty years, he was heard to say, he had "never heard such eloquence."

In 1766, he visited Philadelphia, and took a trip through Maryland, but soon returned and devoted himself to his profession. As a lawyer, JEFFERSON was not eloquent, or in any sense a speaking man; but by industrious application; and a meditative, discriminating mind, he was successful, and was regarded as an

excellent judge of law; he would doubtless have reached distinction in its practice, had not other duties called him to politics,—a sphere for which he was precisely adapted by nature and education. His first entrance into public life was in 1769, when he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Albemarle County. This was the Assembly that was dissolved by the governor for their resolves against the measures of the British Parliament.

Of the delegates who immediately convened and signed the non-importation agreements, adopted by the people, and which Washington was prevented from presenting to the Assembly by its dissolution, were George Washington, THOMAS JEFFERSON, and Patrick Henry. He was re-elected to the next Assembly, as indeed were almost all the members who favored the agreements. Nothing special characterized the membership of JEFFERSON, however, during its deliberations. His mother's house was destroyed by fire, and he lost his library in the conflagration; which he deeply regretted. He had commenced improvement upon *Mount Monticello*, close by, to which he removed soon after, and where he remained a resident during life.

In his 30th year, JEFFERSON was married. His wife was Mrs. Martha Skelton, a young widow of beauty and considerable property. He continued with the patriots of the day, in his resistance to English taxation; a bold step in which he had taken by signing the agreements. It was JEFFERSON, "and other young members" of the Assembly, who, disliking the slow proceedings of the elder ones, met in council, after the news of the Boston Port Bill, and recommended a day of fasting and prayer at Williamsburgh, the observance of which, he says, "was like an electric shock" upon the people. We next see him in the General Convention, as a Virginia delegate. Before that body he prepared a document setting forth the manner in which the colonies were treated by Great Britain, in a manner that evinced clearly his bold political sagacity. One after another he enumerated the acts, and commented upon their tyranny, whose enforcement upon America was insisted by Parliament, calling the whole, a "systematic plan for reducing the colonies to slavery." To show with what manly independence this young Virginian could talk to a powerful monarch, we insert the closing appeal of this paper to the British king:

"Open your breast, sir, to liberal and expanded thoughts; let

not the name of George the Third be a blot on the page of history. You are surrounded by counselors; but remember, they are parties. Let no acts be passed by any one legislature, which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another."

"This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire. It is neither our wish, nor our interest, to separate. We are willing, on our part, to sacrifice every thing which reason can ask, to the restoration of that tranquillity which we all wish. On their part, let them name the terms; but let them be just,—accept of every commercial preference, it is in our power to give, for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But, let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they can not use, nor, to supply those wants which they can not supply. Still less let it be proposed, that our people, within our own territories, shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time; *the hand of force may destroy, but can not disjoin them.*"

This document, though regarded too strong for adoption by the Assembly, was printed, and republished in England; where, it was roughly handled, and passed six editions. JEFFERSON, as remuneration for his appeal, it is said, procured a place on the list of proscribed Americans, with John Hancock and others. He also met with the convention as delegate at Richmond. Here he was selected to reply to Lord North's Conciliatory Bills, which were presented to the colonies, more with a view of casting upon them the odium of the war, in the minds of the people, than to the establishment of peaceful relations.

On the 12th of June, his reply was read before the Assembly; after being modified in some of its strong terms, it was adopted. This reply was ably drawn, and rejected "*North's Olive Branch*," as Parliament termed it, asserting as reasons, exclusive support of civil government; a discretionary colonial right of appropriation regulated only by themselves; overt acts of hostility accompanying the enactment of odious Parliamentary measures, for which no redress was provided, and the complication of the colonies in their aggregate capacity, in the transaction; concluding with a positive rejection of all such overtures, it says:

"We commit our injuiries to the even-handed justice of

that Being, who doeth no wrong, earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavors of those to whom America hath confided for hope; that through their wise direction, we may again see re-united, the blessings of liberty and prosperity, and the most paramount harmony with Great Britain."

Among the members of the First Continental Congress, with his tall commanding form, restless, perceptive eye, and grave face, marked with the lines of thought, genius and talent, sat THOMAS JEFFERSON. He had gone there a delegate from Virginia, deeply impressed with the importance of his mission. Thither, his reputation as a man of letters had preceded him, and it is not strange that he was chosen the draftsman of its important measures.

His first duty of this nature, was to draw a Declaration of Causes that produced the necessity of a resort to arms. This was written in the clear, forcible style of its author; it was modified, however, by the delegates, more through partiality for Mr. Dickinson, who "was not for extremes," than from any convictions of propriety. In this document he says: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritable ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice." Again, in justification of the colonies, he says: "Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable."

And again: "We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle, of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offense. They boast *their* privileges and civilization, yet offer no milder conditions than slavery or death."

The colonies then "thought not of independence." Their aim was to curb the branches of Parliamentary power, that, like the meshes of a web, seemed spreading until every right would be entangled in its fibres. The boldness and tone of JEFFERSON were considerably on the order of the full independence he was destined soon to draft. The only difficulty in his writings, for public bodies, was, they were in advance of the times,—he had ripened before the people. He exemplified independence, before he drew the Declaration,—others were cautious,—feared the result when done. He wrote to John Randolph that, "rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us assumed by the British Par-

liament, I would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean." His feelings are further shown, in the same letter, to be ahead of the people generally. He says, after speaking of union with England, on proper terms, as being desirable: "but, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist, before I yield to a connection on such terms as proposed by the British Parliament." Again he says: "we want neither inducement nor power *to declare a separation.* It is *will* alone which is wanting; and that is growing apace, under the fostering hand of the British king."

Owing, doubtless, to his influence and earnestness in diffusing such sentiments, the Virginia Assembly, though not having the same provocation to such a step as the New England States, was the pioneer in recommending independence. That step, in Congress, on its next assemblage, became the leading feature. On Friday, the 17th of June, Richard Henry Lee, under instructions from the Assembly, arose on the floor of that body, and moved that the "United Colonies ought to be free and independent." Many thought the measure premature though the talent and power of Congress were favorable to its adoption. From JEFFERSON'S sentiments, as expressed in his letters before mentioned, it is needless to say, he was with the Declaration. On Saturday and Monday following, it was debated in Congress with fervid eloquence. Like a king in the realm of mind, sat JEFFERSON, during this debate, conscious of his powers in their sphere, but made few remarks, knowing that its eloquent champions entered the investigation with armor on.

A few days after, a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration; JEFFERSON was selected to draft the document. The propriety of the measure had been discussed by others,—to him fell the task of so preparing it, that it would be suitable in all its provisions. In a few days it was drawn, and submitted to Franklin and Adams, who suggested but two or three immaterial verbal alterations. Thus an honor to Language, that first message of Freedom, will pass through future ages, an immortal type of its author, THOMAS JEFFERSON.

On the first of July it was discussed in Congress and adopted by nine States, Pennsylvania and South Carolina voting against it. The vote of Delaware was a tie, and the New York delegation did not vote at all, being instructed by their constituency to

promote reconciliation. The next day a new member from Delaware arrived, and, on reconsideration, voted for the Declaration; which placed that State in the affirmative. Other delegates from Pennsylvania reached Congress the same day, and the vote of that State was reversed. South Carolina also, "for the sake of unanimity," voted with the others; making twelve, of the thirteen States, for independence. The New York members, also, who desired not to vote at first through respect for their constituents, and not opposition to the measure, finally gave assent, and the Declaration of Independence was unanimous. It was signed July 4th, 1776,—a day which, true to the prediction of Adams, "is celebrated with bonfires and illuminations" by American freemen, who recognize it as "a glorious day."

Though the original document, in its rough draft, was signed on the day above named, it was not engrossed and re-signed by the members, until the 2d of August, and many of them, even after that, appended their signatures, who were absent at the time of its adoption.

JEFFERSON now ranked justly, with America's most eminent men; a position he ever maintained. His next duty was the preparation of a Constitution for Virginia; in which, however, he was anticipated by George Mason. His able draft, except its preambulary portion, was not adopted. He was re-elected to the next Congress, but resigned in September. He was also, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, appointed minister to France, which, owing to domestic affairs, he was obliged to decline. He again took his seat in the Assembly, to which he was elected by his county, and devoted himself to the object of State reform. In mind,—mental power,—JEFFERSON was a tyrant and an aristocrat, and exercised his talent with the will of a despot; but, in feeling and motive, the ends he desired to accomplish through its agency, he was liberal, democratic, and always on the side of the people, against monopolies. Aristocracies of mind, virtue, and honest hearts, he favored; but those of property, he spurned with true republican simplicity.

As a pass at a wealthy monopoly, one of his first measures in the Assembly, was the repeal of an old act of entail, by which a certain class of residents held large landed estates, under restrictions not to dispose of them only to those of the family enjoining the same upon them. In this way a vast amount of Virginia

lands remained in the hands of the same persons,—each proprietor having only a life-interest in them,—for years. JEFFERSON brought in a bill, and effected its passage, repealing the old act, and giving to the proprietors the right of absolute transfer. His object in this, he says, "was to annul aristocratic privileges." The same spirit is shown in an act, he soon after introduced, to destroy the old English doctrine of primogeniture, and to place the sexes on terms of equality, in regard to hereditaments. These, and other measures of his, finally uprooted the last fibres of aristocratic privilege that had branched from the parent tree into Virginia soil.

The laws of Virginia, through changes, mutations, and repeated enactments, had become so complex, difficult, and scattered here and there upon the pages of so many voluminous folios, that JEFFERSON proposed their general revision and simplification, so as to bring their acquaintance within the limits of less than half a lifetime.

The proposition was thought a good one: the Assembly entered upon it, and assigned to him the most difficult part of the labor; which was performed in such a manner as to receive the praise of the most learned commentators. "Accuracy, brevity and simplicity," was his aim in the work. Under the provision of his labor, criminal law was regulated, citizenship was defined, and its rights protected, and education fostered. The subject of slavery also came in for regulation; this, JEFFERSON always regarded with deep concern. Provision was agreed to for the freedom of all children born of slave parents, and their removal from the State, after a certain period. But of this JEFFERSON says: "It was, however found, that the public mind would not bear this proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear, and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up with free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain

look for an example in the Spanish deportation, or depletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of ours."

So much for his views upon slavery,—reader, make your own comments.

In 1779, JEFFERSON was chosen governor of the State of Virginia. This was soon after the treaty with France, and a period of much trouble for that State, in consequence of the difficulty attending the enlistment of her portion of troops for the war. From his energy, ability, and experience, no man in the commonwealth was better fitted for the station than he.

During the first year of his term, however, he exercised his power in regard to a transaction that reflected no credit upon his name, and which Washington would have spurned, and did remonstrate with him upon the subject. This was the power of retaliation,—a species of vengeful redress, that should never be harbored by a great and enlarged mind.

Colonel Hamilton, the British governor of Detroit, had been surprised and taken prisoner by the daring Clark, who sent him to Williamsburgh, upon an unfounded allegation of his atrocities toward Americans. Governor JEFFERSON had him cruelly thrown into prison, confined in a dungeon, and deprived of the use of pen and paper, and would not allow him to talk to any one but the jailer. He was kept thus in irons, for a long time, because he rejected parol, upon the conditions that he was not "to do, or *say*" any thing against America. His freedom of speech Hamilton was unwilling to sacrifice; and it was a condition JEFFERSON had no right to impose. Hamilton was a gentlemanly officer, of polished mind and refined feelings, and the only apology for this proceeding, is to be found in the general cruelties of the times, and the deadened state of generous feelings incident to war.

JEFFERSON, able as he was as a statesman, and unsurpassed as he may have been in his sphere of devising, was not equal to many, in prompt and efficient action for emergencies; he was, in one sense, a timid man. During his term of office, though warned of the danger by Washington, the notorious Arnold and Phillips were suffered to penetrate into Virginia with a handful of fifteen hundred British troops, without any preparation to meet them, until they were seen in James river with their vessels. JEFFERSON then called out the militia,—but it was too late.

Arnold landed his troops, who laid the whole country in waste,

burned Richmond, committed depredations at Williamsburgh, and took many thousand slaves from the plantations. A party also made a descent upon Monticello,—of which JEFFERSON got information just in time to save himself and family by flight; the members of the Legislature, too, came near being captured during the incursion. His being so slow to call out the militia, when apprised of the movement, is apologized for by his friends and himself, upon the ground, that information was so frequently communicated of such movements, that he did not know what credence to attach to it. During these operations, Governor JEFFERSON received a letter from General Phillips, directed, "Thomas Jefferson, *Esq.*," to which he characteristically replied, "William Phillips, *Esq.*

Clamors were raised against JEFFERSON on all sides, after these predatory incursions of the British, for not putting the country in a state of defense, on the reception of Washington's message, and for thinking so much more of personal safety than the public good, in his flight from Richmond and Monticello.

Without considering, as palliative of these magnified offenses, the diffusive resources of the country, and the futility of his remaining in Richmond while the town was destroyed, without any means of protecting it, his impeachment was proposed in the Assembly, and a day specified for his trial. To this step no opposition was offered by his best friends, who thought his conduct would stand the test of legal investigation. The only tribunal, however, before which he was brought, was that of public opinion, which, for some time, affixed considerable odium to his name in consequence of the causes above enumerated.

These failings, if such they were, being eventually eclipsed by the light of his superior statesmanship, were soon forgotten, and the people assigned him the position among her greatest sons, to which his merit entitled him. No great while after these events, he wrote his work called "Notes on Virginia," which, like all of his writings, glow with the genius of the author. That work was commenced as replies to interrogatories, propounded to him by the French Secretary of Legation, in regard to the resources, etc., of Virginia, which he afterward collated into a handsome volume for publication.

As from Congress he returned to the Legislature, so from the Executive chair. He took his seat in 1781, and boldly arose, saying,

he was ready to meet any charges preferred against him. None were made, and the Legislature gave him, which was no uncommon way of rewarding public servants in those severe times, a vote of thanks for his services. So it would seem, they were willing to atone for the motion of impeachment of the prior session; which was certainly uncalled for. He was again appointed minister to France, but was obliged to decline. About this time he lost his wife, with whom he had enjoyed uninterrupted domestic happiness during ten years. He soon after accepted the mission to France, but did not go on account of peace being made, information of which he received in Philadelphia, where he was preparing to take his departure. In 1783, he was re-elected to Congress. His first act, in this Congress, was to regulate the currency. The value attached to the pound sterling varied in the several States, and made it necessary for a coin that would be of equal value everywhere. JEFFERSON proposed, as a remedy, the dollar, and its equivalent relative coins, which was adopted.

When Washington went to Annapolis to resign his commission, JEFFERSON was of the committee appointed to receive the resignation; and is said to have penned the reply of the President to him on that occasion. He was also chairman of the committee to which the treaty of Paris was referred, prior to its ratification. When that treaty came before Congress, only seven States were represented by delegates, then at their post, when the Confederation required the assent of nine, as essential to its ratification. Word was sent to the executives of the other States, to send their representatives to Annapolis. In the meantime, some member proposed its being done by the seven States then present, which was lost, upon constitutional grounds.

JEFFERSON then suggested its ratification by the seven present noting the fact, and that it be sent to the ministers at Paris, with an explanation, and ask farther time, until the nine States could convene and agree to its ratification. This course was decided upon, but was prevented from execution by the timely arrival of a sufficient number of delegates to ratify it constitutionally, which was done with unanimity on the 14th of January, 1784.

JEFFERSON, through that session of Congress, was a valuable member, as tested by the fact that he was made chairman of its most important committees, and drafted all its important papers. Peace having been made, the American Congress felt the impor-

tance of making treaties with the different nations; a feeling which was encouraged by JEFFERSON. As instructions to our ministers at foreign courts, JEFFERSON prepared the following, as the basis on which all such treaties should be negotiated:

"1. Free admission of the ships and merchandise of one party into the ports of the other, on paying duties, as the most favored nation.

"2. A more qualified reciprocity, as to the nations which hold territorial possessions in America.

"3. That in all such treaties, and in every case arising under them, the United States be considered as one nation, upon the principles of the federal Constitution.

"4. That private property and industry be protected, and privateering abolished.

"5. Contraband articles no longer to be liable to confiscation; but liable to be detained on paying their value. As to all other articles, that free ships should make free goods. Blockades to be defended, and the rights of neutrals protected.

"6. Aliens to be allowed to dispose of lands to which they may be heirs.

"7. That such treaties be limited to ten, or at most, to fifteen years."

The officers of the Revolution, before they separated, organized within themselves a society, which they called the Cincinnati, and made its membership hereditary, by being transferred to the son, on the death of the father. Their object was to preserve a bond of union. State, personal, and local jealousies were soon excited against it. Washington, who was a member, wrote to JEFFERSON on the subject. He replied, with candor, that he thought such orders were inimical to the republican principles of the confederacy,—tended to foster aristocracies, and were essentially objectionable, as going to create invidious distinctions by conferring honors where they might not be deserved, that could not be procured for the highest merit. The hereditary feature was dropped, and finally the whole society became extinct; its funds merged into those of benevolent institutions.

In 1784, JEFFERSON was appointed to supersede Franklin as minister to France. He reached Paris the 6th of August, and was, by his distinguished predecessor, introduced to court and its polite society. Though, to have filled the place of Franklin, was,

at that time, impossible; JEFFERSON was more suited for the place than any other man in the United States, and being introduced through so popular a medium, he occupied a position, from the first, calculated to procure the respect of the French nation.

In conjunction with Mr. Adams, he devoted himself to the negotiation of treaties with the European powers, in which, however, owing to the instability attached to the American government, by most of the nations, he was only in part successful. It was, while in Paris, his Notes on Virginia were first published. They were first brought out in a wretched French translation, and were afterward issued in London, in a revised form. Franklin having sailed for America, and Adams departed for London, Jefferson was sole minister to the court of Versailles. One of his first efforts was directed against the tobacco monopoly, by endeavoring to establish with France, such regulations as would induce its export thither, with a view to its exchange with her for those commodities forming a part of his country's commerce. He also asserted the doctrine of free-trade, and labored in his diplomatic capacity to promote its interests. He wrote to Mr. Adams, saying: "I think all the world would gain by setting commerce at perfect liberty."

Scanning with his eagle eye, from his seat of diplomacy the tide of nations, he became impressed with the importance of an American navy, and recommended it to his countrymen at home. In this, too, he was ahead of his age. Many years intervened before America became sufficiently convinced of its utility, to turn attention to naval armaments. Amid ministerial duties he also procured the model for the new state-house, then building at Richmond, and sent it to Virginia; it was after the style of Grecian architecture.

By his continued efforts our foreign relations were protected with care; a very advantageous system of commercial interchange with France was secured, in which he was much assisted by Lafayette. During his embassy, the republican simplicity of JEFFERSON was equally conspicuous with his brilliant talents. To a friend he writes, expressing his preference for the free air of old Albemarle, and the endearments of Monticello, to the frivolous gayeties of Parisian life.

In 1786, he left Paris, and proceeded to London for the purpose of conferring with Mr. Adams, who had preceded him to that

metropolis. Their reception was far from cordial, by England, of which he asserts, in a letter to America, "in spite of treaties, England is still our enemy. Her hatred is deep-rooted, and cordial, and nothing is wanting with her but the power to wipe us and the land we live in, out of existence." Treaties with Tripoli and Portugal, a consummation of which, they had flattered themselves, were not for the present effected. In regard to the Tripolines and the Barbary powers, there was a difference of opinion between JEFFERSON and Adams, as to the policy to be pursued by the United States. JEFFERSON was in favor of forcing a peace by a resort to arms, which he urged with cogent reasons; but being again in advance of his day, the opinion of Adams was acted upon, and a peace purchased until 1815, when the former course was adopted with success. JEFFERSON's pen, amid these duties, was not idle, but continued to emit the intellectual flashes of its author, and shed his light over the earth. He wrote interesting articles on England, and prepared pieces for the Encyclopædias that were full of wisdom. He also computed the increase of American population, by taking the few past years for a precedental basis, that developed astounding results.

About this time, he became entangled in controversy with Buffon, who asserted the degeneracy of American animals, which JEFFERSON denied, and in support of his position, sent for some stuffed deer and elk with their antlers on, before which practical argument, the French philosopher was compelled to yield. From his position in Europe, he was well prepared to see what was lacking in his own country, and wrote Mr. Madison upon the importance of the power to regulate commerce being vested in Congress, as vitally essential to its protection. He also wrote to Congress, recommending a suitable donation to Lafayette, upon the presumption of merit, and that our national character would be promoted abroad. Deploring the causes of the American debt, he writes to another friend: "Every thing I hear from my country fills me with despair, as to their recovery from their vassalage to Great Britain. Fashion and folly are plunging them deeper and deeper into distress; and the legislators becoming debtors also, there seems no hope of applying the only possible remedy, that of an immediate judgment and execution. We should try whether the prodigal might not be restrained from taking on

credit, the gewgaw held out to him in one hand, *by seeing the keys of a prison in the other.*"

To Mr. Monroe, he wrote in regard to the proposed plan of separating the vast region of country between the Atlantic States and the Mississippi, into States of one hundred and sixty thousand square miles each, in terms of strong denunciation. "You would," he says, "reverse the nature of things, in making small States on the ocean, and large ones beyond the mountains." In another letter to the same gentleman, shortly afterward, speaking of the importance of a navy, as demonstrated, especially by the course of the Tripolines, he says: "It is urged, there is no money in our treasury. There never will be money in the treasury, *till the confederacy shows its teeth. The States must see the rod,—perhaps it must be felt by some of them.*" * * "A naval force can never endanger our liberties or occasion bloodshed; a land force would do both." He also wrote to Wythe, entering elaborately upon the blessings of unshackled religious freedom,—the necessity of a general system of instruction, and the duties incumbent on every American, as a citizen, to promote universal happiness. Such was the nature of his correspondence home, while discharging his duties abroad.

JEFFERSON was liberal in his views, and had unlimited confidence in the capacity of the people. From Paris, when the revolution of 1787 was agitating the French nation from one end to the other, he wrote to a friend in America: "I am persuaded myself, that the good sense of the people will always be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep them to the true principles of their institutions. To punish those errors too severely, would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty." He continues, by urging a general diffusion of knowledge among the people, as one of the most essential requisites to good government. Shortly after, writing to his friend, Mr. Madison, of the different sorts of government, he says: "I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians), which live without government, enjoy in their general views, an infinitely greater degree of happiness, than those who live under the European governments." "Societies," he continues, "exist under forms sufficiently distinguishable. 1st. Without government at all, as many of our Indians

2d. Under governments, wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as is the case in England, in a slight degree, and in America, in a great degree. 3d. Under governments of force; as is the case in all other monarchies, and most of the other republics." After giving these definitions, he says, "to have an idea of the curse of existence under these last, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep." Speaking, shortly after, upon the subject of our southern possessions, he says of the United States, "they are able, already, to rescue the navigation of the Mississippi out of the hands of Spain, and to add New Orleans to their own territory. They must, and will be joined by the inhabitants of Louisiana."

JEFFERSON was fond of obtaining practical information; with this view, principally, he traveled through the southern part of France. In his travels, he acquainted himself with every thing worthy of note in all the cities and towns through which he passed, but took more care in inspecting the fields, and examining into the products of the country, and the methods of raising them. He also studied, with care, the manners and customs of the people. This journey proved a delightful one, and he recommended the same to his friend Lafayette.

Upon his return to Paris, he wrote Madison his views of the new Constitution, then being formed in the States, reiterating his confidence in the people's capacity for self government, and advocating a separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. A check of the federal, upon the State governments, in the shape of a negative was proposed, and contended for by some able men. This, JEFFERSON opposed. "It fails," says he, "in an essential character; the hole and the patch should be commensurate; but this proposes to mend a small hole, by covering the whole garment." He was in favor of an appeal from the State, to the federal constitution, for the adjudication of such measures, as the negative was provided for. In regard to the right of Congress to exercise coercive power upon the States, he thus wrote a friend in Virginia. "It has been so often said as to be generally believed, that Congress has no power by the confederation, to enforce any thing; for example, contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly. They have it by the law of nature. *When two parties make a compact, there results to each, a power of compelling the other to*

execute it." JEFFERSON's religious opinions, at this time, are indicated by his instructions to a nephew he had at college in Virginia. "The writings of Sterne," he told him, "formed the best course of morality that ever was written," and with the greatest indifference toward the accepted religion of his country, enjoined "free inquiry" upon the subject. Writing again, to his old friend Wythe, of the federal constitution, he says, "my own general idea was, that the States should generally preserve their sovereignty in whatever concerns themselves alone; and that whatever may concern another State, or any foreign nation, should be made a part of the federal sovereignty. That the exercise of the federal sovereignty should be divided among the three several bodies,—executive, legislative, and judiciary, as the State sovereignties are; and, that some peaceable means should be contrived for the federal head to force compliance on the part of the States."

His skeleton of a moose or elk, at length arrived, which cost him over one hundred dollars, and was conveyed as a triumphant argument to Buffon. Of all men, JEFFERSON was assuredly, among the most independent, whether on subjects of government, religion, or private matters. This spirit is clearly shown on the adoption of the federal Constitution. He was not in favor of it, nor was he opposed to it. He thus interrogates Mr. Adams: "How do you like our new Constitution? I confess, there are things in it which stagger all my disposition to subscribe to what such an Assembly has proposed. The house of federal representatives will not be adequate to the management of affairs, either foreign or federal. Their president seems a bad edition of a Polish king. He may be elected from four years, to four years, for life." This re-eligibility of the president, for more than two terms of four years each, was one of his main objections to the Constitution. He further writes of the instrument to a friend,—"there are many good articles in it, and very bad,—I do not know which preponderate." Before it went into operation, from the position he occupied in regard to it, he was denominated an *antifederalist;* that is, one of the party who opposed the Constitution; those who were in favor of it being called *federalists.* In reply to this, he writes Judge Hopkinson: "I am not a *federalist,* because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever, in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in any thing else, where I was capable of thinking

for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to Heaven without a party, I would not go there at all; therefore, I protest to you, I am not of the party of *federalists*." This savors of an exclusiveness, amounting almost to bigotry, and we must confess, we see nothing in the expression, that would commend itself to a great and enlarged mind. But, he continues, by adding: "But, I am much farther from that of an *antifederalist*; I approved, from the first moment, of the great mass of what is the new Constitution; the consolidation of the government; the organization into executive, legislative, and judiciary; the subdivison of the legislature; the happy compromise of interests between the great and little States; the qualified negation on laws given to the executive; which however, I should have liked better, if associated with the judiciary also, as in New York; and the power of taxation."

Such were the portions of which he approved; and thus far he was a federalist; but he further adds, in going on to say what he disliked: "What I disapproved from the first moment, was the want of a Bill of Rights, to guard liberty against the legislative, as well as the executive, branches of the government; that is to say, to secure freedom in religion; freedom of the press; freedom from monopolies; freedom from unlawful imprisonment; freedom from a permanent military; and a trial by jury, in all cases determinable by the laws of the land. I disapproved, also, the perpetual re-eligibility of the President. To these points of disapprobation I still adhere." Thus far he was an *antifederalist*. So much for the grounds he occupied in regard to the Constitution. The fearful results he anticipated from executive re-election, never occurred; and, indeed, the stress he lays upon this feature of the Constitution, does not seem so very consistent with his oft-affirmed confidence in the capacity of the people for self-government.

As objections against a Bill of Rights, which he so strongly favored, it was urged, that such "rights were reserved by the manner in which the federal powers were granted." This he answered by affirming, that though "a constitution may be so framed, as to require no declaration of rights, that where some important objects are unnoticed, such a declaration becomes then necessary."

It was secondly argued, that "a positive declaration of some essential rights, could not be obtained in the requisite latitude;"

which he answerod by asserting, "that our inability to secure all, furnishes no good argument against securing *all we can*." It was also asserted that, "experience proved the inefficiency of a Bill of Rights." To this he replied: "There is a remarkable difference between the inconveniences attending a declaration of rights, and those attending the want of them. Though not always efficacious, under all circumstances, it is always potent, and rarely inefficacious. A brace the more, will often keep up the building, which would have fallen with that brace the less."

Amid the discordant elements of revolutionary factions pervading the French people, he watched with penetrative sagacity the tide of events, which, to him, afforded a national pantomime, interesting and instructive. Yet he was not unmindful of the welfare of his own country. Here is a matter, which, though possessing no intrinsic interest, illustrates so forcibly the pure republicanism of JEFFERSON, is worthy of notice. Washington being elected President, a dispute arose as to the titular distinction, whereby he should be designated "from the common herd." The Senate wished to call him, "His Highness, George Washington," etc., while the House of Representatives wanted it, simply, "George Washington, President of the United States."

JEFFERSON expressed himself with the House, and, on the adoption of their preference, says: "I hope the terms, Excellency, Honorable, Worshipful, Esquire, etc., may forever disappear from among us. I wish that *Mr.* would follow them." Though this seems a little inconsistent with his retaliation upon General Phillips, who addressed him a letter directed "Thomas Jefferson, Esq.," while he was governor of Virginia, he adhered to it the balance of his life. When he was President, he discarded all titular distinctions, and insisted upon being addressed, simply, "Thomas Jefferson." His long residence in France tended to increase his disgust for titles and nobility, and strengthen his republican principles. Those titles, too, being lopped off by recent events, hightened his repugnance to their adoption in his own country.

His meditative mind, always theorizing upon some deep subject, sometimes led him into extremes, that, upon slight reflection, would seem foolish. Among the opinions he fell into, about this time, was one to the effect "that the earth belongs to the living generation, and that the dead have no more right, than they have

power over it." Continuing his investigations of the subject upon this basis, he affirms "that laws and constitutions naturally expired with the generation for which they legislated;" *i. e.*, that dead men had no right to legislate for living ones. These were more speculative ideas, however, than firmly adopted belief; concerning them he thus writes Madison: "Turn this subject in your mind, my dear sir, and particularly as to the power of contracting debts, and develop it with that cogent logic which is so peculiarly yours. At first blush it may be laughed at, as the dream of a theorist, but examination will prove it to be solid and salutary." The establishment of such a wild theory as that would be a virtual abolition of all government, law, and every thing else; for during the short-lived period of one generation, a system of government would not more than be tested, and the succeeding generation would be ushered in without law or order. Widely different this from Lycurgus, who, to make his laws perpetual, procured the passage of an act that made void their alteration until his return, then went on a foreign voyage, where he purposely remained during life, and ordered his ashes sprinkled on the sea, lest the return of his remains should be construed into a fulfillment of the act by the Lacedemonians, and furnish a pretext for the change of his system. This speculative opinion was simply ridiculous and absurd.

On the 28th of September, 1789, JEFFERSON left Paris for the United States. His mission had been agreeable, useful, and instructive. The national dignity had been promoted by his superior qualities of statesmanship, and our diplomatic relations elevated. He reached Norfolk, Virginia, on the 24th of October, after an absence from home of five years. Here he received the notice of his being selected Secretary of State, in Washington's Cabinet, of which, though it caused him real pain to withdraw from his expected retiracy, he signified his acceptance.

He immediately proceeded to Monticello, prior to his entrance upon the discharge of his official duties. On his arriving in sight, his vehicle was surrounded by his negroes, who raised shouts of joy. They followed it to the door of his house, where he was pulled from his seat, hugged, kissed, caressed and greeted with every manifestation of respect. He was a kind master, warm in his attachments, and devoted in his domestic ties. Few have ever been more so. His slaves, on this occasion, were permitted

all sorts of liberties, and indeed, he himself was far from being destitute of reciprocal feelings.

JEFFERSON, when he took his position of Secretary of State in the administration, took an active part in the exciting measures of the subsequent twenty years, that inseparably identifies him with the political history of his country, which he acted to a greater extent, perhaps, than any living man. Parties are incident to all governments, especially republican. Their origin and respective consolidation,—the exact shades of difference, and the causes whereby they were strengthened in the United States, form essentially the complex fractions of our political arithmetic. In a clear and plain elucidation of this subject, the author is aware that many nice difficulties are to be encountered, which he cannot hope fully to overcome.

In the colonies, at the time the Stamp Act was passed, there were two parties,—one for resistance by force, the other for milder measures.

In the Revolution there were two parties, one in favor of America and her independence, called Whig; the other, in favor of allegiance to England, called Tory.

At the close of the war, there were two parties; one for neutrality, the other for assisting France. These, however, were never efficiently organized parties. On the adoption of the Constitution, partyism became excitingly manifest. One party was in favor of the Constitution; this, with Washington, Adams, and Hamilton at the head, was the *Federal* party: the other was opposed to the Constitution: this, with Madison, Boudinot, and others at the head, was the *Anti-Federal* party.

Where shall we class JEFFERSON? JEFFERSON, as we have seen, favored the mass of what composed the federal Constitution, but was opposed to many of its features. Dreading the consequences of independent sovereignties, the federal party insisted upon a close union of the States, with the power of controlling them, firmly vested; this subjected them to the charge, from the antifederalists, of trying to pave the way to monarchy. JEFFERSON believed this charge, and looked upon Hamilton as being the exponent of monarchical views. And, indeed, the author of the "Life of Governeur Morris," asserts that he was. The confidential friend of Washington, a monarchist!—never. Party lines being thus drawn, excitements were engendered and increased by various causes.

The ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, concluded by Jay, was opposed by many, especially JEFFERSON. Hamilton, during the session of the first Congress, proposed the policy of the administration, in a report of marked ability. This embraced a provision for paying the interest of the national debt; the taking upon itself, by the Government, of the several State debts; a duty on imports, and an inland excise. Some of these JEFFERSON opposed, and the breach between him and Hamilton continuing to widen, drew still closer the lines of party. Afterward, a system of apportionment was adopted, which JEFFERSON advised Washington to repeal; which was done.

Party strife continued to increase through both administrations of Washington, and at their close, two parties were firmly established. The unanimous election of Washington was a precedent never again to be witnessed. At the time for another president to be elected, these parties began to rally around their respective champions. The Cabinet of Washington afforded some of each. Hamilton and Knox being Federalists, JEFFERSON and Randolph usually advising the contrary. JEFFERSON denominated his party *Republicans*. In presenting candidates, party considerations were the main actuation. Adams was selected by the Federal, and JEFFERSON, by the Republican, or *Democratic* party. Adams was elected by a small majority. Thus, the Antifederal, Republican or Democratic party, had its origin in hostility to some features of the Constitution,—gained strength during the French revolution, consolidated, in opposition to some of the measures of Hamilton, and continued to exert a great influence upon the destinies of the country.

With this brief notice of party origin, we will return to the personal acts and characteristics of JEFFERSON. His hatred to England was deep and bitter; and no doubt, the smallest semblance in any form of government the United States might adopt, to that of Great Britain, would produce animosity on his part toward it. In the continuous re-eligibility of the President to office, and the want of a Bill of Rights, to protect freedom in its broadest sense, he thought this semblance existed. The proceedings of the First Congress prefigured the local difficulties, and sectional strifes, that have since created such wide-spread agitation. On the subject of duties, the agricultural interests of the south, and the manufacturing interests of the north, came early in

conflict. Hamilton's report was taken up in Congress, and its features discussed. The proposed discrimination between creditors and purchasers, in the adjustment of the national debt, and the manner of assuming the State debts, were objected to by many. Of these Madison was the champion, and proposed an amendment, which was not agreed to. The assumption of the State debts was a measure that elicited warm dispute. Among the disputants figured Ames, Boudinot, Madison, and others,—the latter taking negative grounds. The measure was eventually sustained, and disputes silenced by the introduction of a compromise, in which JEFFERSON had considerable agency. Speaking of this, JEFFERSON says:

"This game was over, and another was on the carpet at the time of my arrival, and to this, I was most innocently, and ignorantly, made to hold the candle. This fiscal maneuver is well known by the name of the Assumption. Independently of the debts of Congress, the States had, during the war, contracted separate and heavy debts; and Massachusetts particularly, in an absurd attempt upon the British post at Penobscot: and the more debt Hamilton could rake up, the more plunder for his mercenaries. This money, whether wisely or foolishly spent, was pretended to have been spent for general purposes, and ought, therefore, to be paid from the general purse. But it was objected, that nobody knew what these debts were,—what their amounts,—what their proofs. No matter,—we will guess them to be twenty millions. But of these twenty millions, we do not know how much should be reimbursed to one State, or how much to another. No matter,—we will guess. And so another scramble was set on foot among the several States, and some got much, some little, some nothing. But the main object was obtained; the phalanx of the treasury was reinforced by additional recruits.

"This measure produced the most bitter and angry contests ever known in Congress, before, or since the union of the States. I arrived in the midst of it. But, a stranger to the ground,—a stranger to the actors on it; so long absent, as to have lost all familiarity with the subject, and, as yet, unaware of its object, I took no concern in it. The great and trying question, however, was lost in the House of Representatives. So high were the feuds excited by this subject that, on its rejection, business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned, from day to day, with-

out doing any thing; the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The eastern members particularly, who, with Smith from South Carolina, were the principal gamblers in these scenes, threatened a secession and dissolution. Hamilton was in despair. As I was going to the President's house, one day, I met him in the street; he walked me backward, and forward, before the President's door, for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the legislature had been wrought; the disgust of those who were called the creditor States; the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the States. He observed, that the members of the administration ought to act in concert; that, though this question was not of my department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the President was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him and support, with joint efforts, measures approved by him; and that the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me, to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends, might effect a change in the vote, and the machinery of government, now suspended, might be again set in motion.

"I told him I was really a stranger to the whole subject; that not having yet informed myself of the system of finance adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union, at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which, all partial and temporary evils should be yielded.

"I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifice of opinion, to form a compromise, which was to save the Union. The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed, that whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the States was more important, and that, therefore, it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which, some members should change

their votes. But it was observed, that this pill would be particularly bitter to the southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before, been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or Georgetown, on the Potomac; and, it was thought that giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterward, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measures alone. So two of the Potomac members, White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive, agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this, the influence he had established over the eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris, with those of the middle States, effected his side of the engagement; and so the "assumption" was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored States, and thrown in as a pabulum to the stock-jobbing herd. This added to the number of votaries to the treasury, and made its chief the master of every vote in the legislature, which might give to the government the direction suited to its peculiar views."

In this extract are shown the mental tyranny and consciousness of extraordinary powers characteristic of JEFFERSON. There is an acrimonious bitterness pervading it, that indicates an envy of Hamilton, his great political rival, and a disposition to impugn the motives of others, no less pure than himself. Speaking of Hamilton's measures in the aggregate, he says: "When I reached New York, I found a state of things, which of all I ever contemplated, I least expected. Politics were the chief topic, and a preference of kingly, over republican government, was evidently the favorite sentiment. An apostate, I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself for the most part, the only advocate on the republican side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member of that party from the legislative houses. Hamilton's financial system had then passed. It had two objects; first, as a puzzle to exclude popular understanding and inquiry; second, as a machine for the corruption of the legislature; for he avowed the opinion, that man could be governed by one of two motives only, force or interest; force, he observed, in this country, was out of question, and the interests, therefore, of the members must be laid hold of, to keep the legis-

lature in unison with the executive; and, with grief and shame, it must be acknowledged, that his machine was not without effect; that even in this, the birth of our government, some members were found sordid enough to bend their duty to their interests, and to look after personal, rather than public good."

We have been thus careful, in the insertion of these extracts, to give JEFFERSON's peculiar views upon the great questions of that time, and to show his relation with his rival, Hamilton, preferring that he should speak for himself, especially, as he defines with such explicitness his position. The early influence of these two statesmen upon our country, would be difficult to over-estimate. The keen, penetrative sagacity of Hamilton, has been seldom, if ever excelled, or even equaled. In many other respects, JEFFERSON was evidently his superior. What tended farther to tighten party lines thus drawn, was a disposition of the federal party to place a liberal construction upon the Constitution, and insist upon an enforcement of all its granted powers, whether implied or expressed. The other party, JEFFERSON among the number, insisted upon a strict adherence to all its provisions, as essential to check the monarchical tendencies, which they thought were manifest, and indicated in embryo, by the desire of the Senate to confer titular distinction upon the President. The powers given the chief executive, conjoined as they were, with unlimited eligibility to office, were watched with the greatest jealousy by the antifederal or republican party. To the measures of Hamilton, after having given his views, he gave a reluctant assent, but subsequent events placed him in opposition. The French Revolution, by the federalists, was looked upon with horror; with the sympathies of JEFFERSON warmly enlisted in behalf of republican principles everywhere,—it was entirely congenial. The disposition of Hamilton, as avowed, to incorporate so many features of the laws of England, against which JEFFERSON's antipathy was deep-rooted and lasting, tended to increase his hostility to many measures of the administration. JEFFERSON's ideas evidently were to simplify the government as much as possible, so as to promote the most enlarged freedom, and guard effectually against all approximation to monarchy, and create as little dissatisfaction among the masses as possible, by avoiding onerous taxes; a subject upon which any people are peculiarly tender. His objects were good. In regard to their accomplish-

ment, many no less pure or patriotic, differed with him very widely. Any measure, in the adoption of which, he thought the country would be benefited, JEFFERSON was disposed to view as practicable; and such as did not accord with his sentiments of utility, he at once regarded as essentially dangerous. Theoretical, meditative, and well versed in political economy, his imperious mind was ready to assert a supremacy over those who entertained different opinions, and not wholly averse to calling their motives in question. To him it seemed strange, and often absurd, that others could not see things as he did; and hence his mental despotism, impervious alike to flattery, and the exercise of power. Unbending in his lofty soul, while he asserted and maintained his independence of all parties, he formed the nucleus, where centered the elements of one of the most potent and influential.

On the assemblage of the third session of the First Congress, JEFFERSON presented that body, accurately prepared tabular views of the commercial interests of the United States, as compared with France and England. This was the result of patient investigation, and a comprehensive mind, accompanied with his characteristic desire to serve his country. JEFFERSON, during his ministerial duties in France, was anxious to give commercial preference to that country, over England; this anxiety was doubtless the dictate of partiality, as well as policy. This tabular view, however, showed the fact, since well established, that England was the more profitable as an emporium for American products, but he still insisted upon the superior national merits of France. It was during this session that the Apportionment Bill, fixing the number of representatives, passed. This bill assumed thirty thousand as the population of each State. But, instead of giving New York thirty thousand, Virginia thirty thousand, and so on, it took the whole population for a dividend, which was divided by the number, thirty thousand. This furnished a quotient of one hundred and twenty; which was applied to the several States according to their population. This gave some States a greater, others a less, representation than they were entitled to. After passing both houses, it was submitted to the President. He advised with his Cabinet. It, as usual, was divided. Hamilton insisted upon its approval; JEFFERSON urged its veto. Washington, after mature reflection, thought with the latter, and it was vetoed. This was the first exercise of the veto power by an American

executive. From this time the breach between the two secretaries continued to widen. JEFFERSON, soon after this, had a long conference with Washington, in which the latter expressed unlimited confidence in his capacity and patriotism, and a hope that he would not retire from the public concerns, as was soon his own intention.

The party feelings of Hamilton and JEFFERSON were at length indicated by a collision. It originated in a commercial treaty with Ternant, the French minister, who, JEFFERSON affirms, was induced to commence it at the instigation of Hamilton, for the purpose of producing difficulties. JEFFERSON, however, drew up the plan of a treaty according to his own views. Hamilton objected to the rates of duty as not being high enough, and amended it by an increase. JEFFERSON thought this was done toward Ternant for the purpose of affording the British minister an argument of the same sort. Upon this supposition he opposed the whole thing, and went contrary to both Washington, and Hamilton. Speaking of this, JEFFERSON says: "His scheme evidently was to get us engaged, first with Ternant, merely that he might engage us on the same ground with Hammond," (the British minister), "taking care, at the same time, by an extravagant tariff, to render it impossible we should come to any conclusion with Ternant; probably meaning, at the same time, to propose terms so favorable to Great Britain, as would attach us to that country by treaty." He farther implicated Hamilton in a confidential understanding with the British minister, to keep him fully advised upon all the measures of Congress and the Cabinet, in lieu of similar information in regard to Parliament and the Crown. This state of things, of course, precluded personal goodwill and intimacy.

Much as we might think of deploring a collision of two such men as JEFFERSON and Hamilton, such differences are not always destitute of good results, especially when both the parties are purely patriotic. The charge of concert with the British minister, was evidently unjustifiable, by any facts in the case.

In the meantime, various causes conspired to make the official duties of JEFFERSON, as Secretary of State, numerous and complicated. No party feelings or recrimination could prevent his faithful discharge of these. England had been slow to conform to many of the articles in the treaty, to which she had pledged compliance; while the conduct of the French minister, Genet, in the

United States, greatly magnified, and increased the difficulties of his foreign correspondence, which he kept up, during the remainder of his official term, with dignity and ability, unsurpassed on the American archives, copious as they are with the talent of sagacious statesmanship.

Bitter as were party feelings at that time, the bold, intrepid manner, in which JEFFERSON maintained the national dignity, and repelled the encroachments of foreign power, won the esteem of all men, independent of party ties. It was a fact, Washington well knew, that the United States had but one JEFFERSON, and that he was needed at that delicate period for Secretary of State.

Congress adjourned on the 8th of May, 1792. JEFFERSON immediately wrote Washington a lengthy letter, giving his views of some of the principal features of party politics, and urging him with warmth and earnestness, to consent to a re-election to the presidency. He speaks of the sectional feelings of the country being excited; party hostilities engendered; contemplates with dread the failure of the government to consolidate the Union, and insisted that to avert most dreadful consequences, it was his duty to fill the place again. "Your being at the helm," says he, "will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people, in any quarter, into violence or secession. North and south will hang together, if they have you to hang on; and if the first corrective of numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States." JEFFERSON was earnest in this appeal, and considered the condition of his country, and her interests alone. Notwithstanding his party attachments, patriotism never found a warmer, or more congenial breast than JEFFERSON's. Washington received this letter in Philadelphia, and proposed a conference with him upon the subject of its contents; this was agreed to, and, soon after the parties met, almost as brothers meet, to talk over the affairs of the country, each having unlimited confidence in the other. Washington reaffirmed his wish to retire to private life, while JEFFERSON repeated, and enforced the reasons assigned in his letter, why he should continue at the head of the national government.

Soon after this conversation, he wrote Washington a second letter, defending himself from anonymous abuse, which, he supposed, originated from Hamilton. He says: "I am charged;

first, with having written letters from Europe to my friends, to oppose the present Constitution, while pending; second, with a desire of not paying the public debt; third, with setting up a paper to decoy and slander the government. The first charge is most false. I approved of as much of the Constitution as most persons, and more of it was disapproved of by my accuser than by me, and of its parts, most vitally republican. My objection to the Constitution, was the want of a Bill of Rights,—Colonel Hamilton's, that it wanted a king and House of Lords. The sense of America has approved my objection, and added the Bill of Rights, and not the king and House of Lords. I wanted the presidential term longer, and not renewable; my country thought otherwise, and I have acquiesced." Of the national debt, he says: "I wanted the debt paid off to-morrow,—Colonel Hamilton—never; but always to remain in existence, for him to manage and corrupt the legislature." The charge of his establishing a paper, etc., grew out of his appointment of Frenau to an office in the State department. He was editor of a paper, that was no way popular with the administration, but gave it frequent thrusts, and especially Hamilton, whom he designated as an administrative leader. The elevation of this gentleman to office, by JEFFERSON, notwithstanding his effort to explain it away, was doubtless the result of existent rivalry between him and Hamilton.

The adjustment of affairs with Spain, soon afforded ground of fresh cabinet disputes. The measures proposed by JEFFERSON, were resisted by Hamilton, as not being sufficiently conciliatory, and too likely to involve us in war, for which we were wholly unprepared. JEFFERSON began now to think of retiring to Monticello. In addition to the dictates of personal preference, he felt that, in the frequent collisions with his rival, there was a ceaseless cause of irritation; and he also thought that Washington was becoming more partial to the views of Hamilton, and looked with less favor upon his.

Satisfied of his endeavors to perform his duty, in every capacity, without reference to popularity, powers, or opinions of others, he wished to retire to the shades of Monticello, and devote himself to private affairs. But in his course, he had drawn a large portion of the people around him, who, regarding him as their leader, would not permit him to quit the service. Compliant to their wishes, and contrary to his own, he consented to a sacrifice

of personal preference, for what was conceived public duty, and public good.

On the commencement of hostilities between England and France, at the beginning of Washington's second presidential term, different opinions were entertained, as to the proper course to be pursued by the United States. It must be remembered, that between France and England, a treaty of alliance had been concluded, prior to the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of the directory. Since that treaty, France had been revolutionized, and a new form of government instituted. Under this form, her minister was about presenting his credentials to the American government, which had also been remodeled. Should he be received, was the change of government an abrogation of the treaty? Should a course of strict neutrality be adopted? These became questions of great moment. JEFFERSON thought the national relationship was unchanged, and affirmed that the treaty was equally binding, as before the Revolution. This, in a very masterly style, he defended elaborately, and entered fully upon the merits of the question. The argument, or opinion, was based: 1st. Upon "the moral law of our nature." 2d. "The usage of nations." 3d. "Their special conventions." With these principles as a basis, he proceeds through the whole complexity of the case, and cites various authors in support of his positions. The opinion is one of marked ability, evincing great reasoning powers, and vast research.

To this construction, Hamilton dissented, as also did Knox. Washington, unswayed by any personal preference, or party prejudice, reposing full confidence in the motives of both his secretaries, agreed with JEFFERSON that the treaty was still binding, and decided upon an unqualified reception of the French minister. JEFFERSON, notwithstanding his liberal sympathies for the French, was far from opposing neutrality relationships to any degree of overt hostilities in their behalf. Speaking of this in a friendly letter, about the time great excitement prevailed favorable to the French, he says: "The war between France and England seems to be producing an effect not contemplated. All the old spirit of 1776, is rekindling. The newspapers from Boston to Charleston prove this, and even the monocrat papers are obliged to publish the most furious philip ics against England. * * *

I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within

the limits of a fair neutrality." He goes on to say farther: "if we preserve a sneaking neutrality, we shall be indebted for it to the President, and not his counselors;"—still showing an unwillingness to accord any controlling influence to Hamilton, whom he includes among "his counselors."

It is here necessary to state, that in the terms "monocrat," "federalist," etc., so acrimoniously applied by JEFFERSON to partisans, he never intended to embrace Washington. Him he regarded, as everybody else did, a pure patriot,—a sightless distance above party, and party faction. The full force of the treaty being established by presidential decision, Genet, the French minister, was received accordingly. By his undue efforts to excite sympathy for his country, he degraded himself and his commission, and was finally subjected to a recall. He soon became involved in an epistolary controversy with JEFFERSON, upon national subjects. JEFFERSON demolished his arguments, if such they could be called, and used him up effectually. At length, finding he got the worst of it in argumentation, he availed himself of that ready resort of little minds, and changed his logic to insolence. Here JEFFERSON, feeling it was getting too low, ceased to reply. The patience of the government being at length exhausted, complaint was made through our minister, Governeur Morris, to the court of France, accompanied with a request for his recall. This drew due consideration, and resulted in the appointment of commissioners to the United States, delegated with pacific powers and instructions to convey Genet home a prisoner. All difficulties were amicably adjusted, but the chief originator of them remained in the United States.

On the issue of the neutrality proclamation, the French revolution, and her war with England, began to exert an influence upon the parties of the country hitherto not seen. Many persons in the United States, whose sympathies were with France, insisted that, even under the existent treaty, we were bound to co-operate with her in the struggle. In fact, after the Revolution, it took very little to create a war-stir in the United States, especially when it was excited by appeals against England. In regard to neutrality, Hamilton and Madison differed,—the former insisting upon both the constitutionality and propriety of the measure,—the latter admitting its present prudence, for the purpose of abiding Congressional action, but denying the right of the President to

proclaim the United States in a state of neutrality, without such action. While these gentlemen were advocating their respective views with accustomed ability, JEFFERSON wrote to Madison and Monroe, extracts from which letters give his sentiments in regard to our relationship with France. To Madison he says: "Never, in my opinion, was so calamitous an appointment made, as that of the present minister of France here. Hot-headed, all imagination, passionate, disrespectful and even indecent toward the President, in his written, as well as his verbal communications, before Congress or the public he will excite indignation." * *

To Monroe he thus wrote: "The proclamation of neutrality was opposed; 1st. Because the executive has no power to declare neutrality: 2d. As such a declaration would be premature, and would lose us the benefits for which it might be bestowed. It was urged, that there was a strong impression on the minds of many, that they were free to join in the hostilities on the side of France; others were unapprised of the dangers they would be exposed to, in carrying contraband goods; and it was therefore agreed that a proclamation should issue, declaring that we were in a state of peace with all parties; advising the people to do nothing contravening it, and putting them on their guard as to contraband. On this ground it was accepted or acquiesced in by all. The public, however, soon took it up as a declaration of neutrality, and it came to be considered, at length, as such." * * * *

Again he says to Madison: "I believe it will be true wisdom, in the Republican party, to approve, unequivocally, of a state of neutrality; to avoid little cavils about who should declare it; to abandon Genet entirely, with expressions of strong friendship and adherence to his nation, and confidence that he has acted against their sense. In this way we shall keep the people on our side, *by keeping ourselves in the right.*"

The complicated state of affairs between France and England, gave rise to new difficulties between us and the latter power. The United States had assumed a position of neutrality, contrary to the provisions of which, Great Britain alleged that France was permitted some liberties injurious to her interests; the United States affirmed that, by a decree of the British government, their rights as neutrals were infringed upon. This referred to a decree, passed by England, authorizing the seizure of American vessels laden with provisions bound for any of the French ports, and

requiring their conveyance to the most convenient port. The impressment of American seamen by England, also afforded additional grounds of complaint.

Pinckney was then our minister to the British court; he was instructed to apply to that government for an explanation concerning the decree, and other offenses. This drew a reply from Hammond to JEFFERSON, maintaining the national legality of the decree. A pretty lengthy correspondence ensued, in which JEFFERSON vindicated the rights of his country with characteristic firmness and ability. A similar decree of the French, was not only an infringement equally gross upon the rights of a neutral power, but was a palpable violation of treaty stipulations between that country and the United States. This decree authorized the seizure of "all neutral vessels laden with provisions bound to the enemy's port," and, of course, embraced the shipping of this country to great Britain. Governeur Morris was then our minister to France, and was instructed to pursue a course, toward that government, similar to that pursued by Pinckney toward Great Britain. France preventing our shipments to England, and she, as a counter-decree, prohibiting them to France, most certainly created no little derangement of our commercial interests. Between JEFFERSON and Morris, this was the result of a correspondence in which right and national dignity are maintained with a manly power, equal to that displayed in the former controversy, of the same nature, with England. On the 2d of December, compliant with its resolutions, JEFFERSON laid before Congress a report upon the commercial interests of the United States. This was drawn with marked ability, and pointed out the channels most suited for a profitable direction of our commerce, and suggested means for its protection and respect. This, and another commercial report soon after, were his last acts as Secretary of State.

On the 31st of July, he wrote a letter to the President, in which, after assuring him that he would "carry into his retirement a lively sense of his goodness," and that he would ever have his "serious prayers for his life, health, and tranquillity," he announced his fixed intention of retiring to private life. True to his purpose, he was soon after serenely reposing amid the beauties of his beloved Monticello, enjoying domestic quiet among his children and grandchildren.

JEFFERSON'S motives, in withdrawing from the public arena,

have been, and not wholly without plausibility, called in question. Some said, it was the result of chagrin at not being able to overcome Hamilton, and quash his favorite measures, and a desire to be relieved from annoying manifestations incident to a rivalry with that gentleman. Others, with a greater degree of probability, affirmed that it was the result of personal preference; though men's motives are hidden things, and frequently entirely concealed,—the general tenor of one's life is the surest method of understanding them. There is no doubt that JEFFERSON earnestly desired retirement; he was a literary man, a man of science, fond of books, especially on natural history; he possessed the warmest family attachments at Monticello, a most beautiful spot by nature, and tastefully improved by art, with every essential to peace and comfort; every thing, indeed, conspired to strengthen his natural desire to enter upon the enjoyment of private repose. But he had taken too deep a hold upon the men of his party, to remain a quiet observer of events from his Monticello eyre. At the close of Washington's administration, he was the unanimous choice of his party to succeed him to the presidency. But, before entering upon this contest we ought, perhaps, to advert to a small matter, out of which, like a great many very small affairs, great ones have been manufactured by designing men.

During Washington's last official term, JEFFERSON wrote a letter to Mazzei, an old Italian friend, in which, it is true, he used some imprudent expressions, but never with the design attributed to him. Mazzei had the letter published, in the Italian language, at Florence; it found its way to Paris, was translated into the French, and eventually reaching the United States, it was re-translated. Thick and heavy was its author abused. He was accused of slandering Washington, and disloyalty to his country. The subjoined is the part of the letter which kindled the ire of the federal party: "The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed, since you left us, April 24, 1796. In place of that noble love of liberty and republican government which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican monarchical and aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British government.

"The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to the republican principles; the whole land-interest is republican, and

so is a great mass of talent. Against us are the executive and the judiciary,—two out of three branches of the Legislature,—all the officers of the government,—all who want to be officers,—all timid men, who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty,—British merchants and Americans trading on British capital,—speculators and holders in the banks and public funds,—a contrivance invented for the purposes of corruption, and for assimilating us in all things to the rotten, as well as the sound parts of the British model. It would give you a fever, were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies,—men who were Samsons in the field, and Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot, England. In short, we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained, only by unremitted labors and perils. But we shall preserve it, and our mass of weight and wealth on the good side, is so great, as to leave no danger that force will ever be attempted against us; we have only to wake and snap the Lilliputian cords with which they have been entangling us during the first sleep which succeeded our labors."

This is a rather bitter epistle. Knowing that Washington, in all hearts, reigned an idol, those unfriendly to JEFFERSON tried to make it appear that he was the "Samson in the field," etc., alluded to. The sentiments of the letter reflect no credit upon the author, and show an imprudent denunciation of the measures of the administration, and a deep hostility to the course of Hamilton, whom he called "Camillus." But the allusions were not to the President, though JEFFERSON thought he often leaned to the measures of the federalists. Mazzei was an old neighbor to him, and they frequently had confidential interviews. After his departure, they were continued by writing. This letter was not designed for publication, but simply as correspondence to a friend. This is some apology for its severity. Anonymous communications, also reflecting upon the administration, were ascribed to JEFFERSON, who, being the leader of the Republican party, was made a kind of packhorse, on which to saddle all the sins of the times. This he disavowed, and, we think, truly. He made it a point not to write for the press, anonymously or otherwise.

His opposers had said much to show that hostile feelings were engendered between him and Washington; and some have averred that Washington "called him to account" for his Mazzei letter;

others, that he wrote an "angry letter," etc. These are, in the main, groundless. Washington was not the man to write angry letters; and though he was often wounded at the differences between his secretaries, his confidence in JEFFERSON's patriotism was never impaired.

But to return. Washington's term having expired, in the selection of one to fill his place, the two parties rallied to their champions. John Adams was the Federal candidate, while JEFFERSON, as before stated, was the Republican or Democratic. Party lines were closely drawn. Adams received seventy-one, and JEFFERSON sixty-eight votes; Adams was elected President and JEFFERSON Vice-president. Four years before, the President was unanimously elected,—now by a bare majority. JEFFERSON entered upon the discharge of his duties as vice-president, with many manifestations of regard and friendship toward Adams. He reached Philadelphia on the 2d of March, to be ready for the inauguration. On his arrival, friendly visits were exchanged between him and President Adams, in which free conversation was indulged upon national affairs, especially our relations with France, and a good understanding between the two was arrived at.

After the inauguration, JEFFERSON retired to Monticello, where he remained until April. In a letter to a gentleman of Massachusetts he says, of the two officers: "The second office of this government is honorable and easy; the first is but a splendid misery." Singular, that the "misery" is so contagious, and so many think themselves just suited to an attack! He also expresses a dread lest "the Hamiltonians" should try to interrupt the good feelings, which he desired should prevail between him and the President, and further expresses a wish that the United States could maintain a position of independent neutrality toward other powers, "especially England and France." The bitterness of party faction, after the retirement of Washington, increased with considerable rapidity, and developed itself in mutual criminations and recriminations. Among the charges preferred by each, was pandering to the caprice of its favorite foreign power,—the federalists to England,—the other to France. To Aaron Burr, a man of some conspicuity as a Republican leader, but otherwise sadly renowned, JEFFERSON wrote a letter expressing his regrets at the increase of party spirit, and disappointment that such was the case, and closes with "apprehensions that fraud would at

length effect what force could not," and that "with currents and counter-currents we should, in the end, be driven back to the land from which we launched twenty years ago." He soon after wrote to Rutledge, in regard to our foreign relations, as follows: "We had, in 1793, the most respectable character in the universe. What the neutral nations think of us now, I know not; but we are low indeed with the belligerents; their kicks and cuffs prove their contempt. If we weather the present storm, I hope we shall avail ourselves of the calm of peace, to place our foreign connections under a new, and different arrangement. * * * As to every thing except commerce, *we ought to divorce ourselves from them all.*" On the party strife of the times, he thus writes to the same man: "You and I have seen, have formerly seen, warm debates and high political passions; but gentlemen, of different politics, would then speak to each other, and separate the business of the Senate from that of society. It is not so now. Men who have been intimate all their lives, cross the street to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats."

JEFFERSON, soon after, returned to Monticello for the enjoyment of a brief respite from official duty, where he learned his appointment to the presidency of the American Philosophical Society, of which he signified his acceptance.

In March, 1798, the President sent a message to Congress, urging that the country be put in a state of defense, in the event of war with France, and withdrew the prior instructions of the custom officers, not to allow armed vessels to leave American ports. JEFFERSON called it an "insane message," and opposed all steps of premature hostility. As a negotiatory basis, the United States were required to pay a large sum of money, of which JEFFERSON speaks, as being "unworthy a great nation, and calculated to excite disgust and indignation generally, and alienation in the republicans particularly, *whom* they so far mistook, as to presume an attachment to France, and hatred to the federal party, and not the love of country to be their first passion." The two parties being charged, not without justness, of partiality to the foreign powers, and France being the one favored by the republican, the course of that country tended to dampen the attachment of many, and to make accessions to the opposite party. Party spirit became warmer than ever; JEFFERSON, in the midst of it, thus

wrote: "All the firmness of the human mind, is now in a state of requisition. The spirit kindled up in the towns is wonderful. These, and New Jersey, are pouring in addresses, offering life and fortune," and adds, that the replies of the President were "more thrasonic than the addresses."*

Partaking of the excitement of the times, Colonel Taylor, a warm republican, of South Carolina, suggested to a friend in Congress, the necessity of southern separation from the Union. To this JEFFERSON replied at length, and used the following patriotic language: "But who can say what would be the evils of secession, and when, and where they would end? Better keep together as we are, haul off from Europe as soon as we can, and from all attachment to any portion of it; and if they show their power, just sufficiently to hoop us together, it will be the happiest situation in which we can exist." JEFFERSON, from the position he occupied in the Republican party, was often warmly assailed by his enemies. On one occasion he was accused of being "closeted" with political friends,—on another, with being a half peacemaker, favoring France, but despising England. These, and similar charges, he denied in private letters. JEFFERSON was on terms of intimacy with Kosciusko, Volney, and Rowan, offering them the hospitalities of Monticello, and maintaining friendly correspondence.

Speaking of the famous "Alien and Sedition laws," as being an exhibition of tyranny, to see how much disregard for the Constitution the people would stand, he says: "if this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted, another act of Congress, declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving for another occasion, the transfer of the succession to his heirs, and the establishment of the Senate for life. At least, this may be the aim of the Oliverians, while Monk and the Cavaliers, who are perhaps the strongest, may be playing their game for the restoration of his most gracious majesty, George the Third. That these things are in contemplation, I have no doubt; nor can I be confident of their failure, after the dupery of which, our countrymen have shown themselves susceptible."

Deep, and lasting, and justifiable, as may have been his hatred to those measures, the foregoing convey imputations as grossly false,

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* Tucker.

as they are unworthy the greatness of JEFFERSON for their author. His sanguine temperament, recklessness of mode of expression, strong political biases, and the extreme partisan feelings of the times, afford the only, and we must confess, but a poor apology for their utterance. Soon after, in conference with Madison, Monroe, and other friends, upon the subject of constitutional violation by Congress, in various ways as they conceived, especially the Alien and Sedition laws, he uttered an emphatic protest against its proceedings. He thus continued with the Republican party, faithfully discharging his duties as vice-president, until the ensuing presidential election, when he was again brought forward as a candidate. This election was strictly a test of party strength. JEFFERSON and Burr were the Republican candidates, and received each seventy-three votes. Adams and Pinckney were the Federal candidates; the former received sixty-five, the other sixty-four votes, and Jay one. This threw the election into the House, and created, as all elections by the House have, intense excitement. JEFFERSON's enemies labored for the election of Burr; indeed, some of the more violent, suggested the prevention of election at all. Congress continued for days, to ballot between JEFFERSON and Burr, with no variation in the result. At length, on the thirty-sixth ballot, JEFFERSON received ten votes, which secured his election. Aaron Burr was vice-president.

The administration of JEFFERSON, is a fruitful source of comment for the author, and inquiry for the student. Our limits preclude, of course, a minute record of all the events crowding within the period of his official terms, but we hope to advert to their leading features, in a manner that will not be wholly uninteresting.

JEFFERSON was inaugurated President, March 4th, 1801. His inaugural was mild, and conciliatory, tending to relieve, to some extent, the fears of the opposite party, in regard to the partiality of his administration. He selected for his cabinet,

JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State;
HENRY DEARBORN, Secretary of War;
LEVI LINCOLN, Attorney-General;
SAMUEL DEXTER, Secretary of Treasury;

and of the navy, BENJAMIN STODDARD: the two latter were appointed by Adams, and continued in office only for a short period, being superseded by Gallatin of Pennsylvania, and

Granger of Connecticut. Not long after his inauguration, he removed the collector of the port at New Haven, who was a warm federalist, and appointed a gentleman in his place from the opposite party, whose qualifications were inferior to the former incumbent. This resulted in remonstrance, and condemnation from the citizens of that locality, and may be regarded as the overt beginning of that ruthless executive proscription, since practiced to such a shameful extent. An extract from his response, to one of these remonstrances, indicates, to a certain extent, this proscriptive policy. He says: "I lament sincerely that unessential differences of opinion should ever have been deemed sufficient to interdict half the society from the rights and the blessings of self-government; to proscribe them as unworthy of every trust. It would have been to me a circumstance of great relief, had I found a moderate participation of office in the hands of the majority, I would gladly have left to time, and accident, to raise them to their just share. But their total exclusion calls for prompter corrections. I shall correct the procedure; but, that done, return with joy to that state of things, when the only question concerning a candidate shall be,—Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" Here, by saying with joy he "*will return*" to the state of things, when honesty, capacity, etc., shall be the only questions to be considered, he admits, that there is another question to ask, plainly, the one, unfortunately, too often asked by our presidents, viz: To what party does he belong? Those he elevated to office, were usually from the ranks of his own party, though the indiscriminate removals from office, upon purely party considerations, was not practiced by him to the extent that has marked the course of some of our subsequent executives.

He wrote to Nathaniel Macon, on the 4th of May, giving him an idea of his administration, in the following language:

"Levees are done away with.

"The first communication to the next Congress, will be like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected.

"The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three ministers.

"The army is undergoing a chaste reformation.

"The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment, by the last of this month.

"Agencies in every department will be revised.

"We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing.

"A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General, to employ no printer, foreigner, or revolutionary tory, in any of his offices."

To Levi Lincoln he also wrote:

"I had foreseen, years ago, that the first Republican President, who should come into office, after all the places in the government had been exclusively occupied by Federalists, would have a dreadful operation to perform. That the Republicans would consent to a continuation of every thing in federal hands, was not to be expected, because, neither just nor politic. On him, then, was to devolve the office of an executioner,—that of lopping off."

Congress convened at the city of Washington, December 7th, 1801. Over the Senate presided Aaron Burr. Congress organized by the election of Nathaniel Macon to the speakership. He was, both personally and politically, a warm friend to JEFFERSON. Democratic majorities prevailed in both Houses, and JEFFERSON entered upon his administration under auspices favorable to the establishment of his favorite measures.

At an early day he sent his *message* to Congress. This was deemed more suitable than the delivery of addresses, which was the practice of Washington and Adams. He insisted upon a revision of some of the acts of the precedent administrations, especially the internal excise; the reduction of foreign ministry; the regulation of the navy, and the judiciary. One of the first acts of his administration, was the abolition by Congress, of the new courts, which, by depriving quite a number of circuit judges of pretty good offices, created considerable temporary dissatisfaction. The principal acts of this Congress, were the apportionment of representatives by the census of 1800; the abrogation of the internal excise; the establishment of a uniform system of naturalization,—reducing the residence of foreigners to five, instead of fourteen years; the annual direction of seven millions of dollars to the sinking fund, for the payment of the old national debt, and the admission of Ohio, as a State, into the Union. The course of the President, toward the preceding administrations, was a negative, rather than a positive hostility; more of their acts were repealed, than measures established contrary to their views. The most important measures of the Second session of Congress,

was the enactment of a law preventing the importation of Negroes into the United States, under severe penalties. One of the most serious causes of national agitation, at this time, was the situation of our affairs with Spain. One of the articles of prior negotiation with that country, qualifying the right of making deposits at New Orleans, was guaranteed to the United States.

By secret treaty in 1802, Louisiana went into the possession of France, and destroyed this right of deposit, as well as the advantages of the Mississippi. To our western people these were advantages of much value, and they would not give them up without some hesitancy and disquiet. In 1802, JEFFERSON gave Congress formal notification of the disposition of Louisiana. Livingston was then our minister to France, to whom was joined James Monroe. Monroe sailed for Paris, with instructions to negotiate for the Floridas and New Orleans. Bonaparte was first consul. To Marbois, with his usual laconic, decisive language, he said: "I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole country, without reservation. * * * I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt to retain it would be folly. Negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Don't wait the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview with Mr. Livingston this very day. But, I require a great deal of money for this war [with England,] and I would not like to commence with new contributions. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty million francs, and, for less than that sum, will not treat. To-morrow you shall have full powers. Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving."

Monroe reached Paris April the 12th, 1803. On the 13th, Livingston, Monroe, and Marbois, began their conference. Marbois' proposition was to cede all Louisiana. The American ministers were astounded. Their instructions were confined to New Orleans, the Floridas, and indemnity for losses sustained by the French upon our commerce. Marbois asked, instead of fifty, eighty million francs. After their astonishment subsided, the American ministers assumed the responsibility of considering the vast transaction. After consenting that twenty millions should be deducted, from the eighty, as remuneration for losses, our envoys agreed upon the payment of the remaining sixty millions

After a close deliberation of some weeks, the transaction was accomplished. The papers being signed, the three ministers "arose and shook hands," during which Livingston said: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. * * * From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America." To Marbois, Bonaparte exclaimed: "Sixty millions, for an occupation that will not, perhaps, last for a day! This accession of territory strengthens forever, the power of the United States; and, I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride." This negotiation was ratified by the United States Senate, July 20th, 1803. Thus, in brief time, the United States had extended jurisdiction over an area of a million of square miles.

JEFFERSON was violently assailed by many of the opposite party, for permitting the purchase of so much "swamp," at the "enormous cost" of fifteen million dollars. It was alleged, by some, that we already had too much territory, and others, that it was unconstitutional, while many supposed the purchase of Nova Scotia, or Mexico, would be equally prudent. It finally, however, became attended with so many manifest advantages, that the croakings against "JEFFERSON's swamp" were silenced.

Hitherto, in the presidential elections, according to constitutional provision, two men were voted for, and the one who received next to the highest number of votes cast, was vice-president. It was this arrangement that produced a contest between JEFFERSON and Burr, and threw the election into the House. The same Congress that ratified the purchase above named, so amended the Constitution, as to specify which was voted for the office of President and Vice-president, each a candidate for one or the other of those offices. The Federalists did not like the change very much, but the Republicans, rendered more active by developments of the last contest, and having majorities in the national legislature, carried it through. Before the acquisition of Louisiana, JEFFERSON was very desirous of acquainting the country and himself, with the extent, attributes, and resources of the country to the Pacific ocean; since that event, the interest of the country being brought into more immediate connection with the subject, this desire had increased. At his instance, in 1803, an exploring

expedition was set on foot with this view. Congress voted an appropriation to defray the expenses. At the head of this adventurous party of explorers, he placed Merriweather Lewis, a man every way suited for the enterprise. JEFFERSON, himself, penned the instructions to that officer, which embraced every thing necessary. Of Lewis, JEFFERSON says: "He is of courage undaunted; possesses a firmness and perseverance of purpose, which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; and is intimate with the Indian character; * * * honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous, that whatever he would report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves." This enterprise was attended with good results. Lewis was just the man for the business.

JEFFERSON's first official term closed on the 3d of March, 1805. The public debt had been increased, but our territorial possessions had been extended, commerce encouraged, the Tripoline war brought to a close, and the national dignity elevated.

About this time, giving his views of the United States bank measure, he says: "This institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles of the Constitution." Some similarity between him and Jackson. During his first term, he lost his youngest daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. Eppes. Than JEFFERSON's, no parent's affections were warmer. Speaking of this sad event, he says: "Others may lose of their abundance, but I, of my wants, have lost even the half of all I had. My evening prospects now hang on the slender thread of a single life. The hope with which I had looked forward to the moment when, resigning public cares to younger hands, I was to retire to that domestic comfort from which the last great step is to be taken, is fearfully blighted."

At the presidential election, in 1804, JEFFERSON and Clinton were the candidates on the Republican side of the question, and Pinckney and Rufus King on the Federal. The result was the election of the Republican candidates by an overwhelming majority. Of one hundred and seventy-six electoral votes cast, JEFFERSON received all but fourteen. This was certainly an indication that his previous administration was very popular.

March 4th, 1805, he delivered his second inaugural. It was, to

some extent, a review of his past term, wherein he gave his fellow-citizens more credit than he took to himself, for its happy termination. He glanced at the prospects of the country, replied to objections of too much territory, by picturing our future national eminence, which has been more than verified, and felicitated the people upon the condition of affairs generally.

Congress again convened, December 2d, 1805. George Clinton presided over the Senate, and the House again elected JEFFERSON's friend, Macon, for speaker. The majorities in both houses were Republican. Our relations with Spain were still in an unpleasant situation, and soon after the assemblage of the Ninth Congress, the President sent a brief message to that body upon the subject. On the committee which considered it, was Randolph, who, nettled at not being made minister to England, for which he had applied to JEFFERSON, but which was not given to him, turned one of those political somersets, that are not so very uncommon at the present day, and from a friend, became an enemy to the administration. Led by this gentleman, the committee drew up a warlike, instead of a pacific, report, and recommended the raising of soldiers, in view of the attitude of affairs. The report, however, after some heated discussion, was rejected. Two millions of dollars were soon after voted, for the purchase of Florida. The aggressions of England against our commerce, and the impressment of our seamen, still continued to a considerable extent. JEFFERSON, by message, advised Congress of the fact. A qualified non-importation bill was immediately passed, preventing the purchase of certain British commodities. The Federalists generally, strengthened by the defection of Randolph, voted against this bill. Congress also voted means to improve the ports and harbors of the United States, and to construct post roads, especially a route from Maryland to the State of Ohio.

Randolph's defection created, in Congress, a kind of a third party, which, though disavowing all connection with the Federalists was relentless in its opposition to the national measures of the administration, but equally careful to vote with the Republicans on all local questions wherein they were not concerned. April 21st, 1806, Congress adjourned, and again assembled December 1st, of the same year. One of its first measures, was a temporary suspension of the non-importation act. This was done at the suggestion of JEFFERSON, for the purpose of facilitating full

adjustment of negotiations with England; to accomplish which, Monroe and Pinckney had been instructed to the British court. Fox, one of the leading men of England died, while these negotiations were pending. In him JEFFERSON had great confidence, and expected a satisfactory treaty.

Anticipating ministerial change, after his death, he was less sanguine. He wrote Monroe and Pinckney definite instructions, urging the rights of neutrals, and telling them not to treat, without adequate provision against impressment of our seamen. Before these instructions reached Europe, a treaty had been concluded. A copy was sent to the President at an early day. The terms of the treaty gave no security against impressment, and the right claimed by England, of disregarding the neutrality of the United States, in case of their conformity to the requirements of Bonaparte's famous Berlin decree. Upon the whole, the treaty was no improvement upon the old one. JEFFERSON determined upon not submitting it to the Senate. This decision made him the recipient of great popular odium, and created considerable disquietude, especially among the trading portion of the people. Our envoys, who consummated it, were displeased with its reception; while, of course, it afforded a new trail of abusive pursuit for the opposite party. JEFFERSON was supported, however, by the Republican party; his expectations of a treaty upon more favorable terms were not fully realized. The death of Fox altered things considerably. Fruitless endeavors succeeded, and were persevered in for some time, by the American envoys, to effect a treaty upon the most advantageous basis. Seeing the futility of further efforts, JEFFERSON instructed Monroe to allow negotiations to subside with a *quasi* recognition of the terms, to prevent a rupture. This was rather a poor subterfuge, in a national transaction. Monroe came back to the United States in 1807. The rejection of this treaty may be regarded as the seed of national dissension that germinated in the war of 1812. The attack upon the Chesapeake soon followed, and created an indignant outburst against England from all parts of the country. Some favored a resort to arms; JEFFERSON made it a subject of negotiation. After much dispute it was finally adjusted.

At this time the commerce of nations presented a singular phase. The French coast was in a state of blockade by the British navy, triumphant from Trafalgar. Bonaparte issued his Berlin de-

cree, interdicting commercial interchange with England. Counter to this, the latter raised the national placard called "Orders in Council," which prevented the shipment of any article from America to France. With as much composure as though it were a schoolboy's game, Bonaparte thundered forth his Milan decree, denationalizing, at one sweep, all vessels that should land at a British port, and subjecting them to seizure.

Not to be outwitted, in this national game, JEFFERSON, in October, 1807, called Congress together and recommended an act of embargo on all the ships belonging to the United States. A bill to this effect passed December 22d. By its provisions, no American vessel was allowed to visit a foreign port; no foreign ship was allowed to take freight from the United States; and all vessels on the coast were required to land within their limits. Spain also came forward with a kind of commercial manifesto. The embargo was the principal measure of that Congressional session; it adjourned April 25th, 1808. This measure was warmly opposed by many, and JEFFERSON much abused in consequence. Many of his own party did not acquiesce. The opposition prevailed most, among those whose commercial interests were involved. De Witt Clinton was, for a time, against the measure, but finally sustained it. By the embargo, it was difficult to tell which suffered most, we or England. The measure was no doubt judicious, for by her Council orders our vessels, on leaving port, were liable to be captured, affording no means of redress but reprisals, which would have resulted in a rupture. The Federalists generally were opposed to it, while its tendencies were to strengthen their ranks, and weaken those of the Democratic party.

The American ministers proposed to England a repeal of the embargo, on condition of a rescission of the Council orders; which was rejected. At length, under the disadvantages attendant upon its operation, the New England States became so refractory, that they threatened to separate from the others, until its repeal. To prevent this, JEFFERSON and his cabinet suggested a modification of the measure. It was so changed as to permit commercial interchange with all nations, except England and France, and assumed the appellation of the "non-intercourse law."

The last administration of JEFFERSON closed March 3d, 1809. By many, the advantages of his two terms have been estimated

too highly, and by others, much underrated,—party prejudice having much to do with the matter. His last term, upon the whole, was not so popular as his first. Many of the States urged his re-election, but he positively declined. At the presidential election, the preceding fall, James Madison was the Democratic candidate for the presidency, and George Clinton for vice-president; the Federal candidates were Charles Pinckney and Rufus King. Madison got 122 electoral votes; Clinton, 113; Pinckney and King, each, 47.

On March 3d, 1809, JEFFERSON gave to his successor, James Madison, the reins of government, and returned to private life. Henceforth, amid the quiet beauties of Monticello, we commune with THOMAS JEFFERSON as a private man.

JEFFERSON, in his desire for knowledge, had accumulated an exhaustless fund of information upon almost all subjects. To science he was an ardent devotee, and had familiarized himself with the classics, and several modern languages, as well as mathematics. In his retirement, among his friends and his books, he was well capacitated for the first enjoyments. To Kosciusko he wrote as follows, in regard to the manner of passing his time, after his return to Monticello: "In the bosom of my family, and surrounded by my books, I enjoy a repose to which I have been long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence. From breakfast to dinner I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark I give to society, and recreation with my neighbors and friends; and from candle-light to early bed-time, I read. My health is perfect, and my strength considerably reinforced by the activity of the course I pursue: perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of near sixty-seven years of age. I talk of plows, seeding and harvesting with my neighbors, and of politics too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow-citizens, and feel, at length, the blessings of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighboring village, have the use of my library and council, and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavor to keep their attention on the main objects of all science,—the freedom and happiness of man."

A general diffusion of knowledge, he ever looked upon as the strongest safeguard to republican liberty, and was active in his endeavors for its promotion. In 1818, principally through his agency, the University of Virginia was founded, and soon after went into operation with the happiest results. This institution was the object of his deep solicitude during his old age. Until his death, his extensive correspondence was kept up, much of which has been published, and is exceedingly interesting, especially that portion of it between him and John Adams.

At Monticello he passed gently the declivity of age. In the words of Webster, "He lived as became a wise man. Surrounded by affectionate friends,—his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished,—with uncommon health and unbroken spirits, he was able to enjoy largely the rational pleasures of life, and to partake in that public prosperity which he had so much contributed to produce. His kindness and hospitality,—the charm of his conversation,—the ease of his manners,—the extent of his acquirements, and especially the full store of revolutionary incidents which he possessed, and which he knew when and how to dispense, rendered his abode in a high degree attractive to his admiring countrymen, while his public and scientific character drew toward him every intelligent and educated traveler from abroad."

In his manner of living, JEFFERSON had never been parsimonious; and, in fact, he was rather extravagant than otherwise. To dress he paid little or no attention; in regard to other matters he was not so economical. It is painful to find him, in his old age, annoyed by debts, and though the owner of immense property, in a state of insolvency. To Congress he was obliged to sell his fine library. From this he realized over twenty thousand dollars. He applied to the same body for permission to dispose of his Monticello estates by lottery, for the payment of his debts. This request was complied with, but before it was put into execution, he was taken sick, and never recovered.

He died as he lived, unmoved by the opinions of others. On the 24th of June, his illness, which was an attack of dysentery, assumed an alarming aspect, and his physician, Dr. Dunglison, despaired of his recovery. Thence he continued to sink, until the 4th of the ensuing month. Just before his death, he understood the Rev. Mr. Hatch had come to see him. "Is that Mr. Hatch," he inquired; "he is a very good man, and I am glad to see him

as a neighbor, but ——;" a sudden pain prevented the conclusion of a sentence, in which, no doubt, an objection to religious conversation would have been uttered. In his dying moments, no thought seems to have been bestowed on religious subjects.

A few years previous to his death, he wrote a friend in regard to the Savior and the New Testament, as follows: "It is not to be understood that I am with Jesus, in all his doctrines. I am a materialist; he takes the side of spiritualism; he preaches the efficacy of repentance toward forgiveness of sin; I require a counterpoise of good works. It is the innocence of his character,—the purity and sublimity of his moral precepts,—the eloquence of his inculcations, the beauty of the apologues, in which he conveys them, that I so much admire,—sometimes, indeed, needing indulgence to Eastern hyperbolism. My eulogies, too, may be founded on a postulate which all may not be ready to grant. Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality. and of the most lovely benevolence; and others, again, of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being. I separate, therefore, the gold from the dross; restore him the former, and leave the latter to the stupidity of some, and roguery of others of his disciples. Of this band of dupes and impostors, Paul was the great Coryphæus and first corrupter of the doctrines of Jesus. These palpable interpolations and falsifications of his doctrines led me to try to sift them apart. I found the work obvious and easy, and that his part composed the most beautiful morsel of morality which has been given to us by man."

During the 3d of July, from extreme weakness, he remained in a state of stupefaction, with evident signs of approaching dissolution. In the night, he faintly asked the hour. "One o'clock," was the reply. His eye gleamed with satisfaction, at this intelligence. He wished to take his spirit-flight on the anniversary of Independence. He continued to sink, and finally died, July 4th, 1826, just fifty years from the day the Declaration of Independence was signed. He was buried without pomp or parade, the following day, on the mountain side, near his residence. The friend of man,—the champion of civil and religious freedom,—he sleeps at Monticello,—the DECLARATION for his epitaph.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

A CELEBRATED English writer* has said, that in looking over the list of Plutarch's unpublished works, a catalogue of which is all that has come down to us, one feels like a merchant who looks over a bill of lading, after having learned the vessel containing his goods had sunk at sea,—he is only impressed more vividly with the extent of his loss.

In our admiration of HAMILTON, the versatility of his genius, his far-seeing sagacity, his deep penetration, vigorous intellect, great powers to grapple with competition, and genial social qualities, as manifested during his brilliant career, we see a lasting monument to the national loss sustained in his untimely fall. In HAMILTON, literature, science, and statesmanship, all found a noble exponent; and in military tactics, he was far from a novice. The Island of Nevis, in the British West Indies, was the place of his nativity. His paternal ancestry were Scotch; on the mother's side, he descended from the French Huguenots. His paternal grandfather, Alexander, a resident of Ayrshire, Scotland, had a numerous progeny. His son, James Hamilton, commenced business at St. Christophers, as a West India merchant. There he married. His beautiful and accomplished wife had before been married to a wealthy Dane, but the union was so infelicitous, that she obtained a divorce. The issue of her marriage with Hamilton, were several children, the youngest of which was ALEXANDER, the subject of this sketch, who was born January 11th, 1757. While very young, he lost his mother, and his

* Dryden.

father's pecuniary circumstances being so straitened, he became dependent upon wealthier relatives. They paid due attention to their young charge. His education began at a very early age. He learned the ten commandments, in Hebrew, "when so small that in reciting he was placed standing on a table" beside his instructress. He had early partiality for books, and gave unusual evidences of aptitude in his studies. Dr. Knox, a Presbyterian minister of piety, took pride in looking to the expansion of his precocious mind. In his thirteenth year, he entered the counting-room of Nicholas Cruger, a wealthy Santa Cruz merchant. His duties were arduous and incessant, but he was "an industrious boy," and discharged them faithfully. At this tender age, with his keen eye and slender classic form, young HAMILTON might have been seen, in Cruger's counting-room, posting books and filing bills. These duties were not congenial to his ardent restless soul. Young as he was, higher ideas, literary renown, had dazzled the day-dreams of his ductile mind. From his counting-room he wrote a young friend, expressing his dislike to his situation, in which he says, with youthful frankness and simplicity: "To confess the truth, Ned, my ambition is prevalent, so that I contemn the groveling condition of a clerk, or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station. I am confident, Ned, that my youth excludes me from any hopes of preferment; nor do I desire it; *but I mean to prepare the way for futurity.* I'm no philosopher, you see, and may be justly said to build "castles in the air;" my folly makes me ashamed, and I beg you will conceal it. Yet, Neddy, we have seen such schemes successful, when the projector is constant. I shall conclude by saying I wish there was a war." Herein is seen, in embryo, HAMILTON's lofty ambition, and also an evident youthful preference for a military life. This, however, is not unusual, among boys who possess really no martial genius. Youthful fancy is easily inflamed, by the "soul-stirring drum," the waving plume, the prancing steed, and other "paraphernalia of glorious war."

HAMILTON's natural tastes were literary. Over the pages of Pope and Plutarch, he pored with delight.

His first literary effort, was a "Description of a hurricane" that swept ruin over the Leeward Islands, which was published in a St. Christopher paper. Learning, it may be supposed,

was not fostered much in that part of the country then, and the fact of this production creating such a sensation, may be partly attributable to the crude state of letters, as well as to its own merits. At any rate, it was young HAMILTON's starting point. Its author was ferreted out. On ascertaining it was HAMILTON, it was resolved to send him to New York, for the purpose of his education. He reached that city in the fall of 1772, and immediately contracted the acquaintance of some distinguished men, among whom were Livingston and others. He soon after entered a grammar school, and distinguished himself from his fellows by his rapid advance.

Early dawn found him, during warm weather, in the quiet seclusion of a neighboring burial ground, studying his books, while the midnight taper shone upon his classic brow bent over his favorite authors. Such was his close application. Youthful reader! if you are dazzled by the fame of HAMILTON, and wish to emulate it, remember to commence when he did, nor waste the golden hours of your youth. HAMILTON had quite a taste for poetry, and his earlier years were replete with indulgences with the muses; some of his pieces, in fact, evince poetic talent.

Quitting his grammar-school, he proposed entering Princeton College, under the charge of Dr. Witherspoon; but not being permitted to progress faster than the regular classes, he became a student of King's (now Columbia) College, where, at his own request, he was allowed to advance as fast as application and attainment would justify. Here he became a member of a debating club.

In this he took a stand above his young friends, and evinced "extraordinary displays of richness of genius and energy of mind." HAMILTON was religiously inclined, as inferred from his room-mate, who affirms that "he was in the habit of praying night and morning;" but his ardent temperament and high ambition, in the miry bog of politics, checked, as is invariably the case, its genial manifestations.

HAMILTON, though inordinately ambitious, was not morose, but socially, was a lively, vivacious and polite companion. For his recreations, he mingled with zest in society, and indulged in rhyme. For a whig paper, published in the city by Joseph Holt, he frequently wrote verses, satires, and doggerel, showing great versatility of genius.

At college he was designated as the "Young West Indiaman," and won an enviable reputation among his collegiate companions. In the evening twilight, as well as at other times of the day, with arms folded and measured step, during his studentship, his graceful form might have been seen walking alone amid the deep shades of a neighboring grove, and heard talking to himself in an under-tone. There, in his solitariness, he was developing those mighty ideas whose infusation were to adorn the fabric of American Republicanism.

The stirring scenes of the Revolution were now to call the young student from his books.

Soon after the famous tea-destruction, he visited Boston, and became fired with the ardent zeal that so bestirred the people of that city. Impetuous and enthusiastic, he was eminently susceptible of the contagion. Returning to New York, the same indications were manifest against British infraction. A large city-meeting was called, to take into consideration the condition of affairs.

This is known historically as the "great meeting in the fields;" the persons attending numbered thousands, who came to it, eagerly, sternly, solemnly. HAMILTON, yet in his teens, was urged to address the meeting. His modesty was at first shocked at the idea, but as the other speakers concluded, his zeal took fire, and he consented. He arose, a graceful stripling, before the immense multitude who had just listened to veteran orators. All eyes were turned upon the youth,—perfect stillness reigned. He was at first embarrassed; but, becoming animated at the review of his country's wrongs, he launched boldly into the regions of oratory, and enchained his hearers, in an address of impassioned eloquence and analytic reasoning. He covered the entire ground. On his close, the stillness of his spell-bound auditory broke forth in the exclamation, "he is a collegian! he is a collegian!!"

The astonishment was great. This may be regarded as his *debut* in the political world, before which he was destined to carve high a name illustrious. Boy as he was, he now became one of the Livingstons and Jays of Colonial right, and entered the contest with pen keen as a Saladin scimeter.

Holt's paper now became the medium through which he vindicated the rights of his countrymen from the foul aspersions of foreign foe and domestic traitor.

Nor to this alone did he confine the diffusion of his patriotic sentiments; pamphlets were written and industriously circulated, by the friends of loyalty, in opposition to the action of the colonists, and especially denunciatory of the American Congress. To these, able and elaborate replies were written; one of them was a tract of seventy-eight pages, refuting the arguments of the ministerial party, with the most cogent reasoning and decided ability. In this was a brief review of British aggression, and a vivid portraiture of our wrongs, particularly of the Boston blockade and Port Bill. Speaking of the assembling of Congress, and in its defense, he says:—"When the first principles of civil society are violated, and the rights of a whole people are invaded, the common forms of municipal law are not to be regarded. Men may then betake themselves to the law of nature, and if they but conform their actions to that standard, all cavils against them betray ignorance or dishonesty. There are some events in society to which human laws cannot extend, but when applied to them, lose all their force and efficacy. In short, when human laws contradict or discountenance the means which are necessary to preserve the essential rights of any society, they defeat the proper end of all laws, and so become null and void.

Going on to speak of America's resources, and her means of resistance, in which a successful result is confidently predicted, he says: "Those obstacles which, to the eye of timidity and apprehension, appear like the Alps, to the hand of perseverance and resolution, become mere hillocks." His remarks were continued, ably touching upon all the features to be considered, in a war with Great Britain, and warmly appealing to his fellow-citizens in behalf of their jeopardized institutions. This pamphlet was issued in the name of "A Sincere Friend to America," and had an effect upon the minds of the people, unsurpassed by any production, of similar purpose, that had been published. Who was its author? and who the sincere friend was? became universal queries. Some thought it was Livingston, others, John Jay; and the gentlemen became invested with additional honors in consequence. Investigation, however, soon found the author to be HAMILTON, then in his nineteenth year. Admiration and astonishment succeeded the discovery, and the "young collegian" received the name of "Vindicator," and was looked upon as a future champion. "Sir!" exclaimed Willit, in conversation with

a friend, "Sears was a warm man, but with little reflection; M'Dougal was strong-minded; and Jay, appearing to fall in with the measures of Sears, tempered and controlled them; but HAMILTON, after these great writings, became our oracle." Nor did he, as is often the case with precocious beginners, disappoint public expectation by falling short of that eminence these early efforts prefigured, but continued, as the sequel will show, to expand in mind as he matured in years, until he stood a proud colossus among the intellects of his day.

During the excitement that followed, and prevailed in the New England States, after these acts of the British Parliament, HAMILTON continued, by his pen, a defense of the colonies. His "remarks on the Quebec bill" succeeded the production before named, and breathed the same tone of denunciation and appeal. He joined, too, in the public meetings of the day, and impressed all with a sense of his talent and energy. Arising, on one occasion, to address an assemblage of his fellow-citizens, called together by the alarms of the times, some one, who was unacquainted with him, inquired: "What brings that lad here?—the boy will disgrace himself." But the eloquence, and analysis of the speech that followed, soon dispelled the illusion, and convinced him that the "boy" had an old man's head on a young man's shoulders. There is something pleasing, in contemplating the figure of young HAMILTON, turning thus aside from his college studies, and appearing before these assemblies of patriots, to fill them with admiration of his powers, and animate them with a sense of right. Entering into the martial spirit of the times, he now resolved to turn his attention to military tactics, and became an active participant in the field. He joined a volunteer company, under the command of Major Fleming, who, from prior experience in the British service, had become an accomplished [illegible]net. The name of this corps was "Hearts of oak,"—their [illegible], "Freedom or Death," both of which were in consonance with the nature and feelings of young HAMILTON.

While in this company, an irritated mob surrounded the house of a clergyman named Cooper, with a view of retaliating upon his person for his tory adherence to the loyalists. HAMILTON rushed up the steps in front of the rabble, and commenced addressing them upon the illegality and impropriety of such conduct, for the purpose of giving the object of their vengeance a chance to escape.

The clerical functionary, supposing him the leader of the mob, who was urging it to violence, looked from a window above, and said with vehemence: "Gentlemen, don't listen to him, he is crazy;" but seeing the real state of things, with different feelings he thought, rather than submit to the infliction of lynch punishment he had better avail himself of this timely aid, and make his escape, and fled to a ship anchored close by. HAMILTON here showed, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his nature, in resistance to unjust encroachments, a love of order and legality not common, in times of such turbulence, with men of his age.

Having sufficiently familiarized himself with the science of war to procure a certificate of capacity, he was, in January 1774, appointed captain of artillery. His love of order and regulation, combined with his ambition to succeed in any business to which he devoted himself, aided by a spark of martial fire, prompted attention to the discipline of his men, and resulted in his having one of the finest-looking companies in the service. He was at the battle of Long Island, and brought up the rear, in the retreat from that fatal field. He was also with Washington at Haerlem lights, when their intimacy commenced, that continued with fervor through life. Like the young officer who begged of Napoleon the permission to assault the ramparts of Acrè, with assurances of success, young HAMILTON asked his commander the privilege of storming Fort Washington, after it had fallen into the enemy's hands, with expressions of victory; but, knowing the danger attending the enterprise, in the present dispirited condition of the troops, though appreciating the ardor that dictated it, the request was not granted.

During the sad period of Washington's retreat through New Jersey, he was accompanied by HAMILTON. "Well do I remember," remarked an eye-witness, "when HAMILTON's company marched into Princeton. It was a model of discipline. At their head was a boy, and I wondered at his youth; but what was my surprise when, struck with his diminutive figure, he was pointed out to me as that HAMILTON of whom we had all heard so much."

As a soldier, HAMILTON was firm, generous, and brave; as an officer, chivalrous and polished, though military attributes, compared to others, form, in his character, points obscure and unessential. After the brilliant affairs at Trenton and Princeton, and their good results, elated with the brightening prospects, HAMILTON

thus spoke of recent events: "After escaping the grasp of a disciplined and victorious enemy, this little band of patriots were seen skillfully avoiding an engagement, until they could contend with advantage, and then, by these masterly enterprises, cutting them up in detachments,—rallying the scattered energies of the country, infusing terror into the breasts of their invaders, *and changing the whole tide and fortune of the war.*"

Not long after, so warm had the attachment of Washington, whose unfailing eye, detected in him extraordinary talents, become for HAMILTON, that he was made his "confidential aid;" between which post and his future station, as his secretary of the treasury, many changes were to intervene. The other members of Washington's staff among whom were Harrison and Meade, soon conceived for him the warmest affection, and gave him the name of "THE LITTLE LION." HAMILTON, in fact, by goodness of heart and gentleness of manners, had the means of making himself loved, and inspiring confidence on first acquaintance; then, he had the talent and power of retaining good opinions, when inspired.

After his elevation to this position, the official correspondence of Washington devolved upon his young aid. As evidence of his fitness for the station, Washington expressed to him his confidence, that he could write "good, quick, methodical, and diligent." In the long, and somewhat vexatious, correspondence in regard to the exchange of prisoners, elsewhere spoken of, he fully sustained his literary capacity. A distinguished man of that day affirmed, that "the pen of the American army was held by HAMILTON; and for dignity of manner, and elegance of style, his letters were unrivaled in military annals." It must be remembered, that he had not yet reached his majority.

Through the troublous scenes of 1777, he adhered to Washington with almost filial affection, kept up important correspondence with Congress, and was intrusted with several delicate and perilous missions. One of these, and by no means the least important, was to Horatio Gates, then in command of the Northern army. He was sent by Washington to that officer, with instructions to urge upon him the necessity of detaching a reinforcement to the commander-in-chief. Gates was then in the hight of his successes, clothed with authority, arrogant, and assumptive, and was meditating means of availing himself of his growing fame, to supersede Washington. To procure the required aid,

without the enforcement of a peremptory order, that might tend to create irritation, but by prevailing upon Gates through an exhibit of necessity, devolved on HAMILTON.

Gates, at first, consented to a small detachment, excusing himself from doing more, by the assignment of reasons wholly insufficient; after continued efforts, however, through his sagacity, HAMILTON succeeded in getting the number augmented, and rendering Washington essential service. Through the machinations of the "Conway cabal," he remained to his commander the same staunch friend, and in the triumphant vindication of his name, took the greatest pride, while the withering replies of the general to Gates, and other members of the faction, received the polish of his intellect. When the failure of the faction resulted in the increased fame of his commander, and the futility of its efforts became apparent from the voice of the soldiers, who, mid firm protestations of "no Washington,—no army," clung to their chief,—no one was more exultant than HAMILTON. Of the many men whose devotion to him, through all his trying labors, won the esteem and gratitude of Washington, HAMILTON and KNOX were those he absolutely loved; abundant proofs of which are afforded by his letters to them, that breathed unbounded confidence and brotherly affection. For HAMILTON, he entertained feelings amounting to fondness. His youth, devotion, gentleness and ingenuity, combined with the solid abilities of age and experience, and his varied attainments, rendered him peculiarly near to him. In his letters to him, he commences with, "Dear HAMILTON;" in business, where promptness and talent were necessary, he would say, "the duty being of a delicate nature, I have selected you," etc.; and again, on the performance of such tasks, "I approve entirely of *all* the steps you have taken," etc.

To the reactionary influence, in favor of Washington, after the attempts at his supercession, and the discomfiture of the factious malcontents who originated them, HAMILTON contributed much, both by his popularity and his pen. In fact, when disaffection was at its highest, with the Morrises, Duers, and others of New York, which, as a state, to its honor be it said, stood firmly by the commander when others seemed allured by the hero of Saratoga, HAMILTON was his friend, and rendered services never forgotten.

HAMILTON, notwithstanding his warmth and zeal, tempered his actions and letters with due caution, which was, indeed, one trait

of his character. On the French troops' amalgamation with the Americans, as the wisest men foresaw, distinctions and jealousies, were at once created. In one of his communications to Congress, touching this subject, he says: "The bearer of this is Mr. Malmiai, a Frenchman of learning, abilities, and experience. I believe he thinks himself entitled to preferment and comes to Congress for that purpose." He goes on to say, that from recommendations of General Lee, and Governor Cook, that the bearer had "been led to believe he would be adopted by the Continent upon equal footing. But in this he will, no doubt, be mistaken," etc. He continues his letter in no strain of encouragement to the applicant, by saying that "Congress, in the beginning, went upon a very injudicious plan toward Frenchmen. To every adventurer that came, without even the shadow of credentials, they gave the rank of field-officer. This circumstance seconding the aspiring disposition natural to those people, carried the expectations of those who really had pretensions, to such a length, as exceeded all the bounds of moderation."

Again, his caution is seen predominating over the ardor of his friendship, in the following, on a somewhat similar subject, to the same individual: "I take the liberty to trouble you with a few hints, on a matter of some importance. Baron Steuben, who will be the bearer of this, waits on Congress to have his office arranged upon some permanent footing. The Baron is a gentleman for whom I have a particular esteem, and whose zeal, intelligence and success, the consequence of both, entitle him to the greatest credit. But I am apprehensive, with all his good qualities, a fondness for power and importance, natural to every man, may lead him to wish for more extensive prerogatives in his department, than it will be for the good of the service to grant. I should be sorry to excite any prejudice against him on this account; perhaps I may be mistaken in my conjectures. The caution I give will do no harm, if I am; if not, it may be useful."

In his conjectures regarding this extraordinary Prussian disciplinarian, subsequent events proved he *was* wrong. He was actuated by no sinister motives to the American service, to the officers of which he became greatly attached, and to none more so than HAMILTON. Between them, so close was the intimacy that afterward existed, that HAMILTON was made his trustee, and Steuben would often say, jocosely: "The Secretary of the

Treasury is my banker,—my HAMILTON takes care of me, when he can not take care of himself." Evidences of his bravery, also, are not wanting; perilous soever as any enterprise might be, if confided to him, he entered upon it. He was at the battle of Monmouth, and while the fortunes of the day came near being lost by the retreat of Lee, was by the side of Washington. In reply to his inquiry into the cause of the disorder, Major Ogden said, with an oath we shall not repeat: "We are flying from shadows, sir." HAMILTON instantly rode up to Lee, and said with warmth: "I will stay with you, my dear general, and die with you,—let us all die here rather than retreat."

Soon after the action, the following was, in a communication, issued from head-quarters: "I am happy to have it in my power to mention the merit of Colonel HAMILTON. He was incessant in his endeavors during the whole day, in reconnoitering the enemy, and in rallying and charging; but whether he or Colonel Laurens deserves the most of our commendation, is somewhat doubtful; both had their horses killed under them, and both exhibited great proofs of bravery."

It was about this time that an incident occurred which again called his vigorous pen into action. A plan had been devised by Washington, for the more effectual provisioning of the army, the success of which, depended in a measure upon its not being prematurely disclosed. Through the treachery of a member of Congress, in league with the factious party, it became known, and was prevented from being fully accomplished. Upon this subject, HAMILTON wrote his first series of scathing "Publius" letters, of which a man of eminence said: "They struck me as the closest imitation of Junius which I had ever read." A higher compliment could not well be passed on literary effort.

At the period of public bankruptcy, when the depreciation of national credit warped American energies in the meshes of one of the most distressing financial crises ever known, and created the necessity of negotiating a foreign loan, HAMILTON, in a letter to Robert Morris, suggested the idea of a United States bank. Upon the principle, that "the only plan which can preserve the currency, is one that will make it the immediate interest of the moneyed men to co-operate with government in its support," he argued, at length, the manifest necessity of a national bank, to be called the "Bank of the United States." The institution was proposed to be estab-

lished upon a borrowed basis of two million pounds, the payment of subscription, to a much larger amount, to be secured by Congress by ten million dollars of specie,—the excise revenue forming a part of the stock. In this way he insisted, at four per cent., Congress would be enabled to borrow from the bank the amount of its cash basis yearly, for the purpose of prosecuting the war, without incurring heavier indebtedness than the interest accruing, and that would be to her own institution. This certainly looks well in theory. He goes on to amplify upon the advantages arising from the amalgamated interests of public and private credit, by saying: "I can not forbear feeling a degree of confidence in the plan, and at least hoping, that it is capable of being improved into something that will give relief to our finances." He further says to Morris, after elaborating upon his plan, that "Congress must establish the bank and set it a-going. I know of no man that has better pretensions than yourself, and shall be very happy to hear that Congress has said, 'Thou art the man.'"

This letter and plan were submitted to Morris in 1779, when its author was but twenty-two years of age, yet it designates him as the originator of a measure, whose expediency, or impolicy, was for years after to blend with the rallying shouts of the two political parties,—the one for, the other against, a United States bank. The Pennsylvania Bank was proposed in Congress in 1780, and that great revolutionary financier, Robert Morris, reported the Bank of North America, the succeeding year.

Than HAMILTON, none possessed feelings more tender, or sensibilities more keen. On the capture of Andre, the pursuit of the traitorous Arnold devolved on him, speaking of which, he says: "I went in pursuit of him, but was much too late, and I could hardly regret the disappointment when, on my return, I saw an amiable woman frantic with distress for the loss of a husband she tenderly loved,—a traitor to his country and to his fame,—a disgrace to his connections; it was the most affecting scene I was ever witness to. She, for a considerable time, entirely lost herself. The general went up to see her, and she upbraided him with being in a plot to murder her child. One moment she raved, another she melted into tears. Sometimes she pressed her infant to her bosom and lamented its fate, occasioned by the imprudence of its father, in a manner that would have pierced insensibility

itself. All the sweetness of beauty,—all the loveliness of innocence,—all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother showed themselves in her conduct."

Aside from the insight it affords of HAMILTON's tenderness of feeling, how graphic a picture is the above, of the fruits of Arnold's treachery upon his unhappy wife, who was ignorant of the whole transaction until hearing of Andre's capture, her husband rushed into the room and exclaimed: "I must leave you forever," and as suddenly departed to make his escape.

HAMILTON also commiserated the fate of the unfortunate Andre, in whom he saw many attributes of the polished gentleman, and regretted the cruel necessity that doomed him to a felon's death.

Just before his death, Andre wrote Washington, begging a revocation of his sentence, as to the manner in which he was to be executed. After saying that life was dear, and expressing no cause of remorse, he proceeds: "Sympathy toward a soldier will surely induce your excellency and a military tribunal, to adopt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, if aught in my character impresses you with esteem toward me; if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet." Appreciating the high impulse that dictated his preference to being shot, to swinging from the common convict's gallows, HAMILTON labored earnestly to have the request complied with. But it was in vain. On the morning of his death, his soul stung with the thought, he wrote as follows: "Poor Andre suffers to-day; every thing that is amiable in virtue, in fortitude, accomplishments, in delicate sentiments, pleads for him; but hard-hearted policy calls for a sacrifice. He must die. * * * I urged a compliance with Andre's request to be shot, and I do not think it would have had an ill effect, but some people are only sensible to motives of policy, and sometimes, from a morose disposition, mistake it. When Andre's tale comes to be told, and present resentment is over, the refusing him the privilege of choosing the manner of his death, will be branded with too much obstinacy."

Andre died as became a brave man. Approaching the scaffold, he said: "And must I die thus?" but added, "the pang will be

momentary," and was soon in eternity. HAMILTON's sensibility was manifest throughout the whole tragic scene.

Of the importance of a Federal government, HAMILTON became early convinced, and in a letter written about this time to Mr. Duane, are embodied many of the principles subsequently incorporated into the national Constitution. From his position as aid to Washington, with his characteristic acuteness of perception, he was well capacitated to see the defects in the existing system,—by the workings of which the energies of the army had been so long crippled, and their sufferings augmented,—and to make suggestions remedial of their consequences. After introducing the subject, he says: "The main defect is a want of power in Congress. It is hardly necessary to tell in what this consists, as it seems to be universally acknowledged, or to point out how it has happened, as the only question is, how to remedy it." Speaking of this defect, he attributes its cause mainly "to an excess of the spirit of liberty, which has made the particular States show a jealousy of all power not in their own hands; and this jealousy has led them to exercise a right of judging, in the last resort, of the measures recommended by Congress, and of acting according to their own opinions of their propriety or necessity;—a diffidence in Congress of their own, by which they have been timid and indecisive in their resolutions; constantly making concessions to the States, till they have scarcely left themselves the shadow of power;—a want of sufficient means at their disposal to answer the public exigencies, and of vigor to draw forth those means, which have occasioned them to depend on the States individually to fulfill their engagements with the army; the consequence of which has been to ruin their influence and credit with the army,—to establish its dependence on each State separately, rather than *on them*,—that is, than on the whole collectively."

Causes of the want of power in Congress. After an elucidation of these,—"an excess of the spirit of liberty on the part of the States,—a timidity on the part of Congress to exercise its powers, and a want of sufficient means at their disposal to meet the exigencies of the times,"—with great analysis he proceeds to suggest the remedies. He continues by saying, "the confederation itself is defective, and requires to be altered." These defects he enumerates. "The idea," says he, "of an uncontrollable sovereignty in each State, over its internal police, will defeat the other powers

given to Congress, and make our Union feeble and precarious." * * * "The confederation gives the States, individually, too much influence in the affairs of the army; they should have nothing to do with it,—it ought to belong entirely to Congress."

The next deficiency to which he adverts is, that "the confederation also gives the power of the purse too entirely to the State legislatures. It should provide perpetual funds, at the disposal of Congress, by a land tax, poll tax, or the like. All imposts upon commerce ought to be laid by Congress, and appropriated to their use; for without certain revenues, a government can have no power; that power which holds the purse-strings absolutely, must rule. This is a medium which, without making Congress altogether independent, will tend to give reality to its authority."

The next defect he notices, "is a want of method and energy in the administration, resulting, in a great degree, from prejudice, and the want of a proper executive head." The last two, he mentions, "is the fluctuating constitution of the army," and "the imperfect and unequal provision made for the army." "Without a speedy change," he continues, "the army must dissolve: it is now a mob, rather than an army,—without clothing, without provision, without pay, without morals, without discipline. We begin to hate the country for its neglect of us; the country begins to hate us for our oppression of them. Congress have long been jealous of us; we have now lost all confidence in them, and give the worst construction to all they do. Held together by the slenderest ties, we are ripening for dissolution."

In his remarks upon these defects, he refers to the republics of antiquity, in proof that they are such; also, to the Swiss, and the Germanic confederation, and evinces throughout the closest reasoning, and a mind fully matured to a comprehension of the most difficult and minute branches of the science of government. He continues by saying, "I shall now propose the remedies which appear to me applicable to our circumstances, and necessary to extricate our affairs from their present deplorable situation. The first step must be to give Congress powers competent to the public exigencies. They may happen in two ways; one, by resuming and exercising the discretionary powers originally vested in them for the safety of the States, and resting their conduct on the candor of their countrymen and necessity of the conjuncture; the other, BY CALLING IMMEDIATELY A CONVENTION of all the States, with full

authority to conclude finally upon A GENERAL CONFEDERATION." Thus, in the recommendation of the Federal Convention, he seems to have been among the foremost, the necessity of which he argues at length, and proceeds to notice some results it ought to effect. "The confederation," he asserts, "in my opinion, should give Congress a complete sovereignty; except as to that part of internal police which relates to the rights of property and life among individuals, and to raising money by internal taxes. It is necessary that every thing belonging to this should be regulated by the State legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, finance, and to the management of foreign affairs; the right of declaring war, of raising armies, officering, paying them, directing their motions in every respect; of equipping fleets, and doing the same with them; of building fortifications, arsenals, etc.; of making peace on such conditions as they think proper; of regulating trade, granting indulgences, laying prohibitions on all the articles of export or import, imposing duties, granting bounties and premiums for raising, exporting or importing; instituting admiralty courts; of coining money, establishing banks, appropriating funds; transacting every thing with foreign nations; making alliances, offensive and defensive, treaties of commerce, etc." "The confederation should also," he continues, "provide certain perpetual revenues productive and easy of collection; a land tax, poll tax, or the like, which, together with the duties on trade and the unlocated lands, would give Congress a substantial existence and a stable foundation for their schemes of finance."

"The second step," which he suggests, "is that Congress should instantly appoint the following great officers of State: a Secretary of Foreign Affairs; a President of Trade; a President of Marine; a President of War; and a Financier, to be selected from men of the first abilities."

After a full discussion of the advantages he thought would arise from these appointments, he asserts that "another step of immediate necessity is, to recruit the army for the war, or at least for three years." He extends his remarks by saying, "Congress should endeavor, both upon their credit in Europe, and by every possible exertion, in this country, to produce clothing for their officers, and should abolish the whole system of State supplies." "The providing of supplies," he adds, "is the pivot of every thing

else: there are four ways, all of which must be united,—a foreign loan,—heavy pecuniary taxes,—a tax in kind,—a bank founded on public and private credit. As to a foreign loan, the most effectual way will be, to tell France that without it, we must make terms with Great Britain. This must be done with plainness and firmness, but with respect, and without petulance; not as a menace, but as a candid declaration of our circumstances. We need not fear to be deserted by France; her interest and honor are too deeply involved in our fate, and she can make no possible compromise." Succeeding this suggestion upon a foreign loan, he speaks of the second method: "Concerning the necessity of heavy pecuniary taxes, it is a point in which everybody is agreed; nor is there any danger that the product of any taxes raised in this way, will overburden the people or exceed the wants of the public." Proceeding to the third, he says: "As to a tax in kind, the necessity proceeds from this principle, that the money in circulation is not a sufficient representative of the productions of the country, and consequently, no revenues raised from it, as a medium, can be a competent representative of that part of the products of the country, which it is bound to contribute to the support of the public. The public, therefore, to obtain its due, or satisfy its past demands and its wants, must call for a part of these products themselves."

Proposing the means whereby these taxes were to be collected, he comes to his last method, and says: "The first step to establish the bank, will be to engage a number of moneyed men of influence, to relish the project and make it a business." * *
"The outlines of my plan would be, to open subscriptions in all the States for the stock, which we will suppose to be one million of pounds. Real property of every kind, as well as specie, should be deemed as good stock; but at least a fourth part of the subscription should be in specie or plate. There should be one great company, in three divisions; in Virginia, Philadelphia, and at Boston; or, two, at Philadelphia and Boston. The bank should have a right to issue bank notes, bearing two per cent. interest for the whole of their stock; but not to exceed it. These notes may be payable every three months, or oftener; and the faith of the government must be pledged for the support of the bank. It must, therefore, have a right, from time to time, to inspect its operations; and must appoint inspectors for the purpose." He

concludes his letter to his friend Duane, with lengthy and concise remarks upon the national advantages arising from the establishment of a bank upon some such principles as suggested.

This communication, as a whole, embodied the maturest mental conception, deep research, correct fineness of composition, powers of close analogy, and strong comprehension; with views of governmental polity, whose essence became, subsequently, a part of our institutions. Had its author met then, the fate to which he was doomed, the documents from which these extracts are taken, would have handed his name to distant posterity. In 1780, HAMILTON married the beautiful daughter of General Schuyler, to whom he proved a faithful husband until his death. The generous feelings of HAMILTON could not have been more forcibly illustrated than by an incident that occurred in the appointment of an envoy to France. To the consideration of Washington and Congress, he and Laurens presented themselves, and either could have got the station. Actuated by the interest that he felt could be better subserved by HAMILTON than himself, Laurens insisted upon his accepting it. HAMILTON, on the other hand, prompted by feelings of esteem and friendship for Laurens, urged him to accept it; which he accordingly did. Such instances of men advancing the claims of a friend, in preference to themselves, through purely disinterested motives, are very rare.

In 1781, HAMILTON's connection with Washington's staff ceased; indeed, it was at the sacrifice of brighter prospects that he accepted it in the first place. It was brought to a close in the following manner, according to HAMILTON's own words: "Two days ago, the General and I passed each other on the stairs: he told me he wanted to speak to me. I answered that I would wait upon him immediately. I went below and delivered Mr. Tilghman a letter for the commissary, containing an order of a pressing and interesting nature. Returning to the General, I was stopped on the way by the Marquis de Lafayette, and we conversed about a minute on business. He can testify, how impatient I was to get back, and that I left him in a manner which, but for our intimacy, would have been abrupt. Instead of finding the General, as is usual, in his room, I met him at the head of the stairs, where, accosting me in an angry tone, he said, 'Colonel Hamilton, you have kept me waiting at the head of the stairs these ten minutes. I must tell you, sir, you treat me with disrespect.' I replied,

without petulancy, but with decision; 'I am not conscious of it, sir; but since you have thought it necessary to tell me so, we part.' 'Very well, sir,' said the General, 'if it be your choice,' or something to that effect; and so we separated." Efforts were afterward made to induce HAMILTON to revoke his conclusion, but without avail. This little piece of petulant umbrage was attended with no serious consequences or abatement of friendship on the part of either. HAMILTON immediately announced his purpose to continue firmly in support of his measures; a purpose which was faithfully redeemed. He afterward made application for a separate command, which, for satisfactory causes, could not be complied with.

But it is not as a military man alone, we are to consider ALEXANDER HAMILTON. He was a statesman of civic capacities unsurpassed. Under date of April 30th, 1781, he wrote to Robert Morris as follows: "I was among the first who were convinced that an administration by single men, was essential to the proper management of the affairs of this country. I am persuaded it is the only resource we have, to extricate ourselves from the distresses which threaten the subversion of our cause." He proceeds to the investigation of the finances, and of their perplexing condition he says: "To surmount these obstacles, and give individuals ability and inclination to lend, a plan might be devised, which, by incorporating their means together, and uniting them with those of the public, will on the foundation of that incorporation and union erect a mass of credit, that will supply the defect of moneyed capital, and answer all the purposes of cash; a plan which will advance the interests of the lenders, secure the independence of their country, and, in its progress, have the most beneficial influence upon its future commerce, and be a source of national strength and wealth. I mean, the institution of a national bank. * *

"The tendency of a national bank, is to increase public and private credit; the former gives power to the State, for the protection of its rights and interests, and the latter facilitates and extends the operations of commerce among individuals. Industry is increased, commodities are multiplied, agriculture and manufactures flourish, and herein consist the true wealth and prosperity of a State. Most commercial nations have found it necessary to institute banks; and they have proved to be the happiest engines ever invented for advancing trade. Venice, Genoa, Hamburgh,

Holland and England are examples of their utility." * *
"The long, expensive wars of King William, had drained England of its specie; its commerce began to droop, for want of a proper medium; its taxes were unproductive, and its revenues declined. The administration wisely had recourse to the institution of a bank, and it retrieved the national difficulties. We are in the same, and still greater, want of a sufficient medium. We have little specie; the paper we have is of small value, and rapidly declining to less. We are immersed in a war for our existence as a nation,—for our liberty and happiness as a people. We have no revenues, nor any credit. A bank, if practicable, is the only thing that can give us either the one or the other." Meeting some of the objections against the measure, he continues: "Nothing is more common than for men to pass from the abuse of a good thing to the disuse of it. Some persons, disgusted by the depreciation of the money, are chimerical enough to imagine it would be beneficial to abolish all paper, and annihilate the whole of what is now in circulation, and depend altogether upon specie, both for commerce and finance. The scheme is altogether visionary, and the attempt would be fatal." * * "The error of those who would explode paper money altogether, originates in not making proper distinctions. Our paper was, in its nature, liable to depreciation, because it had no funds for its support, and was not upheld by private credit. The emissions under the resolutions of March, 1780, have partly the former advantage, but are destitute of the latter, which is equally essential. No paper credit can be substantial or durable, which has not funds, and which does not unite immediately the interest and influence of the moneyed men, in its establishment and preservation. A credit begun on this basis will, in process of time, greatly exceed its funds; but this requires time, and a well-settled opinion in its favor. *'Tis in a national bank alone, that we can find the ingredient to constitute a wholesome, solid, and beneficial paper credit.*"

After lengthy remarks upon the utility of this institution, he thus proceeds to investigate the medium of procuring funds, and overcoming other difficulties by Congress: "We must demand an instant, positive, and perpetual investiture of an impost on trade,—a land tax and poll tax, to be collected by their agents. This act, to become a part of the confederation. It has ever been

my opinion that Congress ought to have complete sovereignty in all but the mere municipal law of each State, and I WISH TO SEE A CONVENTION OF ALL THE STATES, with full power to alter and amend finally and irrevocably the present futile and senseless confederation." "There is," he subsequently says, "something noble and magnificent in the perspective of a great federative republic, closely linked in the pursuit of a common interest, tranquil and prosperous at home, respectable abroad; there is something proportionably diminutive and contemptible in the prospect of a number of petty States, with the appearance only of union,—jarring, jealous and perverse,—without any determinate direction,—fluctuating and unhappy at home, weak and insignificant by their dissensions, in the eyes of other nations. Happy America! if those to whom thou hast intrusted the guardianship of thy infancy, know how to provide for thy future repose,—but miserable and undone, if their negligence or ignorance permits the spirit of discord to erect their banners on the ruins of thy tranquillity!"

His views in regard to the curtailment of the power of the States, and its sole vestment, except in municipal affairs, in the national sovereignty, insisted upon by HAMILTON, were in great conflict with those of Jefferson, which were the most liberal, tending to the most entire freedom, and formed the principle of several issues, dividing the early political parties. His views also of a United States bank, as we have seen, were opposed to Jefferson's. He had, in the meantime, in advocacy of his favorite measures, written the series of letters known as the "*Continentalist*," which evinced the same logic and vigor of style seen in his other productions.

In 1781, he was advanced in the command, and dispatched to the southern field of operations. The warmth of his feelings, ever conspicuous, is shown in letters to his wife, written on the occasion of his departure; they breathe conjugal devotion amounting to idolatry. He says: "I can not announce the fatal necessity, without feeling every thing that a fond husband can feel. I am unhappy,—I am unhappy beyond expression. I am unhappy because I am to be so remote from you,—because I am to hear from you less frequently than I am accustomed to do. I am miserable, because I know you will be so,—I am wretched at the idea of flying so far from you, without a single hour's interview, to tell you all my pains and all my love. But I can not ask permission

to visit you. It might be thought improper to leave my corps, at such a time, and upon such an occasion. I must go without seeing you,—I must go without embracing you. Alas! I *must* go. But, let no idea other than distance,—other than of the distance we shall be asunder, disquiet you." The next day, he thus writes her: "Yesterday, my lovely wife, I wrote you; to-morrow the post sets out, and to-morrow we embark for Yorktown. I can not refuse myself the pleasure of writing you a few lines. Constantly uppermost in my thoughts and affections, I am happy only when my moments are devoted to some office that respects you. I would give the world to tell you all I feel and all I wish, but consult your own heart and you will know mine. What a world will soon be between us! To support the idea, all my fortitude is insufficient. What must be the case with you, who have the most female of female hearts? I sink at the perspective of your distress, and look to Heaven to be your guardian and support." Again, after the happy result of the expedition to Yorktown, he wrote her thus: "Two nights ago, my Eliza, my duty and my honor obliged me to take a step in which your happiness was too much risked. I commanded an attack upon one of the enemy's redoubts; we carried it in an instant, and with little loss. There will certainly be nothing more of this kind; all the rest will be by approaches, and if there should be another occasion, it will not fall to my turn to execute it."

How different are these heart expressions, from his keen penetrative dashes at finance and constitutional law, and how pleasing to cull them, like flowers, from among the thorns of war. Tenderly expressive of his manly feelings, they are blossoms of affection which can not wither, affording a correct estimate of his gentle nature.

In the attack upon the redoubt referred to, he behaved with gallantry; when masters of it, one of his men pointed a drawn sword to the breast of its commandant, Colonel Campbell, which HAMILTON pushed aside, and the Colonel threw down his arms, saying: "I place myself under your protection." These things are mentioned, as unmistakable evidences of his traits of character. Meantime, HAMILTON was made continental receiver, which post he resigned not long after the siege of Yorktown.

On the happy termination of those events, he returned to private life, and commenced the study of law. From the positions

he had filled and the service he had rendered, with the depth of intellect he had evinced, if we do not occasionally remind the reader of the contrary, he will conclude that we are following the steps of an old veteran statesman, and warrior. In intellect we are,—otherwise not. HAMILTON was now but twenty-five years of age. In the study of the law he made accustomed proficiency, and wrote a manual upon its practice replete with genius and understanding. With his pen he continued the investigations of affairs.

To Morris, Meade, and other gentlemen, as well as to public bodies, he communicated his views upon government, especially the branches of finance, systems of taxation, banks, imposts, the national debt, etc., in a manner that elicited the highest consideration. Of a general convention of the States, for the elaboration of a federative system of government, he was an acknowledged champion, and prepared the resolutions for that purpose. In 1782, he was selected a delegate to Congress, from the state of New York; it was in view of his labors in this sphere that he resigned the post of Continental receiver. Though it would be difficult to imagine a greater exhibition of intellectual prowess than hitherto manifest, we are now to view HAMILTON in an enlarged sphere of action, and one more suited to his talents than the field.

On his entrance into Congress, we find him, as might have been expected, one of its most active, influential members, in correspondence with Laurens, Lafayette, Greene, and others, and ably devising means and suggesting plans, to remedy the defects of the government. A member of a body composed of such men as Madison, Boudinot, Randolph, and others of equal talent, he was regarded as a leader, and ably maintained his enviable position. During the army discontents, incident to the anonymous communications elsewhere noticed, and the mutinous spirit manifest among the soldiers in not getting their pay, he was the advocate of order, the active agent of remedial pacification, and procured the passage of a resolution of renewed thanks to Washington for the manner in which he quelled the insubordination of the troops at head-quarters. To the establishment of a healthful national revenue, provision for the liquidation of the debt, and the general improvement of the finance, he devoted himself with energy and talent. As essential to the perpetuity of the Union, he urged a solidification of government, with controlling powers vested in the federal sovereignty, "for," says he, "to borrow a figure from mechanics,

the centrifugal, is much stronger than the centripetal force in these States." On the indications of a final peace, adjusting the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain, he became a leading friend of negotiation, and insisted upon the consummation of independent national treaties with Russia and other foreign powers. On the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain, on account of France not being consulted in its arrangement, as before stated, considerable dissatisfaction became manifest in Congress, and a vote of censure was proposed against the American envoys. This HAMILTON opposed by the introduction of conciliatory substitutes, declarative of our confidence in France, of gratitude for her services, and a desire to maintain with her the most fraternal national relationships. He advocated the ratification of the treaty through all the excitements incident to its submission, and penned the document, to whose agreement, resulted a final settlement. Like Jay and Adams, he opposed the instructions given to them, as ministers, not to treat without consultation with the French ministers,—to be governed by their opinions, etc. He wrote to Jay, highly complimenting the treaty, and eulogizing him as one of its authors. Soon after, HAMILTON in view of the disposition on the part of many, to lean toward the French people, wrote the following, which, as indicating his views upon the importance of managing our own concerns, should be inserted:

"Upon my first going into Congress, I discovered symptoms of a party too well disposed, to subject the interests of the United States to the management of France. Though I felt in common with those who had participated in the revolution, a lively sentiment of good-will toward a power whose co-operation, however, it was, and ought to have been dictated by its own interest, had been extremely useful to us, and had been afforded in a liberal and handsome manner; yet, tenacious of the real independence of our country, and dreading the appearance of foreign influence, *as the natural disease of popular governments*, I was struck with disgust at the appearance, in the very cradle of our republic, of a party actuated by an undue complaisance to foreign power, and I resolved at once, to resist this bias in our affairs; a resolution which has been the chief cause of the persecution I have endured in the subsequent stages of my political life." This again conflicted with the views of Jefferson.

HAMILTON continued a correspondence with Washington and other eminent men of the day, eliciting thus their views upon exciting topics of national consideration, and the independent elaboration of his own, with usual force and effect. His fertile mind, active with the elasticity of natural genius, and cultivated by industrious research, instead of growing weary under the pressure of effort in one sphere, seemed more invigorated for labors in another. The claims of the army, the regulation of the revenue, the systematization of the finances, the navy, the protection of the frontier, treaties, Indian affairs, neutrality laws, and indeed, every national measure coming before Congress, was the object of his laborious solicitude.

But what most engrossed his mind, as being more commensurate with its capacity, was the general modification of the federal government. After the adjournment of Congress to Princeton, to this subject he mainly turned his attention. Strict neutrality with all nations,—the acquisition of aboriginal possessions by peaceful purchase,—a United States bank,—a military peace establishment,—a revenue upon imposts,—reciprocity treaties,—the assumption of the State debts by the general government, and the funding of the national debt, were measures forming a part of his political doctrine. The federal government, he wished to possess powers wholly untrammeled by State legislation, save when its exercise would interfere with municipal domestic affairs.

Impressed with this idea, he digested a plan for submission to Congress, which afforded an understanding of his sentiments, and the profundity of his mind. It begins: "Whereas, in the opinion of this Congress, the confederation of the United States is defective in the following essential points:

"First, and generally, in confining the federal government within too narrow limits, by withholding from it that efficacious authority and influence, in all matters of general concern, which are indispensable to the harmony and welfare of the whole; embarrassing general provisions by unnecessary details and inconvenient exceptions, incompatible with their nature, tending only to create jealousies and disputes respecting the proper bounds of the authority of the United States, and of that of the particular States, and a mutual interference of the one with the other.

"Second. In confounding legislative and executive powers in a *single* body; as that of determining on the number and quantity of force, land and naval, to be employed for the common defense and of directing their operations when raised and equipped; with that of ascertaining and making requisitions for the necessary sums or quantities of money to be paid by the respective States into the common treasury, contrary to the most approved and well-founded maxims of free government, which require that the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities, should be deposited in distinct and separate hands.

"Third. In the want of a FEDERAL JUDICATURE, having cognizance of all matters of general concern in the last resort, especially those in which foreign nations and their subjects are interested.

"Fourth. In vesting the United States, in Congress assembled, with the *power of general* taxation, comprehended in that of ascertaining the necessary sums of money to be raised for the common defense, and of appropriating and applying the same for defraying the public expenses; and yet, rendering that power, so essential to the existence of the Union, nugatory, by withholding from them all control over either the imposition, or the collection of the taxes for raising the sums required; whence it happens that the inclinations, not the liabilities of the respective States, are, in fact, the criteria of their contributions to the common expense, and the public burden has fallen, and will continue to fall, with very unequal weight.

"Fifth. In fixing a rule for determining the proportion of each State toward the common expense, which, if practicable at all, must, in the execution, be attended with great expense, inequality, uncertainty, and difficulty.

"Sixth. In authorizing Congress 'to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States; without the power of establishing funds for the repayment of the money, or the redemption of the bills emitted, from which must result one of these evils,—either a want of sufficient credit in the first instance, to borrow or to circulate the bills emitted, whereby in great national exigencies, the public safety may be endangered; or, in the second instance, frequent infractions of the public engagements, disappointments to lenders, repetitions of the calamities of depreciating paper, a continuance of the injustice and mischiefs of an unfunded debt, and first or last, the annihilation of public credit.

"Seventh. In not making proper or competent provision for interior or exterior defense; for interior defense, by leaving it to the individual States to appoint all regimental officers of the land forces, to raise the men in their own way, to clothe, arm, and equip them at the expense of the United States; for exterior defense, in authorizing Congress to build and equip a navy, without providing any means of manning it.

"Eighth. In not vesting in the United States A GENERAL SUPERINTENDENCE OF TRADE, equally necessary in the views of revenue, and regulation.

"Ninth. In defeating essential powers by provisoes and limitations, inconsistent with their nature, as the power of making treaties with foreign nations, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the importation or exportation of any species of goods or commodities, whatever; as also the power of regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any States, *provided* that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed, or violated; and others of a like nature.

"Tenth. In granting to the United States the sole power of 'regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority or by that of their respective States,' without the power of regulating foreign coin in circulation.

"Eleventh. In requiring the assent of nine States to matters of principal importance, and of seven to all others, except adjournments from day to day; a rule destructive of vigor, consistency or expedition in the administration of affairs,—tending to subject the sense of the majority to that of the minority, by putting it in the power of a small combination to retard and even to frustrate the most necessary measures, and to oblige the greater number, in cases which require speedy determinations, as happens in the most interesting concerns of the community, to come into the views of the smaller.

"Twelfth. In vesting in the federal government the sole direction of the interests of the United States, in their intercourse with foreign nations, without empowering it to pass ALL GENERAL LAWS in aid and support of the laws of nations; for the want of which

the faith of the United States may be broken, their reputation sullied, and their peace interrupted by the negligence or misconception of any particular State."

After the enumeration of governmental defects, he continued, explaining their mischievous tendencies, and says: "*Therefore, resolved*, THAT IT BE EARNESTLY RECOMMENDED TO THE SEVERAL STATES TO APPOINT A CONVENTION to meet at ——, on the —— day of ——, with full powers to revise the confederation, and to adopt and propose such alterations as to them shall appear necessary,—to be finally approved or rejected by the States respectively,—and that a committee of —— be appointed to prepare an address upon the subject." These reasons, as they may be termed, for the call of a convention, and the resolution following, he designed submitting to Congress; but seeing that body unprepared for it, he abandoned the idea, and soon after closed his Congressional career.

The manner in which this comparatively youthful politician scanned the surface of affairs, penetrated the national system, detected its cancerous ulcers, and prepared the remedy adapted to the part infected, shows clearly a vigor of mind, boldness of thought, acuteness of perception, and soundness of judgment unsurpassed by older heads. If the displays of mental power, as exhibited in his sphere of action, induced Erskine to say of Mansfield, that he was born for the judgeship, the student of our legislative annals, as he follows the light of HAMILTON'S genius,—now silencing competition by its elegance, now illumining the confused darkness of chaotic confederacies with the beauty of its symmetry and proportion,—now by keen analysis disjoining the fractured pivot from the government structure, and placing a sound one in its place, and anon irradiating other spheres with its brilliancy, he must conclude he was born for the theater of American politics.

Buoyed with a hope of domestic felicity, after the close of his labors in Congress, he thus wrote his wife: "I give you joy on the happy conclusion of this important work, in which our country has been engaged. Now, in a very short time, I hope we shall be happily settled in New York. My love to your father. Kiss my boy a thousand times. A thousand loves to yourself." Reunited with those he loved, the correspondence of various distinguished friends attested his valued services. "Were you ten years older," wrote M'Henry, "and twenty thousand pounds richer,

there is no doubt but that you might obtain the suffrages of Congress for the highest office in their gift. * * In a word, if you were to spend a lifetime in dissecting a fly, you would be, in their opinion, one of the greatest men in the world. Bold designs,—measures calculated for their rapid execution,—a wisdom that would convince from its own weight,—a project that would surprise the people into greater happiness without giving them an opportunity to view and reject it, are not adapted to a council composed of discordant materials, or to a people which have thirteen heads, each of which pays superstitious adoration to inferior divinities." "You were always of the number of those I esteemed, and your correspondence would be both interesting and agreeable," wrote Jay from Passy, France.

He now retired to private life, and commenced the practice of law, in which, from the exhibitions of talent hitherto manifest, it is almost needless to say, he was eminently successful. In many cases of importance he was the advocate, and proved the efficiency of his power, at the bar, with equal conspicuity he had done elsewhere. As a lawyer, he possessed the main attributes to success. His arguments of cases evinced depth of thought, discriminating logic, and were based upon legal principles of which he was a master. Their delivery was marked with fluency of language, elegance of diction and clearness of style. His attitude was oratorical, classic, and commanding; upon the whole, his speeches were persuasively eloquent and very convincing.

While in the pursuit of his vocation, an occurrence transpired that called his fearless pen into action. Never, perhaps, did politics assume a more turbulent aspect than in the State of New York, at this time. The wily Burr, the shrewd Clinton, the bold HAMILTON, the popular Jay labored for the ascendency of their respective parties. The prescription of an oath upon electors, to the effect that they had perpetrated no former offenses, as a requisite to their positions, was one measure incident to the excitement of the times. HAMILTON regarded this as an interference with the freedom of conscience, and warmly opposed it: "for," said he, "a share in the sovereignty of the State, which is exercised by the citizens at large, and voting at elections, is one of the most important rights of the subject, and, in a republic, ought to stand foremost in the estimation of the law."

Under the much-abused name of liberty, other measures, for the

subservience of party purposes, followed, no less repugnant to his feelings. To counteract their progress, and enlighten the people upon the motives originating these intolerant provisions, under the specious mask of freedom, HAMILTON wrote his "*Phocion*" letters, which took the mask off and exposed, instead of liberty in its impartial purity, demagogism in its most hideous deformities. "How easy," says he, in one of these letters, written in reply to one against one of his former pieces, "is it for men to change their principles with their situations,—to be zealous advocates for the rights of the citizens when they are invaded by others, and as soon as they have it in their power, to become the invaders themselves,—to resist the encroachments of power when it is in the hands of others, and the moment they get it into their own to make bolder strides than those they have resisted! Are such men to be sanctified by the hallowed name of patriots? Are they not rather to be branded as men who make their passions, prejudices, and interests, the sole measure of their own, and others rights? The history of mankind is too full of these melancholy contradictions." * * "Those who are at present intrusted with power in all these infant republics, hold the most sacred deposit that was ever confided to human hands. It is with governments as with individuals, first impressions and early habits give a lasting bias to the temper and character. Our government, hitherto, has had no habits. How important to the happiness, not of America alone, but of mankind, that they should acquire good ones! If we set out with justice, moderation and liberality, and a scrupulous regard to the Constitution, the government will acquire a spirit and tone productive of permanent blessings to the country. If, on the contrary, the public councils are guided by human passion and prejudice,—if from resentment to individuals or a dread of partial inconveniences the Constitution is slighted or explained away upon every frivolous pretext,—the future spirit of the government will be feeble, distracted, and arbitrary. The rights of the subject will be the sport of every vicissitude. There will be no settled rule of conduct, but every thing will fluctuate with the alternate prevalency of contending factions.

"The world has its eye upon America. The noble struggle we have made in the cause of liberty, has occasioned a kind of revolution in human sentiment. The influence of our example has

penetrated the gloomy regions of despotism, and has pointed the way to inquiry, which may shake its deepest foundations. * * To ripen inquiry into action, it remains for us to justify the Revolution by its fruits. If the consequences prove we have really asserted the cause of human happiness, what may not be expected from so illustrious an example? In a greater or less degree, the world will bless and imitate. But if experience, in this instance, verifies the lesson long taught by the enemies of liberty, that the bulk of mankind are not capable of self-govenment, that they must have a master, and were only made for the rein and the spur, we shall then see the final triumph of despotism over liberty. The advocates of the latter must then acknowledge it to be an *ignis fatuus*, and abandon the pursuit. With the greatest advantages for promoting it a people ever had, *we shall have betrayed the cause of human nature!*"

In this extract upon political subjects, is seen the boldness of his nature, equally conspicuous with its gentleness in the social relations of life, whence he always disjoined feelings of party rivalry.

Soon after, we find him a member of a society whose purpose was the manumission of slaves,—selected chairman of a committee appointed for the furtherance of this object,—drawing up a resolution regulative of it, requiring each member to set the example by manumitting his own. Individually, he owned none.

Though unsuccessful in his aims at calling a general convention, for the remodeling of the government, he never lost sight of its importance, and continued to urge it, hoping that the progress of events would ultimately convince his countrymen of its imperative necessity. In this hope he was not doomed to disappointment. In 1786 he took his seat in the New York legislature. The vesting in Congress the power of establishing a national revenue by a levy upon imposts, was then the exciting question of State politics; to effect a grant of this power by New York, was one of the favorite measures of HAMILTON. It came formally before the House, he its unflinching friend. Its policy was discussed lengthily and ably, but by none more so than himself. The subject involved the delegation of general powers upon Congress; for the concession of a right to levy an impost, would be equivalent to a grant of jurisdiction upon other measures of like national character. The enemies to such grants of power affirmed

that it would be dangerous to the liberties of the States. HAMILTON made an eloquent argumentative speech in its behalf. He said: "The subversion of the liberties of these States cannot be the business of a day. It would at least require time, premeditation and concert; he supposed that the members of a body so constituted, would be unanimous in a scheme of usurpation. If they were not, would it not be discovered and disclosed? If we even could suppose this unanimity among one set of men, can we believe that all the new members who are yearly sent from one State to another, would instantly enter into the same views? Would there not be one honest man found to warn his country of the danger? Suppose the worst: suppose the combination entered into and continued; the execution would at least announce the design, and the means of defense be easy. Consider the separate power of several of these States, and the situation of them all. Consider the extent, populousness and resources of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and, I might add, New York, Connecticut, and other States. Where could Congress find means sufficient to subvert the government and liberties of either of these States? or, rather, where find means sufficient to effect the conquest of all? If an attempt were made upon one, the others, from a sense of common danger, would make common cause, and they could immediately unite and provide for their joint defense." * * * "The Romans, in their progress to universal dominion, when they conceived the project of subduing the refractory spirit of the Grecian republics which composed the famous Achean League, began by sowing dissensions among them, and instilling jealousies of each other, and of the common head; and finished by making them a province of the Roman empire. The application is easy. If there are any foreign enemies,—if there are any domestic foes to this country, all their arts, all their artifices will be employed to effect a dissolution of the Union. This cannot be better done than by sowing jealousies of the federal head."

Notwithstanding his able advocacy of this vestment of Congressional power, the bill recommending it was defeated. It came before the Assembly for final action, and was lost by a majority of fifteen against it on the first ballot. New York, from the outset, though the members of the opposition failed to refute the clear reasonings of HAMILTON, manifested a decided unwillingness, to vest Congress with which was then considered extraordinary

powers, the exercise of which she averred might prove inimical to the union of the States, and subversive of the liberties of the people. This subject formed, at that time, one of the principal party dividing lines. The negation of this bill to levy an impost, accelerated the assemblage of the general convention. Virginia took the lead by the legislative appointment of delegates, and was immediately followed by Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Massachusetts seemed reluctant, while in New York there existed a strong adverse party. HAMILTON, it is needless to say, hailed with delight the favorable manifestations of Virginia and Pennsylvania, to a convention, and labored zealously to create the same spirit in his own State: in these efforts he encountered stern opponents, foremost among whom was Clinton.

In February 17, 1787, a motion was made in the Assembly to instruct that body to recommend the call of a convention for the purpose "of revising the articles of confederation and perpetual union, by such alterations and amendments as *a majority* of the representatives shall judge proper and necessary to render them adequate to the preservation and *government* of the union;" which, after some modification, passed. It was opposed violently by Yates and Lansing, and advocated by General Schuyler. After considerable debate and wrangling, it passed by a majority of one vote. HAMILTON, soon after, proposed to the Assembly the appointment of five delegates to the proposed convention, with instructions similar to those before mentioned; which was agreed to; but on its submission to the Senate, the number of delegates was reduced to three, and a *proviso* placed upon it, to the effect that no change in the government should be made by the convention "repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of this State." In this shape it passed. To the convention, as delegates, were appointed HAMILTON, Yates, and Lansing; the views of the latter being antagonistic to his own, HAMILTON insisted upon the appointment of two additional delegates, and recommended Livingston and Jay; this would place his two colleagues in the same position he himself then was, in the minority, in case of a necessity to vote by States, a contingency against which he wished to provide. His proposition was defeated, after concurrence by the House, by a vote of the Senate.

In measures of reform, some political sage is always ready to say, they are against the Constitution, and appeal to its sacredness in

support of conservatism, until others catch the solemn warning and unconstitutionality becomes the cry of demagogues and notoriety seekers over the land, who are wholly ignorant of constitutional law, in both letter and spirit. This was the argument against the call of a convention to revise the federal government,—against the constitution to *form* a Constitution! Heedless, however, of this consideration, upon a matter of such vital importance, many States, among which were Georgia, Carolina, and Delaware, followed the example set by Virginia, and appointed delegates.

The New York Assembly, subsequently, increased the number of delegates from that State to five. Thus the preliminaries were arranged to another bold stride in the onward march of democracy. Feebly developing itself from its first foothold upon congenial soil, by progressive gradations it had risen from embryo incipiency, modeled and remodeled by master hands, as emergencies required, until, by the power of unchained intellect, it was ready to make a leap beyond all precedent, and plant its banners high over the grim battlements of tyranny and despotisms. Its retrospect, though it developed a series of struggles, was replete with triumphs. These struggles, both civil and military, were a war of opinion,—an assertion of inherent right over might. Transferred from a land of oppressive vassalage to the bleak crags of Plymouth, floated first the standard of religious freedom, vocal music of the wilderness for its peans, and the smoke of savage huts, curling to the heavens, for its incense.

No interest but the common weal, the New England pioneers convened in 1743, and entered into a colonial league for mutual protection, each colony represented by two delegates, to a Congress whose enactments controlled the whole; subject, however, to foreign prerogative. Again, in 1754, in view of French and Indian hostilities, ere a severance from the mother country had been thought of, they convened, insisted upon the political union of all the colonies, controlled by a general Congress, under the supervision of a general president appointed by England, with powers to enact laws and provide for the common defense. In 1765, to resist the tyrannous assertions of Parliamentary power, they met in general Congress,—adopted measures of defense,—prepared a bill of rights,—vested levying power in the colonial assemblies, and gave Congress power, though much restricted, to enlist troops, build fortifications, etc. In 1774, startled by the

alarms of active warfare, and cut off from all hopes of maternal clemency, they again convened, for the purpose of considering means of *self*-protection, and finally declared the colonies free and independent; having *declared* themselves so, isolated them from the national brotherhood, upon their own tottering resources, and created the necessity of forcing its compliance and maintenance. Through a seven years' war, under a government, vested with no general powers, impelled by the unity of a common cause, they vindicated their declaration, and by the thunder-peal of their arms, upheaved the ministerial cabinet, and forced the signet from England's reluctant hand. United by a common tie, they had thus far acted in concert, without the firm establishment of the federal sovereignty; the zeal of the States, through the Revolution, rendered its necessity less obvious, than in the inactivity of peace. The delicate points of all republican governments,—the proper arrangement of federal and State rights,—had now to be settled. America had conquered a peace. Upon the threshold of her civic temple, she stood without a government, the fragments of her day-formed regulations in the back ground, the broad arena of political destiny looming before her. Was an excessive spirit of State rights to check the power of the federal sovereignty, so as to prevent a national influence essential to advancement; or, were the assertions of federal power to infringe upon the rights of the States, to an extent, dangerous to their liberties? Both of these questions were to be negatively answered, and the medium arrived at. This was the fearful strait through which our national pilots had to guide the ship of State, before launching upon the open sea of tranquillity.

Happily for human destiny, virtue shone in America's political sky, and above the discordant elements of party faction, patriotism kindled a vestal blaze. Happily too, that at this critical conjuncture, the exponents of unrestricted liberty, met a check in the champions of federal sovereignty. Jefferson and his friends threw their stern talents into the scale of the broadest democratic freedom. Hamilton and his bold coadjutors checked its too unbounded manifestations, by maintaining the supremacy of the federal power, while Washington, unbiased, save by a love of country, stood between them, holding the balance with an even hand, curtailing the excesses of the one, and enlarging the policy of the other. Thus guarded, the government exhibited the patriot-

ism of Washington; and as year after year has passed on, the republican principles of Jefferson have deepened and widened, as we continue to develop the grandeur of unfettered democracy, while protected by the ægis of national law, we approach continuously, HAMILTON's idea of a perfect federal government. Under this mutual protection of federal and State rights, America has continued to progress, extending her potent influence over every land, until from her lofty hight, she shakes her banner in the face of nations, while despots cower down, and leave

"Her name without a parallel."

The convention met,—met, a second Amphictyonic council. HAMILTON was placed on the committee to adopt rules of the convention, one of which was, that nothing said or done in the body should be made public without its consent. The first step of importance, was the submission of propositions relative to the government, by Randolph of Virginia; next, Charles Pinckney presented a plan of confederacy. Much time was consumed in the discussion of Randolph's propositions, after which, the necessity of "a national government, consisting of a supreme legislative judiciary and executive," was asserted by general vote, HAMILTON voting affirmatively. Afterward came the New Jersey plan. Alike in but two points, were these several plans, with assurances to "guarantee to each State a republican constitution and its existing laws," and fixing the supreme judicial term, during good behavior.

Randolph's plan insisted upon unbounded legislative powers,—a plural executive,—and a revisionary State council, with coercive powers. Pinckney's plan asserted a single executive,—gave the legislature the power of levying imposts, commercial superintendence, and military jurisdiction,—powers equal to those of Congress. The Jersey plan gave nearly all powers to the States,—advocated a plural executive, subject to a majority of State governors, and left the judiciary, singularly enough, defective. One of the main questions of debate was, "whether the right of suffrage in the national legislature ought to be proportioned to the quotas of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants." HAMILTON favored the latter.

While these plans were being submitted and discussed, HAMILTON prepared a general plan, whose analysis exhibits neither an aristocratic, republican, nor a monarchical form of government.

but recognizing the right of popular suffrage, it indicates a tendency to blend the attributes of the two latter into the American Constitution. After its maturity, he submitted it in a set speech of six hours' length, and marked ability. His speech was highly eulogized.

This plan was prepared by sections, ten in number, and though it was not adopted, it embodied many principles which were incorporated into the Constitution. In that instrument, the reflex of no *one* man's mind is seen so prominently, as is that of HAMILTON. The first section vested "the legislative power in an Assembly and Senate,—the executive in a President, with a negative power," and regulated a supreme judiciary. The second section regulated the franchise, declaring every free male citizen a legal voter at twenty-one years of age, the number of representatives to be distributed according to the population of the several States. Section third, required that the Senate should be selected by district electors, who had to be land-holders, and provided farther Senatorial regulation. The fourth section specified the election of President by electoral votes,—the people of each State to select as many electors as they had senators and representatives; in relation to this too, was recommended a property qualification. This section also prescribed the executive oath, and specified his duties, but fixed his term during good behavior. He was to be commander-in-chief of the army,—have power to call the legislatures at will,—empowered with a negative,—the right of appointment, etc. Section fifth related to the judiciary. Judges of the supreme court were to hold office during good behavior,—to have national jurisdiction,—to hear cases between States, or one State, and the United States; it also guaranteed trial by jury, and recommended an impeachment court, to which all officers, for a term of good behavior, were to be amenable. The sixth section created a kind of tribunal of arbitrament, composed of disinterested persons, to settle territorial disputes between States. The seventh section affirmed that "the legislature of the United States, should have power to pass all laws which they judged necessary to the common defense, and general welfare of the Union; for, he said, "that a *government* ought to contain, *within itself*, every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care, and to the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible; free from every other control,

but a regard for the public good, and to the sense of the people." Again, he affirmed "that every power ought to be commensurate with its object; that there ought to be no limitation of a power destined to effect a purpose which, is of itself, incapable of limitation. The eighth section declared that State executives should be appointed by the United States, and vested with a negative upon their respective legislatures. The ninth section required the President "to be then a citizen of one of the States, or hereafter to be born a citizen of the United States." The tenth, and last section, provided the submission of the Constitution to subordinate conventions of the several States, for ratification.

This is the principal substance of HAMILTON's plan of a federative government; though it certainly guards the federal power, and is very jealous of state rights, we see nothing in it to justify the charge that he was a monarchist.

On the submission of these several plans of government, much discussion ensued; and though neither of them was adopted, the final arrangement partook more of HAMILTON's genius, than of any other member of the convention.

While he asserted that "*real liberty was neither found in despotism, nor in the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments,*" and wished to combine the advantages of monarchy and republicanism, others, jealous of state rights, rejected the idea of supreme prerogative, and insisted upon the unrestricted exercise of popular rights. The difficulty was finally obviated by the introduction of a compromise by which the advocates of each principle were forced into some concessions, and the articles of confederation, though not entirely satisfactory, were agreed to.

HAMILTON signed the Constitution, and though not fully accordant with his views, as the best that could be procured, urged its general adoption. The Constitution being formed of comparatively an infant republic, its efficiency remained to be tested; its final establishment he regarded as "A PRODIGY," to whose full completion he "looked forward with trembling anxiety." A prodigy, truly, that Constitution! the proudest monument to the intellect and energy of man, it will last forever! "Like one of those wondrous rocking stones, reared by the Druids, which the finger of a child may vibrate to the center, yet the might of an army could not move from its place; our Constitution is so nicely poised and balanced, that it seems to sway with every breath of

opinion, yet so firmly rooted in the hearts and affections of the people, that the wildest storms of treason and fanaticism break over it in vain."*

As a member of the New York subordinate convention, which met in 1788, HAMILTON labored heroically in behalf of the federal Constitution, and aided much in securing its adoption by that State. The Constitution being adopted by the States, the first Presidential election took place in 1789. On his election, Washington, well knowing that at that time of embarrassed finances, and general derangement, the Secretary of the Treasury was the most important post in the government, with unerring judgment, characteristic of him, selected HAMILTON to fill it. As secretary of a bankrupt treasury, he had to so form and arrange the avenues of prosperity, that it would become a reservoir of national wealth.

The acknowledged head of the Federal party, he assisted Washington in carrying out the measures of his administration, with a sternness of purpose, and devotion to principle, equaled only by the mighty powers of his mind, as displayed in their execution. Quite enough, it is presumed, has been said, at least, space will allow no more, upon the various causes of party division, that sprang up almost at the commencement of Washington's first administration. Further remarks upon the political measures of that time, will here be made historically, and, as being connected with our subject.

HAMILTON was thirty-two years of age, when he entered upon his duties as Secretary of the Treasury. Soon after the assemblage of Congress, he made a report to that body, embracing a system for the promotion of public prosperity. He adverted to the debts contracted by foreign loan, and those existing in the States, insisting upon the equal necessity of prompt liquidation of both. He also said, that those who held originally the public securities, should be placed on the same footing with those who obtained them by subsequent purchase; also, that those indebted to the Union, and those to any of the States, should be regarded in the same light. This report embodied his principle of assuming the State debts, by the federal head, that embroiled him and Jefferson in antagonism; also, the imposition of a tax on liquors, and other luxurious importations. The report was one of marked

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* Winthrop.

ability,—some praised, others censured it. The finest commentary upon it, was the subsequent adoption of so much as was recommended. Just after this, an expedition was set on foot against the Indians on the western frontier. Additional expenses were to be incurred. Where were the funds to come from? Government had none,—neither had the committee on finance. HAMILTON made another report, suggesting higher duties. This was lost in the House by one vote. In 1790, the party bickerings between HAMILTON and Jefferson, reached such a hight, as that reconciliation between them was despaired of. Both bold and intrepid,—each at the head of rival parties,—each ambitious, talented, and powerful,—envious too, doubtless, of the other's fame,—to harmonize them was impossible.

Congress again assembled, November, 1790. Among the first measures of consideration was the reduction of the public debt. HAMILTON suggested increased taxation, especially upon articles of luxury, to effect this end. Shortly after, he elaborately gave his views to Congress upon a United States bank. No subject has cut a greater figure, or exerted wider influence upon the destinies of political parties in our country, than this; yet, when remarks, deductions, and opinions, even of most sagacious statesmen and political economists, are sifted thoroughly, it will be found that all they have said is substantially the same, in principle, as given by HAMILTON at this time.*

The opponents, chief among whom was Madison, held that the creation of a United States bank, was beyond the power of federal jurisdiction. The measure, however, finally passed. With a limitation of twenty years, and a basis of twenty millions of dollars, the United States bank went into operation. Its stock commanded a high premium. The parent institution at Philadelphia, with various branches at other important points, it proved a valuable medium for the promotion of general wealth and national advancement. Heated discussions arose upon this measure, and party divisions were widened. As leaders of two rival parties, HAMILTON and Jefferson wrote their opinions to Washington on the subject. Never, perhaps, upon any measure, did two great

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*Hitherto, extracts have been given from HAMILTON's writings to show his views upon the several great questions of his day. Having thus given, it is hoped, pretty clearly, his principles in regard to the most important issues, an analysis of what he did, and thought of various measures, henceforth, will be all we shall attempt.

statesmen differ more widely. The President, in his views upon its constitutionality, coincided with HAMILTON. Here again, the great national wrestlers,—Federal and State sovereignty, came afresh to combat. Indeed, the hostile organization of parties was now effectually consummated. The provision for the payment of the interest of the national debt had, to many, been very advantageous; these opposed the bank measures, while those who had not been immediate recipients of the funding benefits were strongly opposed. The stern advocate of the bank and the funding system, HAMILTON's antagonism to Jefferson, who was equally stern in his opposition, was deep-rooted and inflexible.

On the re-assemblage of Congress, in 1791, the apportionment measure afforded fresh source of party strife, and each day added to its fierceness. The provisions for liquidating the national debt, it was argued by some, tended to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer, by the imposition of onerous taxation. Men then, as now, seemed to forget the fact that, in paying taxes, the burden falls on the rich,—not the poor. It was also alleged that each State should pay the amount of its individual indebtedness. It is true, however, that in the various measures proposed at this time, there often existed two extremes,—to steer clear of each, required the abilities of profound minds. In the elaboration of national projects, close soever as may be the adherence to political correctness, and well calculated as they may be to give potency to government, the wishes, opinions, and judgment of the hardy commoners, whose condition, though not servile, precludes the possibility of familiarity with political science and abstractions, should be respected with paternal solicitude. The sentiments of the opposition to these measures, are so clearly expressed by Chief Justice Marshall, at this time, that we insert his remarks in lieu of comment.

Of the opposition, he says: they affirmed that "the banishment of *coin* would be completed by ten millions of paper money in the form of *bank-bills*, which were then issuing into circulation. Nor would this be the only mischief resulting from the institution of the bank. The ten or twelve per cent. annual profit paid to the lenders of this paper medium, would be taken out of the pockets of the people, who would have had, without interest, the coin it was banishing; that all the capital employed in paper circulation is barren and useless, producing like that on a *gam-*

bling table, no accession to itself, and is withdrawn from commerce and agriculture, where it would have produced addition to the common mass. The wealth, therefore, heaped upon individuals by the funding and banking systems would be productive of general poverty and distress; and that, in addition to the encouragement these measures gave to vice and idleness, they had furnished effectual means of corrupting such a portion of the legislature as turned the balance between the honest voters. This *corrupt squadron* deciding the voice of the legislature, had manifested their dispositions to get rid of the limitations by the Constitution; limitations on the faith of which the States acceded to that instrument. They were proceeding rapidly in their plan of absorbing all power, invading the rights of the States, and converting the federal, into a consolidated, government.

"That the ultimate object of all this was to prepare the way for a change from the present republican form of government to that of a monarchy, of which the English constitution was to be the model. So many of the friends of monarchy were in the legislature, that, aided by the corrupt squad of *paper dealers* who were at their devotion, they had a majority in both Houses. The *Republican party*, even when united with the *Anti-federalists*, continued a minority."

HAMILTON, of course, was the main object against whom the foregoing was directed.

The variance of his secretaries was very mortifying to Washington, who wrote about this time an able letter upon the subject of external and internal difficulties,—regretting that "external dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals." The success of the United States Bank was for a time beyond example. Poor himself, HAMILTON was accused of patronizing the rich and the aristocratic. As the leader of one party, never was man more beloved by a party,—as the opponent of another, never was man more abused,—extremes could not have been wider.

By Congressional enactment, Washington was empowered to negotiate a loan, not exceeding fifteen millions of dollars, to liquidate State and national debts. The duty devolved on HAMILTON. Two loans were accordingly effected, and applied as indicated. The manner and appliance of these negotiations became, afterward, matters of Congressional consideration. It was averred in Congress, that a part of the funds were not satisfactorily invested.

HAMILTON was called on for information in regard to the subject. He gave such a clear and triumphant vindication of his course in the premises, that his accusers were ashamed of themselves. On Washington's re-election, HAMILTON was re-appointed Secretary of the Treasury, the duties of which office he continued to exercise as none but he, in this country, could have done.

In the fall of 1787, HAMILTON began the publication of the *Federalist*. No publication of this country has ever exerted wider influence, or become more lastingly identified with our national literature. Though Madison and Jay contributed some to it, the real merits attaching to it are the offspring of HAMILTON. The powerful speeches of more recent great men, in Constitutional defense, are frequently but elaborations of HAMILTON's Federalist. Profound in logic, elastic, bold and concise in finish, and harmonious in design and arrangement, it attracted the attention of all parties, and did much toward the adoption of the Constitution. At its commencement, he tells in the following words, the objects in view: "I propose to discuss the following interesting particulars: The utility of the Union to your political prosperity: the insufficieney of the present confederation to preserve that Union: the necessity of a government at least equally energetic with the one proposed, to the attainment of this object: the conformity of the proposed Constitution to the true principles of republican government: its analogy to your own State constitution: and lastly, the additional security which its adoption will afford to the preservation of that species of government, to liberty and to prosperity."

The above was the range and scope of the Federalist. Never were "particulars" more ably, clearly, and analytically discussed. As a writer, HAMILTON combined chasteness of diction with bold originality,—the beauties of a finished classic, with powers of condensation, and with profound reasoning, the most lucid clearness. Let any one read the twenty-first number of the Federalist; where will he find a happier blending of the essential attributes of a writer? It commences thus: "In disquisitions of every kind, there are certain primary truths, or first principles, upon which all subsequent reasonings must depend. These contain an internal evidence, which, antecedent to all reflection or combination, commands the assent of the mind. Where it produces not this effect, it must proceed either from some disorder in the organs of

perception, or from the influence of some strong interest, or passion, or prejudice. Of this nature are the maxims in geometry, that the whole is greater than its parts; that things equal to the same, are equal to one another; that two straight lines can not inclose a space; and that all right angles are equal to each other. Of the same nature are these other maxims in ethics and politics, that there can not be an effect without a cause; that the means ought to be proportioned to the end; that every power ought to be commensurate with its object; that there ought to be no limitation of a power destined to effect a purpose which is itself incapable of limitation. And there are other truths in the two latter sciences, which, if they can not pretend to rank in the class of axioms, are such direct inferences from them and so obvious in themselves, and so agreeable to the natural and unsophisticated dictates of common sense, that they challenge the assent of a sound and unbiased mind, with a degree of force and conviction almost equally irresistible."

The influence exerted by the Federalist, in moulding the minds of men, and giving shape to conflicting opinions, has not been confined to the land of his nativity. In the capitals of France, through the cities of England, among the glaciers of Switzerland,—wherever, indeed, language is known or ability appreciated, its doctrines have found way to honored consideration. In regard to his sentiments as embodied in the Federalist, and the principles he wished to incorporate into the Constitution, HAMILTON has been charged with inconsistency. While the Federalist is, doubtless, the best mirror of his mind, wherein is reflected more clearly its power and aims, than in any other portion of his writings, we give place to the following letter to a friend, as a refutation of the charge that he favored an American monarchy, and as affording additional insight to his position upon some of the great questions of the day:

NEW YORK, *Sept.* 16, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR:—

"I will make no apology for my delay in answering your inquiry, some time since made, because I could offer none which would satisfy myself. I pray you only to believe that it proceeded from any thing rather than from want of respect or regard. I shall now comply with your request.

"The highest toned propositions which I made in the convention, were for a President, Senate, and judges, during good behavior; a House of Representatives for three years. Though I would have enlarged the legislative power of the general government, yet I never contemplated the abolition of the State governments; but, on the contrary, they were, in some particulars, constituent parts of my plan.

"This plan was, in my conception, conformable with the strict theory of a government purely republican; the essential criteria of which are, that the principal organs of the executive and legislative departments be elected by the people, and hold the office by a responsible and temporary or defeasible nature.

"A vote was taken on the proposition respecting the executive. Five States were in favor of it,—among these Virginia; and though, from the manner of voting by delegations, individuals were not distinguished, it was morally certain, from the known situation of the Virginia members (six in number, two of them, Mason and Randolph, professing popular doctrines), that Madison must have concurred in the vote of Virginia. Thus, if I sinned against republicanism, Mr. Madison is not less guilty.

"I may truly, then, say, that I never proposed either a President or Senate for life; and that I neither recommended nor meditated the annihilation of the State governments.

"And I may add that, in a course of the discussions in the convention, neither the propositions thrown out for debate, nor even those who voted in the earlier stages of deliberation, were considered as evidence of a definitive opinion in the proposer or voter. It appeared to be in some sort understood that, with a view to free investigation, experimental propositions might be made, which were to be received merely as suggestions for consideration. Accordingly, it is a fact that *my final opinion was against an executive during good behavior*, on account of the increased danger to the public tranquillity incident to the election of a magistrate of his degree of permanency. In the plan of a Constitution which I drew up while the convention was sitting, and which I communicated to Mr. Madison about the close of it, perhaps a day or two after, the office of President has no longer duration than for three years.

"This plan was predicated upon these bases: 1. That the political principles of the people of this country, would endure

nothing but a republican government. 2. That in the actual situation of the country it was itself right and proper that the republican theory should have a full and fair trial. 3. That to such a trial it was essential that the government should be so constructed as to give it all the energy and the stability reconcilable with the principles of that theory. These were the genuine sentiments of my heart, and upon them I then acted.

"I sincerely hope that it may not hereafter be discovered that, through want of sufficient attention to the last idea, the experiment of republican government, even in this country, has not been as complete, as satisfactory, and as decisive as could be wished.

"Very truly, dear sir, your friend and servant,

"ALEXANDER HAMILTON."

In 1793, Genet, the French minister, arrived in this country. In testimony of services rendered by his country through the Revolution, the American people extended to him every consideration of regard. Hot-headed, inflated and ambitious, he drank the cup of adulation till his brain grew dizzy. In his overzealous efforts to enlist our people in the cause of his country, he stultified himself; widened the breach between political parties; came near bringing about a rupture between the two nations, and finally subjected himself to the disgrace of a recall. To the neutrality proclamation issued by Washington, HAMILTON was a stern and devoted friend. When Genet refused to detain a vessel bound on a privateering cruise in the Philadelphia harbor, till difficulties were settled, HAMILTON insisted upon its forcible detention. He also wrote his famous "*Pacificus*" letter, in defense of neutrality, which was an able and masterly defense of the administration.

The liquidation, or at least the diminution of the public debt was with HAMILTON a favorite measure. Among his last acts, as Secretary of the Treasury, was the elaboration of a scheme for this purpose, and a general report to Congress upon the subject of finance. The history of financial operations, through their development and progress from Genoa, Hamburgh and Amsterdam, to the present time, affords no better evidences of a complete master of the subject than does this report of HAMILTON. It is somewhat lengthy, but vigorous, deep and clear. It will be found

in the third volume of his posthumous works. He also in a report, of characteristic ability to Congress, recommended the establishment of a mint. Several reports upon subjects of vital interest followed; among others, was one on manufactures, made in 1791; one on excise, made 1792, and another on loans, made in 1793. In spirit, power, profundity, style and research, these several reports were purely HAMILTONIAN. They will each be found in the volume of his works before referred to. These labors, closed his connection with the administration. To pay off the national debt, he was very anxious so to fix the sinking fund that it would be sufficient for that purpose; indeed, he was desirous of establishing that fund upon such a basis, as precluded the possibility of its diversion from the legitimate object of its creation.

In closing HAMILTON'S connection with the administration of Washington, a few words in regard to that relationship may not be amiss. While too high an appreciation of HAMILTON'S virtue, patriotism and talents, could not well be entertained, we discard utterly, and *in toto*, the idea that he was, in any sense, the dictator of the first President. The idea that he, great as he was, could sway George Washington, is preposterous in the extreme. That the intimacy between Washington and himself was warm and disinterested,—that each had unlimited confidence in the other, no one will pretend to deny; but, that he was the motive power of the first two administrations of this government,—that he, so to speak, was the entire legislative, and Washington the executive power of the country, is most emphatically untrue. True, he was the "confidential friend and adviser" of that great man, but, neither his, nor any other man's friendship or advice swayed him in the least, unless his own judgment approved. Recreant, indeed, to the memory, talent and genius of his mighty father, is the course of J. C. Hamilton, when he attempts, through the Revolution, and afterward, to make the leader of the subordinate. The attempt will be, and should be, futile. Washington, is *our man*,—all efforts to build a statue higher than his, for other men, only detract from the merits of those, to the perpetuity of whose fame such efforts are directed, and show a want of discrimination and judgment on the part of those who make the attempt.

Having retired from the arena of political affairs, he devoted himself to the practice of law. It is almost needless to say, that he was eminently successful. He at once entered upon a legal

career, dazzlingly splendid and lucrative. Soon after, however, as vindicator of Washington's fame, he again became involved in the controversial excitements of the times. So heated had become party animosities, that even Washington was an object of abuse and detraction. As chief supporter of both his administrations, HAMILTON boldly and triumphantly vindicated him from the aspersions of malignant faction.

It was during Washington's second administration, that HAMILTON was charged with fraud and improper use of the public funds. Soon after he left the Cabinet, the same charges were preferred with renewed force and vehemence. No doubt, they were false. The vindication of HAMILTON himself, from the charges, was complete and satisfactory. Here, however, great and deserved as may, and should be, our admiration of HAMILTON, he committed an error, a fault of which no extenuation will be attempted.

In 1791, he became involved in an intrigue with Maria Reynolds of Philadelphia. Such an occurrence may be called unfortunate,—may be called a weakness,—that, however, would be to pass it by without censure; fortune is too apt to be laden, pack-horse like, with the sins of men. Young men are already too prone, as they ponder the careers of the illustrious,—of those who, like HAMILTON, justly identify their names with greatness through all time,—to regard departures from moral principle as peculiarities incident to great minds. But actions, great or small, perpetrated by whomsoever, partake of the same virtues, the same vices, and should be praised or condemned alike in the high and the low. HAMILTON, it must be remembered, had *a lovely wife,—a beauteous* boy; notwithstanding he was the leader of a great party, the occupant of exalted position, high in the world's good-will, *these* relations condemn the act, as not comporting with that stern virtue, high principle, and true nobility, exemplifications of which should be expected in such men as HAMILTON. Men, to be *truly* great, must be good.

The intrigue originated in this way. Maria Reynolds, who, no doubt, was nothing more than a fascinating courtesan, obtruded herself upon HAMILTON. She represented that she was the wife of a James Reynolds, by whom she had been abandoned and left in destitution. She said she wished to go to her home in New York, but had no means. HAMILTON filled her purse. He afterward visited her lodgings: an intimacy sprang up between them.

His visits were continued until the appearance of the reputed husband, James Reynolds. It was now clear that HAMILTON had been duped by an artful woman. The woman, it has been said, and no doubt, with truth, was not the wife of Reynolds. The whole scheme was concocted between the two, for the purpose of extorting funds from HAMILTON. To avoid their persecution and exposure, HAMILTON paid, in all, over a thousand dollars. Reynolds, in fact, became so impudent, that he applied to HAMILTON for an important place in the Treasury department. Here the great sun of HAMILTON's nobility shone brightly enough: *that* was public business. Notwithstanding the threatened exposure, the secretary refused promptly any accession to his request. Unpleasant difficulties grew out of this affair. Having done all they could in the way of extortion, Reynolds and his wife turned their efforts to the defamation of his character. Finally, Congress heard of the matter: exaggerated reports of the amount of money spent to clear it up, had reached that body. Like a true man as he was, he explained fully and clearly the whole thing, and gave such satisfactory assurances and proofs that it was an individual affair, having nothing whatever to do with his public functions, that they regretted having made the application. Though the transaction passed generally from memory, it afforded ever after pretexts for HAMILTON's enemies to attack him. It was, indeed, the first pretext used by Aaron Burr against him. Seemingly trifling as it may appear, in a general view, this affair should point to all young men, in solemn warning, the danger of *one false* step. To establish a character without influential promptings, is hard indeed, but for one to stain his own reputation, how very easy!

This regretful affair, though it paved the way to a series of charges against him, by his enemies, terminated, finally, without serious injury to his high character. The manliness with which he met each charge,—the bold manner in which he insisted upon a full investigation of the whole, proved, at least, that he possessed the soul of a lofty gentleman.

On the submission of the Jay treaty, as already stated, great excitement ensued. The severest party prejudices and divisions were produced by it; the administration was vigorously assailed. It was in defense of that treaty that HAMILTON wrote his famous "*Camillus*" letters; which will be found in his works, and worthy

the careful study of every political student. These letters, and the influence of their author, did much to quell the excitements incident to the ratification of the treaty. On the dismissal of our ministers from the court of Versailles, and the assumption of so warlike an attitude by the French nation toward us, after the departure of Genet, Washington was called to the command. It is no small eulogy upon HAMILTON, that, on Washington's acceptance, he was called to the post of Inspector-General. This accounts for his being called *General* HAMILTON. He indicated no desire to turn from duties the discharge of which his country deemed incumbent upon him. He accepted the position; and while hostile signs were pending strongest, wrote his "*Titus Manlius*" letters. He also wrote some pieces over the signature of "*The Stand*," for the purpose of stirring up the people to a point of resistance and maintenance of the national dignity. He held his appointment until after the death of Washington and the formal disbandment of the soldiers.

Before Washington's retirement, he delivered that immortal farewell address, which is so well known. In the preparation of this work, the smallest departure from truth has been carefully guarded against: to do every one *justice*, is our main object. When we deny the agency ascribed to HAMILTON by his admirers, in the farewell address of Washington, no injustice is felt to have been done. While Washington was contemplating the performance of that crowning duty of his mighty life, "*Distrusting*," says one, "*his own abilities as a writer*, impaired as they were by age and infirmity, *to do full justics to his own thoughts* (the italics are ours) *and feelings*, he looked around him for a coadjutor among the statesmen of the land, to whose talents, prudence, and patriotism he could intrust the first draft of so important an instrument." GEORGE WASHINGTON "distrusting his own abilities" to give "his own thoughts" or even his "*feelings!*" An intelligent school-boy would not believe it. The result of his having "looked around" for one competent to write his own farewell address, was, it is said, the selection of HAMILTON. No man's admiration of HAMILTON transcends our own, *but he never wrote Washington's farewell address—never.* That document is Washington in style, Washington in thought, conception and feeling; there is nothing HAMILTONIAN about it. It reads like Washington's other writings, evincing the same chaste, clear style, the

same love of country, the same devotion to, and solicitude for, the people. On the contrary, compare it with the writings of HAMILTON, and a direct departure, in every sense, from the elements of composition characteristic of that distinguished writer and statesman, is clearly visible. The truth is, Washington always advised with confidential friends, upon matters of importance, not through any "distrust of his own ability," but from a high sense of his obligations to the country, and a just appreciation of the judgment of others. When he wrote his farewell address, he submitted it *as a friend*, to the inspection of HAMILTON and Jay. They perused, and approved it, but returned it to him WITHOUT ALTERATION. That address could have been written by no man but Washington; HAMILTON, great as were his powers of composition, ingenious and dextrous as was his diamond pen, was not sufficiently adroit to effect a disguise of himself, so perfect and complete as seen in the farewell address. HAMILTON could not, we think, improve on him, in whose creation, Divinity seemed to have placed, in every part, elements of perfection beyond the reach of further improvement.

We now commence a new era in the life of HAMILTON. On the death of Washington, and the elevation of the elder Adams to the presidency, the Federal party experienced a visible decline. The Democratic party, also, split to pieces. Three factions, led by the Livingstons, Clintons, and Aaron Burr, struggled each for ascendency. Burr, in 1800, conceived the idea of harmonizing them into a consolidated party. He partially succeeded, and for the Assembly elections, in the spring of 1800, had united them upon a ticket composed of some of the ablest men of New York. Never was political contest more heated. HAMILTON, as the leader of the Federal party, battled manfully against his talented and wily antagonist, Aaron Burr. They came frequently in contact in warm discussion. At the election, the Federalists were beaten. This led to the efforts, elsewhere mentioned, to induce Jay, then governor of the State, to convene the legislature, to so alter the manner of electoral choice, that it would be done by districts, the Federalists then having legislative majorities. Jay refused to lend sanction to such a measure. Adams' administration closed in 1801. A new president and vice-president were to be elected: party heat ran high. Jefferson and Burr were the Republican candidates, Adams and Pinckney were the Federal. The canvass

was intensely exciting. HAMILTON entered the strife with usual zeal and effect. He wrote several letters on the Adams' administration; it was said, to secure more votes for Pinckney than Adams,—the rule then being that he who got the highest number of votes, was president, and the one who received the next highest number was vice-president. Burr seized upon these letters, and with a dextrous sagacity unsurpassed by any American statesman, published those portions of them reflecting somewhat upon Adams, to produce a breach in the Federal party. This course had the desired effect. The Federal party were shattered to pieces; the democratic candidates, Jefferson and Burr, were elected by tremendous majorities. The two having received the same number of votes, produced the famous and excited election in the House, that created such a profound sensation. Jefferson and Burr were each accused of impropriety, during this contest. Burr, it was said, courted the favor of the Federal party. To this HAMILTON, notwithstanding the hostility engendered between the two by recent developments, with characteristic magnanimity wrote a reply, fully exonerating Burr from any charge of that sort.

From this contest may be dated the waning fortunes of Aaron Burr. HAMILTON became, on the defeat of the Federal party, the subject of severe animadversions. The old charge, that he favored monarchy, was revived. It is said to think that, at this time, some of his former friends failed to stand by him. The charge of monarchy was made in the public prints, and was repeated publicly by a man named Eacker. This led to a challenge from HAMILTON'S eldest son, Philip. The challenge was accepted. The parties met. Philip Hamilton fell, his blood staining the same ground which was soon to drink that of his illustrious father. The Federal party was now in the minority. Party excitements reached a pitch beyond all precedent. Burr thought he could be elected governor of New York. He ran for that office in 1804. Every effort was made to defeat him. His opponent, though a Democrat, drew to him the larger number of Federal votes. Burr was abused and traduced. The papers of the State came from the press reeking with slanders against both his public and private character; and before the ink had dried that blazoned them to the world, others were originated. In this HAMILTON had no hand, though his opposition to Burr, in the canvass, was strong, influential, and incessant. The election was held and Burr was beaten;

HAMILTON was mainly instrumental in his defeat; but for him Burr, no doubt, would have been elected.

During the heated canvass, though HAMILTON exerted all his powers, he did nothing that would bring a blush to the true man's cheek. That he disliked Burr, is evident; but that he departed from the legitimate course of political electioneering, is untrue. He labored with all the zeal and ability of his ardent soul, fired fully up to the important necessity of putting forth every effort. The hostility between HAMILTON and Burr now assumed a desperate shape. On his defeat for governor, Burr knew that his political star had gone down. Chafing under the lash of disappointed ambition, and smarting at the idea of the ascendency the result gave HAMILTON over himself, it was not singular that feelings of enmity should be entertained toward one whom he looked upon as the chief author of his fallen fortunes. HAMILTON, during the canvass, had, no doubt, imbibed some of the sentiments so profusely circulated prejudicial to Burr; but that he said or did any thing worthy of provoking a challenge from the latter, cannot be asserted. Among others who had figured in the political excitements of the times, was a Dr. Cooper. That gentleman published a lengthy letter in which, after dwelling upon HAMILTON'S course toward Burr, in the canvass, he says: "I *could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which* General HAMILTON *has expressed of Mr. Burr.*" In the summer of 1804, Burr called the attention of his friend, Judge Van Ness, to this particular clause, informing him, at the same time, that he intended demanding satisfaction of HAMILTON for its utterance. According to request Van Ness carried the following note to HAMILTON from Burr:

"You must perceive, sir, the necessity of a prompt and an unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant, etc.

AARON BURR.

He means here, by "assertions of Dr. Cooper," the same objectionable clause before named. HAMILTON read the note, and examined closely the clause to which it had reference. He then wrote the following reply:

"NEW YORK, *June* 20, 1804.

"SIR:—I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th inst., and the more I have reflected, the more I have

become convinced that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms: 'I could detail to you *a still more despicable* opinion which General HAMILTON *has expressed* of Mr. Burr.' To endeavor to discover the meaning of this declaration, I was obliged to seek, in the antecedent part of this letter, for the opinion to which it referred as having been already disclosed. I found it in these words: 'General HAMILTON and Judge Kent have declared, in *substance*, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be *a dangerous man*, and one *who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government*.'

"The language of Doctor Cooper plainly implies that *he* considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a *despicable* one; but he affirms that I have expressed some other *more despicable*, without, however, mentioning to whom, when, or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase 'still more despicable' admits of infinite shades, from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended? or how shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

"Between gentlemen, *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of distinction; when, therefore, you do not interrogate me as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and, consequently, as not warranting the idea which Doctor Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

"But I forbear further comment on the embarrassment to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

"Repeating that I can not reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgment or denial you desire, I will add that I deem it inadmissible, on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justice of the *inferences* which may be drawn by others from whatever I have said of a political opponent in the course of

fifteen years' competition. If there were no other objection to it, this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the *import* of my expressions differently from what I may then have intended or may afterward recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman. More than this can not fitly be expected from me; and, especially, it can not be reasonably expected that I shall enter into any explanation upon a basis so vague as that you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences.

"The publication of Doctor Cooper was never seen by me till after the receipt of your letter. I have the honor to be, etc.

"ALEX. HAMILTON."

To this reply, which it seems should have been satisfactory, Burr rejoined, saying that "the common sense of mankind affixed to the epithets adopted by Dr. Cooper, the idea of dishonor," that the reply contained nothing desired, and still insisted upon satisfaction.

On the reception of Burr's second note, HAMILTON told Van Ness, that the charge was not sufficiently specific to admit of defense or acknowledgment, and that the last note from his friend was too offensive to allow further correspondence. He also told him, that he might withdraw Burr's second note, to pave the way to pacification, but until it was withdrawn, no further communication could be had. The next day Van Ness was the bearer of another note to HAMILTON; this, however, was not delivered at the time in consequence of his absence from home. HAMILTON sent Van Ness a note, informing him that he would be at home the next Monday morning.

On the 22d of June, HAMILTON had an interview with his friend, Mr. Pendleton, upon the subject, telling him that a duel would perhaps be the result; that he could have no further communication with Burr, until the second offensive letter was withdrawn; which he refused to do. Still manifesting a desire to adjust the matter, he gave Mr. Pendleton the following note for Van Ness:

"NEW YORK, *June* 22, 1804.

"SIR:—Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it; but, by your last letter, received this day, containing expressions *indecorous* and improper, you have increased the difficulties to an explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

"If by a 'definite reply' you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give than that which has already been given. If you mean any thing different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"ALEX. HAMILTON."

The next Monday, Van Ness called on HAMILTON according to appointment, intending to deliver a formal challenge. HAMILTON told him that he had given a note to Pendleton for Burr, that might open the way to reconciliation. Van Ness remarked, that he had understood that no further correspondence would be had, unless the objectionable note was withdrawn, but that, if such were not the case, he would gladly await further results. Van Ness immediately called on Pendleton, and took the note just referred to, to Burr. The seconds soon after met again. The note had no effect upon the haughty Burr. Van Ness gave Pendleton to understand, that nothing short of an unqualified disavowal by HAMILTON, of ever having said or intended to say, any thing disreputable of Burr, at any time or place, or under any circumstances, would be satisfactory. This, HAMILTON declined peremptorily. HAMILTON, however, disavowed ever having made remarks against Burr as a private man; that what he had said had reference to his political opinions and views entirely. Burr certainly was determined to bully HAMILTON into disgrace, or fight him on the field. To his honorable concessions and disavowal, Burr gave no heed. He seemed, indeed, to become more insolent in each message. HAMILTON received another note, through his friend Pendleton, which reaffirmed that nothing but the unequivocal denial alluded to, would be satisfactory. That a

meeting could not be avoided,—that Burr was determined that it should not, became now clearly manifest. Other communications passed between the seconds, substantially a reiteration of the preceding ones. Soon after their last interview, Van Ness formally delivered to Pendleton the challenge of Burr; which was accepted. Hard fate,—young, gifted and great, he goes to meet a death, whose pangs are not even soothed with Christian consolation,—a sacrifice to the demon of disappointed ambition. On the acceptance of the challenge, Pendleton offered to give Van Ness HAMILTON'S written views upon the subject and his reasons for agreeing to the meeting. Van Ness said, that its acceptance precluded further communication, and would not receive them. The Circuit Court was then in session; HAMILTON was counsel in several weighty and highly important cases. For this reason, Pendleton requested that the meeting should be put off until the court adjourned, to enable HAMILTON to complete his cases. This was agreed to, and Pendleton stipulated that as soon as leisure would justify, his friend would meet Burr on the field. Nothing now remained but to fight. During the session of court, HAMILTON discharged the duties of counsel in several very important and difficult cases, with the same energy, talent and method, that always characterized him. He also made his will, and wrote a letter to his wife. These transactions being completed, on the 6th of July, the seconds had an interview and arranged for the final meeting. The meeting took place on the morning of the 11th of July, at Weehawken on the Jersey side. Burr was first on the ground,—HAMILTON arrived soon after. They bowed to each other, and concluded the arrangements. They fought at ten paces; the choice of position, and the right to give the word, fell, by lot, on HAMILTON. The parties took their stands,—ten paces between HAMILTON and death! Burr was a man of powerful nerve, and an expert in the use of the pistol. HAMILTON lacked not nerve, when aroused to effort by great actions; but, no doubt, he felt on this occasion with the sensbility of true honor, that his position was unworthy of him. He was not as expert in the use of weapons as Burr. It was so arranged, that the second who gave the word, should ask if each were ready. If they were, he then said *Present*, and the parties were to fire at their own discretion. Pendleton asked, "Are you ready?" being affirmatively answered, he said, PRESENT! Burr fired in an instant, and HAMILTON fell. Pendle-

ton always averred that HAMILTON did not fire at his opponent. Van Ness said, however, that he did fire, and that he fired first. HAMILTON, it is contended made a statement, prior to the meeting, to the effect that he would not fire at Burr. It is presumed, however, that he would hardly have placed himself within ten paces of such a pistol shot as Aaron Burr, without intention of defending himself. Such a course would have been suicidal. Burr was not hurt, at all events. When HAMILTON fell, Burr started hastily toward him, in a manner that indicated a desire of speaking. This interview, however, was unhappily prevented by the interposition of Van Ness. It is a source of regret. The world can never know what he would have said to the dying statesman on that occasion.

A few words in regard to Aaron Burr, and he will be dismissed altogether. Few men, especially active political leaders, ever receive from the people the exact meed of praise or censure to which their merits or demerits entitle them. There is a certain position in the world's esteem, which, when attained, creates a disposition to elevate the occupant far above the mark of his true deserts. You may get almost to that position, but a failure to attain it, produces a proneness to sink you below the mark of merits really possessed. We do not intend to become eulogist of Aaron Burr; he was, no doubt, in some respects, a bad man,—Washington regarded him as such, and he never failed to judge correctly. If any thing can be more unjust or untrue, than the assertion that he was worse than Benedict Arnold, it is the recent attempt to make him "a greater man and a better man" than HAMILTON. Neither is true. BURR commenced his career with the most splendid prospects. Descended from ancestry of the first eminence, and on terms of intimacy with the most influential counselors, with a mind of great strength and depth, cultivated at the first schools, ambitious and ardent, he entered the list in the struggle for fame with a zeal and enthusiasm that seemed to insure success. He went into the Revolution with a bold and fearless determination to share its hardships with the patriots. He was connected with Arnold's Kennebec expedition, and was sent as messenger to General Montgomery. Disguised as a priest, with the greatest address, bravery, and fortitude, after many dangers he discharged that duty. Montgomery was won by his courage and fascinating qualities, and gave him a place in his staff.

He was with the general when he fell at Quebec, and always said that, if the soldiers had pushed ahead, they would have carried the place. Washington thought, at one time, after this, of placing him on his staff; but, on investigating some traits of his character, refused to do so, on the grounds that he wanted good men for officers. After the close of the war, by his superior address and powers as a politician, he rose rapidly to the highest honors. He was a Senator from New York, and was also attorney-general. He finally reached the second office in the gift of the people, and was, at one time, the most popular aspirant in the Republican party for the first. The protracted contest in the House, between Jefferson and himself, changed the tide of his affairs. His efforts to supplant Jefferson, drew against him the weight of his ponderous influence. He saw now the first honors of the nation, to procure which he doubtless made all else subordinate, fade from his too eager grasp. So far as his intentions against Mexico were concerned, or his aims at dismembering the confederacy, for which he was tried, the best evidences that the whole proceeding was more the result of ill-will, than the existence of any real causes of alarm, was his acquittal, in an ably conducted trial in the Supreme Court, over which presided the venerable Chief Justice Marshall.

As regards the causes resulting in the unfortunate duel with HAMILTON, it is difficult to arrive at the exact state of the case. HAMILTON had, no doubt, animadverted with severity upon him during the heated canvass in which he was beaten for governor. A knowledge of this, coupled with the smart of defeat, in which HAMILTON had been chiefly instrumental, in a soul like his, of daring ambition, proud, haughty, uncompromising, produced an enmity against his rival, which, though wholly injustifiable, cannot be denounced as that of a murderer or an assassin. On the death of HAMILTON, Burr became overwhelmed with torrents of popular odium. All his faults and wrongs were exaggerated in a thousand forms. After breasting the abuse for a while,—wrecked in prospects,—crushed in hope and fortune, he went to Europe a ruined man. Never was the fall of man from lofty position to abject poverty, more complete.

While in Paris, the following entries in his diary show his state of utter destitution:

"November 23d, 1810. Nothing from America, and really I

shall starve. Borrowed three francs to-day. Four or five little debts keep me in constant alarm; altogether about two louis.

"December 1st, 1810. Mr. —— came in upon me this morning, just as I was out of bed, for twenty-seven livres. Paid him, which took literally my last sous. When at Damon's, thought I might as well go to Pelasgis; set off, but recollected that I owed the woman who sits in the passage two sous for a cigar, so turned about to pursue my way by the Pont des Arts, which was fifteen paces; remembered I had not wherewith to pay the toll, being one sous; had to go all the way round by Pont Royal, more than half a mile."

The death of his idolized and lovely daughter, Theodosia, that occurred afterward, hightened the pains of his situation. Whatever may be said of Aaron Burr, his love and affection for his family, form a bright spot in his character, that prejudice can never dim, nor the finger of time efface. There was no kinder husband,—a more devoted parent. "I would rather not live than not be the daughter of such a father," wrote Theodosia to him before her death. Burr, on his return to the land he left in mourning, for the ornament he had snatched from her councils, was compelled to resume his profession for a support. Thirty long gloomy years rolled over him, like unfriendly night, with few stars to light his cheerless path.

He reached his 81st year, and finally died in New York, on the 13th of September, 1836. The following letter having reference to his death-bed scene, from Rev. Doctor Vanpelt, gives account of his last moments, and affords some knowledge of his religious sentiments:

"NEW YORK, Hammond St., Thursday, *December* 13, 1855.

"In the summer, about the 20th of June, 1836, Colonel A. Burr came to Port Richmond Hotel, Staten Island, where he took board, near which I then resided, as also did the relative and friend of Colonel Burr, Judge Ogden Edwards. The Colonel (Burr) being a valetudinarian, in feeble health, Judge Edwards solicited me, as often as I conveniently could, to visit him, and administer the consolation of religion to him, which, he said, was desired by Colonel Burr, and would be agreeable to him.

"Accordingly, from that time till the 13th of September, 1836, the day on which he died at the said Port Richmond House, I

visited him as a minister of the Gospel, once or twice a week. At these consecutive interviews I was uniformly received by him with his accustomed politeness and urbanity of manner. The time spent with him at each interview,—which was an hour, more or less,—was chiefly employed in religious conversations, adapting to his declining health, his feeble state of body, and his advanced age, concluding by prayer to Almighty God for the exercise of his great mercy, the influence of his Holy Spirit and divine blessing. In all which he appeared to take an interest and be pleased, and particularly would thank me for the prayers I offered up in his behalf, for my kind offices, and the interest I took in his spiritual welfare, saying it gave him pleasure to see me and hear my voice. And when I reminded him of the advantages he had enjoyed, of his honored and pious ancestry, viz: his father a minister of the Gospel, and president of the college at Princeton, New Jersey, and his mother a descendant of the celebrated divine, Jonathan Edwards; and that doubtless many prayers had gone up to Heaven from the hearts of his parents for his well-being and happiness, it seemed to affect him. And when I asked him as to his views of the Holy Scriptures, he responded.—'They are the most perfect system of truth the world has ever seen.' So that judging from his own declaration and behavior to me, as his spiritual adviser, he was not an atheist nor a deist.

"I did not administer the holy sacrament to him, nor did he suggest and request me to do it.

"In regard to other topics, in the course of repeated conversations, he remarked he was near General Montgomery when he fell at Quebec; and that notwithstanding that disaster, if the army had pushed on, they would have succeeded. In reference to the affair and death of General HAMILTON but little was said. He intimated, however, that he was provoked to that encounter.

"At my last interview with him, about 12 o'clock at noon, the day he departed this life, about 2 o'clock, P. M., as aforesaid, September 13, 1836, I found him as usual, pleased to see me, tranquil in mind, and not disturbed by bodily pain.

"Observing a paleness and change in his countenance, and his pulse tremulous, fluttering and erratic, I asked him how he felt. He replied, not so well as when I saw him last. I then said, 'Colonel, I do not wish to alarm you, but judging from the state of your pulse, your time with us is short.' He replied, 'I am

aware of it.' It was then near 1 o'clock, P. M., and his mind and memory seemed perfect. I said to him, 'In this solemn hour of your apparent dissolution, believing as you do, in the sacred Scriptures, your accountability to God, let me ask you how you feel in view of approaching eternity; whether you have good hope, through grace, that all your sins will be pardoned, and God will, in mercy, pardon you, for the sake of the merits and righteousness of his beloved son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in love suffered and died for us the agonizing, bitter death of the cross, by whom alone we can have the only sure hope of salvation?' To which he said, with deep and evident emotion, 'On that subject I am coy;' by which I understood him to mean, that on a subject of much magnitude and momentous interest, touching the assurance of his salvation, he felt coy, cautious (as the word denotes) to express himself in full confidence.

"With his usual cordial concurrence and manifest desire we kneeled in prayer before the throne of heavenly grace,—imploring God's mercy and blessing. He turned in his bed, and put himself in an humble devotional posture, and seemed deeply engaged in the religious service, thanking me, as usual, for the prayer made for him.

"Calm and composed, I recommended him to the mercy of God and to the word of his grace, with a last farewell. At about two o'clock, P. M., without a groan or a struggle, he breathed his last. His death was easy and gentle as a taper in the socket, and as the summer's wave that dies upon the shore. Thus died Colonel Aaron Burr.

"His first funeral service was performed by me in the Port Richmond House, where he died. Thence we took his remains to the chapel of Princeton College, New Jersey, where Dr. Carnahan, the president, and myself, performed his last funeral service before the students, the faculty, the military, and a numerous assemblage, and he was buried, as he requested, in the sepulchet of his ancestors.

"With respect, P. J. VANPELT."

Thus died Aaron Burr. With a powerful and vigorous intellect, he combined the most dextrous skill in furthering his measures, and was among the ablest politicians of his day. Possessing an iron will, and a sanguine temperament, with acutest

perception he formed his schemes and devoted himself to their execution with indomitable energy. Bold and intrepid, wily and artful as a Talleyrand, he prosecuted his designs with vigilance, method and system, and was at one time feared even by Jefferson himself. Courteous, bland and affable, fascinating in conversation, he was welcome in the social circle, and drew men toward him by the suavity of his manners. He was ambitious,—but, whether his ambition was of that lofty mold that looked to the amelioration of his country and his kind, or of that sordid cast of selfishness that aimed at his own exclusive elevation, and made principle subservient to policy, is a question that would seem easy of solution. It was evidently of the latter nature. His career forms a fruitful source of study for the student and the statesman. Youth can look to his rise and fall, and see, at least, an example of the futility of talent, genius, energy and ambition, when not sustained by the basis of high principle and moral worth.

We now return to HAMILTON, where we left him bleeding to death at Weehawken. Burr's ball broke one of his ribs, penetrated the liver, and lodged in the vertebræ. As he fell, he remarked to his surgeon, that the wound would prove fatal. He was immediately overcome with a stupor, that indicated speedy death. On reaching the boat, he slowly opened his eyes exclaiming: "My vision is indistinct." He then looked at his pistols, saying: "Pendleton knows I did not intend to fire." HAMILTON did say, before going to the field, that he should not fire. On being hit by Burr, with a spasmodic effort, he raised himself up, and simultaneous with the movement, his pistol fired. After launching the boat, his limbs became paralyzed. On reaching the shore, he requested that his wife should be sent for immediately. He was now conveyed to the residence of Mr. Bayard. He continued to sink through the day, enduring the intensest pain with great fortitude and equanimity. During the day, he requested that the Lord's supper should be administered to him. Prayer was had in his room, and every comfort given him that circumstances would permit. HAMILTON gave, before his death, an unqualified disapproval of the infamous practice of dueling. A little before he died, Rev. Bishop Moore asked him these questions: "Do you sincerely repent of your sins? Have you a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of the death of Christ? Are you disposed to live in love and charity

with all men?" To which, HAMILTON thus faintly but clearly replied: "With utmost sincerity of heart, I can answer those questions in the affirmative. I have no ill-will against Colonel Burr. I met him with a fixed resolution to do him no harm. I forgive all that happened." A solemn scene was that death-chamber. Weeping friends gathered round, while heart-throbs of woe filled every bosom. The agony of his lovely wife knew no bounds. She was almost crushed under the weight of misery. HAMILTON turned to her, and exclaimed: "You must remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian." Having folded her to his bosom for the last time, and given her a look of deepest tenderness, he fell back and expired. He died, July 12th, 1804, about two o'clock P. M., the day after he received his wound. He was buried Saturday, July 14th, with all the respect due to so honored a man. All day the bells tolled mournful peals. He was accompanied to the grave by an immense concourse of mourning citizens,—including the order of the Cincinnati, the military, members of the bar, and students. All, by common consent, joined in sad homage to the illustrious dead; Governeur Morris delivered a solemn and appropriate address on the occasion. Thus closed the mortal career of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Well might Mason exclaim: "Washington died, but left us HAMILTON; HAMILTON fell, but left us no Washington. Bereaved America!"



JOHN ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS.

It was said of the great Athenian, Aristides, that

> To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
> His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,
> And wants no other praise.*

The application of these lines to the second President of the United States, whatever may have been his faults, is certainly not very unjust. The firmness, wisdom, and patriotism of JOHN ADAMS, taken in connection with his labors at an early period of the Republic, and protracted through a long life of usefulness and honor, entitle him to a place in the first ranks of our illustrious men. The pain incident to a conscious inability to do full justice to this great man, is somewhat relieved by the pleasure derived from an attempt to delineate those high moral and virtuous qualities, that will forever remain identified with his name, and adorn his career.

JOHN ADAMS was born October 19, 1735. His mother's name, before marriage, was Boylston, daughter of Peter Boylston of Brookline. His father's name, as was also that of his grandfather, was John Adams. His ancestry can be traced back, it is claimed, to 1629, the year in which the first Charles granted the Massachusetts charter. Among those, indeed, to whom the charter was given, was a John Adams, from whom, it is asserted, our subject sprang. His forefathers were not very wealthy, but had means enough for purposes of comfort and convenience. His father received a collegiate education, and, in turn, conferred on

* Æschylus.

his son the benefits of Harvard College. His grandfather, in fact, it is said, had twelve children, to each of whom he gave, as unfailing legacies, collegiate educations. The whole stock seems to have had a correct appreciation of learning, and strong desires of reaping its advantages. Hence, JOHN ADAMS, who was placed at college when quite a boy, bent himself with alacrity to his studies, and soon ranked among the best scholars in his class. In his class were several students who afterward reached distinction in various spheres. His career, at college, was marked by habits of study, strict sobriety, punctuality, and kind and affable manners. His amusements and recreations were more of that quiet sort, indicative of a meditative mind, than of the rollicking, gay diversions, characteristic of a restless, adventurous spirit. After having graduated, which he did with much credit, in 1755, he opened a grammar school in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts. Teaching was not, to him, a very congenial vocation, yet it afforded excellent avenues for training his mind, and giving him some experience of men and things about him. Its irksomeness tended also to produce a desire to rise to a position in which he would not be necessitated to resort to the "rule and rod" for his maintenance.

Much of his spare time was occupied in writing letters to his friends. Some of these were preserved, and reappeared nearly a half century afterward. We shall insert but one of these, as showing the turn of his mind when in his twentieth year. It was written to a young friend, as follows:

"WORCESTER, *October* 12, 1755.

"All that part of creation which lies within our observation, is liable to change. Even mighty states and kingdoms are not exempted. If we look into history, we shall find some nations rising from contemptible beginnings, and spreading their influence till the whole globe is subjected to their sway. When they have reached the summit of grandeur, some minute and unsuspected cause commonly effects their ruin, and the empire of the world is transferred to some other place. Immortal Rome was, at first, but an insignificant village, inhabited only by a few abandoned ruffians; but, by degrees, it rose to a stupendous hight, and excelled in arts and arms, all the nations that preceded her. But the demolition of Carthage (what one should think would have

established her in supreme dominion), by removing all danger, suffered her to sink into debauchery, and made her, at length, an easy prey to barbarians. England, immediately upon this, began to increase (the particular and minute causes of which I am not historian enough to trace) in power and magnificence, and is now the greatest power upon the globe. Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this New World for conscience' sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the seat of empire into America.

"It looks likely to me; for if we can remove the turbulent Gallics, our people, according to the exactest computations, will, in another century, become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores in the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain mastery of the seas; and then the united forces of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves, is to disunite us. *Divide et impera.* Keep us in distinct colonies, and then some great men in each colony, desiring the monarchy of the whole, they will destroy each other's influence, and keep the country *in equilibrio.*

"Be not surprised that I am turned politician. This whole town is immersed in politics. The interests of nations, and all the *dirœ* of war, make the subject of every conversation. I sit and hear, and after having been led through a maze of sage observations, I sometimes retire, and, by laying things together, form some pleasing reflections to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above. Different thoughts and different objects may have drawn your thoughts other ways. I shall think myself happy if, in your turn, you communicate your lucubrations to me. I wrote you some time since, and have waited with impatience for an answer, but have been disappointed. I hope that the lady at Barnstable has not made you forget your friend. Friendship, I take it, is one of the distinguishing glories of man, and the creature that is insensible of its charms, though he may wear the shape of man, is unworthy of the character. In this, perhaps, we bear a nearer resemblance to unembodied intelligences than in any thing else. From this I expect to receive the chief happiness of my future life; and am sorry that fortune has thrown me at such a distance from those of my friends who have the highest place in my affections. But thus it is, and I must

submit. But I hope erelong to return, and live in that familiarity that has, from earliest infancy, subsisted between yourself and affectionate friend,

"JOHN ADAMS."

It is pleasing to peruse these letters, written during the youth of our great men; besides, they form an index to qualities, capacities, and the early bent of dispositions and aspirations that were to make them distinguished.

Fruitful themes there were then, for political discussion. It was the year of Braddock's defeat, and in the midst of hostilities between England and France. No wonder the future statesman "turned politician," and from the various speeches and assemblies directed his mind to the formation of "reflections pleasing to himself." The conclusions to which he came, in regard to future American greatness, were exceedingly just. Though as a literary effort there is nothing extraordinary in it, its penetration into the depths of the future evinces a strong meditative capacity. He saw unmistakable signs, in the convulsions which were tearing Europe to pieces, of the mighty spirit of popular will, that, from the fragments of broken kingdoms and despotisms was to take its chosen abode in America, as the seat of empire. Up to the time this letter was written, he had not settled upon what profession he would embark in. Some of his friends urged him to the clergy. For this vocation he had no decided taste. He shortly after wrote his friend Cranch the following, which shows a dislike to his situation as a village schoolmaster. * * * "When the nimble hours have tackled Apollo's coursers, and the gay deity mounts the eastern sky, the gloomy pedagogue arises frowning and lowering like a black cloud begrimed with uncommon wrath, to blast a devoted land. When the destined time arrives, he enters upon action, and, as a haughty monarch ascends his throne, the pedagogue mounts his awful *great chair*, and dispenses right and justice through his whole empire. His obsequious subjects execute the imperial mandates with cheerfulness, and think it their high happiness to be employed in the service of the emperor. Sometimes paper, sometimes penknife, now birch, now arithmetic, now a ferule, the A, B, C, then scolding, then flattering, then thwacking, calls for the pedagogue's attention. At length, his spirits all exhausted, down comes pedagogue from his throne, and walks out in awful solemnity through a cringing multitude. In

the afternoon, he passes through the same dreadful scenes, smokes his pipe and goes to bed." * * *

It was October, 1756, before he had decided upon his future course of life. The intermediate time had been chiefly devoted to the duties of his village school. His prospects were rather gloomy and uncertain. Master of no profession, without means or friends, except what he had contracted at college or during his school, he had to look about him for the stepping-stone to that fame for which he thirsted. When did energy and perseverance, backed by medium talents and correct principle, fail to overcome every obstruction? *Never!* He at length determined to study law, a profession for which a vigorous physical constitution, strong vocal organs, ready perceptive faculties, industry, and more than ordinary attainments, eminently qualified him. After he concluded to read law, he devoted himself to it with unwearied application. He had to maintain himself, however, in the meantime; six hours of each day were devoted to teaching, and the residue with commentators and writers on jurisprudence. He made a practice during this time, of keeping a diary, in which he entered the various occurrences and incidents of the day, observations on the weather, the manner in which he passed the day, etc.

ADAMS was fond of reading, and read with as candid and unprejudiced spirit as man ever did. He took a strong dislike to Calvin, "frigid Calvin," as he termed him. It has been said that the bigotry and intolerance ascribed to Calvin was the main thing that induced in Adams a repugnance to the ministry. He read Bolingbroke; and though it had no influence, in an infidel point of view, he became one of his favorite authors, whom he reperused, long years after, with great pleasure. Though he denounces Bolingbroke's religion as "pompous folly," he says "his style is original and inimitable, resembling more the oratory of the ancients, than any writings or speeches I ever read in English." He also confesses, notwithstanding "Burke once asked, who ever read him through?" to have perused his entire works no less than three times.

In 1758, he obtained license and commenced industriously the prosecution of his profession. For sometime after he obtained his license, he lived with his father in the town of Braintree. Many things tended to cast a gloom over his feelings. He was poor and in comparative obscurity. Whether his efforts in his

profession would be a failure, was a consideration of deepest solicitude. When not engaged in legal matters or studies, he prepared some rules for practicable compliance. The following are examples of this species of his labors:

"Which, dear youth, will you prefer,—a life of effeminacy, indolence and obscurity, or a life of industry, temperance and honor? Take my advice; rise and mount your horse by the morning's dawn, and shake away, amidst the great and beautiful scenes of nature that appear at that time of the day, all the crudities that are left in your stomach, and all the obstructions that are left in your brain. Then return to your studies and bend your whole soul to the institutes of the law and the reports of cases that have been adjusted by the rules in the institutes. Let no trifling diversions, or amusement, or company, decoy you from your books: *i. e.*, no girl, no gun, no cards, no dress, no flutes, no violins, no tobacco, no laziness.

"Labor to get distinct ideas of law, right, wrong, justice, equity; search for them in your own mind, in Roman, Grecian, French and English treatises of natural, civil, common and statute law. Aim at an exact knowledge of the nature, end, and means of civil government. Study Seneca, Cicero, and all other good moral writers. Study Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, Vinnius, and all other good civil writers." Immediately after this, comes the following: * * * "I have insensibly fallen into the habit of affecting wit and humor, of shrugging my shoulders, and moving, distorting the muscles of my face. My motions are stiff and uneasy, ungraceful, and my attention is unsteady and irregular.

"These are reflections on myself that I make. They are faults, defects, fopperies, follies and disadvantages. Can I mend these faults, and supply these defects?"

The disagreeable feelings incident to his position, while teaching at Worcester, were sometimes gladdened by the companionship of Mr. Sewell, who had resolved also to read law, and who eventually attained some popularity. Between them, quite an intimacy sprang up. When they were separated, quite a lengthy correspondence ensued, of a very interesting nature, as exhibiting, not only their qualities of heart, but their views confidentially given to each other upon matters of importance, then claiming public attention.

By the statutes of Charles the 2d, and William the 3d, the governors of the Court of Exchequer, in England, passed the power to issue "writs of assistance," granting the right of searching trunks, boxes and chests, for concealed and smuggled valuables. Governor Shirley undertook to apply the same process in this country; but, instead of deriving his writs from the proper source, he issued them himself. He was remonstrated with, upon their illegality. Application was made to the Superior Court, for its sanction to process. ADAMS had just begun to practice in the Superior Court; but, as yet, had but few cases. The principle embodied in the application was contrary to the spirit of the times, and was, in one sense, similar to those which brought about the Revolution. Among the able and eloquent barristers attending court at that time, was James Otis. He managed the case against the application. Seldom has orator been more thoroughly worked up to his theme. He made one of those thrilling and rousing efforts, characteristic of the provincial speakers of the time, that had such telling effect in urging the colonies to revolution. ADAMS listened to the speech with profound attention. From that day, his love for his country and opposition to foreign usurpation, was ardent and deep.

During the first few years of ADAMS' legal career, he got but little business to attend to; he was careful, however, to devote his hours of leisure to acquirement of some knowledge that would be useful to him. He was a close and attentive reader, and obtained a vast amount of information. In 1761, he lost his father, who died of a fever. The first office to which Adams was ever elected, was that of surveyor of the highway,—a post which had been filled by his father, grandfather, and great grandfather. He devoted himself now to the study of law with a zeal and ardor that evinced a determination to make himself thoroughly master of the profession. In 1764, ADAMS married Abigail Smith, of the town of Weymouth, a lady of beauty and accomplishment. This marriage was very happy. ADAMS was immediately placed in relationship with influential personages, and in the midst of a good practice. About this time, he was made overseer of the poor, and town assessor. An intimacy, at this time, sprang up between ADAMS and Dr. Joseph Warren. Warren was, indeed, his family physician, up to the time his martyr blood flowed at Bunker Hill. ADAMS continued the discharge of his various

duties as attorney, etc., with devotion and fidelity, without however, gaining any great reputation, until the commencement of troublous excitements growing out of the Stamp Act. That odious measure had just fairly been originated, when he appealed to the citizens, through a petition, to maintain their true principles in resistance to it. He drafted the instructions to their representative, which were approved by the citizens, and were afterward adopted by many other places for similar objects. ADAMS became a member of a law club,—a species of legal association formed for the mutual improvement of the members. Of this society, he was long a member, and communicated to it some able and elaborately written dissertations upon law and jurisprudence. From the time of the final passage of the Stamp Act, by the British Parliament, in 1765, ADAMS became closely allied with the friends of colonial right, and intimately identified with the history of his country. The Stamps designed for the colony of Massachusetts, reached Boston in September; the Act was to be in full force on the 1st of November. We doubt whether there ever existed greater excitements, or more justifying causes for them. Boston seemed to be the central point of the colonial outbursts. A large meeting was held in the city, composed of the first citizens, fired by the harangues of most popular speakers. This meeting decided upon immediate presentation of memorials to the governor, denouncing his course in the interdiction of their courts, which had been done, because the judges refused the use of the Stamps.

The day after this meeting, ADAMS, in connection with Otis and Gridley, was selected to urge the memorials. He was gloomy enough under the influence of surrounding prospects. The very state of things that was to bring him upon the proper theater for the display of his powers, and lift him into fame, he deplored, as prefiguring the destruction of all his hopes of honor and distinction in the legal profession.

The following entry was made in his diary at this time, showing how he felt:

"December 18th, I was but just getting into my gears,—just getting under sail, and an embargo is laid upon the ship. Thirty years of my life have passed in preparation for business. I have had poverty to struggle with; envy and jealousy, and malice of enemies to encounter; no friends, or but few to assist me; so

that I have groped in dark obscurity, till of late, and had but just become known; and gained a small degree of reputation, when this execrable project was set on foot for my ruin, as well as that of America in general, and of Great Britain."

On learning his selection to present the memorial, he lost much of his despondency. He seemed roused to a new species of ambition and duty, and resolved to plant himself firmly against tyranny and exactions. No time was lost in preparation and soliloquy. They presented the petition in council, that sat with doors closed. ADAMS opened the argument in a very clear, able, and elaborate manner. Though his remarks did not partake of the fire and zeal of an Otis, or a Henry, they were of more methodical depth, and were of perfect clearness. These efforts, however, effected nothing of importance. Upon the ground that it was a judicial matter, it was decided that the council had nothing to do with it. After considerable interruption, the courts gradually recommenced transactions, while the repeal of the Stamp Act followed.

In those times of turbulent excitements, men frequently forgot their nobler attributes and natures, and gave way to the worst passions. ADAMS, ever meditative, as at his Worcester school, had ample opportunity of studying men and things, and forming conclusions and "reflections pleasing to himself." In view of the social disorder, incident to the disturbed condition of the country, he made, during his argument in a law case of some importance, the following remarks: "Party strife seemed to have wrought an entire metamorphosis of the human character; it destroyed all sense and understanding; all equity and humanity; all memory and regard to truth; all virtue, honor, decorum and veracity."

Upon the failure to accomplish any thing with the council and governor, upon the subject of the courts being closed, ADAMS and his associates made to a town meeting, a report of their proceedings. ADAMS also delivered a brief address, in which judicious hints were thrown out, in reference to prompt and vigorous measures. The vote of the meeting, upon the unsatisfactory reception of their committee, was entirely unanimous. The unbounded joy that prevailed throughout the colonies, on the repeal of the Stamp Act, was of short duration. The other measures embodying the same principles, that immediately followed, were no less intolerable.

During all contests that attended the development of a series

of oppressions toward the colonists, ADAMS sided with the resisting party. Most of his time was devoted to his profession and the duties of a heavy and increasing practice; though, when called upon to take part in political matters he complied. In 1768, he removed to Boston, his home being hitherto at Braintree. On his arrival in Boston, the office of Advocate-General in the Admiralty Court, was tendered him by Governor Bernard. This he declined accepting. He soon became immersed in lucrative business. During attendance to his professional duties, the revolutionary spirit of the colonies, was being fanned by persecution into a blaze that was soon to burst over the whole Continent. While the venerable Chatham was endeavoring to quell the war spirit in Parliament, ADAMS was preparing himself to act a great civic part through the approaching period of storm. ADAMS' business of a legal nature, called him to points at some distance. His practice embraced a circuit of many miles. During his absence on a professional tour, great changes were going on in Boston. Governor and council were clamorous against each other; resistance was loudly called for; a convention met, and took steps to resist further aggressions. He returned to see his adopted city menaced by warrior Britons, while revolution was opening its first red page of blood. To ADAMS, this quartering of hostile troops in the city of his adoption, was intensely mortifying. In all the controversies between the governor and council, the people and the courts, he had warmly espoused the cause of the latter. We have seen that, in the first instruction from his native town, to their representative, he expressed himself unequivocally on the side of the people. To Governor Hutchinson, who had created, all the time, great difficulties, he became an object of considerable antipathy; with the people, he was now among the most prominent men in Boston,—he and Josiah Quincy being regarded somewhat as leaders in the popular movement. In the Boston riots, that occurred just previous, several persons were killed, others dangerously wounded. Men, against whom the allegation of being the perpetrators, were taken prisoners, and subjected to trial. ADAMS and Quincy were employed as counsel in their defense.

On the 6th of June, only a short time after the riots, ADAMS was elected to the House of Representatives, from Boston. This is the true starting-point of his rising fortunes. He felt grateful

at the manifestation of confidence, on the part of the people, conveyed in his selection. He had, thus far, fought his way through cloud and gloom, through poverty and hardship, from obscurity to respectable station; he now enjoyed a good business, and possessed the confidence of his fellow-citizens. His star was evidently in the ascendant. On the convention of the next General Court, ceaseless causes of irritation immediately sprang up. Most of these were intrinsically of no interest in themselves, further than that they tended to accelerate the great event every one foresaw must take place. ADAMS, whose ambition had hitherto been to succeed in his profession, though for the first time a member, had posted himself fully upon the history and subjects of the times. He participated largely in the various discussions. His firmness, prudence and caution, gave him great weight in the House. He was placed on several important committees, among others, one for the promotion of arts, manufactures, agriculture and commerce. He was also made one of the committee on correspondence, instituted for the purpose of mutual protection and defense.

ADAMS now left the House to defend Captain Preston, one of the principal men accused of bringing on the Boston riot. The defense was ably conducted upon strictly legitimate and correct principles. As a lawyer, ADAMS' strength did not consist in powers of speech. As a speaker, he was never gifted in any sense. Nor did it consist in a shrewd, penetrative acuteness, that drew out every fact, and turned it to advantage. He had great weight of character, that threw influence upon his side of cases. He also had a plain, clear, and very dignified matter-of-fact manner of doing business and arguing cases, that gave him much force in all trials. This case he conducted with considerable ability, and contrary to general expectation, procured a verdict of acquittal for his client. Considerable odium attached to Preston, for the part alleged against him in the riots, and ADAMS' friends urged him not to undertake the case at first, lest such a course would detract from his rising reputation. ADAMS promptly told them that, as a lawyer, he felt at liberty to enter upon the defense of any man, who, under the circumstances, as a client, might wish to avail himself of his services.

At the close of these legal and representative labors, his health becoming somewhat impaired, he resolved to return to his old town, Braintree, and divert his mind from politics. He had,

however, so endeared himself to the people, during the brief period he had been their public servant, that though to him, it was a matter of no small personal regret, to withdraw from them, was a matter of weighty consideration. The succeeding two years of his life, devoted to private pursuits, were full of painful anxieties in regard to the troublous state of affairs.

John Hancock and Samuel Adams were now at variance, produced by the obstinacy of Hutchinson, in the disputes in regard to changing the place of holding the General Court sessions at Cambridge. Differences between these two leaders produced feelings of discord among their respective friends. While the governor was rejoicing at this breach, through which he expected eventually to push all his schemes, ADAMS was confident in their ultimate failure. He was right. The mask fell at length from Hutchinson, disclosing him in his true light. His secret and confidential letters were found. They showed plainly that he was scheming for the destruction and transfer of all colonial right to the crown.*

Hutchinson's machinations, it would seem, were now at an end. Not quite so, however. Many persons began to talk of placing the judges of the courts under the control of the king. This would be a virtual surrender of the patriotic side of the question. Some men of note, indeed, advocated it. A man by the name of Brattle, made himself particularly conspicuous in the part he took; he also favored the Stamp Act. He advocated it finally, in a manner of great publicity, concluding with a challenge to JOHN ADAMS to take up the other side. ADAMS did take up the other side. In a series of excellent articles, abounding with patriotism, research and depth, published in the Boston Gazette, 1773, he refuted every argument of Brattle, and hushed him up effectually. On the perusal of this reply, Hutchinson, exasperated by the boldness of Samuel and JOHN ADAMS, went in person to the General Court of representatives, and advocated English authority to regulate colonial matters. This argument was conceded to be one of ability, and vastly superior to any thing the governor had ever before accomplished. In fact, answers to it were attempted by able whigs, in England, which were pronounced almost failures. It was a general review of the whole excitements, going back to the grants of charters, with seemingly plausible proofs to show that,

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*See Life and works of JOHN ADAMS.

from the very charters, the mother country had the exclusive right to control her offspring, even though it be with a rod of iron.

It is said that Lord Campbell confessed his inability to reply to this famous document. On its issue, the governor thinking it unanswerable, conceived that the contended authority was forever and firmly established. JOHN ADAMS now entered upon the task of penning an answer to his assertions. No man in the colony was better calculated than he. He refuted every argument, and came off more victorious in the last, than in the first discussion. He too went back to the origin of the colonies,—traced their history, rise and progress, through untold difficulties, neglect and oppression. He showed clearly that the very rights guaranteed by the charters were infringed. Historically, he proved the colonies had risen to consideration through their own tremendous efforts. Constitutionally, he proved that from the charters to the grantees, colonization through its different and delicate stages, should have been protected by their provisions, and that under those very provisions, could be claimed the aid of those who were first to attack and trample upon chartered rights; legally, he demonstrated that from all law, divine, natural, or civil, home, or international, the assertions of the crown, backed by Hutchinson, were an infringement of colonial rights, and a violation of every obligation expressed or implied in the charters.

The following is the close of this able and searching production:

"The question appears to us to be no other than, whether we are the subjects of absolute unlimited power, or of a free government, formed on the principles of the English constitution. If your excellency's doctrine be true, the people of this province hold their lands of the crown and the people of England; and their lives, liberties and properties, are at their disposal, and that even by compact and their own consent, they were subject to the king, as the head, *alterius populi*, of another people, in whose legislature they have no voice or interest. They are, indeed, said to have a constitution and a legislature of their own; but your excellency has explained it into a mere phantom, limited, controlled, superseded and nullified, at the will of another. Is this the constitution which so charmed our ancestors, that, as your excellency has informed us, they kept a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, when they received it? And were they men of so little discernment, such children in understanding, as to please

themselves with the imagination that they were blessed with the same rights and liberties which natural born subjects in England enjoyed, when, at the same time, they had fully consented to be ruled and ordered by a legislature a thousand leagues from them, which can not be supposed to be sufficiently acquainted with their circumstances, if concerned for their interests, and in which they can not be in any sense represented?"

This was a most excellent expose of Hutchinson's fallacious reasoning in support of the crown, which attracted great attention, especially from the patriotic party. Samuel Adams and Mr. Hawley, were said to have been concerned in the preparation of the document,—but its merits have been ascribed, and we think justly, to JOHN ADAMS. Hutchinson, who had vaunted himself highly on his argument, now saw his ephemeral honors crumble from his brow, before the superior wisdom, sagacity and powers of his antagonist. Hutchinson's prospects failed, and all his schemes toppled to pieces a short time after this. Through the agency of Franklin, a package of letters,—secret, mischievous letters, was sent from England to JOHN ADAMS. Among these were some from Hutchinson, placing, beyond all doubt or cavil, that though colonial governor, he was, and had long been conniving to reduce the provinces to entire British prerogative. This stroke stretched him low, and forever, to the scorn and contempt of the people. ADAMS, at the time, noted it thus, in his diary: "These cool projectors and speculators in politics, will ruin this country. Bone of our bone, born and educated among us; Mr. Hancock is deeply affected; is determined, in conjunction with Major Hawley, to watch the wily serpent, and his deputy serpent, Brattle. The subtlety of this serpent is equal to that of the old one."

The strong grounds taken by Adams, for the people, and triumphant maintenance of their rights, now determined them to place him in a legislative capacity. Just before the election, which took place, May 25th, 1773, he made the following entry in his diary, which shows, at least, a heart above the dictates of selfish motives, and a patriotism beyond the reach of faction:

"May 24, 1773. To-morrow is our general election. The plots, plans, schemes and machinations of this evening and night, will be very numerous. By the number of ministerial, governmental people returned, and by the secrecy of the friends of

liberty, relating to the grand discovery of the complete evidence of the whole mystery of iniquity. I much fear the election will go unhappily. For myself, I own I tremble at the thought of an election. What will be expected of me? What will be required of me? What duties and obligations will result to me from an election? What duties to my God, my king, my country, my family, my friends, myself? What perplexities, intricacies and difficulties shall I be exposed to? What snares and temptations will be thrown in my way? What self-denials and mortifications shall I be obliged to bear?

"If I should be called, in the course of Providence, to take a part in public life, I shall take a fearless, intrepid, undaunted part at all hazards; though it shall be my endeavor, likewise, to act a prudent, cautious, and considerate part. But, if I should be excused by a non-election, or by the exertions of prerogative, from engaging in public business, I shall enjoy a sweet tranquillity in the pursuit of my private business, in the education of my children, and in a constant attention to the preservation of my health. This last is the most selfish and pleasant system; the first, the more generous, though arduous and disagreeable."

The exertions of prerogative did interfere with the performance of these public cares, from which he expressed a more than willingness to be exempt. The secret letters, before-named, of Hutchinson, were made the instrument of his final removal from a position, his occupancy of which, had brought innumerable difficulties to the province. Being made generally known, the king and Parliament were petitioned for his removal. He went to England to vindicate himself, thinking, no doubt, to return again and re-establish his unpopular authority. He never returned, nor did the province lose much by his absence. His withdrawal, however, did not settle the difficulties between the judges, courts, and people: not long after his departure, one of the judges, it was ascertained, had accepted agreements from the crown, regulative of his office. This created quite a sensation, and produced great dissatisfaction on the part of the people. Nothing now but a bold movement could put a stop to the growing disposition on the part of public functionaries, to root out the last remains of cherished rights; no man was better calculated to take initiatory steps to that movement than JOHN ADAMS. On his own responsibility, he suggested the impeachment of the judge, who had thus set

colonial regulations at defiance. The idea struck even the patriots with surprise,—they had not thought of an expedient so high-handed as that. After being thoroughly canvassed, and all the circumstances duly weighed, it was acted upon. The chief justice of the Superior Court, Oliver, was impeached for crimes against the colonies. On submission to the representatives, it was sustained almost with unanimity. Oliver saw nothing could turn the tide that was washing his foundation away in fragments. He convened the court, but no business could be transacted. Everybody said that his authority was at an end until an investigation of the charges. No further attempts were made by him to open a court, nor was it opened for some time. This was among the boldest steps yet taken in the march to revolution. It ended effectually, and forever, the career and influence of Hutchinson and his coadjutors in the province of Massachusetts.

These events were followed by still greater excitements. General Gage was placed in higher authority,—his jurisdiction was extended, and his army increased. Next came more overt acts of hostility,—and then the famous Boston Tea Party. We were now precipitated into an actual war,—a national life or death grapple. ADAMS had now for some time been in a state of depression. Out of business, because the courts were closed,—warmly devoted to a profession he could not follow, because barred from its pursuits by the turbulence of the times, and not being over-confident of success in the contest, which had in reality commenced, he sometimes gave way to forebodings, which, if they were not gloomy, were certainly not hopeful or buoyant. He had, all along, sided with the people in every instance where their rights came to be disputed, or assailed by the prerogative,—and there he was certain to remain. A letter written from Boston about this time, to his wife, shows the state of his feelings:

"BOSTON, *May* 12, 1774.

"My own infirmities, the account of the return of yours, and the public news, coming all together, have put my philosopy to the test. We live, my dear soul, in an age of trial. What will be the consequence I know not. The town of Boston, for aught I can see, must suffer martyrdom. It must expire. And our principal consolation is, that it dies in a noble cause,—the cause of truth, of virtue, of liberty and of humanity, and that it will

probably have a glorious resurrection to greater wealth, splendor and power than ever.

"Let me know what is best for us to do. It is expensive keeping a family here, and there is no prospect of any business in my way in this town all summer. I don't receive a shilling a week. We must contrive as many ways as we can to save expenses; for we may have urgent calls to contribute, in proportion to our circumstances, to prevent other very honest people from suffering for want, beside our own, in point of business and profit.

"Don't imagine from all this, that I am in the dumps; I can truly say, that I have felt more spirits and activity since the arrival of this news, than I have done for years. I look upon this as the last effort of Lord North's despair, and he will as surely be defeated in it, as he was in the project of the tea."

Though this note does not indicate that fire, zeal, and enthusiasm, that emanated from most of the revolutionary patriots at this time, it conveys a perfect idea of that calm collectedness of mind, and clearness of judgment, that marked ADAMS through life.

Here commences the influential part of ADAMS' political career. Hitherto, wedded to his profession and private pursuits, he had shunned, rather than courted, the suffrages of the people. A little after the tea destruction, the representatives met, and with doors locked, resolved to recommend the assemblage at Philadelphia, of delegates from each colony, to take matters into their own hands. Notwithstanding efforts were made to silence their deliberations, and dissolve the meeting, the resolution was carried. Nor did they stop here; they proceeded to select those regarded as best calculated to protect their interest in that important conference.

Among those selected was JOHN ADAMS. He was now unexpectedly thrown forward to a responsible position. These movements virtually abolished foreign supremacy, and ended the haughty reign of provincial governors in the Bay State. ADAMS, though he had firmly determined to stand by the cause, had his doubts in regard to the result of a Congressional convention. His timidity, however, was purely patriotic. He wrote the following to his wife, while absent on a professional tour: "I must prepare for a journey to Philadelphia. A long journey indeed; but if the length of the journey were all, it would be no burden; but the

consideration of what is to be done, is of great weight. Great things are wanted to be done, and little things only, I fear, can be done. I dread the thought of the Congress falling short of the expectations of the Continent, but especially of the people of the province. Vapors avaunt! I will do my duty, and leave the event. If I want the approbation of my own mind, whether applauded or censured, blessed or cursed by the world, I will not be unhappy. I must entreat you, my dear partner, in all the joys and sorrows prosperity and adversity of my life, to take a part with me in the struggle. I pray God for your health, and entreat you to rouse your whole attention to the family, the stock, the farm, and the dairy. Let every article of expense which can possibly be spared be retrenched. Keep the hands attentive to their business, and let the most prudent measures of every kind, be adopted and pursued with alacrity and spirit."

On the 10th of August the delegates from Massachusetts started for Philadelphia, to participate in the proceedings of that grand old Continental Congress, the joyful precursor of freedom, peace, and greatness. Here ADAMS was thrown in contact with the ablest men of those mighty times, nor suffered from the contrast. Going to meet a Congress composed of men from all the colonies, as delegates seeking assistance for the protection of *one*, placed the Massachusetts members in a situation different from most of the others. Their business was to make the outrages committed against her cities, trade, and commerce, a general cause. Could they do it? Would the other colonies enter into the contest with ardor and enthusiasm? These were questions on which, in the mind of ADAMS, remained some doubt. All fears, however, were soon dissipated. Immediately on the convention of Congress, he said the following words: "This day (September 17) convinced me, that America will support Massachusetts, or perish with her."

That first Congress was composed of a remarkable body of men, in some respects the most remarkable that ever convened in this country. Fired by the zeal and impetuosity of the Rutledges and Harrisons from the south,—sustained by the tornado-like appeals of Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee from Virginia,—purified by the virtue of Jay,—tempered by the wisdom and prudence of Samuel and JOHN ADAMS, it was a body heterogeneous in opinion, yet not in feeling. Three opinions prevailed with their respective advocates; some wished things pushed to an

immediate crisis; others thought that no active steps should be taken,—still harboring the idea of peace; while a third party advocated the non-importation and exportation agreements, believing that such a course would change the ministerial tone. ADAMS says of this body: "Fifty gentlemen meeting together, all strangers, are not acquainted with each other's language, ideas, views, and designs. They are therefore jealous of each other, fearful, timid, skittish. The art and address of embassadors from a dozen belligerent powers of Europe, nay, of a conclave of cardinals at the election of a pope, or of the princes in Germany at the choice of an emperor, would not exceed the specimens we have seen. Yet the Congress all profess the same political principles. They all profess to consider our province as suffering in the common cause; and, indeed, they seem to feel for us as if for themselves." He goes on to say: "We have had numberless prejudices to remove here. We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel pulses and to sound the depths; to insinuate our sentiments, designs, and desires, by means of other persons; sometimes of one province and sometimes of another. Patience, forbearance, long-suffering are the lessons taught here for our province, and at the same time open an absolute resistance to the new government. * * * * I may venture to tell you that I believe we shall agree to the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreements, but not to commence as soon as I could wish."

ADAMS was one of the committee that prepared the celebrated Bill of Rights, elsewhere spoken of. While on this committee, he took the opportunity of departing from the restrictive circumference of human liberty, and asserted the broad principles of *natural* freedom, as embodied in our subsequent Declaration. His ideas were not incorporated into the report of the committee, being opposed by the conservative members as tending to retard negotiations with England, hopes of which were still entertained.

Next came a subject for consideration more difficult than all. Parliamentary power over the colonies was to be specified. What were those powers to be, and for how long? Samuel Adams denied the existence of any power. JOHN ADAMS agreed with him, but urged "*consent*" to just enough for pacific objects. ADAMS, in view of this state of feeling, advocated the sentiments

embraced in the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative councils; and as the English colonies are not represented, and from their local, and other circumstances, cannot be properly represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, *from the necessity of the case*, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of Parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

This resolution was not satisfactory. Parliamentary control of trade was next insisted upon. ADAMS opposed. This power, however, was finally conceded. Congress adjourned, after deliberating about two months. The most important business transacted, was the adoption of the "agreements." Its convention, however, produced good results. It showed greater unanimity of feeling than could have been expected, in regard to a struggle upon the threshold of which we stood without sword, spear, shield or helmet. The wisdom of the American people was first called out in an aggregate body. It shone most conspicuously,—so much so that Chatham, himself, though he said he had read Thucydides, and studied the ablest masters, he had never seen it excelled. We know not,—will never know,—how much we owe to that Continental Congress. ADAMS, who had gone into its deliberations right from the seat of highest agitation, was firm and unflinching in his opposition to any measures in the least favorable to a recognition of English power to control the colonies without representation. Though he favored the non-importation and non-exportation agreements, he did not attach the efficacious influences to their operation entertained by many other members. Enough had been done, at least, to show to the world that, in the contingency of war, America stood ready to fight, and fight

to the death. Enough, too, had been done to show clearly, that the cause of Massachusetts would be made that of the whole country. To these results ADAMS had contributed very much. He took no neutral ground, unless to conciliate some members sufficiently to get their support upon measures vitally important. He could return to the people, whose interests he was deputed to subserve, with a clear consciousness of having done what was required, and helped to relieve their fears of besieged isolation.

To ADAMS, that convention proved just the kind of school he needed, to prepare himself for the high positions he was destined to fill. His knowledge of the great concerns of the country had before been chiefly confined to Boston, and his circuit. He had now enjoyed friendly communion with the best men of the country, and measured strength, in political discussions, with the ablest intellects. Everywhere he formed acquaintances and attachments esteemed, valuable, and lasting. He left that body with a higher degree of hope, a more exalted idea of duty, and a juster conception of his capacity to serve his country. Whetted against the other great intellects that moved around him, he left Philadelphia with his own sharpened to keener edge and more elastic application.

ADAMS, however, was always inclined to view things on the darkest side. His experience in the convention did not do away with this inclination. On his way home, he perceived that opposition to the "agreements" was ripe. This spirit had been stirred by a set of newspaper scribblers and getters up of documents boding the ruin of the country, and appealing to men most interested, for resistance.

On his return home he was elected to the provincial Congress, and served with accustomed fidelity until its adjournment. During the winter of 1774, he published, in the Boston Gazette, a series of articles over the signature of "Novanglus," which, for the historical knowledge they contained of the colonial difficulties, were subsequently several times republished. They are now to be found in the works of ADAMS. They were written in reply to some very able letters published in behalf of the loyalists. He bestowed no pains upon their finish, further than was necessary to truth and argument. As literary productions, they possess no very great merit. ADAMS, indeed, was not a writer of elegance or grace; yet he was clear and forcible. He was again appointed

to the Continental Congress, which met in the spring of 1775. The whole aspect of affairs, in the meantime, underwent a great change. A change of ministry, anxious for hostilities, had taken place in England. The colonies too, goaded on by continued oppression, were not so averse, and ceased to expect conciliation. In New York, the excitement ran high. Congress had not convened, when the clash of arms at Concord announced the first active scene in the great war drama. In view of events, ADAMS wrote thus, while on his way to Congress, just after having viewed the scene of skirmish: "Lord North will certainly be disappointed in his expectation of seducing New York.* Dr. Cooper has fled on board a man-of-war, and the tories are humbled in the dust." On reaching Philadelphia, he thus wrote: "It would take sheets of paper to give a description of the reception the delegates have met here. The militia were all in arms, and the whole city out to meet them. * * * Our business is more extensive and complicated,—more affecting and hazardous,—*but our unanimity will not be less.*"

Soon after Congress had convened, he wrote thus: "No assembly ever had a greater number of greater objects before them. Provinces, nations, empires are small things before us. I wish we were good architects." To all further pacific overtures, in the shape of petition, etc., of which it will be remembered Dickinson was a strong advocate, ADAMS was strongly opposed, and maintained his opposition with clear and forcible argumentation. His arguments, and the efforts of those who acted with him, did some good. Though petition was agreed to, vigorous measures of defense were entered upon, in case of their failure to effect any good results.

Throughout the deliberations of that Congress, ADAMS was a consistent advocate of resistance to the measures of England, and a resort to arms. He did all in his power to secure the selection of Washington for the post of commander-in-chief of the armies. On the accomplishment of that desire, he thus wrote: "I can now inform you, that the Congress have made choice of the modest, generous, the amiable, the virtuous, and brave George Washington, Esq., to be general of the American army, and that he is to repair as soon as possible to the camp before Boston. *This*

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* Great efforts had been made to keep her out of the union.

appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies."

Just after the battle of Bunker Hill, he imprudently wrote the following letters to friends at home, which he dispatched by a courier, without thinking they might never reach their destination. The one to his wife runs thus: "It is now almost three months since I left you; in every part of which my anxiety about you and the children, as well as our country, has been extreme. The business I have had on my mind has been as great and important as can be intrusted to man, and the difficulty and intricacy of it prodigious. When fifty or sixty men have a constitution to form for a great empire, at the same time that they have a country of fifteen hundred miles' extent to fortify,—millions to arm and train,—a naval power to begin,—an extensive commerce to regulate,—numerous tribes of Indians to negotiate with,—a standing army of twenty thousand men to raise,—pay officers and victual troops, I really shall pity those fifty or sixty men. I wish I had given you a complete history, from the beginning to the end, of the behavior of my compatriots. No mortal tale can equal it. I will tell you, in future, but you must keep it secret. The fidgets, the whims, the caprice, the vanity, the superstition, the irritability of some of us, is enough to—." His letter to General Warren was still worse:—

"*July* 24th. I am determined to write freely to you, this time. A certain great fortune and piddling genius, whose fame has been trumpeted so loudly, has given a silly cast to our whole doings. We are between hawk and buzzard. We ought to have had in our hands, a month ago, the whole legislature, executive and judicial, of the whole Continent, and have completely modeled a Constitution; to have raised a naval power, and opened all our ports wide; to have arrested every friend on the Continent, and held them as hostages for the poor victims in Boston; and then opened the door as wide as possible for peace and reconciliation. After this, they might have petitioned, negotiated, addressed, etc., if they would. Is all this extravagant? Is it wild? Is it not the soundest policy?

"One piece of news. Seven thousand pounds of powder arrived last night. We shall send you some of it as soon as we can, but you must be patient and frugal. We are lost in the extensiveness of our field of business. We have a continental treasury to estab

lish, a paymaster to choose, and a committee of correspondence, safety, or accounts, or something, I know not what, that has confounded us all this day."

"Shall I hail you speaker of the House, or counselor, or what? What kind of an election had you? What sort of magistrates do you intend to make? Will your new legislature or executive feel bold or irresolute? Will your judicial hang, and fine, and imprison without scruple? I want to see our distressed country very much, once more, yet I dread the sight of devastation. You observe, in your letter, the oddity of a great man. He is a queer creature; but you must love his dogs, if you love him, and forgive a thousand whims for the sake of the soldier and the scholar."

The British intercepted these letters, just as the bearer was approaching Boston. They were published by order of General Gage, and cut quite a figure for a time. They were ridiculed, paraphrased, satirized, and the writer jeered in every conceivable shape. They tended, for a while, to make ADAMS unpopular. He, in fact, was often shunned in the street, and regarded by many, who were not as ripe for extreme measures as himself, as proving recreant to the best interests of his country. Circumstances proved that he was right. The petitions and remonstrances forwarded to England, at the instance of those who had less nerve than himself, were treated with perfect and silent contempt. Dickinson, who had, heretofore, been the advocate of these pacific overtures, was even himself astounded at the bold, imperious tone of the British ministry. Congress did much to carry out the spirit, so vividly manifest, of resorting to arms; they organized and equipped an army, and appointed its officers from the highest grade to the lowest.

Notwithstanding Congress had made considerable preparation, enough had not been done to satisfy ADAMS. When the question of adjournment came to be considered, he opposed it with energy. Contrary, however, to his wishes, the house adjourned.

ADAMS now had, as he thought, a brief respite from public cares, and returned to the bosom of his family for its enjoyment. His time was trenched upon, however, by calls from his friends, and the necessities of his country. The provincial council of Massachusetts, a very deficient form of State government, was in session at the adjournment of Congress. Thither he was called, for the purpose of giving his influence and powers in behalf of its

interests. Having completed these labors, he started again to Philadelphia as a member of Congress. Soon after his arrival in that city, he thus wrote to his wife:

"I arrived here in good health, after an agreeable journey, last Wednesday. There had not been members enough to make a House, several colonies being absent, so that I was just in time. The next day an adequate number appeared, and Congress have sat ever since. Georgia is now fully represented, and united to the other twelve. Their delegates are Zubly, a clergyman of the Independent persuasion, who has a parish in that colony, and a good deal of property. He is a native of Switzerland, is a man of learning and ingenuity. It is said, he is master of several languages, Greek, Latin, French, Dutch and English. In the latter, it is said, he writes tolerably. He is a man of zeal and spirit, as we have already seen upon several occasions.

"Mr. Bullock is another of the Georgian delegates; a sensible man, a planter, I suppose. Mr. Houston is the third; a young lawyer of modesty, spirit, and sense; which, you will say, is uncommon. Mr. Jones and Dr. Hall are not yet arrived.

"Mr. Henry is made a general in Virginia, and therefore could not come. Mr. Pendleton and Colonel Bland, excused themselves on account of age and ill health. Messrs. Nelson, Wythe, and Lee, are chosen, and are here in the stead of the other three. Wythe and Lee are inoculated: you shall hear more about them. Although they came in the room of very good men, we have lost nothing I believe."

By his favoring such active measures of hostility, ADAMS had rendered himself odious to a large number of old friends, who, though equally patriotic, differed so widely from him on questions of policy, that they regarded him as departing from the correct course, and creating a barrier to a peaceful adjustment of difficulties.

It seems strange that, after the days of Lexington and Bunker Hill, people should be so blind, as to hope for other than a peace conquered at the point of the bayonet. Dickinson, through whose agency the last petition had been drawn and presented, was particularly severe in his hostile feelings toward ADAMS. They met in the street one day, and Dickinson refused to recognize him. ADAMS was rather an independent man, but in some respects, possessed a sensitiveness amounting almost to timidity.

Insignificant as was this trifling affair, he made an entry of it in his diary.

The letters which had fallen into the hands of the British, indeed, afforded grounds to some, for heaping upon ADAMS all sorts of abuse and denunciation. Forgetful of the fact, that they were confidential,—written to bosom friends,—his enemies availed themselves of them, to stigmatize the author. JOHN and Samuel Adams, those bold, intrepid spirits of right, now began openly to advocate independence. They were seconded by the Lees, and others of no less renown for their eloquence, power, and patriotism. The measure had its opponents too, chief among whom, figured Dickinson. Never in any country, or on the floor of any house, did a legislative assembly discuss with greater force or fervor, the bearings of a measure. Never did political deliberations present a sublimer spectacle, or one more worthy a great nation.

About this time, also, two other projects, in which ADAMS felt deep interest, received consideration. These were steps to the establishment of a navy, and the formation of State governments. In this latter measure, ADAMS figured as one of the committee, and aided in the several plans presented. The institution of State governments, was an independent assumption, and received strong opposition. Speaking of this opposition, and the variance of members, ADAMS said: "Our councils have been hitherto too fluctuating; one day, measures for carrying on the war were adopted; the next, nothing must be done that would widen the unhappy breach between Great Britain and the colonies. As these different ideas have prevailed, our conduct has been directed accordingly. * * * Thank God, the happy day which I have long wished for, is at length arrived; the southern colonies no longer entertain jealousies of the northern; they no longer look back to Great Britain; they are convinced that they have been pursuing a phantom, and that their only course is a vigorous and determined defense. One of the gentlemen, who has been most sanguine for pacific measures, and very jealous of the New England colonies, addressing me in the style of *Brother Rebel*, told me he was now ready to join us heartily: 'We have got,' says he, 'a sufficient answer to our petitions; I want nothing more; but, am ready to declare ourselves independent, send embassadors,' etc., and much more, which prudence forbids me to commit to paper.

"Our resolutions will henceforth be spirited, clear, and decisive. May the supreme Ruler of the universe direct and prosper them."

While amid these labors, ADAMS was made, by his constituents, Chief Justice of the Superior Court, which was re-established during that session of Congress. He was called to this post with a high degree of unanimity on the part of the people. He, therefore, withdrew from Congress before the close of the session, for the purpose of conferring with the council in regard to his new duties. In this position he came fully up to the expectations of his friends. He gave dignity and stability to the council, and maintained strictly the supremacy of the law. His advice and opinions were sought after by men of prominence, upon vital and important matters, and always received great weight. On the 9th of February, 1775, he resumed his labors in Congress; Gerry, Paine, Hancock and Samuel Adams were among his colleagues. It is needless, from what has been said, to repeat that ADAMS was in favor of independence. Soon after Congress met, a motion was made upon the direct question. The motion met a second; but, for the time, failed. ADAMS made the following remark at the time:

"After all our argumentation, however, we could not carry our motion; but, after twenty subtle projects to get rid of it, the whole terminated in a committee of secret correspondence."

The object of this secret committee, was "to correspond with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world." It was made up mostly of men of great prudence; but, who were adverse to making too bold steps. Franklin, perhaps, was among the most decided upon it. ADAMS, on account of his known and avowed favor to the measure, and his boldness in advocating his views, was not placed on the committee. The southern members of Congress, after getting worked up to the proper point of resistance, stood firmly forth, advocates of independence. The mature consideration of that measure, led them to an examination of their internal regulations. Their institutions, in some essential features, were defective enough. To remove these defects, was a matter of serious moment and consideration. The state of things tended to produce a unanimity of feeling among the members. The southern members conferred with their more experienced,—but not more patriotic brethren of the north.

Adams, on account of his high position, wisdom and integrity, was consulted much, and profitably in these conferences. Explanatory of his views upon internal regulations, and various subjects, the following letter to Horatio Gates is inserted. It was called forth by the restraining act, and was written in the spring of 1776:

"I agree with you, that in politics, the middle way is none at all. If we finally fail in this great and glorious contest, it will be by bewildering ourselves in groping after this middle way. We have hitherto conducted half a war; acted upon the line of defense, etc.; but you will see by to-morrow's paper, that for the future, we are likely to wage three quarters of a war. The continental ships of war, and provincial ships of war, and letters of marque, and privateers are permitted to cruise on British property, wherever found on the ocean. This is not independency, you know. Nothing like it. If a port or two more, should bring you unlimited latitude of trade to all nations, and a polite invitation to all nations to trade with you, take care that you do not call it or think it independency. No such matter. Independency is a hobgoblin of such frightful mien, that it would throw a delicate person into fits to look it in the face.

"I know not whether you have seen the act of Parliament, called the restraining act, or piratical act, or plundering act, or act of independency; for, by all these titles it is called. I think that the most apposite is the act of independency. For kings, lords, and commons have united in sundering this country from that, I think, forever. It is a complete dismemberment of the British empire. It throws thirteen colonies out of the royal protection, levels all distinctions, and makes us independent in spite of our supplications and entreaties. It may be fortunate that the act of independency should come from the British Parliament, rather than the American Congress; but is very odd that Americans should hesitate at accepting such a gift from them.

"However, my dear friend Gates, all our misfortunes arise from a single source; the reluctance of the southern colonies to republican government. The success of this war depends on a skillful steerage of the political vessel. The difficulty lies in forming particular constitutions for particular colonies, and a continental constitution for the whole. Each colony should establish its own government, and then a league should be formed between

them all. This can be done only on popular principles and axioms, which are so abhorrent to the inclinations of the barons of the south, and the proprietary interests in the middle States, as well as to that avarice of land, which has made on this Continent so many votaries to mammon, that I sometimes dread the consequences. However, patience, fortitude and perseverance, with the help of time, will get us over these obstructions. Thirteen colonies, under such a form of government as Connecticut, or one not quite so popular, leagued together in a faithful confederacy, might bid defiance against all the potentates of Europe, if united against them."

So strongly were the sentiments embodied in the foregoing urged upon the people, and so influential in their effects, that they were republished and extensively circulated. This was followed by his "Thoughts on Government," applicable to the present state of the American colonies. This last production created an extensive sensation all over the country, and was highly eulogized in England by friends to the cause. No writings had hitherto been issued that contained so complete a history of the two sides of the question. It was thought that this document would prove inimical to their interests, by the peace party, and a reply was prepared to counteract such a result. ADAMS' advice and writings assisted very much in the formation of State governments, particularly in North Carolina and Virginia, both of which were then contemplating a reorganization of their State institutions. Marked analogy is seen, in his suggestions, to the old colonial chartered forms of government, long adhered to in New England. His remarks were made after a plain, unpolished fashion, that partook to no great extent of literary merit or political ingenuity; but they show good sound sense, correct views of government, and a strong and well-informed mind that was capable of imparting in true principles and practical correctness, what they lacked in finish of style and polish of composition.

It has been said of him that "he read Milton, and Locke, and Plato, as much to avoid their errors, as to profit by their counsels." He was successful in both these designs, particularly so in the first; in point of composition, there are certainly very few Miltonic "*errors*" to be found in his writings; though they do evince the workings of a mind well read and essentially practical. It must be said here, that the recommendations of ADAMS were

widely different, at this time, from those that were subsequently adopted, and different from ideas he himself afterward entertained. The idea of making each State independent of the others, controlled by but a single legislature, and that vested with scarcely any sovereign power, would not be very efficacious in securing strength and union necessary for such trying times as were then impending. His counsels, however, were considered, had their due weight, and exerted no small influence in the various organizations of State governments. Labors in this department, and his strong desire to push forward the Declaration of Independence, engrossed most of his time and thoughts.

Strong men, men of talent, were still opposed to taking that step. Of those who favored it, Adams stood among the most steady and unflinching. Pleased at the growing popularity of the idea, he thus wrote, about this time: "The ports are opened wide enough at last, and privateers are allowed to prey upon British trade. *This* is not independence. What is? Why A GOVERNMENT IN EVERY COLONY, A CONFEDERATION AMONG THEM, AND TREATIES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS, to acknowledge us a sovereign State, and all that: when these things will be, or any of them, time must discover. Perhaps the time is near, perhaps a great way off."

From this time until independence was declared, ADAMS was found with the boldest advocates of the measure. Indeed he presented many resolutions, originated, or was accessory to the appointment of committees, whose reports, drafts, etc., bore strong analogy to the immortal document soon to be signed, that severed us forever from all relations, national, political and social, from Great Britain. Quite a change had taken place in the public mind, since ADAMS first planted himself squarely in favor of such a step; so great, that by the 1st of July of the year of which we are speaking, 1776, the measure became very popular. In the latter part of June, a committee had been appointed whose report, recommending the principles subsequently embodied in the Declaration, was unanimously adopted. Thus the event was gradually, but slowly, ripening to glorious consummation. On the 1st of July, renewed discussion arose upon the subject, which resulted in its strengthened interests. ADAMS was pitted, in its favor, against Dickinson, the ablest man, perhaps, of the opposition. He made quite a lengthy and able speech in its behalf, with all

the earnestness, feeling, and clearness characteristic of him. Eloquent he never was, in speech; as a writer, he had some talent. No one will pretend to deny, however, the great weight and influence he exerted in favor of the Declaration. Among the first who dared espouse it, though he knew it would draw upon him the execrations of numerous men of talent and ability, he continued firm and consistent to his avowal until the triumphant completion of the event.

Lee, it will be recollected, had moved, on the 17th of June, the entire and absolute independence of the colonies. It was this motion that called forth the animated discussions that followed, and afforded occasion for outbursts of colonial oratory that, though not so refined and classic, were scarce excelled, in fervor and true attributes of eloquence, in Greek or Roman forums, even in their palmiest states of glory.

On the 2d of July the final vote was taken, which resulted affirmatively. No patriot, in that assembly of patriots, was more highly pleased than JOHN ADAMS. Through all the stages of its rise, development, and adoption, he had stood by the measure,—equally firm in a minority as when it became so popular. The day after the grand result, he thus wrote his wife:

"Yesterday, the greatest question was decided which was ever debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was, nor will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony, 'that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; and as such they have, and of right ought to have, full power to make war, conclude peace, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which other states may rightfully do.' You will see, in a few days, a Declaration, setting forth the causes which have impelled us to this mighty revolution, and the reasons which will justify it, in the sight of God and man. A plan of confederation will be taken up in a few days.

"When I look back to the year 1761, and recollect the arguments concerning writs of assistance, in the superior courts, which I have hitherto considered as the commencement of the controversy between Great Britain and America, and run through the whole period, from that time to this, and recollect the series of political events, the chain of causes and effects, I am surprised at the suddenness, as well as the greatness of this Revolution. Bri-

tain has been filled with folly and America with wisdom ; at least, this is my judgment. Time must determine. It is the will of Heaven that the two countries shall be sundered forever. It may be the will of Heaven that America shall suffer calamities still more wasting, and distresses yet more dreadful. If this is to be the case, it will have this good effect, at least; it will inspire us with many virtues which we have not, and correct many vices and errors which threaten to disturb, dishonor, and destroy us. The furnace of affliction produces refinement in states, as well as in individuals ; and the new governments we are assuming, in every part will require a purification from our vices, and an augmentation of our virtues, or they will be no blessings. The people will have unbounded power, and the people are extremely addicted to corruption and venality, as well as the great. But I must submit all my hopes and fears to an overruling Providence, in which, unfashionable as the faith may be, I firmly believe. Had a Declaration been made seven months ago, it would have been attended with many great and glorious effects. We might, before this hour, have formed alliances with foreign states ; we should have mastered Quebec, and been in possession of Canada."

"You will, perhaps, wonder how such a Declaration could have affected our affairs in Canada ; but if I could write with freedom, I could easily convince you that it would, and explain to you the manner how. Many gentlemen in high stations, and of great influence, have been duped by the ministerial babble of commissioners, to treat ; and in real sincere expectation of this event, which they so fondly wished, they have been slow and languid in promoting measures for the reduction of that province. Others there are in the colonies who really wished our affairs in Canada to be defeated, that the colonies might be in danger and distress,—between two fires,—and be thus induced to submit. Others really wished to defeat the expedition Canada, lest the conquest of it should elevate the minds of the people too much to hearken to those terms of reconciliation which they believed would be offered us. These jarring views, wishes and designs, occasioned an opposition to many salutary measures which were proposed for the support of that expedition, and caused obstructions, embarrassments and studied delays which have, finally, lost us the province. All these causes, however, in conjunction, would not have disappointed us if it had not been for a misfortune that could not

have been prevented; I mean the prevalence of small-pox among our troops. This fatal pestilence completed our destruction. It is a frown of Providence upon us which we ought to lay to heart. But on the other hand, the delay of this Declaration to this time, has many advantages attending it. The hopes of reconciliation, which were fondly entertained by multitudes of honest, well-meaning, though weak and mistaken people, have been gradually, and at last totally extinguished. Time has been given for the whole people maturely to consider the great question of independence, and to ripen their judgments, dissipate their fears, and allure their hopes by discussing it in newspapers and pamphlets; by debating it in assemblies, conventions, and committees of safety and inspection in town and county meetings, as well as in private conversations; so that the whole people in every colony of the thirteen, have now adopted it as their own act. This will cement the Union, and avoid those heats, and perhaps convulsions, which might have been occasioned by such a Declaration six months ago."

"But the day is past. The second day of July, 1776, will be the most remarkable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this Continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom, I can see that the end is more than worth all the means; and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which, I trust in God, we shall not."*

Thus, in the design, execution, and adoption of that national placard of freedom, hung out to the world by its youngest people, ever since

"Perplexing monarchs and portending change,"

JOHN ADAMS was a chief actor and firm director. Now, on its

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* See Life and works of JOHN ADAMS.

final consummation, he rejoiced with all the fervor of a soul that feels its first and highest desire gratified. When the Declaration of Independence was adopted and signed, he did not lose his zeal. He well knew that to *maintain* what they had *declared*, would require every energy, resource, and sacrifice. These, no one was more ready to exercise or make, than he. He now, with the same firm caution and prudent zeal, devoted himself to the proper steerage of the young government craft, that characterized him in its construction.

Here terminates the most active, though not the most important part of ADAMS' life. The year preceding the Declaration was a stormy period. Armies were pitted against each other in the field and civilians in the councils. While the combatant-sword clashed in strife, and was re-drawn reeking with the blood of the fallen in battle, statesmen, equally determined, waged wars of opinion upon the greatest subject that ever disturbed a national mind. While sounds of cannon came booming over the Continent, and rang back to the startled capitol, the dread echo met the stern voices of statesmen-orators, defiantly responding with words of independence. ADAMS, verging on the prime of healthful manhood, and buoyant with the hope of eventual success,—irritated at the idea of opposition to what was so clear to him,—was the most prominent advocate of the movement to mature development and full-grown nationality, and at this time put forth his energies in their full power and effect.

He had now taken a stand, at least, among the most popular men of the country. In congressional deliberations, he took an active part, and was a member of most of the leading committees. After the defeat at the battle of Long Island, when Lord Howe presented his detestable schemes of negotiation, ADAMS wished that they should be passed by unnoticed, and labored earnestly to effect that object. He was defeated in this, however, by superior numbers. His desires, in substance, however, at length prevailed in their total rejection. As furthering the principles of independence, ADAMS now labored zealously to effect treaties of amity and commerce with other nations. No man did more to give us national dignity and consideration abroad, in these trying times, save Dr. Franklin. He did much, indeed, toward the final treaty with France, guaranteeing mutual defense and protection. The overtures made, in part, through his agency to that nation, were

tempered with moderation and reason,—so much so, that they were regarded by many, as not being sufficiently inductive of earnest consideration on her part. ADAMS was too well versed in civil tactics and national diplomacy, to offer terms to a wished-for ally, savoring of bombast and braggadocia.

While that important transaction was being considered in Congress, it became ADAMS' duty to have an interview with Lord Howe, the object of which was to confer together on the existent state of affairs. In this conference his known views, so consistently maintained during his entire public life, were explicitly avowed.

ADAMS' numerous and varied duties of a public nature, threatened to undermine his health; on failing to secure additional colleagues, upon which he insisted, he offered to resign his seat in Congress. Knowing and appreciating his valued services, that body rejected his tender, and he continued the discharge of his duties. Through the trying scenes that attended the capture of New York by the British, and the retreat of our army through New Jersey, ADAMS was far from being despondent; true to the tenor of his first resolution and course, he continued the friend of the Declaration, and faithful to its maintenance. The victories at Princeton and Trenton, were regarded by him as sure harbingers of that eventual triumph he had early predicted.

On the 1st of July, previous to these engagements, he moved in Congress "the appointment of a committee to consider a plan for the establishment of a military academy." This committee was appointed, and he was placed upon it. After Washington had been vested with the almost entire control of affairs, and the battles of Princeton and Trenton had been fought and won, as a consequence, he went to Baltimore; thither, early in 1777, ADAMS proceeded also. He saw everywhere along his route, unmistakable evidences of reinspired hope and confidence among the people. Arriving at Baltimore, he wrote back to Massachusetts his gratified feelings at learning the appreciation of the New Englanders,—both soldiers and civilians: "Our troops," he says, "have behaved nobly and turned the fortune of the war. Pray, let us keep our credit, as I am sure we can."

About this time, he resigned his place as chief justice of the Superior Court, a tribunal to which he had given much weight and dignity by his influence, probity, and legal knowledge. He still continued to occupy his seat in Congress, to which he had

been sent regularly by his native State for a number of years. Though immersed in heavy and complicated public duties, ADAMS, during all this time, managed to keep up an interesting confidential correspondence with various officers of the army.

After the adjournment of Congress to Baltimore, great interruption to these communications ensued; his letters were not so numerous, and those written were not generally preserved. Some steps of the military board tended also to lessen the good feelings prevailing between members of Congress and officers of the army. Ideas were entertained of placing some of the gallant old officers in subordinate positions, subject to the direction of a French engineer. Many of them were justly indignant, and talked of resigning. Among these were Greene and Schuyler. ADAMS and Greene had long been bosom friends. As a member of Congress, the former was regarded, though unjustly, as being accessory to the proposed change. This state of things produced many unpleasant feelings, and occupied a large portion of the attention of the Congress of 1777. Whether ADAMS had really done any thing worthy of censure or not, Greene supposed he had; hence we find no answer from that general to ADAMS' last friendly letter.

Congress now returned to Philadelphia. After that city was again invested by the enemy, they removed to Lancaster. ADAMS was among the first members to arrive there. Here he continued his duties with characteristic energy and application. At the head of the board of war, and member of Congress from the first State that rebelled from British rule, some idea can be had of the extent of his labors at this time.

In the long discussion incident to the 'confederation,' ADAMS was an active participant. The questions that sprang from these discussions, and different members, are too numerous to dwell upon here. It must be said, however, that he firmly contended for popular representation, though against the views of his own colleagues. The idea, that each State should have equal voting power, independent of their inhabitants, was to him a very singular one. He insisted that population should be the basis of suffrage,—each State's representation apportioned to its citizens.

After the capture of Burgoyne, ADAMS' spirits were greatly revived. On learning that event, he wrote to friends expressing his unbounded joy.

About this time he asked and obtained leave to go home on a

brief visit. The following little piece of hyperbolical extravagance will show how he stood in the esteem of his friends; it was written by Gordon: "I never can think we shall finally fail of success, while Heaven continues to the Congress the life and abilities of Mr. JOHN ADAMS. He is equal to the controversy, in all its stages. He stood upon the shoulders of the whole Congress, when reconciliation was the wish of all America. He was equally conspicuous in cutting the knot which tied the colonies to Great Britain. In a word, I deliver to you the opinion of every man in the House, when I add, that he possesses the clearest head, and the firmest heart, of any man in Congress." So far as his firmness and consistency are concerned, the above is true enough. But he was not quite the greatest man in the world. We are speaking now of events that took place while Congress held its sessions in New York.

ADAMS was now appointed minister to France. He accepted the mission, and sailed for Europe, February 13th, 1778. On the morning of that day, might have been seen a staid patriot, a tried statesman, leading by the hand a little boy, on board the frigate Boston, anchored at Braintree. The working civilian was going to try at foreign courts, the powers of his mind, which had been so influentially exerted at home. That statesman was JOHN ADAMS; that little boy, then ten years of age, was his noble son, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. After a troublous voyage, he reached Paris early the ensuing April. He was received with marked attention and honor. ADAMS' mission was brief. Existent causes rendered it unnecessary that it should be otherwise. Fraternal relations had already been established between France and America. Treaties of alliance and commerce were consummated before he left this country, which had cemented desirable relationships. Though no heavy duties devolved on him in France, he was not idle. Representative of his struggling country, he sought with success, by correspondence and otherwise, to inspire all with high sentiments of his home and people. He wrote his wife, saying: "I can not eat pensions and sinecures; they would stick in my throat."

It was finally arranged that Franklin should remain sole minister at Paris, and ADAMS prepared to return home. Accordingly, he and his son, early in June, 1779, sailed for Boston, where they arrived in safety the next August.

On his arrival, he found the people of Massachusetts awake to the necessity of remodeling their State constitution: they were, in fact, taking steps to call a State convention for that purpose. Reposing in him the same confidence they always had, they sent him as the delegate from Braintree. The convention met at Cambridge in 1779. ADAMS assisted in organizing it, and aided essentially to secure harmony and good-feeling among the members. We regret that our limits will not permit a detailed review of his labors in that body,—the effect they had upon its ultimate results, etc. As usual in political assemblies of the kind, their deliberations were interrupted by the advocacy of different opinions. ADAMS entered the convention with an influence and fame, that won entire deference and respect. His first act was the delivery of an elaborate speech upon general principles of government, his object being to promote harmony among the delegates. Intending to establish a free republic, which, they asserted, "was the government of a people by fixed laws of their own making, the convention proceeded to appoint a committee to embody these designs in a written instrument. This resulted in a subcommittee; finally, the work fell principally into the hands of ADAMS. An instrument was drafted, to which was affixed a Bill of Rights, which, it was hoped, would be acceptable.

At this stage of the proceedings, before final action was had, ADAMS was called away. Dissatisfaction had arisen in regard to the conduct of our ministers abroad. Inquiry, it was thought, should be instituted into the cause. A committee was appointed for that purpose. They made a report, suggesting the course, embodied in the following propositions:

"That suspicions and animosities have risen among commissioners, which may be highly prejudicial to the honor and interests of these United States.

"That the appointments of the said commissioners be vacated, and that new appointments be made."

ADAMS having been foreign minister, was subjected to the rendition of these propositions, like Franklin, and the balance. Each of the foreign envoys had their friends, who each tried to shield his favorite from any odium that might grow out of the matter. The whole thing amounted to but little, save affording excellent sources of wrangling and dispute. In September, 1779, ADAMS was appointed one of our ministers to negotiate treaties of peace

with England and France. Their main instructions were the recognition of our independence, the fisheries, and the right of navigating the Mississippi. Early the ensuing November, accompanied by his son, he again embarked for Europe. He reached Paris in February, 1780. On his arrival he committed a blunder. Instead of advising, he suffered himself to be advised. He solicited of Count Vergennes advice in regard to the course to be pursued. Instead of advice he got dictation, and soon became entangled in a position very disagreeable. Confidence between him and the Count was finally diminished.

Count Vergennes was one of the finest diplomatists of his day. Trained in that school of artful diplomacy that long prevailed in France, that made all means subservient to the accomplishment of her own ends, and exercised through the reign of Louis, he was admirably fitted for the position in which he was placed. Through the agency, principally, of Franklin, good-feelings were measurably kept up, and things were, in the main, satisfactorily arranged.

We cannot here recount the perplexities, bickerings, correspondence, maneuverings, conferences, and proposed mediations incident to this arduous, and, in some respects, unpleasant mission. It was a game of nations,—empire was the stake. Dr. Franklin was evidently the man who best subserved the interests of his country, through all the stages of the negotiation, until their final and happy conclusion. ADAMS, however, labored zealously in the work, assisting, advising, and conferring with the former on most important points. In the treaty with Holland, he was the principal negotiator, and gave evidences of excellent diplomatic capacities. He also signed, in connection with our other ministers, the treaty of peace with Great Britain; a result to which he had contributed in no small degree. On the conclusion of this great work, such satisfaction had he given, as foreign minister, that notwithstanding his enfeebled health, and a desire to return home, he was joined with Jay and Franklin, as commissioner, to conclude final and definite treaties of commerce with the same power. On his return from Holland to Paris, he was prostrated with a severe illness, and lay for some time at his hotel, suffering all the pain and anxieties natural to a man in a state of fever in a foreign country and in the midst of a densely populous city. By judicious treatment, kind nursing, simple diet, and as much

exercise as the nature of the case would permit, he recovered, however, and recommenced his labors.

Our ministers now received instructions to treat with any, and all nations which felt a willingness to enter into amicable relations with the United States. Thus they had herculean labors placed upon them. ADAMS, as one of our envoys, it is useless to say, went into the great work with earnest good-will. In 1784, he was joined, in Europe, by his wife, from whom he had long been separated. This reunion was most happy, and made him contented with the protracted stay that circumstances made necessary. Surrounded by his family, and courted by the learned and refined, he passed his time in Paris pleasantly enough. Though extensive plans for general international treaties were devised, they ended in no great things. Prussia was the only power that seemed to take any extraordinary interest in the matter. In the winter of 1785, he was appointed minister to England. On receiving intelligence of this, he removed his family from Paris to London, and commenced his labors in a different sphere. This was then rather a delicate position, particularly so for him. He had been conspicuous in stirring up what the king termed the rebellion of his refractory provinces; he had been the same in the Declaration,—he had seen and assisted in its maintenance. It is not strange that the king, who had been sternly opposed to all these, should extend to him, as they met face to face, a cold, though courteous, reception. That was a curious meeting! The painter might well have carried his easel there, and put on canvas the half suppressed frown of George the Third, smarting under defeat, as he looked upon the calm face of JOHN ADAMS, who fought him so consistently from the first encroachment till his final overthrow. The meeting concluded by ADAMS saying, "I must avow to your majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country." "An honest man will never have any other," replied the haughty monarch.

Any thing derogatory to national dignity, that occurs in a country, detracts from the influence and position of her ministers abroad, if she have any. The great difficulties of a civic nature, prevailing in America at that time, placed her foreign ministers in very disagreeable situations. Nations to whom they had been sent to represent our interest, had only to pc : to the anarchical indications manifested whence they came, and label their experi·

ment with failure. The failure to effect national treaties, plans of which have just been referred to, was mainly attributable to this state of things. The same causes deprived ADAMS of that weight and influence at the court of St. James, essential to the accomplishment of such results as were desired. He remained there for some time, but owing to a variety of causes, was unable to effect a commercial treaty with her. His mission, however, was not barren of good results. Treaties were concluded with Morocco and Prussia, in which, his agency was influential and active. He also wrote his "Opinions on Government," defending, more particularly, the form chosen by his own people. This is, perhaps, among the ablest productions of his pen. It was called forth by the essays of some political economists in Europe, who had more fustian than freedom,—more monarchical lore than morals.

It may not be amiss here, to sum up, in a few words, ADAMS' political notions; we do not mean party, but *general* notions. Somewhat mistrustful, and possessing pretty strong prejudices, he had no very great confidence in man's natural perfectibility, in the first place. In his aggregate capacity, he thought man was oftener blinded into missteps by his evil nature, than led into the right way by his good; yet, he seemed to think, that the weakness of man's moral nature, to overcome the dictates of his animal, plunged him into as many, perhaps more errors, than did innate depravity. Making then men's passions, so to speak, a leading consideration in governmental organization, he advocated a diffusion of powers, relying more upon the coercive and vindicative attributes of the law, to establish and preserve social and political order, than upon the *naturally* existent inducements for man to do right. *Passion* and *desire*, therefore, become his leading distinctions. Here we necessarily run into three classes. Those in power, those in possession, and that more numerous class who are neither. Reasoning thus, it would be easy to fall into the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic features of the English constitution, as demonstrated in her king, lords, and commons. These, with proper checks and regulations, formed doubtless, his ideas of good government.

As already remarked, the semblance of these ideas to the British constitution, precluded the possibility of their becoming popular in this country. The people were, and still are, too intensly democratic. He also wrote, near this time, his somewhat

famous "Defense of the Constitution of the United States of America." Like most of his other writings, it evinced good sense, and practical thoughts reducible to application, but bore no marks of extraordinary statesmanship, or literary ability. The fact is, ADAMS was a man, a true man in every sense; firm, unflinching, decisive. Among the most persevering, energetic men of his day, he sought opportunities to exert what talents he had, in a way most useful to his country. We never had a truer patriot,—a more working man. But what he was, he made himself most emphatically; nature gave no great amount of assistance. His studies, his aspirations, his iron will, indomitable energy, high moral courage, and purity of motive, overcame every obstacle to success.

His "Defense" created no great sensation at the time, and though embodied in his works, is seldom read. There was one trait in the character of ADAMS, that would be well enough to mention here. We have already said something of his disposition to look at the darkest side of things. He was also given to dissatisfaction of the actions of men, parties, and measures. To his own opinion, he seemed to think others ought to adhere. See how apparent this is in the following letter, written to a friend while in Europe, in regard to various things at home:

"As to politics, all that can be said is comprehended in a few words. *Our country has grown, or at least has been, dishonest.* She has broken her faith with nations, and with her own citizens; and parties are all about for continuing this dishonest course. She must become strictly honest and punctual to all the world, before she can recover the confidence of anybody, at home or abroad. The duty of all good men, is to join in making this doctrine popular, and in discountenancing every attempt against it. This censure is too harsh, I suppose, for common ears, but the essence of these sentiments must be adopted throughout America, before we can prosper. Have our people forgotten every principle of public and private credit? Do we trust a man in private life, who is not punctual to his word? Who easily makes promises, and is negligent to perform them? especially if he makes promises, knowing that he can not perform them, or deliberately designing not to perform them?"

No country was more truly patriotic than his own,—no country had a better patriot than he. The extract was simply a

foolish result of his prejudice to some things going on in America, that induced a misinterpretation of motive on the part of his countrymen. ADAMS was a great man; the fact that he was such, speaks volumes for his powers, and proves the greatest of victories; *for he made himself so.* Failing, in every sense, to accomplish the object of his mission, he requested permission to return home. It was granted. The following resolution passed by Congress at the time, shows, at least, that they knew he had *tried* to do all that was desired, during his absence: "*Resolved*, That Congress entertain a high sense of the services which Mr. ADAMS has rendered to the United States, in the various important trusts which they have committed to him; and that the thanks of Congress be presented to him for the patriotism, perseverance, integrity and diligence, with which he hath so ably and faithfully served his country."

He left Europe in the spring of 1788, and reached the United States at a time, momentous in her history. The great plan of proper organization was just being elaborated. Different men, men of ability, were advancing different theories and opinions. In these matters he was now to mingle, more industriously than effectively,—more conspicuously than influentially.

On the organization of government, ADAMS was elected first Vice-president. The office, in itself, involved no heavy duties. He stood faithfully by Washington through his administration, presided over the Senate with dignity, and served his country, in every particular, with characteristic consistency. He was again elected to the same office, at the commencement of Washington's second term, and proved equally devoted to both administrations. He closed his connection with the Senate, by delivering the following words:

"It is a recollection of which nothing can ever deprive me, and it will be a source of comfort to me through the remainder of my life, that on the one hand, I have for eight years held the second situation under our Constitution, in perfect and uninterrupted harmony with the first, without envy in the one, or jealousy in the other; so, on the other hand, I have never had the smallest misunderstanding with any member of the Senate."*

At the conclusion of Washington's official terms, ADAMS was

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* Statesman's Manual.

elected to the Presidency. He had two competitors, Jefferson and Pinckney, over both of whom he received a good majority. He entered upon the duties of President, at a time of numerous and varied difficulties "The French revolution had just reached its highest point of settled delirium, after some of the paroxysms of its fury had passed away. The people of the United States took sides, some approving, others deprecating the course pursued by France. ADAMS wished to preserve a neutrality, but found this quite impossible. A navy was raised with surprising promptitude, to prevent insolence and to chastise aggression. It had the desired effect, and France was taught that Americans were friends in peace, but not fearful of war when it could not be averted. When the historian comes to this page of our history, he will do justice to the sagacity, to the spirit, and to the integrity of Mr. ADAMS, and will find that he had more reasons, and good ones, for his conduct, than his friends or enemies ever gave him."*

ADAMS, on the occasion of his entrance into office, after paying a tribute to his illustrious predecessor, gave the following as his feeling in regard to the station:

"The occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say that, if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth,—if an attachment to the Constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual States, and a constant caution and delicacy toward the State governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honor and happiness of all the States in the Union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, eastern or western position, their various political opinions on essential points, or other personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life in all its

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* Knapp.

stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy and corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity in the interior administration: if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures for necessity, convenience and defense; if a spirit of equity and humanity toward the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to ameliorate their condition by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe which has been adopted by the government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both Houses of Congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the States and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal attachment for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honor, and integrity of the people of America and the internal sentiment of their own powers and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavor to investigate every just cause and remove every colorable pretense of complaint; if an intention to pursue by amicable negotiation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens, by whatever nation, and (if success cannot be obtained) to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider what further measures the honor and interest of the government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me at all times, and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world; if an unbroken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties toward it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvement of the people, engraven deeply on my mind in early life, and not obscured, but exalted by experience and age; and with humble reverence I feel it my duty to add, if a venera-

tion for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service,—can enable me, in any degree, to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect."

Whatever may be said of our other presidents, quite certain we are, that none of them ever delivered as long a sentence as this. Had ADAMS' term been protracted proportionably to the length of this sentence, he would not yet have had a successor. It breathes, however, patriotic desires, delivered, no doubt, with the utmost sincerity. The first measure of serious consideration presenting itself to the President, was the state of affairs with France. Not satisfied with the expulsion of our ministers, the Directory passed an ordinance in direct opposition to the treaty stipulations of 1778, virtually abolishing all friendly international intercourse. The war spirit again ran high; ADAMS wished conciliation. New commissioners were appointed for that purpose. These were John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and General Pinckney. They reached France at a time when Bonaparte was ascending that pedestal of military fame, on whose top there was just enough room for himself.

We cannot dwell at length upon the incidents attending this mission; its perplexities, difficulties, and the artful maneuvers connected with it, will be mentioned more at length in the Life of Chief Justice Marshall. The idea entertained by the French, of exacting tribute, precluded the accomplishment of desired results, and was repelled with indignant scorn by the ministers. On the return of Marshall, Gerry still remaining in France, ADAMS submitted to his Cabinet the following propositions:

"1. Should all the particulars be submitted to Congress?

"2. Should the President recommend a declaration of war?"

No satisfactory response being received, ADAMS gave the following as his feelings and intentions:

"The present state of things is so essentially different from that in which instructions were given to collectors to restrain vessels of the United States from sailing in an armed condition, that the principle on which those orders were issued, has ceased to exist. I therefore deem it proper to inform Congress that I no longer conceive myself justifiable in continuing them unless in particu

lar cases, where there may be reasonable ground of suspicion that such vessels are intended to be employed contrary to law." While he wished and recommended peace, he also favored preparations for defense. To these recommendations, he added the following significant sentence: "I will never send another minister to France, without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."

The new and complicated state of things aroused the mighty talents and energies of Hamilton, who had, since his retirement from the Cabinet, been enjoying a comparative slumber. ADAMS, by his course of submitting entirely to the consideration of Congress all important measures, had virtually resigned the reins of government. The arrogant assumptions of France produced a great change in the American mind, in reference to her cause; this change was favorable to the Federal party. They availed themselves of it. Congress, advised and greatly swayed by Hamilton, adopted a series of acts deemed necessary. None of them were fully acceptable to the President. Thus, in one sense, he was at variance with his party. Here the popularity of his administration began to wane. Whatever odium may attach to ADAMS on account of the Alien and Sedition laws,—laws in themselves utterly worthless, the borrowed offspring of English fear,—they were not what rendered ADAMS somewhat unpopular. It was his differences and quarrels, so to speak, with his own party, upon great national matters, most of them connected with our difficulties with France.

Apprehensions, however, soon gave way, so far as a rupture with France was concerned. As elsewhere said, an army was raised and commanders selected; but the adjustment of difficulties prevented the demand for its services.

ADAMS' administration was much distracted by party conflicts within, and national indignities without. During a large portion of it, he was at variance with his Cabinet; before its close, however, these difficulties measurably subsided, and comparative harmony prevailed. It was a time of fearful party strife. Federalists and Republicans were grappling with fierce animosity for ascendency. It closed with many weighty and beneficial results to the country. Whatever faults, blames, or censures some might feel disposed to heap upon it, all must say, that he was a pure patriot,

and presided over the destinies of his country through that period of strife and turmoil, with a will and judgment wholly uncorrupted by venal motives, or swayed by considerations other than the dictates of duty.

On its close, he retired to his farm at Quincy. Here, secluded from cares and anxieties, he lived easily, virtuously, quietly and happily. Occasionally interrupted by public considerations and minor public duties,—watching with great interest the rise and development of his illustrious son, John Quincy Adams, he continued in comparative quiet through all the distracting scenes, until 1825, when he had the pleasure of seeing that son seated in the Presidential chair. How modestly and affectionately did John Quincy Adams announce the fact to his father, in the following short note:

"WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 9, 1825

"MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER:—

The inclosed note from Mr. King, will inform you of the event of this day, upon which I can only offer you my congratulations, and ask your blessings and prayers.

Your affectionate and dutiful son,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS was now ninety years old. His lamp of life burned gently into physical dimness. Though old as he was, he had a sort of enjoyment for literature. Seated in his arm-chair, his venerable head resting on his cane, he listened for hours to the reading of some kind friend. In the spring of 1826, it became apparent that he could not survive much longer. Declining gradually, his life was prolonged till the 4th of the ensuing July. A friend who visited Adams on the 30th of June, has left the following: "Spent a few minutes with him in conversation, and took from him a toast, to be presented on the 4th of July, as coming from him. I should have liked a longer one; but as it is, this will be acceptable. 'I will give you,' said he,

'Independence forever.'

He was asked, if he would not add any thing to it; he replied, 'not a word.'"

From this time he continued to sink, until near sunset next evening. Just as the sun went down, he faintly exclaimed:

"Thomas Jefferson still survives!" and expired. Not so, however. That great man had just crossed the dark river.

The shouts that ushered in that glorious anniversary day, would have turned into mourning, had it been known that its evening shades were to close forever over the careers of two such noble patriots and statesmen. JEFFERSON and ADAMS!—fit day for them to die!

"Adams was of middle stature, and when elected President, he was bald on the top of his head. His countenance beamed with intelligence and moral, as well as physical courage. His walk was firm and dignified to a late period of his life. His manner was slow and deliberate, unless he was excited, and when this happened, he expressed himself with great energy. He was ever a man of purest morals, and is said to have been a firm believer in Christianity, not from habit and example, but from diligent investigation of its proofs."* * * * *

"He had an uncompromising regard for his own opinion; and seemed to have supposed that his opinions could not be corrected by those of other men, nor bettered by any of comparison. It is not improbable that ADAMS was impatient, in finding how much the more easily understood services of military men were appreciated, than were the secluded, though no less important ones, of diplomatic agency and cabinet-council. So made up from natural propensities and from the circumstances of his life, ADAMS came to the Presidency at a time when more forbearance and discretion were required than he was supposed to have had. He seems to have been deficient in the rare excellence of attempting to see himself as others saw him, and he ventured to act as though everybody saw as he saw himself. He considered only what was right in his own view; and that was to be carried by main force, whatever the obstacles.†

ADAMS was buried with due honors and consideration, in the town of Quincy, where his remains still repose, beside those of his wife. He left, in the person of his son, a more enduring monument than ever sculptor's chisel formed from fairest marble.

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* Williams. † Sullivan.

PATRICK HENRY.

When the ancient declaimer witnessed evidences of unbounded delight at his repetition of Demosthenes' speeches, he gave his hearers to understand that, to fully appreciate his eloquence, the orator had to be heard himself. The same might be said of Patrick Henry. None of his speeches, described as consuming every thing before him with their forensic fire, have come down to us; nor is it to be supposed that his fame or posterity have suffered much in consequence. The power of his speeches must have consisted essentially in his manner of delivery. Rushing like a brigade of Numidian cavalry into debate, he swept down opposition by his zeal, vehemence, and stirring appeals; yet the same speeches spread out on paper, or spoken by another, would doubtless have produced no such results. Among the first in the cause of revolution, and among the most zealous through all the stages of its progress, active, influential, and patriotic, he certainly claims place in the galaxy of our illustrious names. Though a full biography of this great, and, in some respects, singular man, can not be expected here, we shall endeavor to sketch the leading events of his life, that connect him with the history and fame of his country.

Patrick Henry was born in Hanover County, Virginia, May 29th, 1736. His father, Colonel John Henry, was a Scotchman by birth. His mother was a Miss Winston, an influential family of Virginia. His father was a good loyalist, a man of bravery and high moral qualities. He also had a spark of military fire. "There are those yet alive (1805), says a correspondent,* "who

* Pope, Burke, Wirt.



PATRICK HENRY.

have seen him at the head of his regiment, celebrating the birth-day of George the Third with as much enthusiasm as his son PATRICK afterward displayed in resisting the encroachments of that monarch." John Henry, soon after the birth of his son, located at Mount Brilliant. Young PATRICK was started to school. He acquired there the rudiments of what education he had. In his eleventh year he commenced studying the dead languages under the tuition of his father. Of these he obtained no great knowledge. He is said to have been more fond of figures than dictionaries and lexicographers. The truth is, he was fonder of fishing and hunting than either. He cared very little for his father's instructions, and less for the schools. He had, at this time, no method, system, regularity, or application. Instead of being at school and engaged in his lessons, he was lying in the shade by the creek, with his fishing-rod set in the bank, watching the cork with great interest, or with his gun he was strolling over the hills and through the woods in search of game. In these excursions he preferred to be alone.

Wirt has very happily warned youth not to make an example of HENRY, and think to become great without exertion. HENRY himself, in after life, had occasion to regret this waste of his early opportunities for improvement. At one time, when in the public coun ils, a very important document was to be prepared. HENRY, it was thought, would be the proper person to do it. He had to confess that he did not think himself "scholar enough." The careers of such men as PATRICK HENRY, present no premiums to laziness. He was born with a vigorous mind, and circumstances thrust him exactly in the position best fitted for the display of his powers. His biographer, or rather his eulogist, Wirt, has certainly made the most of his subject. He has given to him nearly every attribute of perfection, that the pen of an inferior genius could ascribe to a superior one.

In his sixteenth year, PATRICK HENRY was sent to a country store. Here, for some time, the future provincial orator was engaged in measuring ribbons and selling calicoes. He cared nothing about the business, and at the end of a year, came out as ignorant of it as when he entered the store. His father now bought a stock of goods and started his sons, PATRICK and William, in business for themselves. William had as little relish for work as PATRICK. A lazier firm never swung a sign. Their business

did not prosper. Possessing no business tact, and selling on credit, they soon got their affairs into a ruinous condition.

His mercantile experiment gave him one advantage,—an opportunity of studying the frequenters of his store. It is said of him that, when a crowd of his customers would come in and enter into conversation, that he would fix his keen eye upon them, incline his head a little forward, and remain perfectly silent, absorbed in the process of penetrating each character, and getting at the hidden springs of each emotion. In this way he would remain for hours and hours, entirely forgetful of business. It was this ready faculty of comprehending characters, in a measure, that conferred on HENRY such masterly powers as a speaker. Twelve months sufficed to effect the ruin of the store. A glance at their books, shelves, and invoices showed clearly that they were broken merchants. Thenceforth William led a reckless, dissipated life, useless to himself or country. HENRY now thought he would try farming. In his nineteenth year he married a Miss Shelton, and settled on a small farm, resolved to work for his support. He did not succeed. Two years ended his agricultural experiment. He now sold his farm, and resolving to try merchandise again, bought a stock of goods with the proceeds. Again he was behind the counter. Sometimes talking to a customer, sometimes playing the fiddle, sometimes locking the store to take a hunt, or go fishing, things again went to ruin. The failure of this last mercantile project left HENRY utterly penniless; yet it was not without good results. He had for some time been reading excellent authors. For Livy he conceived a wonderful passion, and it is said, that he made a practice of reading him through once a year ever after. He now bent himself to the study of colonial history generally. With perception quick and acute, a grasping comprehension, and a memory tenacious beyond example, he mastered and treasured what he read with ease and facility.

We have mentioned Jefferson's admiration of his oratory at Williamsburgh. It was near this time that Jefferson first became acquainted with him. He has left the following, in regard to his first interview: "My acquaintance with Mr. HENRY commenced in the winter of 1759–'60. On my way to college, I passed my Christmas holidays at Colonel Dandridge's, in Hanover, to whom Mr. HENRY was a near neighbor. During the festivity of the season I met him in society every day, and we became well ac-

quainted, although I was much his junior, being then in my seventeenth year, and he a married man. His manners had something of coarseness in them; his passion was music, dancing, and pleasantry. He excelled in the last, and it attached every one to him. You ask some account of his mind and information at this period; but you must recollect that we were almost continually engaged in the usual revelries of the season. The occasion, perhaps, as much as his idle disposition, prevented his engaging in any conversation which might give the measure either of his mind or information. Opportunity was not indeed wholly wanting; because Mr. John Campbell was there, who had married Miss Spottswood, the sister of Colonel Dandridge. He was a man of science and often introduced conversation on scientific subjects. Mr. HENRY had, a little before, broken up his store, or rather, it had broken him up; but his misfortunes were not to be traced, either in his circumstances or conduct."

"This cheerfulness of spirit, under a reverse of fortune so severe, is certainly a striking proof of the manliness of his character. It is not indeed, easy to conceive that a mind like Mr. HENRY's could finally sink under any pressure of adversity. Such a mind, although it may not immediately perceive whither to direct its efforts, must always possess a consciousness of power sufficient to buoy it above despondency. But be this as it may, of Mr. HENRY it was certainly true, as Dr. Johnson has observed of Swift, that 'he was not one of those who, having lost one part of his life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair.'"*

HENRY's prospects were now not very flattering. Without business, without friends, and without a dollar, he began to look around him to see what was to be done. He had failed in every thing he put his hand to. He finally determined to study LAW. Not dreaming of the distinction that decision was to confer upon him, he commenced its study. He read law, it is presumed, about six months,—some say eight, and others again only six weeks. With but little practical knowledge of the profession, he applied for, and obtained, license. Randolph, one of the judges to whom he applied, it is said, was so little prepossessed with his appearance, that he examined him with manifest reluctance. As the examination progressed, however, HENRY's striking, bold originality and

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* Wirt.

quick perceptive faculties unfolded themselves to his admiration. Randolph finally said to him, after granting his signature: "Mr. HENRY, if your industry be only half equal to your genius, I augur that you will do well and become an ornament and an honor to your profession." He never became industrious, though the prediction was more than verified.

HENRY was now twenty-five years of age. The Hanover bar was quite an able one. He got no business to do for some time, nor did he expect any. His wife's father kept hotel at Hanover. HENRY and his wife resided there for some time. His first effort at the bar was the old Church case, so glowingly described by Wirt. It had long been the law of the colony to pay the clergy every year a certain quantity of tobacco, for ministerial services. The clergy most frequently, however, took the money, letting their supporters keep the tobacco at its market value. The year 1775, however, there was very little tobacco raised; the article, consequently, commanded an enormous price The legislature passed an act providing that the people should pay the clergy of each parish, in money, at the rate of two shillings and sixpence a pound (its generally standing price) for the tobacco they were to receive. The law was designed to be but temporary. No one objected to it at the time; but two years after, prospects indicated another bad tobacco crop, and the act was again passed without limitation. The price of tobacco advanced three hundred per cent. The clergy, seeing that while they were paid at the nominal price fixed in the act, their debtors were getting three times as much for the article, grew indignant. They published their grievances in pamphlet form, and flooded the colony with them. The king espoused their cause. Finally, the entire colony became excited about the matter. The clergy brought suit in the several court-houses. PATRICK HENRY was attorney for the people at Hanover. The day of trial came round. The people were to see, for the first time, the rays of that jewel incased in its long obscure and coarse exterior. HENRY's uncle, one of the clergy, came to the trial. HENRY told him that he should say some "hard things of the clergy," and requested him to return, adding, that he would be "overawed" in his first case, if he were present. His uncle accordingly left. On entering the court-house, HENRY was amazed. All around were seated solemnly the various clergy. The interest of the occasion had drawn a large crowd. The

counsel for the clergy were there; the judge was in his place; the jury in theirs; there, too, sat his father. The counsel on the other side opened and argued the case with considerable ability; they closed and sat down. The clergy were delighted, the people were chap-fallen. It was now HENRY'S turn. Nobody had ever heard him. He rose up slowly,—commenced his speech poorly. The clergy winked, the people hung their heads. Slowly, but louder, and with rising fire, HENRY dwelt upon the acts mentioned. Finally, all the powers of his stormy soul gushed out, in peal after peal, of eloquence that startled every hearer. The flashing eye, the intrepid bearing, dauntless energy, impassioned fervor and emphatic gesture of the man as he stood,—all conspired to make him an object of imposing admiration. The people were thunder-struck; his father cried copiously,—every one was roused to the highest pitch of excitement. The speaker finally closed; the court and jury were beside themselves. The jury gave a verdict of one penny for plaintiff. HENRY was a made man. The people raised him to their shoulders, and with enthusiastic shouts bore him from the Court-house. His father, in speaking of it, a few days afterward, said: "PATRICK spoke in this cause near an hour, and in a manner that surprised me, and showed himself well-informed on a subject of which I did not think he had any knowledge."

Wirt tells us that this speech was regarded as the finest specimen of oratory ever delivered in those parts, and that for years after, if any one delivered a very great speech, the people would compliment him by saying, "He is *almost* equal to PATRICK HENRY when he plead against the parsons."

HENRY, from perfect obscurity, had, in one day, placed himself conspicuously before the people. His fame flew over the colony,—his name was on every lip. From this time he did not lack business. Young lawyers should always bear in mind the importance of their first case; at the same time, however, they should not attempt to make the same display here given, unless natural endowments and study fully warrant that they can sustain themselves. HENRY now became a peoples' man,—perfectly idolized by the Virginia yeomanry. To maintain this position he has been accused of pandering to their whims, caprices and errors. Few men, especially those who seek political distinction, there are, who do not. He never bent himself to a methodical course of legal

study, nor is it a departure from truth to say, he never was an excellent master of the profession. Soon after this he removed to Louisa county. Here his indolent habits returned. He gave himself up to hunting and the amusements of his boyhood. The next time he distinguished himself was at Williamsburg. An election to a seat among the Burgesses was contested. HENRY argued the point for one of the contestants. He came into the House with an old worn-out suit of clothes on; everybody else was attired in the hight of elegance. He was regarded, by some, as an oddity; by others, a half lunatic. He was introduced, with all the pomp of court etiquette. What cared he for fashion and form? He was, by some, sneered at; by others, not considered at all. How little do appearances indicate real merit! The leather cap of a blacksmith often covers a nobler soul than the silken gewgaws of the diplomatist, or even the ermine of the judge. He entered into the case, and made a speech that wrung concessions of extraordinary ability from all. HENRY's outset demonstrates one thing, that is well enough to be borne in mind; he was perfectly independent. He made people respect his talents and admire his genius, because he combined with them a native force of character, that knew no obstacle and feared no opposition. He said by his example, young man! stand on your own ground,—fight your own battles; if you have talents and merit, they will develop themselves,—they will elicit homage and regard. Pander to nothing against which conscience rebels,—know yourself, know human nature, know your duties, and act accordingly,—do right,—let fame take care of itself.

In 1764, HENRY proved himself a statesman,—a man exactly fitted for the times. This was the commencement of the long train of mischiefs growing out of the Stamp Act. He was among the first to rouse the people to resistance; at that measure HENRY's blood boiled; he loved freedom, he was the most perfect impersonation of the word that ever lived: any kind of coercion, to him, was prison,—an Alpine torrent gushed not more freely than did his actions speak his soul. The finest ship that ever swelled her canvas, rode not the waves of ocean truer than did he obey the voice of his own great nature. Upon his stern opposition to the Act, he was elected to the House of Burgesses. The classic Lee, the educated Bland, the fervid Pendleton and well-versed Wythe were there. Among them, rugged as nature's unseen mountain,

with careless mien and deep abstraction, save when startled by excitement, sat PATRICK HENRY.

HENRY's debut in the House of Burgesses was as triumphant as at the bar. His first speech was called forth by an attemp to establish a species of government loan office. This movement was instigated by Robinson, who was custodian of the public funds. He had advanced money to different persons, until a great deficit became apparent. To avoid criticism and remark, he suggested the loan office. The proposition roused HENRY at once. His speech in opposition was most powerful; he carried his point and defeated the measure. "What, sir," said he in the speech, "is it proposed to reclaim the spendthrift from dissipation and extravagance by filling his pockets with money?" The advocates of the measure were completely foiled. HENRY's reputation was now established in the House.

In regard to the Stamp Act, resisting steps had already been taken. But they were not bold and decisive enough for HENRY. He drew up, in 1765, and presented, the subjoined resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the first adventurers and settlers of his Majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them and transmitted to posterity, and all other of his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his Majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"*Resolved*, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonies aforesaid, are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of Enlgand.

"*Resolved*, That the taxation of the people by themselves, to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which, the ancient constitution can not subsist.

"*Resolved*, That his Majesty's liege people, of this most ancient colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any

other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.

"*Resolved*, Therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons, whatever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American freedom."

These resolutions created intense excitement. Never did provincial eloquence more conclusively prove its power. In the discussion that followed, HENRY towered above all disputants, and bore down opposition by perfect torrents of appeal and denunciation. Jefferson, himself, has said, he never listened to any thing like it. It was during the debate upon these resolutions, when thundering like a Titan against the aggressive acts, he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus,—Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third (Treason! treason! interrupted the speaker) may profit by their example. If *this* be treason, make the most of it," concluded HENRY. After the cry of "treason," his eye flashed upon the speaker, and rising to his full height, in a still louder key he finished the sentence,—"may profit by their example," and added with deep emphasis: "If *this* be treason, make the most of it."* The effect was indescribable. A bomb-shell hurled into the council, would have had no greater effect.

His resolutions passed, May, 1765, after a close vote. Again, his opponents were beaten. Of these resolutions, HENRY himself thus spoke afterward. * * * "After a long and heated contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps only one or two. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to Britsh taxation, was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war that finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are worse, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation.

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* Irving's Washington. Wirt.

Reader, whoever thou art, remember this; and in thy sphere, practice virtue thyself and encourage it in others.

"P. HENRY."

HENRY now stood foremost among the orators of the country. His clarion peals rang from one end of the Continent to the other, with an influence like an electric shock. True, efforts were made to detract from him,—efforts which were the offspring of jealousy on the part of those whose superior opportunities, and prior reputation, created an antipathy to the "obscure colonial lawyer," as HENRY had been styled, who could distance them in debate, captivate every ear, and defeat them in all their measures. HENRY's position now, in regard to the great topic of the times, it is presumed, is sufficiently clear. We will, therefore, glance at his course in maintaining that position, and vindicating the reputation he had acquired.

HENRY continued a member of the House for some time. In 1769, he entered the general courts, as practitioner, with the ablest men of the colony. From this time he began to make some money by his profession. But it is not of HENRY as a lawyer, that we are to speak. From 1761, until the war of independence had successfully terminated, he was laboring in a public capacity. He was placed on the Committee of Correspondence in the House, and led the van of opposition to foreign domination. He was foremost in the appeals and speeches, that drew upon the House the displeasure of Bottetourt, and resulted in their dissolution. The signs of the times roused all the lion of his soul. Fearless and active, he declared what he felt in public bodies and in private circles. After stirring up the House, he would talk upon the topic among friends. It is related of him, that when Overton asked him "whether he thought Great Britain would drive the colonies to extremities? and what he thought would be the issue of the war?" that he raised himself upward, and with that telling emphasis for which he was noted, replied as follows: "She WILL drive us to extremities,—no accommodation WILL take place,—hostilities will SOON commence and a desperate and bloody time it will be." Overton then asked: "Do you think, Mr. HENRY, that an infant nation as we are, without discipline, arms and ammunition, ships of war, or money to procure them,—do you think it possible, thus circumstanced, to oppose successfully the fleets and armies of Great Britain?" HENRY replied:

"I will be candid with you. I doubt whether we shall be able to cope *alone* with so powerful a nation. But, where is France? Where is Spain? Where is Holland? the natural enemies of Great Britain.—Where will they be all this while? Do you suppose they will stand by idle, indifferent spectators to the contest? Will Louis the XVIth be asleep all this time? Believe me, No! When Louis the XVIth shall be satisfied by our serious opposition, and our *Declaration of Independence*, that all prospect of reconciliation is gone, then, and not till then, will he furnish us with arms, ammunition and clothing; and not with these only, but he will send his fleet and armies to fight our battles for us; he will form with us a treaty, offensive and defensive, against our unnatural mother. Spain and Holland will join in the confederation; our independence will be established, and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth."

After the enactment of the Port Bill, a result of the Tea destruction at Boston, HENRY was among those who urged a day of fasting and prayer at Williamsburgh. It would be difficult to conceive the state of his feelings during that solemn day. Still as a funeral, save the peals of the bells, chiming to the notes of freedom, was it observed. Advocating opposition from the very outset with enthusiastic energy, he was now advanced still higher in the capacity of champion for the people. With Washington, Lee and others for his colleagues, he was sent as delegate to the first Continental Congress. After the meeting and organization of that body, each member distrusting himself, feared to commence the discussion.

After some little hesitation, HENRY arose and opened the proceedings in one of his happiest strains. He touched upon the wrongs they were enduring, appealed to the people to have redress, recounted the tyrannous acts of Great Britain, and finally closed amid the struck and almost breathless silence of every member on the floor. The ball was put in motion that was to gain strength at every rebound, and to eventuate in final independence. HENRY, though foremost when any thing was to be spoken upon, was not prepared to advance business much by any practical power he possessed. No addresses could he pen, no drafts prepare, or any thing of that sort. This was the session, when he was pitched upon to draw an important paper; but not being "scholar enough" he had to decline, and the duty devolved

on Dickinson. How he then regretted the wasted time of his youth.

Congress, after a short session, adjourned. HENRY was also chosen one of the delegates of Virginia's Continental Assembly. That body met in the spring of 1775, at Richmond. They expressed great approbation of the measures of Congress, and gave a vote of thanks to the State delegates for the services rendered. HENRY directed the war party with a giant might, and boldest daring. While many were still hoping for reconciliation, he arose in the House and presented some resolutions urging immediate and active measures for putting the country in a State of defense. These resolutions he urged with all his power and zeal. One of them read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That this colony be immediately put into a state of defense, and that —— be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

The resolutions were opposed by some of the strongest men in the House. In answer to the speech of one of the leaders in the opposition, HENRY made, perhaps, the master effort of his life. He rose more like a god than a man. He triumphantly replied to every argument. He carried the House by storm. This was the speech in which, towering majestically up to his theme, he exclaimed: "We must fight! I repeat it, sir, we MUST fight!—an appeal to arms, and the God of hosts is all that is left us." Continuing his speech, in words of fire, he said: "There is no retreat but submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable,—and let it come. I repeat it, sir, let it come! It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen cry peace, peace,—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north, will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains,—of chains and slavery? Forbid it Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!" The orator ceased;—he took his seat amid death-like stillness. His tones seemed to have burned his own feelings upon every

heart. The chains of which he had spoken, seemed to clank about the very capital. The "gale from the north" seemed already sweeping over their heads. The resolutions encountered little further opposition. They were adopted immediately.

HENRY's efforts were not wholly confined to this department of labor. Soon after this, when, by the regulations of Lord Dunmore, all the public lands within the colony were to be sold at auction, he opposed it by presenting resolutions which were adopted. The war now commenced in earnest. The robbery of a store of ammunition and the affair at Concord proved, sure enough, that the sword and the God of battles were all to which they could appeal. HENRY now raised a corps of volunteers, and hastened to Williamsburg, for the purpose of demanding restitution for the powder taken from the magazine. He was solicited on all sides to desist, but in vain. He arrived in the vicinity of Williamsburg, but was met by a messenger from Lord Dunmore, who satisfied him for the depredations committed on the magazine, and HENRY gave a receipt for the same. This being done, he wrote the following note to a friend:

"*May 4th*, 1775.

"The affair of the powder is now settled, so as to produce satisfaction to me, and I earnestly wish to the colonies in general. The people here have it in charge from the Hanover committee, to tender their services to you as a public officer, for the purpose of escorting the public treasury to any place in this colony, where the money would be judged more safe than in Williamsburg. The reprisal now made by the Hanover volunteers, though accomplished in a manner less liable to imputation of violent extremity, may possibly be the cause of future injury to the treasury. If, therefore, you apprehend the least danger, a sufficient guard is at your service. I beg the return of the bearer may be instant, because the men wish to know their destination.

"With great regard, I am, sir, your most humble servant,

"PATRICK HENRY, JR."

Nicholas, to whom the above was addressed, replied, declining his offered escort, etc., also expressing his views as to the "impropriety" of such a step. Having accomplished the object they had in view, the troop was disbanded. The soldiers went to their

respective homes, until more active scenes called them again to service. This conduct drew from Dunmore a proclamation to the effect that, "Whereas *a certain Patrick Henry*" had violated the majesty of the law, etc., all persons were warned against "aiding or abetting" him in his movements, in any way whatever. Some time elapsed before HENRY again distinguished himself in the councils. His bold stand, however, particularly his march to Williamsburg, attracted attention toward him in another sphere. He was made colonel of a regiment. He made early arrangements for active duty. July, 1775, found him at Williamsburg, engaged in military operations. In this capacity, however, he did nothing worthy of note. Therefore, we drop his military career, by saying that the council, not the field, was his proper sphere. So far as active military movements are concerned, the name of HENRY could be left out altogether, without loss to the history of the Revolution. In the legislative department, he was a "stirrer of the storm," and did much. He held his command as colonel for some time, without adding honors to his name, or to the cause. He was, in fact, sometimes treated with indignity, and pronounced a "cipher." He finally resigned his commission, and entered upon duties for which he was more fitted. Soon as he resigned, he was sent as member to the Hanover County convention. Parliamentary prerogative was then virtually at an end. These colonial conventions had weighty duties to perform; none was abler to act a part in them than HENRY. On the 6th day of May, 1776, this convention met. They chose Pendleton for their president. Their earliest movements were the adoption of resolutions, recommending the Declaration of Independence, and the appointment of a committee to prepare a Bill of Rights, and a plan of State government. In these, HENRY was active and earnest. He was placed on this committee. These proceedings closed with drinking three toasts, which was done amid enthusiastic cheering, while their *own flag* was streaming over them. They were as follows: "1. The American Independent States." "2. The grand Congress of the United States, and their respective legislatures." "3. General Washington, and victory to the American arms."

After thus taking things into their own hands, HENRY was chosen first governor of the colony,—the first selected by the people. The selection was universally approved. At the most

discouraging period of the revolution, when hope itself seemed no longer to hover over the American banner, as governor, HENRY had little chance to add new laurels to his brow. He was ardent in his attachment to the cause; favored the Declaration, and did his utmost in furthering that measure, through all its aspects. It has been said that, in these times of distress and gloom, thoughts were seriously entertained in Virginia, of making HENRY dictator. No such thing. Dictator of what? of Virginia? of the legislature? of the militia? Neither. The dictatorship of that one colony would have amounted to nothing; of entire continental powers would have hastened a direful catastrophe. Better for HENRY, had the threat which Colonel Cary is *said* to have sent him been executed, than he should have been so placed. "Tell him (HENRY) for me," said Cary to Syme, "that the day of his appointment shall be the day of his death;—for he shall feel my dagger in his heart before the sunset of that day." No such thing was ever thought of; and if it had been, the feelings and characteristics of HENRY, show that he would not have encouraged it.

In the Spring of 1777, he was re-elected governor, with quite a spirit of unanimity. The most important event of this year, was the infamous Conway Cabal, elsewhere spoken of. Soon as the schemers got fairly under way, anxious to gain influential auxiliaries, communications were sent to various men of distinction, urging their co-operation in the efforts to supplant Washington, in the command. HENRY was thunderstruck on receiving one of these perfidious missiles anonymously communicated from Yorktown. It animadverted upon Washington in terms of great severity,—flattered HENRY, and urged to the command "a Gates, a Lee, or a *Conway*." Obeying none but the dictates of true manhood, he sent the letter to Washington immediately, condemning in strongest terms the traitor spirit of his enemies. His course was highly commendable, and elicited several flattering letters from Washington, at Valley Forge. Of the fate of that cabal, enough has been said.

In 1778, HENRY was, for the third time, elected governor. The first thing demanding his attention, was the capture of Phillips, a notorious plunderer and murderer, who, at the head of a large band of desperadoes, was carrying ruin, terror and destruction throughout that part of the country. One Wilson, sent HENRY

a letter, giving him some information in regard to this bandit chief. HENRY sent it to the legislature. Vigorous means were resorted to, to effect his capture. He was finally captured, tried, condemned and executed. In this matter, HENRY was charged with not having acted exactly right. Charges, however, without any thing to base them on, amount to nothing.

In the spring of 1799, HENRY's duties as governor drew to a close. The constitution of the State rendered him, it was thought, ineligible to re-election. He sent a note to the legislature, advising the early selection of a successor. He carried with him, out of office, the universal good-will and regard of all. These form the highest trophy that can deck a statesman's brow. HENRY was sent again to the Assembly, in the year 1780. This was the time Gates was defeated at Camden. He came to Williamsburg, wearing, as Charles Lee had said he would, "southern willows," in the place of his "northern laurels." With a magnanimity, worthy the Roman council that met Terrentius Varro returning vanquished from the slaughter-field of Cannæ, the Virginia Assembly received Gates, covered with disgrace as he was, with marks of esteem, and passed a resolution, appreciative of his efforts. This illustrates the high feelings of HENRY. He was mainly instrumental in the movement. A dark period for Virginia was the year 1781. It was the theater of operations. Tarleton, Phillips and others, filled the colony with alarm and confusion. The legislature met at Richmond early in spring. Before they had fairly organized, on the 7th of May, they were forced to adjourn to Charlottesville. They were just beginning to transact business, when a gentleman galloped his horse into the place, stirring it into a buzz of commotion, by telling the people that Tarelton was coming with speed to capture the place. "Tarleton and the British!"—the cry of "fire" was not so ominous of destruction. The messenger was just in time. The Assembly adjourned, or rather fled to Staunton. Tarleton arrived just as they had left. Six or seven members of the legislature were taken prisoners.

HENRY continued his efforts for his country, during the war After the surrender of Cornwallis, and the cessation of hostilities, he still held a seat in the councils of State. A measure of early consideration, was the proposition for the return to the enjoyment of citizenship, of those who had taken refuge under British protection during the darkest period of the war. The

word "Tory," conveyed an odium of peculiar detestation to the American people, then in the enjoyment of their virgin liberty. The measure was warmly opposed. HENRY, true to his great nature, favored it, and made one of the finest speeches of his life, in answer to the argument of the opponents, that they would be dangerous to our liberties if among us. HENRY closed his speech by saying: "Afraid of them! What, sir, shall *we*, who have laid the British LION at our feet, now be afraid of his *whelps?* Few men ever excelled HENRY in the effective application of these kind of figures. Another sample has been given, equally happy. Favoring unrestricted internal commerce, he said, in a speech of great fervor: "Why should we fetter commerce? If a man is in chains, he droops and bows to the earth, for his spirits are broken; but let him twist the fetters from his legs, and he will stand erect. Fetter not commerce, sir,—let her be as free as air,—she will range the whole creation, and return on the wings of the four winds of Heaven, to bless the land with plenty." These bursts of eloquence, unadorned with rhetorical finish, glowing with all the fervor of his earnest soul, had, upon his hearers, a most indescribable effect.

During the year 1784, nothing of very great importance afforded opportunities for HENRY to exhibit his powers. We find him favoring treaties and negotiations with the Indians, and suggesting measures preventive of future difficulties from them. He also advocated with ability the establishment and regulation of the Episcopal and other Christian churches, and the devising of means for their permanent support. When, shortly after, Washington and Lafayette visited Richmond, HENRY was placed on the reception committee that waited upon each. No duty could have been more congenial. They were received in the most flattering manner.

In the fall of 1784, the intermediate time having made him re-eligible, HENRY was again elected governor of the State. In 1786, he resigned this office, more on account of his comparative poverty, and the meager salary belonging to the position. Again he resumed, or rather he was driven to the practice of his profession for a support.

Shortly after, the Federal Constitution was submitted for consideration to subordinate State conventions. To the convention of Virginia, that met at Richmond June 2d, 1788, HENRY was

elected delegate. He was strongly opposed to the Constitution; he says himself, that he was "awfully alarmed" about it. HENRY's first work, in that body of stern men, was the delivery of an able and lengthy speech, in reply to Nicholas. During this convention HENRY gave evidences of masterly oratorical powers. Toward the close of the session, when the time for taking the final vote was approaching, he made his strongest appeals against the adoption of the instrument. Painting with vivid colors the deplorable results that would follow, he stretched his hand aloft, exclaiming: "Beyond that horizon which binds mortal eyes," he invoked the interposition of supernatural agencies. So majestic he appeared, as he did so, that every one was filled with solemn awe. It is said, too, that just after he made the invocation, a storm burst from the heavens, and peal after peal of thunder shook the house to its foundation, and that, "rising on the wings of the tempest, he seized upon the artillery of heaven to direct its fiercest thunders against the heads of his adversaries."

The people were so bereft of their senses, that they could no longer stand the effect, but rushed in confusion from their seats. His efforts availed nothing. The Constitution was adopted: it ought to have been. HENRY's opposition, however, did much good. The discussion produced several changes and modifications in the instrument.

On the adjournment of that body, HENRY resumed his labors in the Assembly. The first duty of that body was the selection of delegates to represent the State in general Congress. Madison was nominated. Against him HENRY proposed Richard Henry Lee and Grayson, both of whom were elected. HENRY, who was honestly alarmed at the reception of the Constitution, presented and urged the adoption of resolutions recommending the assemblage of another convention for the purpose of changing many of its feaures. After some animated debate, his resolutions were adopted.

It was during this discussion, that a scene characteristic of the man occurred. After enumerating the many defects in the Constitution,—defects at variance with the rights of his countrymen, he exclaimed: "I am ready and willing, at all times, and on all occasions, to bow with the utmost deference to the majesty of the people." Over the way sat a young Federalist of dashing appearance. He was rich, highly educated, very ambitious, exceedingly graceful, and had been at the court of Great Britain during

the entire Revolution, he had withal, considerable talent. He took HENRY up. He mentioned his opposition to the Constitution clause after clause, and consequently, to the views of most of his countrymen, and closed each by saying, "*yet he is ready and willing at all times, and on all occasions, to bow to the majesty of the people.*" This he repeated some dozen times, closing each finely-wrought sentence with the "majesty of the people," and a most exquisite bow. "It is of little importance," he said, "whether a country is ruled by a despot with a tiara on his head, or by a demagogue in a red cloak (aimed at HENRY) and a caul-bare wig, although he *should profess, on all occasions, to bow to the majesty of the people.*" These bows could not, it is said, have been excelled in gracefulness, nor the repetition of HENRY's sentence in sarcasm. The young member, after keeping this up for some time, took his seat in great triumph. It was now HENRY's turn. He was never graceful; on this occasion he tried to be as awkward as he could. He rose very clumsily, and said: "Mr. Speaker, I am a plain man, and have been educated altogether in Virginia. My whole life has been spent among planters and other plain men of similar education, who have never had the advantage of that polish which a court alone can give, and which the gentleman over the way has so happily acquired: indeed, sir, the gentleman's employments and mine have been as widely different as our fortunes; for, while that gentleman was availing himself of the opportunity which a splendid fortune afforded him of acquiring a foreign education, mixing among the great, attending levees and courts, *basking in the beams of royal favor at St. James'*, and exchanging courtesies with crowned heads, I was engaged in the arduous toils of the Revolution; and was probably as far from thinking of acquiring those polite accomplishments which the gentleman has so successfully cultivated, as that gentleman *then* was from sharing in the toils and dangers in which *his unpolished countrymen* were engaged. I will not, therefore, presume to vie with the gentleman in those courtly accomplishments of which he has just given the House so agreeable a specimen; yet such a bow as I *can* make shall ever be at the service of the people." As he finished the sentence, he looked at his graceful opponent and bowed in the most ludicrous manner he could possibly assume. The House burst into roars of laughter loud and long, greatly to the discomfiture of his friend.

The resolutions were adopted, but little was effected in consequence. Though the federal Constitution was thought, by many, to be sadly defective in many of its parts, the public mind became generally satisfied with it as a whole. Sure it is that, under its healthful and wise provisions, our political organism gradually developed itself into excellence and renown. The year 1791 closed forever the political life of PATRICK HENRY. A tornado of no common might, he had rushed irresistible through the troublous scenes we had just passed. The circumstances that called them forth no longer existing, that required his peculiar talents, with the times he calmed down and devoted himself to private affairs. His poverty also made this step necessary. In the practice of the law he could procure the means his straitened circumstances made indispensable. He immediately engaged in an extensive practice. He was engaged in the celebrated British Debt case, and at the bar of the United States Court appeared among an array of talent, genius and learning, seldom convened anywhere. In this case he made a better display of legal research and preparation than he had ever before done. He prepared himself thoroughly in this case, and surprised even those who knew him best. HENRY's strength, as a lawyer, consisted in his great oratorical powers. With most powerful pathetic appeals and gushing eloquence, he combined a species of serio-comic ridicule, the effect of which was inimitable. A few examples may be inserted, as given by witnesses at the time, illustrating this attribute. "About the year 1792, one Holland killed a man in Bottetourt. The young man was popular, and lived with Mr. King, a wealthy merchant in Faircastle, who employed Mr. John Brackenridge to assist in the prosecution of Holland. This Holland had gone up from the county of Louisa as a schoolmaster, but turned out badly, and was generally unpopular. The killing was in the night, and was generally supposed to be *murder*. He was the son of one Dr. Holland, who was yet living in Louisa county, and had been one of HENRY's juvenile friends and acquaintances. It was chiefly at the instance of the father, and for a very moderate fee, that HENRY undertook to go out to the District Court of Greenbrier, to defend the prisoner. Such were the prejudices there, that the people had openly and repeatedly declared, that even PATRICK HENRY need not come to defend Holland, unless he brought a jury with him. On the day of trial, the Court-house was crowded. I did not

move from my seat for fourteen hours, and had no wish to do so. The examination of witnesses took up great part of the time, and the lawyers were probably exhausted. Brackenridge was eloquent, but HENRY left no dry eye in the Court-house. The case, I believe, was *murder*; though possibly *manslaughter only*. Mr. HENRY laid hold of this possibility with such effect, as to make all forget that Holland had killed the storekeeper at all; and presented the deplorable case of the jury killing Holland, an innocent man. By that force which he possessed in such a wonderful degree, he exhibited, as it were, old Holland and his wife, who were then in Louisa; but the drawing was so powerful, and so true to nature, that we seemed to see them before us, and hear them asking of the jury 'Where is our son? what have you done with him?' All this was done in a manner so solemn and touching, and in a tone so irresistible, that it was impossible for the stoutest heart not to take sides with the criminal; as for the jury, they lost sight of the murder they were trying, and wept most profusely with old Holland and his wife, whom HENRY painted, and perhaps proved to be, very respectable. During the examination of the evidence, the bloody clothes had been brought in. Mr. HENRY objected to their exhibition, and applied most forcibly and pathetically, Antony's remark on Cæsar's wounds,—on those *dumb mouths* which would raise the stones of Rome to mutiny. He urged that this sight would totally deprive the jury of their judgment, which would be merged in their *feelings*. The court were divided and the motion fell. The result of the trial was, that after the retirement of half an hour or a quarter of an hour, the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty; but on being reminded by the court that they might find a degree of homicide inferior to murder, they altered their verdict to *guilty of manslaughter*."

The above was one of the many cases in which he was engaged, where he brought all his persuasive powers to bear upon the jury, and led them entirely off from all atrocity connected with the prisoner.

The following are instances in which he pursued a different course, and used with equal effect his comic powers. "In the year 1792, there were many suits on the south side of James River, for inflicting Lynch law. A verdict of five hundred pounds had been given, in Prince Edward's District Court, in a case of this kind. This alarmed the defendant in the next case, who employed

Mr. HENRY to defend him. The case was this: a wagoner and the plaintiff were traveling to Richmond together, when the wagoner knocked down a turkey, and put it into his wagon. Complaint was made to the defendant, a justice of the peace; both the parties were taken up, and the wagoner agreed to take a whipping rather than be sent to jail; but the plaintiff refused; the justice, however, gave him a small flagellation; and for this the suit was brought. The plaintiff, by way of taking off the force of the defense, insisted that he was wholly innocent of the act committed. Mr. HENRY contended, on the contrary, that he was a party aiding and assisting. In the course of his remarks he expressed himself thus: 'But, gentlemen of the jury, the plaintiff tells you he had nothing to do with the turkey. I dare say, gentlemen, not until it was r-o-*a*-s-t-ed.' He pronounced this word roasted with such rotundity of voice,—such a ludicrous whirl of the tongue, and in a manner so indescribably comical, that it threw every one into a fit of laughter *at the plaintiff*, who stood up in the place usually allotted to criminals; and the defendant was let off with little or no damages."*

Here follows another illustration of his humorous way of managing certain cases. Every schoolboy remembers to have read the case of John Hook. The case was about this. Hook was a man of wealth, but was regarded as being opposed to the Revolution. At a time when the army was suffering for supplies, and they assumed the right of taking them wherever found, a Mr. Venable laid hold of some of Hook's cattle, without giving remuneration. After peace was ratified, Hook sued Venable for the value of his steers. HENRY defended him. A large crowd was present. HENRY spoke of the Revolution in terms deeply pathetic,—the blood at Brandywine seemed to flow afresh,—the frozen feet of starving veterans at Valley Forge seemed before them. He then turned to Hook, cowering under his eloquence, and said: "Where is the man, who had an American heart in his bosom, who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to have received with open arms the meanest soldier in that little band of famished patriots? Where is the man? *There* he stands,—but whether an American heart beats in his bosom, you, gentle-

* Stuart.

men, are to judge." Then he dwelt upon the blessings of peace, bought by common blood and treasure,—he mentioned the universal joy pervading all classes, from one end of the Continent to the other. "But hark!" he exclaimed, "what notes of discord are those which disturb the general joy, and silence the acclamations of victory,—they are the notes of *John Hook*, hoarsely bawling through the American camp, *beef!* BEEF!!" Never did court-room present such a spectacle; judge, jury, and clerks were roaring with laughter. Venable gained his case, while Hook barely escaped being tarred and feathered.

But enough of his legal career. He went into retirement, with "his laurels fresh and green about him," fully prepared for its enjoyments. As Jefferson said, "he was the best humored man in the world:" as Wirt says, "his disposition was all sweetness,—his affections were warm, kind, and social,—his patience invincible,—his temper even, unclouded, cheerful and serene, his manners plain, open, familiar and simple,—his conversation easy, ingenuous and unaffected, full of entertainment, full of instruction, and irradiated with all those light and softer graces which his genius threw without effort over the most common subjects."

HENRY was the kindest of husbands, the best of parents, the most generous of neighbors, the truest of patriots, a consistent philanthropist, and at heart, among the purest of men. Well capacitated, indeed, was he to adorn the walks of private life. Among his children, engaged in his professional duties, attending to domestic affairs, or seated in the shades of the old trees before his door, talking to friends about the stirring scenes he had witnessed, he passed his time as became the hero orator of the Revolution.

In 1796 he was again elected governor of the State, but declined. He continued the enjoyment of private life with a marked degree of content, till 1797, when his health began to fail him. It is to be regretted that the retirement which age and long service made essential to his comfort, should have been interrupted by the dictates of his impetuous nature, and roused by the portentous signs of the times. So powerfully did the troubles with France work upon his mind, that he thought it his duty again to engage in the political strifes of his country. In 1799, he became a candidate for the Assembly from the county of Charlotte. This was a species of political insanity. The election came on. His old friends

gathered around him in crowds; so much so, that an old minister asked: "Why do you thus follow Mr. HENRY about,—Mr. HENRY is no god?" "No," replied HENRY, "I am but a poor worm of the dust, as fleeting and unsubstantial as the shadow of the cloud that flies over your fields, and is remembered no more."

On that day he made his last speech. It was evident that his "rising fires were smothered." In a somewhat disconnected manner he adverted to the different subjects distracting the country with agitation. Coming to Washington and his services, he blazed with wonted light. "Where," said he, "is the citizen of America who will dare to lift his hand against the Father of his Country?" "I dare do it," responded some one in the crowd. "*No!*" exclaimed the towering HENRY, "*you dare not do it; in such a parricidal attempt, the steel would drop from your nerveless arm!*"

HENRY was elected by a good majority; but before the Assembly convened, he was called to another sphere. Disease had "fastened its fangs" deeply upon him. He continued to decline until early summer, and breathed his last on the 6th of June, 1797. He was a great man by nature,—he lived a great man, died a great man,—the nation conceded that he was a great man; yet not a stone marks the spot where he sleeps.

NATHANIEL GREENE.

EDWARD, the Black Prince, was a comparative youth when he gained the battle of Cressy. On that field he was knighted. When in the thickest of the fight, he was about to be overwhelmed by superior numbers, word was sent to his father that he must have reinforcements, or inevitably perish. His father was near by, with the flower of the army: "Tell him *to win his spurs*," said he to the messenger. Receiving this, the gallant boy rushed through the phalanx about him, and conquered the enemy.

Isolated upon the theater of southern warfare, during the most discouraging scenes of the Revolution, was a staunch veteran in arms, who, in braving himself to the combined efforts of the British soldiery,—without assistance from the main army,—if he did not win the spurs of knighthood, at least, placed himself next to the Father of his Country on the list of military heroes, who established our Independence. That veteran was NATHANIEL GREENE. Associated with the name, who does not remember Guilford and Eutaw Springs?

He was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, May 27th, 1742. His father owned a forge and a mill, on Potowhommett Creek. Working at these, and engaging in the seasonable amusements of those times, NATHANIEL became quite hardy and robust. When yet young, a teacher was installed in his father's family. From this teacher, he learned many things that formed useful life-lessons, through the varied scenes he had to pass. His boyhood was marked with gayety of disposition, and a fondness for active enjoyments. He had, also, a great love for books; winter evenings and holiday times, frequently found him worming through



NATHANIEL GREENE.

the libraries and book-shelves of his father's acquaintances. Though partial to mathematics, as most military men are, he studied the Latin language with considerable interest, and acquired a tolerable smattering of it. He loved to read Locke and Watts; they became early his favorite library companions. Though very poor, by the time he was twenty, he had collected quite a library, and what was better, he had studied each volume procured. He had that most essential faculty of thinking for himself, without bias or prejudice. Hence, correct conclusions were the result of his application. He was exceedingly temperate,—temperate in diet, actions and habits. The dawn of day always found him out of bed. It is said that his favorite recreation was the dance, an amusement into which he entered with high relish. This propensity did not suit his Quaker sire. He indulged his dancing frolics clandestinely. On the occasion of a grand ball in the neighborhood, his father resolved to watch him. GREENE returned late at night. The house was locked, and his father stood, horsewhip in hand, in the path leading to the door. Escape was out of the question. Near by, was a pile of shingles. Several of these GREENE slipped up his back, under his coat. Such a flagellation as the *shingles* got, would be a novelty to boys in our day. This love of fun and frolic continued through life. After the war, he was known to engage in them with boyish relish.

In his twentieth year, he read Blackstone and other legal authorities, with a great degree of interest and comprehension. This seems to have given his mind a higher bent. Aspiration for distinction, supplanted much of his love of frolic. He began to take interest in the public concerns. In the quarrel with Great Britain, he sided with the patriots. He also made valuable accessions to his library, and was mainly the founder of a public school in the neighborhood of his father's residence.

His entrance into public life was in 1770, when he was sent to the General Assembly. He held this position for some time, and always exhibited great firmness of purpose, decision of character, and energy of execution. When the cry of war with England was raised, a sympathetic chord was struck. GREENE now gave his attention to military science, and studied the art of war with enthusiasm. He was now on the right track, and in a sure way of finding out himself. Never was study more congenial, or progress more rapid. Excitements of the times became intense.

An immense meeting was gathered at Plainfield. Thither went GREENE. His eye dilated, his arm nerved, and every motion spoke his soul, as he saw, for the first time, the evolutions of military companies paraded under arms. His career was decided. For him, the drum, the sword-clash, the banner, the shout, had greater charms than a lover's whisper. The idea of GREENE's engagement in such scenes, did not suit his Quaker friends. They took him to task about it. He heard their remonstrances, but declared that he would stand by the cause. He had drank in the elixir of martial music. What cared he for Quakerdom, when the battle-field of liberty stretched before him? He was turned out of the society, and was never again a member.

Having doffed his Quaker vestment, he mingled more in society. As a result, he became fascinated with a Block Island beauty, by the name of Littlefield. The attachment was reciprocal. They were married, July 20th, 1774. He was now thirty-two years of age. Active movements called him to service. An independent troop of soldiers was organized at East Greenwich, 1774. GREENE offered himself for lieutenant, but was not accepted. He cared nothing about that, and enrolled himself as a private. Here commences his military career. He now went to Boston, and saw, for the first time, the banded armies of England in grand parade. He watched them with great interest. With blood mounting to his temples, the love of freedom in his heart, and smothered indignation agitating his bosom, he observed each step and movement of those haughty regulars, in whose humiliation he was to take so active a part.

The independent company which he joined, on hearing of the battle of Lexington, started for Boston. They met a messenger on the way, who bore an order from the governor, commanding them to return. Here, GREENE proved that he ought to have been elected lieutenant. The company, notwithstanding the enthusiasm exhibited, did not have the hardihood to proceed, but immediately countermarched. Not so with GREENE. Chafing under the idea of backing out, he begged as many as would, to follow him. But two consented. Abandoned by his company, this nettled hero, with his brother and one other went ahead toward Boston. Before they got there, they heard that the rusty muskets of the farmers had driven the enemy before them. So far as he was concerned,

this decided step settled the point. A swift course was pursued by Rhode Island. A large number of men was raised. GREENE was placed at their head as major-general,—choice selection. The Spring of 1775, opened upon him. He was then thirty-three years old. "About five feet ten or eleven inches high, * * * dignified and commanding, his limbs vigorous and firmly set, * * * a slight stiffness of the right leg, * * * darkened by constant exposure to the wind and sun; his features, though not uncommonly large, strongly marked, his eyes blue and remarkable for their brilliancy and fire,—the general expression of his countenance, thoughtful and benevolent, exceedingly flexible to every emotion, and slightly marked with small-pox near his right eye."* GREENE assumed the position of major-general. A deep student of human nature, he entered upon these duties with no great fund of military knowledge, but with qualities that would insure his efficiency. He devoted himself to training his troops, and was so successful that he received the highest praise from members of Washington's staff. On reaching Boston, he was stationed with his command on Prospect Hill, a position immediately exposed to the efforts of the enemy. He threw up fortifications with dispatch. On Washington's arrival before the city, he was greatly rejoiced. An attachment sprang up between the two that never abated.

Though he had no chance of distinguishing himself in the siege of that city, he availed himself of every opportunity of reducing what knowledge he had to practice. He did not confine his studies, however, solely to military affairs. He investigated the various subjects of State and national policy, then before the public mind. Early in 1775, we find him earnestly advocating a declaration of independence. When the regulations of the army came immediately under the supervision of Congress, GREENE was superseded as major, and created a brigadier-general. To him, this was perfectly satisfactory. About this time an attack was expected to be made upon Boston. GREENE fell sick. His anxiety was extreme. "Sick or well," said he, "I mean to be there."

When Washington hastened with his troops to the protection of New York, GREENE was left in command at Long Island. With extreme caution he reviewed his positions, and threw up fortifications.

* Sparks.

He now fell sick, and came near dying. While confined to his bed, the battle of Long Island was fought and lost. "Great God," he exclaimed, "to be sick at such a time." The defeat made deep impression on his mind. Recovering of his sickness, he was again advanced to the rank of major-general. He insisted upon a speedy retreat, and urged the destruction of the metropolis. In the retreat, heavy losses were sustained. GREENE was at Harlæm Hights, and fought with stern courage, during the operations about that point. He was next sent to Staten Island, to keep an eye upon the enemy in that quarter. At Fort Lee, he had severe times. The soldiers were disheartened, and some refused to serve, preferring the overtures made by the crown, at the time, to the hardships incident to their position. GREENE nipped this spirit in the bud, by enforcing rigorous military discipline. Here, he committed the greatest blunder of his military life. Fort Washington was manned, for the purpose of preventing British ships from passing along the river. They passed, however, and the main object was defeated. It was urged that the fort be abandoned. GREENE persisted in retaining it. The result was, it fell into the hands of the enemy, who captured the stores, and took some four thousand prisoners. He always affirmed, however, that he was right, and that if the garrison had fought as they should have done, the British would have been repulsed. Certain it is, that just before the fort was stormed, GREENE was there, encouraging his troops with coolness and bravery. The fall of Fort Lee, which immediately followed, completed the disasters in that quarter. On the 18th of November, 1776, Cornwallis took his line of march for the fort. GREENE had not risen. Hearing of the movement, he sprang from his couch, and placed himself at the head of his men. He was quickly fronting the enemy. Washington, in the meantime, arrived upon the spot. GREENE now hurried back to the fort, and drew off the garrison to a place of safety. In these transactions, he showed high spirit and intrepidity. Through the long, terrible night that followed, he stood by Washington with energetic firmness, and hailed with equal pride, the first dawning rays that gilded the fields of Trenton and Princeton. With these brilliant engagements, the year 1776 passed by.

In 1777, GREENE was stationed at Baskingridge, where several skirmishes of no great importance took place. He was next sent

to Philadelphia, to confer with Congress, in regard to the reorganization of the army, which business he attended to in a satisfactory manner. In the spring of 1777, the American army was stationed at Middlebrook. Here, followed those skillful displays of generalship, exhibited on both sides, elsewhere mentioned. When the enemy were descried in the Chesapeake, knowing an attack was contemplated, the selection of a place to make a stand fell upon GREENE. He settled upon a place, called Cross Roads, back in the level country. The war council differed with him, and chose the Brandywine. GREENE opposed strenuously the occupancy of that position, but without avail. Had his advice been heeded, perhaps the disastrous result of that day would have been averted. The British came to the attack on the 10th of September, 1777. The Americans were beaten. GREENE showed true courage and endurance, particularly in the retreat. By a rapid movement, marching four miles in something over half an hour, he threw himself between the retreating and jaded Americans, and their flushed pursuers. Rallying as many as he could, he beat off the enemy, until reaching an advantageous position, he halted, and made good his stand till night-fall, when the British ceased further efforts. This bold movement saved the lives of many brave men. The British being thus victorious, pushed on to Philadelphia, of which they made themselves masters, on the 26th of the same month. The battle of Germantown followed. It was fought on the 4th of October. GREENE commanded the left wing. A dense fog, almost obscured the light of the morning sun. Firing by the light of each other's flashes, after the engagement began, the bloody work was kept up for some time. The Americans were, at one time, near gaining a decisive victory. But, at a critical juncture, when the fortunes of the day were about turning in their favor, friends were mistaken for foes, and threw them into confusion. Cornwallis arriving at the same time, completed their disorder. GREENE chafed like a wounded lion, as he saw victory snatched from them, and ordered a retreat. Gallantly the men were drawn off as best it could be done. They were pursued for miles, and many of them fell by the bullets of the enemy, that flew thick as hail about them.

During the scenes that succeeded these events, GREENE acted an efficient and vigorous part. He finally retired with the main army to that ever memorable encampment at Valley Forge.

Here, he was joined by his wife, as were Washington and many other officers.

Shortly after this, GREENE was made quarter-master general, a position, than which, none more responsible existed in the army department. Already had serious inconveniences been felt, for want of a proper man to fill it. Enterprises had failed from inadequate provision of supplies. The army had suffered beyond example, with no one to whom they could appeal for alleviation. GREENE was the very man for the place. He accepted the station, but declared that it should be no bar to his active service, or leading his men to fight in the field.

On the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, GREENE urged strongly an attack upon them. This was opposed by many of the officers. His advice, on this occasion, was heeded, and the battle of Monmouth followed. In that engagement he led the right wing, and behaved with high spirit. Lee was just beginning his retreat as he filed into action. Taking a position on the enemy's left, though his orders were to gain their rear, GREENE poured upon them such a raking fire that they were driven back. The conjunction of Wayne's troops with his own, now completed the confusion of the enemy. GREENE now turned his attention to the wounded soldiers. Prospects now indicated a successful termination of the long and bloody struggle. The arrival of the French forces at Newport, just at the time the battle of Monmouth was gained, reinspired the whole country. GREENE, it may well be imagined, embarked in his quarter-master's duties with buoyancy and animation. Uniting his forces with those of general Sullivan in Rhode Island, GREENE took his position on Tiverton hills and prepared to act in conjunction with Count D' Estaing, in the vicinity of Newport. This was near midsummer, and during the maneuvers that succeeded until the dispersion of D'Estaing's fleet by a storm, he rendered efficient service. Had Count D'Estaing remained near the harbor with his fleet, and aided in the combined attack contemplated against Newport, victory would have been almost certain; instead of this he sailed out to meet the British fleet and offer battle. He encountered a severe gale, and accomplished nothing; while the land army left unprotected, endured the pelting rain and wind for three days. Several days passed by, and no tidings of the fleet. At length it was seen, greatly to the joy of the soldiers, making

for the land. GREENE went aboard, to confer with the Count upon a plan of general attack upon Newport. Here he saw the shattered condition of the Count's boasted fleet, and that no assistance could be expected from it. Owing to these circumstances, all prospects of brilliant results in that quarter fell through. Nothing now remained but retreat. GREENE coolly, and with courage, protected the rear. Reaching their redoubts, the fire of the enemy announced their pursuit. GREENE now insisted upon a rapid march to Newport, with a view of taking it by surprise. He was not heeded. The British soon came up, and commenced a fierce attack. GREENE was now among familiar scenes, near his own home,—the hearth of his nestlings. The cannon boom shook his own domicil, and jarred the heart-beats of his own wife. As the enemy came on, placing himself at the head of his men, he boldly encountered their attack. Firm as a rock, he directed the fire of his brave men, who, volley after volley, poured their balls with fatal effect upon the enemy. After resisting it for a while, the enemy were repulsed with heavy loss. They recommenced the attack at daylight next morning, but with little effect.

GREENE now paid a brief visit home. Perplexed, however, with complicated cares, it afforded light source of enjoyment. The army's failure around Newport, drew upon it severe animadversions. GREENE came in for his share of it. He took it very coolly, and found time to exculpate his commander from aspersions heaped upon him. Here, a little incident occurred, that shows how cautious and prudent he was. The ire of Sullivan was excited to the highest pitch against Count D'Estaing, for the manner in which he had managed the fleet. There is little doubt that he sent to Congress a severe remonstrance against the Count. GREENE having business in Philadelphia, was offered a seat in Congress the very moment the communication arrived. Just as he took his seat by Laurens, the president, he heard the announcement, that a document was received from the governor of Rhode Island. It was ordered to be read and handed to the clerk. With intuitive sagacity, GREENE knew in an instant that it was a philippic from Sullivan, against Count D'Estaing. Snatching up a slip of paper, just as the clerk was opening the letter, he quickly wrote: "*For God's sake, do not let that paper be read till you have looked it over.*" This he handed to Laurens. Laurens

immediately whispered to the clerk. The letter was laid aside, and the regular business of the day taken up.

Small as this incident may seem, had that document been read just at that time, in Congress, sad results might have ensued. The feelings prevailing between the soldiers and officers of the two armies were none of the best. Very small things might have widened the breach to an open collision. GREENE again, at this time, devoted himself with zeal to his official duties. No time, perhaps, existed during the war, when just that sort of talents he had were in greater demand. Congress was torn by jealousies and conflicting opinions; the army was jaded and discouraged; the country had lost confidence in their system of government; the treasury was bankrupt, and public credit destroyed. The army was without food, clothing or pay; apathy began to prevail on the part of the people, on account of the high hopes excited by the alliance with France. GREENE was desirous that Congress should be more prompt and energetic in their deliberations and measures for the public good; to produce this result, he visited Philadelphia, and again conferred with that body, in the spring of 1780. During the two years he had been quarter-master general, he had made every effort to advance the cause of the patriots. Congress, in the adoption of certain measures not accordant with GREENE's ideas of the course they should pursue, he sent in his resignation to that body, and urged them to select a successor to the office. Congress grew highly indignant. A heated and protracted discussion arose as to whether GREENE should be deprived of his command. This proposition was finally given to the decision of an especial committee. In their report, they said: "That the resignation of NATHANIEL GREENE be accepted, and that he be informed that Congress have no farther need of his services." Here arose a question of contention. GREENE had his friends there. These stood by him with manly firmness. Washington too, wrote them letters, extolling the capacities of GREENE as a military man. This bitterness finally relaxed. GREENE's resignation was honorably received.

About this time, Clinton returned from the conquest of the Carolinas. GREENE, not being deprived of his commission, was left in command of New Jersey. June 23d, 178[illegible] found him strongly encamped upon the hills, back of Springfield, with thirteen hundred men. Clinton soon advanced upon him with near

twice that number. Lee was sent to check the right, and Dayton the left, wing of the enemy. With firmness and dispatch, GREENE concentrated his forces to sustain the combined attack. The defense of the bridges, spanning Rahway Creek, was the main object. The front of the main body protected two of these, and Shreve's regiment the third. Strong detachments were stationed on the hills, to be brought into action as circumstances might require. The British came gallantly to the charge. A division crossed at a ford which had not been protected, and gaining the rear of Lee, who had command at one of the front bridges, forced him, after a brave stand, to retreat. The right flank was next compelled to retire, after a sanguinary resistance, to the second bridge. The army had yet to encounter Shreve. He gave them a hot reception, and so held them back, as to enable GREENE to make such disposition of his troops, as would insure efficient action. So well did he arrange himself, reinforced by the men stationed on the hills, that the British, not choosing to renew the attack, contented themselves with going into the town, which they set on fire. The greater portion of it was burned, despite GREENE's efforts to prevent the spread of the flames. They then retreated, pursued by the Americans. They made good their escape with considerable loss. Thus terminated the battle of Springfield.

Active operations now ceasing for a time, Washington visited Hartford, with a view of concerting measures with the French commanders, for another campaign. During his absence, GREENE held chief command. He filled the post with dignity and credit. Near the time of which we are now speaking, the treason of Arnold became known. On the capture of Andre, GREENE presided over the tribunal by which he was condemned. GREENE was now intrusted with the command of West Point, left without a commander by the defection of Arnold. This he held but a brief period, when he received the command of the armies of the South. This connection forms the most brilliant part of his career. Defeated at Savannah, Charleston and Camden, the cause, so far at least as the south was concerned, was dark and unpropitious.

No higher compliment could have been paid to GREENE, than his selection to this position. It must be borne in mind, that strong efforts were made to supplant Washington; it must also be remembered, that the appointment of a southern general devolved

on that great man; he selected GREENE. Accepting the appointment, he immediately conferred with Congress, received their instructions, and prepared for the duties before him.

He took his departure for the scene of future operations, just as winter set in. He left General Gist in the rear, with instructions to inspire hope whenever opportunity presented. "Let your applications," he said, "be as pressing as our necessities are urgent; after which, if the southern States are lost, we shall stand justified."

He arrived at the general encampment of the troops, Charlotte, North Carolina, December 2d. His first duty was to superintend the court of inquiry upon the conduct of Gates, ordered by Congress. He discharged it, however, in a manner highly satisfactory, and that won the esteem of that general.

The British army was stationed at Winnsborough, with several strong detachments arranged for its support. These combined, were liable to make a general movement against him at any time. In the winter, he sent the courageous Morgan to a well-selected position, while he himself led his troops to the Great Pedee, at the mouth of Hick's Creek. These movements greatly weakened the strength of the enemy, by forcing them to divide their army,—leaving a part to protect Charleston, and making such dispositions of the other as circumstances made necessary.

Cornwallis was greatly crippled by these movements. So skillfully had GREENE maneuvered, that he was at a loss to understand what he meant. Tarleton was sent to watch the brave old Morgan, while Cornwallis prepared himself to cut off the retreat. January 12th, 1781, Tarleton dashed ahead on his commission. Morgan judiciously feigned retreat, until he felt himself in a secure position. He had gained much strength in the meantime. Circumstances being favorable to an engagement, he drew up his army on the 17th of January, and offered battle. Tarleton rushed into the fight with his usual impetuosity. Morgan met him with the courage of a lion. His face is said to have shone like the full moon, as he contended with the enemy, crying: "Fire away my boys, old Morgan never was beat." The Americans gained the day. Tarleton was driven from the field with considerable loss. Such was the result of the battle of Cowpens.

Morgan now continued his march to the Catawba, where he was joined by the forces of GREENE. Cornwallis directed his whole

efforts against the south, and made every exertion to intercept GREENE in his march. The small number, and insufficient provision of his troops, placed GREENE in somewhat a disagreeable positon; yet he was not disheartened. "Put me upon an equal footing with Cornwallis," said he, "and if I do not give a good account of him, I will agree to be the subject of censure."

Securing the prisoners taken at Cowpens, reinforcing his army, and making every possible preparation, GREENE gathered his forces with a view of making a stand on the banks of the Catawba. Cornwallis, in the meantime, had been on the alert, maneuvering to cut off the American army. On making inquiry into the condition of the enemy, he learned that Cornwallis had destroyed his baggage. "Then," said GREENE, "he is ours." Cornwallis, it was thought, would aim to effect a junction of his troops with those of Arnold. To prevent this, GREENE threw himself between the two armies and watched their movements till their design became clear. The Catawba had swollen to an unusual hight; GREENE, with his army, was one side of that river, while Cornwallis' with his, was on the other. They watched each other closely, each endeavoring to get some advantage. GREENE's army was daily increasing by accessions of militia; he was in high hopes of soon being able to strike an effective blow. The river having fallen, GREENE prepared to dispute its passage by the enemy. He stationed part of his men along at several points to prevent surprise, and proceeded himself toward Salisbury. Early on the morning of the 1st of February, the British prepared to cross over. It was a gloomy, cheerless morning. The rain feil in torrents. They made the attempt boldly. They reached the middle of the stream, when many of their horses were borne down by the rapid current. The Americans opened upon them a sharp fire. Quite a struggle now ensued. The enemy effected the passage and drove the Americans back. The gallant Davidson was shot through the head, while in the act of mounting his horse. Cornwallis had his horse shot under him, while fording the stream. The loss on neither side was heavy. GREENE was not in this action, being some distance from the spot. He was very much saddened when he learned the dispersion of his troops. He now continued his course to Salisbury. Cornwallis prepared for active pursuit. Flushed with success, and being on the same side of the river, he pushed forward after GREENE. He wished to over-

take and cut off his army before it reached the Yadkin. GREENE knew well the importance of placing that river between himself and his pursuers. New energy seemed imparted to his movements, as he urged his men onward. He got the start of the enemy. Cornwallis pursued with an activity and vigor only excelled by that manifested by GREENE as he retreated. This was a trying period for his little army. It was raining constantly and the roads were muddy. If he could only get to the other side of the river before it became so swollen as to retard his progress, he could rest his troops, and prepare for defense. Wearied and hungry, they reached the river near nightfall, on the 31st. Without reposing a moment, they crossed over. They were just in time: the enemy's advance drew up on the opposite bank, as the rear was making good their escape. Again they were safe. The British opened upon them a brisk cannonade across the river, that had little effect. Feeling themselves secure, the American army prepared their encampment. GREENE took his quarters in a miserable log-hut. There, on the banks of that river, his enemy on the opposite side, unmoved by disaster, he was serving the cause of freedom. Some one has left the following, in regard to GREENE and his log-hut: "At a little distance from the river, and behind a pile of rocks, was stationed a small cabin. In this the general had taken up his quarters; and, while his family and some of his staff, were amusing themselves as they thought proper, he was busily engaged in preparing his dispatches. All this time, the artillery was playing furiously, but seemed to attract no one's attention. At length, however, whether from intelligence or conjecture, their rage seemed to vent itself exclusively at our cabin; and the balls were heard to rebound against the rocks, directly in the rear of it. Little more than its roof showed above them, and at this, the firing was obviously directed. Nor were they long without striking it; and in a few moments the clapboards were flying from it in all directions. But still the general wrote on, nor seemed to notice any thing but his dispatches, and the innumerable applications that were made to him from various quarters. His pen never rested but when a new visitor arrived, and the answer was given with calmness and precision, and the pen was immediately resumed."

Cornwallis was completely foiled; twice had he been disappointed, when he thought the capture of his enemies certain.

GREENE soon resumed his march. He took position at Abbott's Creek, where he remained for some time, anxious to bring the enemy to battle under favorable circumstances. Cornwallis immediately crossed the Yadkin in pursuit. It now became evident, that an important engagement was soon to take place. GREENE hastened to Guilford and prepared for action. He was soon joined by Morgan. Every thing was put in readiness. On examination, however, of his forces, and the condition of the enemy, he decided to continue his retreat. Cornwallis, not aware of the wise foresight of his opponent, that secured boats for his soldiers to cross the streams along his line of march, supposed he would direct his course to the fords high up the Dan. He made arrangements to intercept him. GREENE did not undeceive him. His boats were at Boyd's Ferry, his provisions at Hillsborough. The armies were now about twenty miles apart, intensely interested in each other's movements. GREENE now formed a detachment of seven hundred men. These he placed under the command of Colonel Williams, with instructions to keep position between the two armies, and watch the movements of the enemy. Cornwallis, thinking to lure GREENE from his positions, made a movement that indicated designs upon Hillsborough. GREENE was too good a tactician to be thus deceived. Williams with his detachment took a course to the left, in direction of the fords. This threw him in front of the British army. The American army now proceeded toward the ferries. They had a painful march of it; miserably provided for, and in the dead of winter, their sufferings were severe. After a disagreeable march of some days, GREENE finally had the satisfaction of seeing his worn veterans safely landed on the opposite side of the Dan. Word was immediately sent to Williams to bring up his detachment. That officer did his duty gallantly. Cornwallis was again outwitted. While thinking Williams and his forces were in his grasp, the main army had accomplished their object. Williams now directed his course to Boyd's Ferry, for the purpose of rejoining his commander. Cornwallis pursued him. Each party seemed determined to put forth every effort. Williams did his utmost to prevent pursuit, but in vain. The British general gained on him. At length, so close became the pursuit, that Williams' rear was frequently in sight of Cornwallis' advance columns. So close, indeed, were they, that it was no easy matter, on the

part of the officers, to prevent the exchange of hostile demonstrations. Night came on,—cold, wet and gloomy. Still, on went the gallant Williams and his gallant band, and on came the British. They at length saw lights in the distance. Supposing them to be the fires of the main army, they heroically determined to fall upon their pursuers, and fight for a brief respite for their friends. The fires turned out to be those kindled by GREENE on his march to the ferries. The two armies finally came to a stand and took a little repose. In a few hours they were again in motion. Cornwallis thought the entire army in his power. Little dreaming that GREENE had provided boats, he expected to overtake the entire force at the Dan, when they would be deprived of all possible means of escape. If he could capture Williams before the junction, it would be much easier work; he could beat GREENE when he came upon him, and thus the southern campaign would be at an end. These were, doubtless, his thoughts. Williams and his brave band were within a day's march of their friends; they were anticipating a reunion; eager to be on the north bank of the Dan, where they could take some repose; eager too, to see their commander, and to be in successful operation against the enemy. These different feelings pervading the two armies, they pushed ahead,—on they went, the pursuer and the pursued. They finally reached the river. All things were ready; GREENE had the boats waiting. The troops were quickly in them. They pushed for the north shore, which they reached in safety, just as the troops of Cornwallis drew up on the opposite bank.

Such was GREENE's retreat through North Carolina. Few achievements in military history afford better evidences of coolness, courage, bravery, and prudence. Washington spoke thus to him, in regard to it: "You may be assured, that your retreat before Cornwallis, is highly applauded by all ranks, and reflects much honor upon your military abilities".

The meeting of the soldiers, after so much toil and forbearance, was one of the happiest imaginable. Congratulation and general rejoicing were the order of the day, for some time. They recounted their hardships, and felt in so doing, a rich reward for all they had undergone. GREENE, during this brief respite, devoted himself to his correspondence. About this time, it was, that

Patrick Henry and himself carried on a highly interesting correspondence.

The two armies continued to watch each other's movements for some time, without attempting active measures. On the 17th of February, GREENE learned that considerable reinforcements were at hand. His resolutions were quickly taken. Making arrangements for the baggage to be conveyed toward Halifax, he determined to recross the Dan, and seize upon the first opportunity to bring Cornwallis to action. That general, retracing his steps, finally halted at Hillsborough. Thence, he issued a proclamation, calling on all loyal subjects to gather to his standard. This resulted in considerable accessions of Tories and disaffected Americans. GREENE, meantime, was getting himself in proper shape to cope with the British general. Construing his march to Hillsborough, into a desire of escaping from the country, he dispatched Pickens to follow him, hang upon his rear, and annoy him as much as possible. Lee, with his gallant legion, boldly pushed forward to gain the enemy's front, resolving to intercept him in case of protracted retreat. Cornwallis was evidently getting himself into a tight place. GREENE drew his forces around him, in a manner very judicious and prudent. The Tories and disaffected, who had flocked to his tent with such alacrity on the first issue of his proclamation, now began to drop off. Reinforcements now flocked to GREENE, and others were looked for. On the 22d of the month, a body of Pickens' detachment made a successful effort against a corps of the enemy in the vicinity of Hillsborough. Tarleton was immediately sent against them. Being joined by Lee, Pickens took a good position and prepared to engage him. On the morning of the 23d, they started in pursuit. They met a large body of Tories on their way to the British line, whom they entirely dispersed, leaving a large number dead on the field. The Haw River, which Tarleton barely had time to pass, was all that saved his dragoons. GREENE had been active and vigilant. He conferred with his subordinates, and gave minute directions for the campaign, cheering all by his energy and example. By a system of sharp maneuvering, he entangled his enemy in a perfect web of perplexity and difficulty,—protected his reinforcements, alarmed the Tories, and raised high hopes among the people. Encamping on Allemance Creek, the British general was deprived of communication with the country, whence, the greater part of

his assistance was to be expected. The maneuvers of GREENE, too, kept him continually in alarm. Indeed, there was just cause for him to fear. His condition was becoming eminently critical. GREENE's headquarters were at Boyd's Mills, while the brave Williams was stationed some fifteen miles distant. Cornwallis resolved to separate them and prevent a junction with the main army, of the American general's expected reinforcements. Williams was on the alert. Learning the contemplated design, he retreated with the main body of his men, covered by light troops thrown out for their protection, to a place of safety. GREENE too, marched hastily to Troublesome Creek, which Williams crossed according to instructions, and effected a junction with that officer. Cornwallis, again foiled, fell back to Bell's Mills, leaving GREENE in a good position, and in undisputed communication with his officers and expected forces. These forces soon arrived, bringing supplies for the army. GREENE now had an army of four thousand men; with these, he determined no longer to avoid an engagement. He remained in his present place of encampment a few days, inspiriting his men and preparing them for a general action. The time was favorable. In proportion as the courage and spirits of his own army revived, those of the enemy became depressed. Cornwallis felt that his southern affairs were verging to a disastrous catastrophe. The troops being finally rested and reinvigorated, the American general broke up his camp on Troublesome Creek, and proceeded to Guilford Court-house, where he arrived, March 14th, 1781. He was now not over five leagues from the British army, before which he had made such a disagreeable retreat, not long previous. That something important would follow these movements, now became obviously apparent.

GREENE chose his ground with caution and prudence. Near the road, along which the enemy were to pass, was a deep wood; skirting this, he placed his first line of battle. In front, was a large cornfield inclosed with a fence, that extended to a small stream; behind the fence, in this field, he drew up his line of militia, commanded by Butler and Eaton; in the rear, protected by the wood, he placed his second line in charge of the dauntless Stevens. This gave him partial mastery of the road and the level plain. Still, back of this second line, led by Williams, were stationed the old continentals. On the right, were the dragoons under Colonel Washington, sustained by Lynch's light troops and

riflemen. Here, too, at the head of his old regulars, GREENE took his station. Lee and his legion protected the left, while the artillery was planted on the hill overlooking the road. These dispositions being made, they waited for their foes. About noon, on the 15th of March, the British came up. The American artillery began the engagement by opening a brisk fire upon the advance columns. It was returned with spirit. Under cover of the smoke from his own pieces, Cornwallis crossed the little stream, near the fence, and arranged his main body for battle. Tarleton was placed in the road, at the head of the cavalry. General Leslie led the right, and Colonel Webster the left, the former supported by Boze's regiment, and the latter by the troops of General O'Hara. Having formed his line, Cornwallis boldly pushed forward against the militia behind the fence. The militia fired some ineffective shots, which in no way retarded his progress. He proceeded to within a proper distance, when his experienced troops poured in a deadly fire upon the militia. Seizing their bayonets, they then charged upon them like a tornado. The militia, frightened out of their senses, threw down their arms and accouterments and fled in every direction. In vain Butler implored them to stand,—in vain Eaton entreated,—in vain Lee dashed up to them, threatening to charge them with his legion, unless they returned to the fight. Never was the rout of militia more complete. As they fled, a long exultant shout rent the air, from the British troops. They did not find such easy work with the main lines. Lee and Colonel Washington protected them. Cornwallis resolved to disperse the troops of these officers. They fell back in good order to the second line, returning galling fires at their enemies as they did so. The British pushed ahead to the attack, and the battle became general. The militia in the wood being better stationed, stood the ground, and hurled destructive fires into the British ranks, that began to manifest evident signs of confusion. Rallying, however, they succeeded, after a hard struggle, in forcing the right flank to retreat, which they did in tolerable order. They now had to face men of a different stamp. They had come up to the old regulars. Elated at the idea of having routed the right wing they rushed forward with loud cries of victory, against Gunby's experienced veterans. They were warmly received. Waiting until they got to the proper distance, the regulars, with deliberate aim, sent a volley of balls into their ranks, that changed

their shouts into death-groans, and sent them recoiling from the murderous charge. Quick as thought, the Americans charged suddenly upon them with their bayonets. They were instantly and completely routed with great loss and confusion. On the left, Lee was fiercely engaged with Boze. Stevens had been disabled by a wound. His men, though they fought bravely, began to give way. Leslie and O'Hara now made a combined attack upon the Marylanders. Had they stood, the day would have been a brilliant one; but they broke and fled, without making scarce any resistance. The gallant Gunby, released from the right, suddenly came upon the pursuers through the trees, and checked their progress. Washington, at the same time, charging them with his cavalry, opened his way gallantly through their ranks. Cornwallis arrived on the spot opportunely enough, and by resorting to the most terrible expedient of directing his guns against friends and foes as they were mixed up in the fight, succeeded in saving his army from destruction.

GREENE now taking a correct view of the field, felt that he ought to be satisfied with the results of the day, and resolved to draw off his troops. His Virginians, who had been reserved for this emergency, were now called upon to cover the retreat. Desperate efforts were made by the enemy to gain some decisive advantage, but to no purpose. GREENE succeeded in reaching Reedy Fork. Here he waited until joined by the different corps that would follow. The American general, though he had not gained a decisive victory, was still pleased with the result. So were the army. They had lost some of their field-pieces, and many brave men. His loss could not have exceeded four or five hundred in all; though it was impossible to find out the precise number. The loss of the enemy must have been heavier. The American army were now in the highest spirits, while Cornwallis was chagrined and depressed. For him, nothing for the present remained, but to retreat. Such were the results of the battle of Guilford. The morning after the engagement, Cornwallis with his wounded and baggage, began his retreat toward New Garden. Lee was dispatched by GREENE to watch his movements. After various stratagems to deceive the American general, Cornwallis directed his march to Wilmington. GREENE, without loss of time, prepared to pursue him with his main army. Thus, from pursuers, the British had suddenly become the pursued. The

Americans were anxious for battle, but were prevented from making an attack, by scarcity of provisions. March 28th, found the two armies within four leagues of each other. GREENE determined to offer battle. They pushed rapidly ahead to Ramsay's Mills, where the enemy were stationed; but, before their arrival on the ground, the retreat had been resumed. GREENE, therefore, pitched his camp at the same point, resolved to give his men some rest. He now discharged the militia, added to his stock of artillery, and provided supplies ahead, with a view of concentrating his forces at Camden. The daring Sumpter and other partisan leaders, were advised of these movements. On the 17th of April, he commenced his march, and reached his destination on the 19th. Rawdon and Watson had been early advised of his movements. They made preparations to meet them. GREENE had stationed himself at Hobkirk's Hill, a point of many natural advantages. He held this position until an unfounded rumor to the effect, that the British were marching against Camden, induced him to protect that place. Learning this to be false, he returned to the Hills. Here, he kept himself ready for any emergency. On the 25th, while his soldiers were taking the first meal they had eaten for twenty-four hours, they were surprised by the enemy. GREENE had the precaution to keep sentinels on the watch, so that their sudden appearance did not throw his army into much confusion. The men flew to their posts with alacrity, and were soon in order. Through the woods, the British advanced to action. They, at length, reached the opening, where they had to encounter the main army. Singular enough, they came to the attack with a very narrow front. GREENE early perceived the advantage this gave him: "Let Campbell and Ford turn their flanks, the center charge with the bayonet, and Washington take them in the rear," were his prompt commands. The execution of these orders was attempted with high spirit. The extension of the enemy's front was all that prevented their entire destruction. The fight now became hard and bloody. GREENE, at the head of the Virginians, fought like a hero. The regulars under Gunby, by an error of their commander, were thrown into confusion; deprived of their co-operation, Ford was obliged to retreat. The defection of Campbell's troops followed. GREENE now galloped his horse to the top of the hill, and cast a hasty glance over the field. One moment was sufficient to satisfy him that all was lost. While balls passed all about, he coolly

gave orders for a retreat. Smith had deen directed to protect the artillery, but had not arrived; in a little time it would be in the hands of the British. In this strait, GREENE hastened in person to the spot, leaped from his horse, and seized the ropes in the act of pulling his guns to a place of safety. Seeing this, Smith hastened to perform his orders. In the attempt to save the artillery, his corps of forty-five men were reduced to near one fourth that number. They persevered in their efforts, however, until the last man was left dead on the spot. The timely arrival of Colonel Washington, was all that saved the artillery. His troop of horse checked the enemy, and he was enabled to cover the retreat. Mortified at the result of the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, GREENE now took position at Rugeley's Mills, some distance from the scene of action. Rawdon was now in possession of Camden, where the principal forces of the British army were making strong efforts to concentrate themselves. GREENE made every exertion to prevent reinforcements reaching Rawdon, but in vain. A strong corps succeeded in entering the place. Cornwallis, Tarleton and Colonel Watson were hastening forward to unite their several forces with Rawdon at that point. GREENE's prospects were gloomy indeed. Feeling his inability to prevent a junction of these forces, he resolved to retreat. He, accordingly, fell back to Sawney's Creek. Rawdon being reinforced, marched in pursuit, expecting to find him at his old encampment. Disappointed in this, he went back to Camden. The surrender of Fort Watson by the British, changed the face of things. Rawdon determined to hasten to the protection of his posts. Fort Motte was besieged by Marion and Lee, and in imminent peril; all the British posts, in fact, were threatened. He, therefore, after leaving Camden in ruins, hastened to the support of the forts. GREENE, also, was pushing ahead to act in concert with Lee and Marion, when he learned the destruction of Camden. He was, soon after, apprised of the surrender of the garrison at Fort Motte. Prospects began to brighten up again. He would soon have an open field. Lee was now sent against Fort Granby. By a rapid march, he soon reached it, and thundered "surrender" in the ears of its commander. This peremptory order was quickly obeyed. He then hastened to unite with Pickens at Augusta, while GREENE turned his thoughts to the siege of Ninety-six. He immediately set out for that post. It was one of the strongest and most

important in the hands of the enemy. It was formally invested by his army, on the 22d of May. That night, he made a careful examination of the fort. The troops were immediately set to work upon trenches and mines, which were pushed ahead with great activity, and in all the form of a regular siege. Frequent skirmishes and sallies ensued, but without much loss to either party. On the 3d of June, their works being sufficiently complete, Cruger, the commander of the fort, was ordered to surrender. He refused peremptorily. The works were now pushed forward with redoubled activity; the men being much annoyed by the enemy's guns, they had recourse to an excellent expedient. High towers were built of green logs. These were manned with their finest sharpshooters, who silenced the guns effectually.

Meantime, Augusta had fallen. Fresh and flushed from his victorious operations, arrived Lee with his legion. He, too, went to work with zeal. He was in a fair way of cutting off the water that supplied the fort. Never was siege prosecuted more vigorously. Every effort was made; success seemed certain. Their guns were silenced; their redoubt overlooked by a battery built by the Americans. Victory was in their grasp. Just as they were reaching for it, a British soldier, on horseback, by a feat of extraordinary daring, got through the lines, and galloped furiously toward the fort, with bullets flying thick around him. He was from the main army, and bore intelligence that Rawdon, with his whole force would immediately be on hand for their relief. Shouts, loud and prolonged from the garrison, in the fort, followed the reception of this intelligence. Sumpter and Marion, had been sent to harass Rawdon. Upon his movements, every thing seemed to hinge. Rawdon came ahead, by bold and rapid marches;—he would soon be at the fort. What, now, was to be done? The soldiers begged GREENE to lead them against the fort, by assault. He consented. On the 17th, the attempt was made. Never did soldiers act more heroically. They lost in the assault many brave men, and several valuable officers; though, they would, doubtless, have succeeded in capturing the fortress, had not GREENE, who perceived that it would be attended with a loss of more troops than the speedy arrival of Rawdon warranted him able to sustain, drawn off the men. They retired to their lines in good order, well satisfied with their undertaking.

Much as he regretted seeing the almost captured fort revert

to the enemy, GREENE knew well that it would not do, in his present condition, to risk a general action with Rawdon. Pursuing the true Fabian policy, he drew off his army toward the Catawba. Rawdon, after arriving at Ninety-six, began an immediate pursuit of GREENE, hoping early to engage him. Disappointed in this, he returned to the fort. GREENE took position at Big Spring, where he proposed giving his army a little rest. Rawdon, soon after, withdrew his men from before Ninety-six, and proceeded to Orangeburg. Thither the American general prepared to follow him. He was further actuated in this, by the hope of being able to capture a large quantity of supplies, expected by the British in that vicinity. Before he reached that point, his army was much increased by the accession of several minor commands. Arriving at Orangeburg, he made a careful inspection of the place, and of the disposition of Rawdon's forces. These, he found so strong and secure, that he was unwilling to risk an engagement. Rawdon was well posted within the town. One narrow pass afforded the only access to his position. Disappointed in the hope of a favorable engagement, as well as in the capture of the supplies, GREENE encamped at the High Hills of Santee. Here, while his army could get good repose, his partisans could harass the enemy. His position was well selected. Above the lowlands, the air was pure and salubrious, while, near by, were gurgling streams of fine water. It was just such a spot as his worn troops required. It was easy, too, of access for reinforcements, strong efforts to obtain which, were being made in the south.

Recent achievements reversed the hopes of the people. The legislature of South Carolina met, and resolved to adopt vigorous measures to sustain the army. Rutledge visited GREENE in camp, and congratulated him on the results of his operations. Virginia woke up to her duty, and signified a desire to lend assistance. Marion and Sumpter were in the field, and with usual vigor and success, maneuvering against the enemy. Everywhere, were to be seen evidences of dawning hope. GREENE had found time, amid other duties, to relieve the people from Indian annoyances, by an expedition against them, that forced submission, and resulted in a final treaty of peace. After enjoying much needed repose for some time, GREENE, on the 22d of August, left his camp at High Hills, for the purpose of recommencing offen-

sive operations. He directed his course toward Camden, which place he reached on the 25th. Here, he met only a portion of the reinforcements expected. Not discouraged, he proceeded to Howell's Ferry, where he was joined by the troops of Henderson and Marion, and some militia. With these, he was resolved on offering battle to the enemy. Before their retreat had fairly begun, however, they had abandoned their position at McCord's Ferry, some fifteen miles from his own point of starting.

He learned, shortly after, they had encamped at Eutaw Springs; a portion of the British still remaining at Orangeburg,—between which and Eutaw Springs GREENE determined to keep enough of his men to prevent their junction, if possible. The 7th of September found him within five miles of the British. Stewart was the chief in command at the Springs. The next day GREENE determined to make an attack. It was after sunrise, on the morning of the 8th, before Stewart learned the proximity of the Americans. He immediately prepared for battle. He sent Coffin to watch the movements of GREENE, while he drew up his other forces for the emergency. The position of the British was singularly favorable for them to make a good defense. A deep ravine, through which ran Eutaw Creek, was on the right. A large, strong brick house overlooked the open space through which the Americans had to pass, affording excellent means of defense; other buildings were also on the grounds. In the rear was a large inclosure, stretching to the creek; the road also forked just before getting to the brick house. The whole of the rear was protected by thickets of blackjack.

The British commander drew out his army, 2,300 strong into the open space, to receive GREENE. His right protected the Charleston fork of the road. Majoribanks was placed under cover of the blackjack, for the protection of this corps. The cavalry sustained the left, while the reserves were placed in the rear. At dawn of day on the morning of the 8th, GREENE began his preparations. His center was composed of militia, led by Colonel Malmedy. Marion was placed on the right, and Pickens on the left, each with a stout battalion. His second column embraced the continentals,—the Carolinians, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Ash, supported by Armstrong and Blunt,—the whole under command of General Sumner, who was stationed on the right of this column. Campbell took the center, Williams and Howard the left. Lee

and Hampton, supported by Middleton and Polk, protected the flanks, while the reserves, under Washington and Kirkwood, were placed in the rear. Captains Brown and Gaines had charge of the artillery that belonged to the respective columns.

In this order, and in high spirits, they moved to battle. When within a little over a league from the Springs, they fell in with a small body of the enemy, led by Coffin. Lee and Henderson immediately prepared for their capture. Henderson poured upon them a galling fire. They were thrown into confusion. Lee charged them furiously as a Murat. They fled in complete disorder, leaving forty prisoners in the hands of the victors, and quite a number killed on the spot. Soon after, Lee met the enemy's infantry. Sending word to the rear for aid, he rushed to the attack with a sweeping enthusiasm. Williams and Gaines were soon on hand, and joined in the fight. Lee and Henderson attacked each flank,—Marion and Pickens, at the head of the militia, did fine execution. The guns of Gaines had deadly effect. The militia, inspirited by their gallant leaders, stood their ground, and sent death through the British ranks. The center militia, however, began to falter. For seventeen rounds, they had stood the fire of the British with firmness. The enemy perceived them faltering, and a sudden, energetic effort forced them to give way. Sumner now came gallantly into action to supply their place. With marked impetuosity he led to the fight. Precise and galling was the stream of lead his men sent whizzing against the enemy.

Stewart now brought his reserves into action, while Coffin supported his left with his horse. GREENE's reserves had not yet engaged. The furious onslaught of Stewart's fresh troops forced the Americans to fall back, after a brave stand. The British now rushed ahead like madmen, with loud shouts. Their eagerness disordered their ranks. With the sagacity of intuitive military genius, GREENE saw that now was his time. He instantly ordered Williams and Campbell to charge with the bayonet. Like a hurricane they swept the field, that bristled with their steel. Lee now ordered a raking fire against the enemy's flank, which did heavy execution. The Maryland troops, with order, joined in the bloody charge. Victory! victory! rang along the American lines. The British left was utterly disordered. The panic spread over the field. One by one the regiments and bat-

talions gave way. Finally, the whole enemy broke and fled, in great consternation, and in all directions. Never was victory more sure. The Americans pursued them to their camp at the Eutaws. The enemy hurried into the brick house. A desperate struggle ensued. In this, GREENE was not so successful. Col. Washington was taken prisoner, and his artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. The house was all that prevented the entire defeat of the British. Sheltered under cover of the wood, GREENE, satisfied with his first victory, concluded not to renew the engagement. He now returned to his former position. With fatherly kindness he attended to the wants and condition of his sick and wounded. He lost, in all, over five hundred men, among whom were some gallant officers. The British, less anxious to renew the fight than himself, retreated as early as possible from the field. GREENE remained a short time at the Eutaws, and then proceeded to his old encampment at High Hills, again to repose his army.

With the battle of Eutaw springs, virtually ended British supremacy in the south. Having given his troops the repose they so much needed, and being joined by reinforcements from the north under General St. Clair, GREENE prepared for active operations. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in the meantime, showed clearly that the great struggle was drawing to a close. By a series of judicious movements, the American general succeeded in confining the enemy under command of Leslie, to Charleston and its immediate vicinity. With these movements, ended the summer campaign of 1781.

The Assembly of the State of South Carolina met at Jacksonborough, on the 18th of January. Among their first acts, was to acknowledge, in terms of deserved eulogy, the eminent services rendered by the American general, in the South. GREENE, finally succeeded in confining the British to the city of Charleston, and held them in a species of siege. To force them to give up the place was his main object. In endeavors to accomplish this, the winter passed away. In the spring, signs of mutiny were manifest in the American camp. A conspiracy was formed, headed by several notorious characters, whose object was the delivery of GREENE into the hands of the enemy. The opportune discovery of their movements, and prompt execution of one of the ringleaders, put an effectual stop to their machinations.

Having quashed these factious malcontents, he pushed operations

against Charleston with vigor. Every day, nearer approaches were made to the city. Negotiations for general peace were pending, in consequence of which, General Leslie proposed to GREENE, that active movements should be suspended. The matter was referred to Congress, while the American general, though anxious for peace, watched his enemy with utmost vigilance. The war was, in reality, at an end; Savannah, and nearly all the important posts in the south had been evacuated; Charleston, it was thought, soon would be. Many of the officers resigned their commands and returned home. The comparative relaxation of so inactive a campaign, was greatly trenched upon by the sufferings of the soldiers, who were in a state of utter destitution. Ill feelings, also, arose among the officers of the army, that caused the commander infinite pain.

Active war was now over. The evacuation of Charleston had been decided upon. On the 13th of December, the British marched out of the city, of which the Americans took immediate possession. They embarked with little disturbance on board their vessels, and left, forever, the land they thought to deluge in blood, and leave fettered with the manacles of despotism.

His long and arduous services being now over, and the American arms being crowned with success, the gallant GREENE returned to the north. The army of the South,—noble old veterans,—was dissolved, and he started for home in the middle of the summer. He was everywhere hailed as one of the deliverers of the nation, and became the recipient of every conceivable demonstration of popular favor. On reaching his beloved Rhode Island, he was warmly received, favored, courted, and esteemed by all. His campaigns had made inroads upon his health, which was considerably shattered.

Having been warmly attached to the south, during his labors there, and thinking a change of residence would benefit his health, GREENE determined upon removing to that country. The State of Georgia had given him a beautiful place on the Savannah, and thither, he concluded to pass his days in agriculture and study. In the Spring of 1785, he visited his chosen home, and made arrangements for the removal of his family, which was accomplished in the succeeding autumn. He engaged quite extensively in planting, and amid his corn and rice-fields, a balmy atmosphere, and pleasing scenes, passed his time to his heart's content.

But this happy quietude was destined not to be of long duration. On the 13th of June, the summer after his removal, he visited a friend, a Mr. Gibbons. The two went out to the fields. The day was intensely hot, and the sun's rays fell burningly upon them. GREENE took no notice of it, until attacked with a sudden and violent pain in the head, on his way home. This was on Tuesday. The pain increased through the night and the next day. By Thursday, his head was much swollen and inflamed. His friends now became seriously alarmed; a physician was called in, but without avail. He was, finally, overcome by a stupor and insensibility, which continued till his death, which occurred on the 19th of June, 1786, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was buried at Savannah, with every demonstration of regard and popular grief. It was well that the theater of his fame, and the home of his adoption should receive his remains, and that the last services should be rendered to him by those for whom he had rendered his greatest, in their greatest time of need.

JOHN JAY.

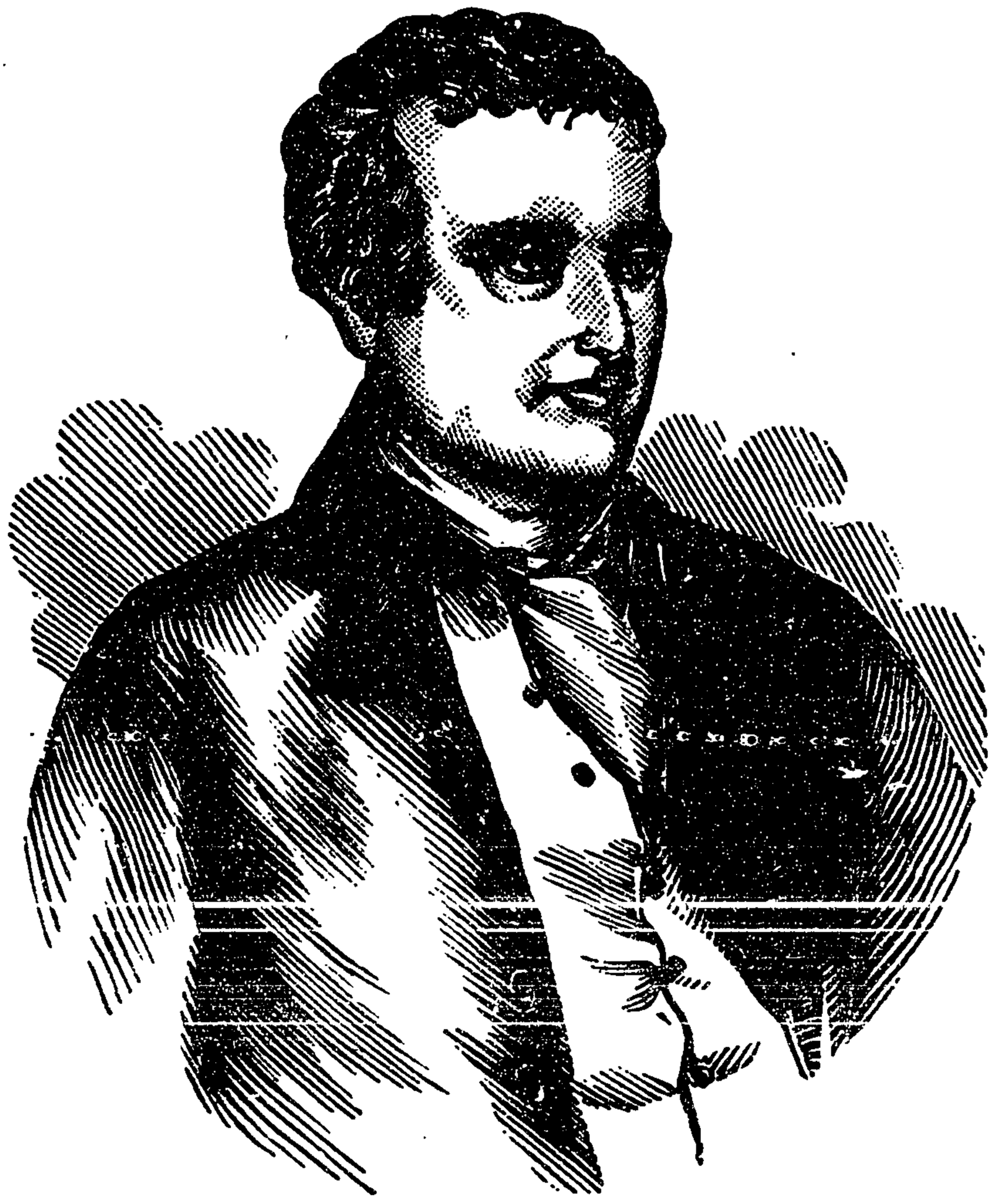
It is frequently the case that, in forming an estimate of human character, those, whose elevated stations and superior spheres of action make them the center of great events, receive the most praise for results which could never have been attained without the aid of efficient co-operators.

While the fame of our civic and military leaders wins universal admiration, others there were, who, though not occupying positions as elevated or responsible, labored with equal zeal and talent in the same cause, but who are apt to be comparatively forgotten in the dispension of public homage, through a tendency to lay it at the shrine of particular individuals.

History is a vast mirror of nations, reflecting the images of great men, foremost in whose ranks is pictured some illustrious personage with proportions so full as to monopolize our vision, while those who contributed to place him thus conspicuously are, to some extent, overlooked.

To correct the unjust discriminations of history, is one province of biography. Like the skillful painter, who leaves on canvas the image of his subject just as nature formed it, with its beauties and defects, the biographer should endeavor to delineate human actions and characteristics with equal fidelity. As not least unworthy the position, we shall aim to place as compeer with those who have preceded him, the name of JOHN JAY.

He was the eighth child of Peter Jay, and was born in the city of New York, December 12th, 1745. His paternal lineage was French; his mother's people were from Holland. His grandfather, Jay, fled from France to England to avoid religious



JOHN JAY.

persecution. His father, Peter, came thence to New York, and married the daughter of a Mr. Bayard, whose ancestry also fled the religious intolerance of France,—each being Protestants. His father settled on Long Island, near New York City. In childhood young JAY was very still and grave, so much so, that his father would say, "My Johnny gives a very pleasing prospect. He seems endowed with good capacity, is very reserved and quite of his brother James' disposition for books."

In his ninth year his education was fairly commenced, and after passing the general preparatory routine with credit, he entered King's College in his fifteenth year, where he graduated with the first honors in his twentieth. Soon after graduation, he entered the law office of Benjamin Kissane, in the city of New York. Here, subjected to the toilsome mental process of studying Coke upon Lyttleton, Puffendorff, and Fortescue, and others, he soon acquired an excellent knowledge of his chosen profession. He was, after submitting to the regular course, formally admitted to the bar, and soon entered upon a practice lucrative and honorable. Against him, in the argument of cases, often appeared his former preceptor, Kissane, whom he nearly always discomfited.

On one occasion, when his pupil was about getting the better of him, after wiping the sweat from his brow, Kissane exclaimed: "I have brought up a bird to pick out my own eyes." "Not to pick them out, but to open them," was JAY's ready rejoinder.

From the commencement of his profession to the colonial excitements, he enjoyed a heavy practice, and took a position among his professional brethren, at once lucrative and enviable. At the first tocsin of alarm from England, the youthful counselor laid aside his legal studies, and threw his talents into the scale of colonial protection. Among those who were first and warmest in denouncing the cause of the mother country, rang the voice of JOHN JAY. He attended the first meeting held in the metropolis, to consider what was necessary to be done. He was one of the committee to consult upon the state of affairs, and drew the report urging the necessity of a general Congress. Of the first Congress he was an active member, and drafted one of the three addresses that received the eulogistic encomiums of Chatham.

In April, 1776, he was selected to the colonial convention of New York, upon the duties of which he entered the ensuing month. He was still a member of Congress, and but for this

confliction of station would have been one of the signers of the Declaration.

In the colonial convention he was made chairman of the committee to take into consideration the subject of independence; he reported the following resolution, which was adopted July 9th: "*Resolved unanimously*, That the reasons assigned by the continental Congress for declaring these united colonies free and independent, are cogent and conclusive, and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it."

It will be borne in mind that the New York delegation was instructed to pursue a conciliatory course, and were, in consequence, somewhat tardy in giving their support to the measure. The above resolution singles JAY from the pacific views of others, and designates him as a pioneer from that State in the cause of independence.

While a member of that body, at his instance, a State convention was recommended, to take into consideration the authority, etc., of colonial assemblages. This convention met July 9th, 1776, and ratified the proceedings of Congress by a unanimous confirmation of the Declaration. In this convention, JAY, though compared with many other members, stood in a position of juniority, so far as age was concerned, was selected to draft a State constitution. No longer subject to the sway of foreign domination, the United States had each to adopt for its regulation, certain constitutional laws. This was an untried experiment, and JAY a young man. His theme, the preparation of a State constitution, had been the subject of much theoretical speculation, but his comparatively youthful pen was to bring it within the pale of practical observance. To JAY the first State constitution of New York owes its principal authorship. It was, on March 6th, 1777, submitted, and soon after adopted and went into operation.

This constitution evinced much legal research, a wide range of vigorous and correct views of good government, and was esteemed an able production by men gifted in the abstruse technicalities of the science. It for years contained the embodiment of New York's principal laws. Trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, religious freedom, the right of defense, the recognition of the people as the source of power, were maintained and developed by

its provisions. Locally, few changes were made, its features being mainly political. This constitution, upon the whole, though the property requisite to the franchise was not done away with, nor the method of its exercise specified, was a bold step in the progress of republican liberty.

JAY's devotion to his friends, no vicissitude of fortune could dampen. One of those firm, solid gentlemen who act from principle, he was the same unflinching friend in adversity he was in prosperity. Unlike those whose "friendship, like your shadow, follows you while you are in the sunshine, but disappears the instant you step into the shade," he stuck to his friends through gloom as well as sunshine.

When the brave Schuyler was superseded in the command of the northern troops by Gates, after a series of gallant exploits he wrote him thus: "Justice will yet take place, and I do not despair of seeing the time when it will be confessed that the foundation of our success in the north was laid by yourself."

Political differences, too, he separated from social life; and though in his sphere of duty unbending and inflexible, personally, with his old friends who were so before the war, he maintained the same feelings of good-will. To a colonel of the British army with whom he was intimate in his younger days, he thus wrote: "The friendship which subsisted between us is not forgotten; nor will the good offices formerly done by yourself and family cease to excite my gratitude. How far you may be comfortable and easy, I know not. It is my wish, and shall be my endeavor, that it be as much so as may be consistent with the interest of that great cause to which I have devoted every thing I hold dear in this world."

The establishment of courts being authorized by the convention before named, JAY was appointed Chief Justice, which he accepted.

The British still claimed jurisdiction over the country, and any official act counter thereto, was equivalent to being branded by them with the stigma of high treason. But, sternly resolute in the path of duty, and firmly identified with the revolutionary party, with coolness and decision he entered upon the duties of his office, and donned the judicial robes, fearless of their powers, when directed against the omnipotent ramparts of truth and justice.

September 9th, 1777, at the village of Kingston, he held his first court, and commenced the functions of his office. While Burgoyne's grand army was marching, unchecked, through the country, the British entire masters of the Hudson, and the whole country in alarm, in the Kingston Court-house JAY delivered his first charge to the grand jury. Fearless and intrepid in the administration of justice, as though his country had been the mistress of the world, he arose before his jurymen and delivered the charge with due solemnity, and in a manner worthy his position. After congratulating them upon the equity of their laws, he adverted to the course of Great Britain and the new Constitution, and closed his charge in the following words:

"But let it be remembered, that whatever marks of wisdom, experience, and patriotism there may be in your Constitution, yet, like the beautiful symmetry, the just proportion, and elegant forms of our first parents before their Maker breathed into them the breath of life, it is yet to be animated; and till then, may indeed excite admiration, but will be of no use. From the people it must receive its spirit, and by them be quickened. *Let virtue, honor, the love of liberty and of science, be and remain the soul of this Constitution*, and it will become the source of great and extensive happiness to this and future generations. Vice, ignorance, and want of vigilance, will be the only enemies able to destroy it. Against these be forever jealous."

Resigning the office of chief justice, after a faithful discharge of its duties for two years, he was elected to Congress, of which body he was immediately chosen president. JAY was not a fluent speaker, but an able writer,—not fond of much talking, but possessed of first-rate sound sense and correct judgment. For the presidency of Congress, no man, whether from the stability of his character, his manly dignity, or power of commanding respect, was better qualified.

At the time he was placed in this station, the American Congress was in a state of almost hopeless bankruptcy, without money or credit. It had flooded the country with continental paper, for whose redemption the public faith was pledged, until no confidence was placed on such public faith, and to purchase a bushel of corn, it took a bushel of the paper. Yet money was needed,—the war must be prosecuted,—and where were the means to come from? In this exigency it was resolved to call upon the several

States. The pen of JAY drew the appeal to the States, urging them to their duty. The following is the close of his patriotic appeal: "Rouse, therefore, and strive who shall do most for his country; rekindle that flame of patriotism which, at the mention of disgrace and slavery, blazed throughout America, and animated all her citizens; determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously. Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent, than she became insolvent; or, that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and most adoring, her rising splendor."

In this, though performing his duty, as in all other positions, with unwavering fidelity, he continued but a short time until called to a different sphere of action. This was the mission to Spain. Patriotic, he had entered the struggle, and, like a true public servant, was willing to serve in whatever capacity his country deemed him fitted. On the 2d of October, 1779, he sailed for Europe. The objects of his embassy were to bring Spain into the treaty of alliance with the United States and France, against England, and negotiate a loan with her for the prosecution of the war. Spain he found, on his arrival, wholly averse to entering into negotiations upon the basis of acknowledging the United States free and independent. His success, in regard to the loan, was not much better. Congress, in the meantime, pressed by the stern mandate of a necessity that would admit of no delay, though wholly ignorant of the progress JAY was making in the negotiation of a loan, drew on him to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars,* to be paid in six months. Spain, after advancing a small amount, informed JAY that they would pay no more, without the furnishing an equivalent by the United States, either in ships of war, or their surrender to her of the navigation of the Mississippi. Actuated by stern necessity, contrary to his usual cautionary course, JAY resolved upon a step equally bold to the one taken by Congress. This was the acceptance, at his own risk, of all bills presented. The consequence was, that his acceptancessoon reached near a quarter of a million of dollars, while but about thirty thousand had been paid in. After bearing up

* Lives of Chief Justices.

manfully against this state of things for some time, and battling with true courage to maintain his country's honor, he was at length compelled to witness his bills protested, and the destruction of both public and private credit.

Soon after, he received a letter from Franklin, minister to France, stating that he had made arrangements for the payment of his acceptances, and saying: "I hope in God, no more will be drawn," without prior provision of funds,—that "Spain had taken four years to treat," and closing by saying, "*Give her forty more and let us mind our own business*," and insisting that JAY should join him in Paris. Compliant with this suggestion, he joined Franklin in that city June 23d, 1782.

Though with the court of Spain all that man could do had been done by JAY, his mission was not satisfactory in its results, nor justifiable to his own and public expectation.

In the treaty with England that immediately followed, at Paris, he took an active part, drew some of its articles, and, in its final consummation, more credit is due JOHN JAY than any other man, except Benjamin Franklin. That treaty, contrary to positive ministerial instructions, which were from the American Congress, "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects, to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence, *and ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion*" was concluded in secret. This was, in fact, a violation of the treaty of alliance between America and France, one stipulation of which was, that no treaty should be consummated with England, by either party, without the concurrence of the other. To the instructions, especially the last clause, "and ultimately to be governed," etc., JAY objected in the first place.

The conclusion of the treaty, without advising with, or even giving the French ministers notice of such negotiations, was a source of discontent in France, and subjected the American envoys to considerable censure at home. Notwithstanding the widespread joy created by the treaty of peace, it was urged that France should have been a participant in making a peace she had helped to conquer. Noticing the manner in which our ministers had acted, one member of Congress, in a set speech, accused them of "meanly stooping to lick the dust from the feet of a nation

whose hands were still dyed with the blood of their fellow-citizens."

Indeed, these objections were not without plausibility. France had helped us in the battle-field, and, to exclude her from the council where peace was to be adjusted, in which she was interested, aside from having shed her blood in its purchase, looked very unjust.

JAY based his defense upon the ground, that it was for the benefit of America, not France, for which he was laboring; while John Rutledge contended, in the ministers' behalf, that "instructions *ought to be* disregarded, when the public good requires." After the conclusion of the treaty of peace, JAY expressed his desire of returning home, and to the enjoyments of private life. One main motive he expresses as follows: "When I embarked in the public service, I said, very sincerely, that I quitted private life with regret, and should be happy to return to it when the object which called me from it should be attained. To be consistent, therefore, I must retire. * * * Pecuniary considerations ever held a secondary place in my estimation. *I know how to live within the limits of any income.*" This is the pure, honest simplicity characteristic of our primal ancestry.

He reached his native city July 24th, 1784, where he was honored with many manifestations of esteem and appreciation. Immediately upon his arrival, he was made Secretary of Foreign Affairs, upon the duties of which station he entered in January of the ensuing year. While filling this position, the convention to adopt the Federal Constitution was called. He was a Federalist, favoring the views of Livingston and Hamilton, upon the constitutional question. He was not of the number who formed it, but a zealous champion in its support. Some of the views he entertained upon the subject, at the present time, would not accord with the notions of correct government incident to the expansion of ideas, and the unfettered investigations of mind, but were then essentially progressive, and more liberal than those of Hamilton. Well versed as he was in the science of political economy, less aristocratic than Hamilton, and not so purely Democratic as Jefferson, he occupied between the two a medium position, maintaining that the people were the basis of power. To Washington he thus wrote: "The mass of men are neither wise nor good, and the virtue, like the other resources of a country, can only be

drawn to a point and exerted by strong circumstances, ably managed, or a strong government ably administered."

Again, while the Constitution controversy was progressing, he wrote to another gentleman as follows: "It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of ONE GREAT NATION, whose territory is divided into different States merely for more convenient government, and the more easy and prompt administration of justice; just as our several States are divided into counties and townships, for the like purposes."

Again, writing to Washington, he says: "What powers should be granted to the government, so constituted, is a question which deserves much thought; I think, the more the better; the States retaining so much only as may be necessary for domestic purposes, and all their principal officers, civil and military, being commissioned and removable by the national government."

He further suggests Congressional separation into two branches, Senate and House, and advocates Senatorial elevation for life, but maintains that the people are the basis of government. He further adds: "To vest legislative, judicial, and executive powers in one and the same body of men, and that in a body daily changing its members, can never be wise. In my opinion, those three great departments of sovereignty should be forever separated and so distributed as to serve as checks on each other."

Such were his views upon the Federal Constitution, and his relationship with the political parties of the day.

On the formation of the Constitution, and prior to its final submission, the instantaneous opposition it encountered met stern resistance from the pen of JAY. To the "Federalist," a series of papers issued under the supervision, principally, of Hamilton and Madison, he contributed some articles of marked ability. He also wrote an anonymous pamphlet in its defense, under the head of the following interrogatories:

"Is it probable a better plan can be adopted?

"If attainable, is it likely to be in season?

"What would be our condition, if, in the rejection of this, all efforts to obtain a better should prove fruitless?"

These were plain, practical questions. Taking the negative of the two former, and entering ably, upon the investigation of the latter, conceding the imperfections of the instrument, he handled his subject in a masterly style, and without the least assumption

or arrogance, manifesting a willingness to yield to the majority, in whatever might be judged for the country's interest.

To the convention that adopted the Constitution, he was elected a member from the State of New York, where the opposition was more warm and consolidated than anywhere else, by a vote highly complimentary to his worth and talents. He took his seat in that body, on its assemblage. Their initiatory proceedings began by an address from Chancellor Livingston. Upon the subject of the Constitution, there was much division of opinion, and the larger portion of the delegates insisted upon some amendments. It was agreed to consider the instrument by sections. The main amendment urged was Jefferson's favorite measure, the appendage of a Bill of Rights, which was finally procured. The great question, on the opening of the convention, was absolute or conditional ratification. A majority of the members were in favor of the former, but contended for the amendments. JAY wrote Washington, of the delegates, as follows: "The leaders in the opposition [to absolute adoption] seem to have more extensive views than their adherents; and until the latter perceive that circumstance, they will probably continue combined. The greater number are, I believe, averse to a vote of rejection. Some would be content with *recommendatory* amendments; others wish for explanatory ones; others yet would not be satisfied with less than *absolute and previous* amendments;" while of some he affirms his belief, that they were opposed to any government at all.

Among these several shades of opinion, JAY was an unconditional ratificationist, and on July 11th, made a motion accordingly; so qualifying his motion as *to recommend* whatever might be thought necessary. On the 15th, Mr. Morris moved its adoption, "*on condition*" that specific amendments were to be made; upon which quite a struggle ensued. On the 25th, Mr. Jones moved its adoption, "*in full confidence*" that such amendments would be agreed to. Thus modified, the motion passed by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven. The judicial regulations of the Constitution provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court. On Washington's accession to the presidency, and the organization of the judiciary effected, JOHN JAY was appointed Chief Justice. In February, 1790, this first Chief Justice of the United States held his first Supreme Court in the city of his nativity, and in the ensuing April, his first Circuit.

JAY was not, as a lawyer, a man of forensic talent, but had few superiors as a judge of law, and a better selection for the post of chief justice could not have well been made. He discharged his duties with the same decisive firmness and constant fidelity, that he had in all the positions to which he had been elevated, and received, during his official term, the highest evidences of esteem from his fellow-citizens. In the causes that came before him, were some, in feature, singular and extraordinary. One of these, as the first investigation of the State sovereignty doctrine, before a judicial tribunal, deserves notice.

A man living in South Carolina, sued the State of Georgia, making her governor and attorney-general, defendants to the action. Against these, he served a process. They failed to appear. The United States attorney-general, thereupon, moved, in case of non-appearance, at the succeeding term, the rendition of judgment for the plaintiff, and the issue of a writ of inquiry. In no former action of like nature, had the defendants refused to appear. In the case, JAY's opinion was able and lengthy. Though not analytic or replete with referential authorities and parallels, deduced from similar cases of other courts, like all his opinions, the constitutional law and sovereign principle were carefully elucidated, in the plain, practical, and common-sense manner, so eminently characteristic of the Chief Justice.

Another case of considerable importance, whose adjudication involved some nice principles, was the arraignment of one Henfield before the Supreme Court, for engaging, contrary to law, in a French privateering cruise. His charge to the grand jury, in this case, was an able and brief condensation of our neutrality doctrine. It closed thus: "That the United States are in a state of neutrality, relative to all the powers at war, and that it is their duty, their interest, and their disposition to maintain it; that, therefore, they who commit, aid, or abet hostilities against these powers, or any one of them, offend against the laws of the United States, and ought to be punished; and, consequently, that it is your duty, gentlemen, to inquire into, and prevent all such of these offenses as you shall find to have been committed within this district."

This charge was deemed so accordant with the neutral policy, whose strict observance was urged upon all the citizens of the United States, that it was published under governmental supervision, as definitive of our settled convictions.

It will be remembered, that a lively sympathy had been awakened in the American bosom for France, and that a strong distaste to the neutrality policy prevailed; this was manifest on this trial. Notwithstanding JAY's charge, and his unflinching adherence to the laws, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal in the case, which was received with thundering plaudits from the French sympathizers who witnessed the proceedings.

The Chief Justice, in this case, asserted the possession of common law jurisdiction by the federal court; a doctrine which was subsequently exploded.

His judicial career closed in April, 1794, when he held his last court. As chief justice of the Supreme Court, he was faithful and zealous, maintaining the supremacy of the law with decision and dignity. Upon the whole, he reflected credit upon the station, and afforded another example of Washington's wisdom in the selection of public servants, JAY having been recommended for the post by him. He was, soon after, appointed minister to England, whither he sailed in May, 1794. Having briefly endeavored to follow his upward step, as the student, the counselor, the legislator, the statesman and the jurist, we must now notice him as the diplomatist and the executive.

He went to England essentially a pacificator, and was warmly received. The celebrated instrument known in our diplomatic history as JAY's treaty, was consummated; in regard to the fisheries, the West India trade, and other features, it was sadly defective, severely denounced in the United States, and its author censured in unmeasured terms. Yet, it was the best he could do. The importance of peace at the time our government was about being put into operation, and when all Europe was in commotion, was felt to be desirable, if even attained at the price of some concession. The excitement incident to the ratification of that treaty, and the party bickerings thereby engendered, have been briefly adverted to elsewhere.

On his return to the United States, a storm of abuse burst upon him. The Democratic or Jacobin clubs, whose origin is traceable to the notorious Genet, talked of his impeachment, while his effigy was hung in the streets, under contemptuous inscriptions, and the treaty copies burned in front of his door. Hamilton defended him, and Jefferson and Madison replied to his arguments, and thus the controversy was kept up through the

public press, both before and after its ratification. Deficient as the treaty may have been, aside from prejudice, the motives of JAY were above impugnment. It was ratified, and went into effect in the Spring of 1795.

Some years prior to this, JAY had been run against Clinton, for governor of New York, and was beaten by a small majority for Clinton. During his embassy to England, however, he was elected to that position, and commenced his official duties, January 6th, 1796. Though in his address to the legislature, on its convention, he avowed his purpose "to regard all his fellow-citizens with an equal eye, and to cherish and advance merit wherever found," in the disposition of executive favors, he exemplified the course of most officers, and made his appointments from the ranks of his own,—the Federal party.

His speech drew from the legislature a response, couched in confidential expressions of his wisdom and virtue, as "*invariably*" exhibited. "*Invariably,*" was added with emphasis by that acute politician, Spencer, and was designed as an exculpation from the odium, that had partially fastened upon him, in consequence of the late treaty with Great Britain.

Not long after, however, on account of JAY's affirming his sole right as executive to the appointing power, which was claimed, also, by the council, who were of different politics, Spencer withdrew his support, and from a friend became an enemy to his administration.

JAY continued to discharge his duties as governor, with characteristic firmness of purpose, and devotion to his country. No better proof is wanting of JAY's scrupulous regard for honor and virtue, than the warm attachment felt for him by Washington, by whom he was ever regarded as one whose words were bonds.

At the close of his first term, he was again, contrary to his personal preference, put in nomination for the office. This was about the time when the struggle for ascendency between the Federal and Republican parties was fiercest; New York was the principal battle-ground. The Republicans numbered, in their ranks, the subtle Burr, the erudite Livingston, the ingenious De Witt Clinton, and their able recruit, Ambrose Spencer. Of the Federal party, Hamilton and JAY were the chief pillars. From this time, until the Republicans asserted their supremacy in the

election of Jefferson and Burr, the excitement of party politics ran high.

Against JAY, as the Republican candidate for governor, was nominated Chancellor Livingston. The result was JAY's re-election by a large majority. Soon after his re-election, probability of war with France was indicated; to consider what should be done, he prorogued the legislature in extra session. Now, when danger spoke, clamor hushed, and JAY was invested with discretionary powers, in the disbursement of funds appropriated to meet the emergency; the confidence reposed in him by both people and legislature, being unlimited. During the regular session of the legislature, a bill was introduced, making provision for the electors of president, to be chosen out of specified districts, by the people. This was advocated by the Republicans, but defeated by the Federalists, who thus, lost their only chance of electing the president. On casting the next electoral vote, the difficulty of electing Jefferson proved, that a few Federal electors chosen by them, as is probable would have been the case, would have beaten him.

JAY, of all men, was among the most conscientious. After it was known that Jefferson had received the electoral vote he had, it was intimated to JAY, by Hamilton, who averred that it would not do to be "*overscrupulous*" in such an emergency; that it would be well to re-convene the legislature (which was Federal), and pass the bill, its former vote rejected, for the purpose of defeating Jefferson. Warm as were JAY's party ties, and greatly inimical, as he firmly believed the established ascendency of the Republican party would be to the country, ends, he did not think, justified means, and promptly rejected such an abuse of his power. This proposition from Hamilton, was subsequently found among his papers, appropriately labeled: "*A proposition for party purposes, which I do not think it becomes me to adopt.*" His honest maintenance of republican principles, and conscientious regard for duty, is further shown by the following, a part of an address dictated to the people, during Jefferson's administration:

"I take the liberty of suggesting, whether the patriotic principles upon which we profess to act, do not call upon us to give as far as may depend upon us,)fair and full effect to the known sense and intention of a majority of the people in every constitutional exercise of their will, and to support every administration

of the government of our country, *which may prove to be intelligent and upright, of whatever party the persons comprising it may be.*"

The contest for the appointing power was kept up by the council, and caused the governor considerable annoyance. The reaction that had taken place, threw him in the minority. Of the council, three were Republican and one Federalist. In making the appointments, the governor would nominate, and the council refuse to confirm. At their last meeting, this was carried to an extreme. JAY continued to nominate (from the Federal party), and the council to reject, for the office of sheriff, until some dozen names had been rejected. At length, "I nominate John Blake, Jr.," boldly exclaimed a shrill voice, who was a member of the council. That was one destined to be heard in the national halls; it was young De Witt Clinton's.

After a short pause, "I nominate John Nicholson," remarked JAY: no one responded, and the council was adjourned.

His last official term closed July 1st, 1801, and JAY retired forever, from public concerns, to the enjoyments of a private sphere, for which he was most happily constituted. Soon after his retirement, John Adams, whose administration was near closing, tendered him the appointment of Chief Justice, in the following language: "It appeared to me that Providence had thrown in my way an opportunity, not only of marking to the public the spot where, in my opinion, the greatest mass of worth remained collected in one individual, but of furnishing my country with the best security its inhabitants afforded, against the increasing dissolution of morals." This appointment, however, JAY peremptorily declined.

Thus, at the age of fifty-six, he withdrew from official stations, and in the bliss of domestic quiet, finished his days as he had lived, peacefully and honorably. To the student of character, JOHN JAY presents an impersonation of the greatest firmness, sound sense, correct judgment, and of the sternest virtue. His long and useful life was terminated in May, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. On the 14th of that month he retired to bed, in usual good health. During the night he was attacked with palsy, from which he never recovered. He continued to sink until the 17th; then closed his eyes forever. Unforgotten in his silent rest, his name yet lives an honor to the American judiciary.



FRANCIS MARION.

FRANCIS MARION.

It was Marshal Macdonald of whom historians say, that at the battle of Wagram, he carried upon his shoulders the throne of Napoleon. The fact that the aspects of southern military operations were changed by the efforts of partisan leaders, during the Revolution, has been mentioned in the character previously drawn of General Greene. These unpretending patriots did, no doubt, at one time, hold the fortunes of that officer while in the south. Their heroic deeds, though, to some extent, "unsung by poet, and unrecorded by historian," form a glorious page in the early annals of our country. As a fit representative of these daring subordinates, the reader will surely concede, that the name of FRANCIS MARION is a judicious selection. To no one, among all the chivalrous sons of the south, are the successful results of the war of the Revolution in that quarter more attributable than to him.

FRANCIS MARION, one of six children, and the youngest son of Gabriel and Charlotte Marion, was born at Winyah, South Carolina, in the year 1732. The Marion family were from France, and emigrated to this country in 1690, on account of the intolerant religious persecutions during the reign of Louis XIVth. They were a quiet, unassuming and industrious family, noted for their integrity and devotion to the Protestant faith. MARION, at his birth, was a puny, dwarfish child, with seemingly no indication of ever arriving at maturity. Horry and Weems both agree in the assertion, that "he was not larger than a New England lobster, and might easily enough have been put into a quart pot."

In his twelfth year, however, he became healthy, tough, wiry,

and elastic. At this time, like Washington, he became absorbed with the idea of a sea voyage. It was in vain that his mother tried to persuade him out of the notion. Go, he would. He started to sea, therefore, at the earliest opportunity, in a frail, rickety old craft, his young imagination fired to the highest pitch, in view of the perils he had to brave. The vessel soon foundered and sank, leaving every man to perish save six who took to the jolly-boat. Among the six, was young MARION. They were buffeted about many days, in a condition of intense suffering, living part of the time on the raw flesh of a dog that accidentally came into their hands, before they were picked up by a passing vessel. Preserved thus, almost by miracle, he returned home and went to the plow. The duties of farming he continued industriously for a number of years, without the occurrence of any thing remarkable to interrupt the regular routine of that peaceful pursuit. His resources were limited, as was also his education,—of the latter, in fact, so far as the schools were concerned, he received scarcely any thing.

He next appears in a position relevant to our sketch, in the Cherokee war. The Cherokee Indians, on their return from the campaigns in the North, as our aids against Fort Duquesne and other points, committed sad depredations upon the settlers of Virginia and the borders of South Carolina. The people flew to arms, to resist them. The governor of South Carolina called out the troops of the State, designating a point some thirteen leagues from Charleston as their head-quarters. Thither hastened MARION as a volunteer, eager to draw his maiden sword. These prompt preparations rather overawed the Indians and forced from them a reluctant treaty. As soon, however, as the colonial forces were disbanded, they raised the war-cry afresh, and came upon Carolina with redoubled strength. MARION again hastened to the governor with the tender of his services. The governor, pleased with his ardor, gave him a lieutenant's commission. He went into service in the company of Captain William Moultrie. Colonel Grant, in view of the alarming state of affairs, was ordered out with twelve hundred British regulars.

In May, 1761, general operations against the enemy began. Grant resolved to push the war forward into the heart of the Indian country. The only possible way to effect this, was to pass a dangerous and narrow defile, so dark as almost to exclude the

light of day. A corps of thirty picked men was selected for the hazardous exploration of this pass. It was no common mark of MARION'S courage and capacity, that he was placed at the head of this thirty. Gallantly he pushed forward in advance of the main army to the pass. His party had scarcely reached the center of the defile, when a shower of bullets from behind the trees sent destruction into his ranks. This fearful discharge from the Indians in ambush, cut down twenty-one of his party. Rushing from their hiding places, with the ferocity of hyenas, they raised their tomahawks upon the remainder of the band, which must have been entirely annihilated but for the timely arrival of the main body. Coming up to the scene of slaughter, Grant extended his wings, posted his men as much under cover of the woods as possible, and began the fight, determined to drive the savages from their stronghold. In this way the battle raged several hours, most furiously. Streams of fire blazed in every direction, while the roar of the guns resounded through the woods, and the clash of small arms mingling with savage yells and dying groans, rendered the scene still more terrific. The Indians, though they fought bravely, saw their numbers rapidly decreasing and finally dispersed and fled, leaving their country to the mercy of the conquerors. Such was the battle of Etchou, in many respects, similar to Braddock's engagement, though not attended with the same disastrous results. Thus victorious, the colonial army entered the Indian settlements, demolished their towns, destroyed their substance, and conquered a formal peace. The troops were now disbanded, and MARION returned to his farming avocations. Like Washington, he had prepared himself for higher duties amid the perils of Indian warfare.

He continued the pursuits of agriculture until the war broke out with England. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, it was resolved by the South Carolina legislature to raise two regiments for immediate service. This was done in the spring of 1775, and MARION was appointed captain of a company, while Moultrie was advanced to the position of Colonel of a regiment. Horry, his biographer, was also made captain in the same regiment. Horry confesses his joy at being placed thus near MARION, whom he acknowledged to have loved: "For," says he, "though he was neither handsome, nor witty, nor wealthy, yet he was universally beloved. The fairness of his character,—his fondness for his

relatives,—his humanity to his slaves, and his bravery in the Indian war, made him the darling of the country."

Their commissions being made out, MARION and Horry, in the summer of 1775, almost penniless, set out upon a recruiting expedition. They each succeeded in enlisting, for six months, a company of sixty men. In the latter part of autumn, they took up head-quarters at Charleston, whence they soon after went to Fort Johnson. During the comparative inactivity that prevailed while their rendezvous was at the fort, an incident occurred illustrative of the character of our subject:

A dashing young lieutenant, who was more a gamester than a soldier, wished to go to a cock fight, several miles distant from camp and resorted to the following method of getting off from MARION. He told him that his father was about to die, and he wished to visit him for a few days. MARION consented to his absence. He hurried to the cock fight, and remained absent some two weeks, when he returned to camp. MARION had learned, in the meantime, the nature of the trick. Entering MARION's tent, he began an embarrassed apology for his long stay. MARION turned upon him, and very sarcastically exclaimed: "Eh, lieutenant, is that you? Well, never mind it, there is no harm done. *I never missed you.*" Mortified and chapfallen, the lieutenant walked away, declaring that he "was never at such a loss before." He afterward became a good and vigilant officer.

Amid the dangers that were thickening over the colonies, MARION and others were advanced to the rank of major, and the continental forces considerably increased. He devoted himself with marked assiduity to drilling and disciplining his troops, whom he soon found in efficient military condition. "Indeed," says Weems, "I am not afraid to say that MARION was the *architect* of the second regiment, and laid the foundation of that excellent discipline and confidence in themselves, which gained them such reputation whenever they were brought to face their enemies."

MARION was now ordered with his command to Fort Moultrie, and participated gallantly in its brilliant defense; for more full particulars of which, the reader is referred to the sketch of Chief Justice Rutledge, which will be found in subsequent pages of this work. After the American victory at Fort Moultrie, important to the cause, from the fact that it was the commencement of

operations in that quarter, and tended to inspire the southern people with confidence in themselves. Moultrie was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, while MARION received a lieutenant-colonel's commission. This victory, also, as before intimated, gave to South Carolina a sufficient respite to more properly prepare herself for greater emergencies, destined to call forth her energies some time after. Much of the time of the southern army was taken up against the Indians and Tories, who caused no little annoyance. MARION, during these operations, was constantly on the alert, watching the movements of the enemy with characteristic vigilance. In 1777, he was placed in command of Fort Moultrie, a point, justly esteemed of considerable importance. A seal, in the meantime, had been put to the glory of the American cause, by the 'Declaration,' a measure which was received with every demonstration of joy by the people of the south.

In December, 1778, the British, in formidable force, appeared before the city of Savannah,—defended by a weak American garrison, under a still weaker general. After slight resistance, the city fell into the hands of the enemy. MARION, at this time, was probably, still at Fort Moultrie, or perhaps at Perrysburg,—authorities differ as to his whereabouts. The British being in possession of Savannah, made it a point of delivery for the prisoners taken by their different predatory parties that dispersed themselves over the country. It was about this time when, the Protæan sergeant, Jasper, and his brother Newton, so heroically rescued a husband, wife and child, from the hands of thrice their numbers at the Springs, well known as, the *Spa*.

The operations that followed were discouraging to the American arms. General Ashe was surprised, and completely routed from his camp, with considerable loss. The enemy penetrated the heart of Georgia, and made efforts for the entire subjection of South Carolina. Moultrie kept the field, and annoyed them whenever opportunity offered. No reliance could be placed on the militia, who grew dispirited and mutinous. General Lincoln marched his regulars toward Augusta, leaving the sea-coast open to the British,—a movement of which their general, Provost, immediately availed himself, and pushed forward to capture the city of Charleston, intending, in the meantime, to cut off the command of Moultrie, who was stationed at Black Swamp with twelve hundred men. Moultrie learning his adversary's intentions, also

made for Charleston, while Provost continued the pursuit. Moultrie reached the city a few hours in advance, and prepared it as best he could, for the reception of the enemy. Provost arrived soon after, and demanded a surrender, which was refused. Hearing that reinforcements were at hand, he immediately decamped. At Stono Ferry, he was attacked by Lincoln, but with no effect. The British now retreated to Beaufort and Savannah, at which latter place they proposed concentrating their forces, for the purpose of coping with the combined efforts of the French and Americans. MARION now abandoned Fort Moultrie,—the necessity for its occupancy no longer existing.

In the fall of 1779, Count D'Estaing, with the French fleet, appeared on the coast to act in concert with the southern land armies. General Lincoln now hastened to Savannah with the intention of forcing the British to evacuate the city. The French troops also landed with the same view. The city was ordered to surrender; the enemy asked twenty-four hours to consider the matter, which was foolishly granted. Before the expiration of the time, the garrison was largely reinforced, and its fortifications greatly strengthened. With the American demand to surrender, the British now refused to comply. A slight effort at the commencement would have wrested the place from the hands of the enemy. "My God!" exclaimed MARION, when he heard the way things were going, "who ever heard of any thing like this before? First, allow an enemy to intrench, and then fight him! See the destruction brought upon the British at Bunkers Hill,—yet our troops there were only raw militia, half armed clodhoppers, and not a mortar or cannon, not even a swivel, only their ducking guns! What, then, are we to expect from regulars completely armed with a choice train of artillery, and covered by a breastwork?" This grant of twenty-four hour's time for 'consideration,' lost to the Americans the city, and near fifty men to the hour. With gallantry they began operations for a siege. Having advanced their works to a state of completion sufficient, it was presumed, to justify it, they opened their guns upon the city. Their fire had little or no effect. It was then resolved to take the place by storm. The 9th of October was fixed for the attempt. Count D'Estaing was first to lead the attack, but was immediately forced back by the fire of the guns from the city. The other French columns shared the same fate. The brave Count

Pulaski, while leading his cavalry forward, received a mortal wound, and his troops fell back toward the wood. The American troops fared little better. Headed by Laurens and MARION, they rushed gallantly to the assault upon the redoubt. They got to the ditch, when a murderous discharge from the enemy made them reel back with great slaughter. The colors they bore were the same presented to Jasper at Fort Moultrie, for his daring, on the occasion of its defense; these were about falling into the hands of the British. Fierce and bloody was the contest that ensued. The Americans fell in heaps around their proud banners. Bush and Jasper were both mortally wounded. One of the banners (Jasper's), fell into the ditch, wrapping the corpse of Bush who fell with it. The other was snatched from the hands of Grey, by McDonald, just as the former fell to the earth by a musket ball, and was saved. After a terrible waste of life they withdrew. The French and American loss amounted to over eleven hundred, among whom were Jasper, Bush, and Count Pulaski. The British loss amounted to a mere trifle. Laurens, on this occasion, behaved with great bravery. Stopping amid the balls that whizzed around him when the retreat was ordered, he looked at the slaughtered heaps of his brave men, and exclaimed: "Poor fellows, I envy you," then wrathfully threw his sword toward the enemy. Turning to Horry, he then added: "My life is a burden to me; I would to God I was lying on yonder hill with my poor men."

After the disastrous attempt upon Savannah, matters looked gloomy enough. The French withdrew from the coast, while General Lincoln, with the remains of his army retreated to Sheldon. Thence, leaving MARION in command, he hastened to Charleston. The task of disciplining the militia fell chiefly to MARION; he, soon after, proceeded to Bacon's Bridge; a point where Moultrie had collected some raw recruits for that purpose.

South Carolina was now virtually subjugated. Savannah was in the hands of the invaders, and Charleston was threatened. The regular troops had, in various skirmishes, and by sickness, melted away. The Georgia corps had been taken prisoners; the militia were refractory; the State was out of funds, and the people everywhere were disheartened. The British now determined to besiege Charleston. In 1780, the city was formally invested by Sir Henry Clinton, at the head of a large body of troops fresh from the

north. After a siege of six weeks, the city was surrendered to the superior forces of the enemy, and the garrison became prisoners of war. MARION was, on this occasion, somewhat curiously kept from being among the prisoners. Obeying the command of his superior officer, he had hastened to the city to join in its defense. While it was being invested by the enemy, however, he was invited, along with some others, to dine with a friend. The invitation was accepted. After dinner, the over-hospitable host locked his friends in the room, declaring, in accordance with the custom of the times, that they should try his liquors. Most of the company were not averse to potations of the kind. MARION was too temperate. To avoid both drinking and censure, he slipped himself out at the window, and falling a considerable distance to the ground, broke his ankle. This disabled him from active service. He was carried on a litter to the country, whence he proceeded to his residence.

The fall of Charleston was a heavy blow. During previous operations, it had been well stored with provisions and necessaries for the army, all of which fell into the hands of the enemy. Beside, it gave them command of the entire coast. Scenes, the most revolting, succeeded the surrender of Charleston. Cornwallis took command of the British forces in the south, while the impetuous Tarleton, dashed with his dragoons over the country, with effect more destructive than a pestilence. Prisoners were taken and crowded into ships' holds to die a wretched death,—property was destroyed without considering its value; farms were overrun and devastated, while slaves were torn from their plantations and sold in the India markets. Gloom and distress were on all sides. In the midst of these difficulties, it was ascertained that Colonel Beaufort was on his way from the north, with a stout reinforcement of regulars. This force, however, was intercepted by Tarleton, and utterly annihilated. The last ray of hope seemed dimmed. Rutledge, Horry and Sumpter went north, imploring assistance for their distracted country.

MARION now retired to the swamps, where he remained, until learning that a strong reinforcement under Baron De Kalb, was on the way to their assistance, he then mounted his horse, and proceeded to North Carolina for the pur[illegible]e of joining it. When he came up to the army, instead of L[illegible]alb, he found Gates in command. That arrogant officer had a very poor opinion of

MARION and his twenty followers, as may be inferred from the following description given of them at the time, by one of his officers: "Colonel MARION, a gentleman from South Carolina, had been with the army a few days, attended by a very few followers, distinguished by small leather caps and the wretchedness of their attire; their number did not exceed twenty, men and boys, some white, some black, and all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped; their appearance was, in fact, so burlesque, that it was with much difficulty, the derision of the regular soldiery was restrained by the officers; and the general himself was glad of an opportunity of detaching Colonel MARION, at his own instance, toward the interior of South Carolina, with orders to watch the movements of the enemy, and furnish intelligence." MARION now proceeded to the center of South Carolina with his followers, destroying the boats on the route, according to the instructions of Gates, for the purpose of preventing the escape of Cornwallis from the country.

After the departure of MARION, Gates marched ahead, thinking of nothing less than the speedy capture of the British army. August 15th, 1780, found him encamped at Rugely's mills. Leaving that point near midnight, and pursuing his march, he came upon the enemy, without so much as knowing they were anywhere in the vicinity. Prudent man, truly! Resting under arms, the two armies closely watched each other until daylight, which found the Americans partially formed for battle. They were already worn out by long and fatiguing marches, and murmurs of discontent ran along the lines as they found themselves thus pitched against the foe. De Kalb was stationed on the right, at the head of the Maryland and Delaware troops; Stevens on the left with the Virginians; Caswell in the center with the North Carolinians,—while the artillery was placed in the road. The British came to action in a single column, with both wings protected by select reserves. Gates' militia became frightened the moment they saw the enemy. The battle began by an attack upon Stevens' troops on the left, who, panic stricken, fled immediately, many of them without firing a shot. The North Carolina militia did the same thing; Armand's cavalry followed their example, and Gates, under pretense of rallying, *did the same thing.*

The brave veterans of De Kalb were now left alone to bear up

under the efforts of the entire British army. Steel to steel now rushed the combatants in bloody fight. With hearts of oak, led by De Kalb, the old continentals stood their ground, and fought with the courage of desperation. Like a Roman Dentatus, the old veteran braved every peril, and urged on his men. The contest was too unequal. A sweeping charge from the British cavalry, and the inclosure of the Americans by their reserves, put them to flight. De Kalb fell, pierced with eleven wounds,—each of which opened its bloody mouth to proclaim his undying glory. The American loss was heavy, that of the enemy, comparatively light. Thus ended the battle of Camden,—the results of which were peculiarly embarrassing to the cause at that time. Sumpter had, by a successful attack upon the enemy at another point, taken several hundred prisoners, and a large quantity of stores and provisions. Flushed with his victory, he was hastening toward the foe, when he learned the dispersion of Gates' entire army. It was too late to take precautionary steps to avoid the collision, and falling in with the dragoons of Tarleton, he, too, lost the fruits of his hardy and intrepid enterprise, and became a fugitive without a command.*

Upon these results, South Carolina was virtually a British province. It was now, that the high qualities of MARION developed themselves, and revived the hopes of the disheartened people.

MARION, it will be remembered, left the army of Gates, with his leather capped followers, for Carolina; he left, in compliance with the request of the patriots of Williamsburg, to take command of a newly raised corps, that was ready to take the field. This corps was composed of men of intrepid bravery, who excelled in horsemanship, and could bring a squirrel from the tops of the tallest trees, without difficulty. These men had met spontaneously, for the purpose of considering measures for the defense of the country, and proffering their services in whatever capacity they might be required. Clinton's proclamations, issued after the fall of Charleston, offering pardon to all who would return to allegiance, induced the idea with many who looked upon the cause as hopelessly lost, that, by accepting the terms, they could, at least, enjoy repose at their own homes. The first proclamation, upon this presumption,

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* Weems. Simms.

had weighty effect; but, upon the issue of the second, setting forth the expectation, that all who accepted the terms of British *protection*, guaranteed in the first, would rally to the standard of the British army, rather changed the face of affairs. If fight they must, it was but reasonable that they should fight their own battles. The hardy Williamsburgers, not being very well versed in proclamations, after forming themselves into the brigade just mentioned, placed themselves temporarily under the command of Major John James, a hardy yeoman of intelligence and considerable mettle. James' first duty was to go to Georgetown, and inquire of the British captain, Ardesoif, what they were to understand by the proclamations. In answer to his interrogatory, the insolent captain replied, that: "His Majesty offers you pardon of which you are undeserving, for you all ought to be hung; but, it is only on condition that you take up arms in his cause." To this James tartly replied: "The people whom I have the honor to represent, will never submit on such conditions." "The people whom *you* have the honor to REPRESENT!" said Ardesoif, "you d—d rebel, if you dare speak such language to me, I will have you hung up in an instant." The sentence was scarcely uttered, when, springing to his feet, the gallant James, with his chair, knocked the English captain full length on the floor. He then mounted his horse, and was soon on his way to Williamsburg, and beyond the reach of pursuit. On his return, he gave the result of his interview to eager listeners, who highly extolled his conduct, and resolved to fight to the death for their native soil. Such was the formation of MARION's famous brigade. Under Major James, they immediately commenced operations. MARION met their advance at Lynch's Creek, on the 12th of August. He was now General MARION, duly commissioned by Rutledge, who well knew his sterling worth. Judge James, then a boy of fifteen, serving in the brigade, has left the following of MARION's personal appearance, at the time he received this commission: "He was a stranger to the officers and men, and they flocked around him to obtain a sight of their future commander. He was rather below the middle stature, lean and swarthy. His body was well set, but his knees and ankles were badly formed, and he still limped upon one leg. He had a countenance remarkably steady; his nose was aquiline, his chin projecting; his forehead large and high, and his eyes black.

and piercing. He was then forty-eight years of age, with a frame capable of enduring fatigue and every privation. He was dressed in a close round-bodied crimson jacket, of a coarse texture, and wore a leather cap, part of the uniform of the second regiment, with a silver crescent in front, inscribed with the words: 'Liberty or Death.'"

Such was the man who was to change the face of affairs. MARION's first duty, on assuming his command, was to supply his soldiers with good heavy broadswords. These he had manufactured of the old saws procured from the various mills in the country. Having made this provision, he put his troops in motion. His first attempts were against the Tories. Learning that a large body of these were in the neighborhood of Nelson's Ferry on the main road leading from Charleston to Camden, at which points the larger portions of the British army were posted, he resolved to surprise them. Concealing his men in the swamp, during the day, he sent active scouts to watch the road and bring in intelligence; these soon reported that a body of ninety Tories, with some three hundred prisoners, were on the way to Charleston. Near night-fall, MARION and his men started in pursuit, and crossed the river just after the enemy, resolving to surprise them. The Tories halted at the first tavern, called the Blue House. MARION and his men, by a little circuit, came upon them the next morning about daylight. The surprise was nearly complete. The whole party was captured without the loss of a man on his part, and but three on the other side. All their prisoners, arms, etc., fell into the hands of the Americans. Strange as it may seem, not one of the liberated prisoners could be prevailed on to shoulder a musket, and join their deliverers.

MARION now retired to Britton's Neck, where he remained but a short time, when learning that a large body of Tories were gathering on the Pedee, he determined upon another bold stroke. By a forced march of forty miles, they reached the Tory camp before the wretches knew they were in the vicinity. Again he was successful. Nearly the entire party were either killed or taken prisoners. He again returned to Britton's Neck, without the loss of a soldier. The British determined to put a stop to these proceedings, and sent a large force to take the brigade. MARION retreated before them, until the enemy fell back and became separated into three divisions. One of these, a body of Tories,

was stationed at Black Mingo. These MARION resolved to attack. Facing about, they took up their line of march, crossed the Black Mingo, and fell upon them when least expected.

Over half their number was killed, mortally wounded, or taken prisoners. After these brilliant engagements, MARION and his men went into the valley of Waccamaw, among good friends, for the purpose of taking some rest. They were received by the over-joyed Whigs with open doors and open arms. They were not long permitted to repose in this miniature Capua of plenty. They had not more than fairly recruited themselves, when a young man, the son of a good patriot from the interior, dashed up to the outposts and informed MARION that the Tories were gathering in mass, about seventy miles above, on the Pedee. MARION'S resolution was instantly taken; he resolved to surprise them. His brigade was immediately put in readiness, to begin a rapid march, in the night time, the light of the full moon greatly facilitating their progress. By daylight they had gained the swamp, where they effectually concealed themselves. His spies were sent to watch the road, and bring in intelligence of the enemy. Toward evening, they returned to the ambush of the troop, with marvelous accounts of the Tories that had lined the road through the day with loaded wagons and furbished arms, marching toward the Pedee. Soon as it was fairly dark, MARION and his men dashed ahead at full gallop in pursuit. A few hours brought them in sight of the camp fires. They now dismounted, and noiselessly tied their horses. The Tories were regaling themselves in high glee; drinking, smoking, cooking their supper and playing cards, a livelier party was scarce ever seen to grace a wedding feast,—they had not even posted a guard to watch their outposts. MARION'S lip curled with pleasure as he saw they were in his power. Surveying them for a moment, he separated his men into three divisions, which, circling around their foes on as many sides, crouched, like tigers, to pounce upon their prey. So cautiously had these movements been effected, that each division reached its post, and had their steady muskets pointed to the Tories, without their even dreaming of danger. So close were they, that the "jibes and jeers" of the card-players could be easily heard. MARION took a central position, and was to fire his pistol as the signal. All things were ready. MARION raised his pistol and fired. Three livid streams of death poured upon the Tories, who

could not have been more surprised had a volcano burst under their feet. The scene that followed was indescribable. The sharp crack of the rifle echoed far and near; the horses snapped their bridles and ran furiously away; the woods blazed with the lurid flash of the powder; the shouts of the victors, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the survivors, all conspired to make that night scene sublimely terrible. Victory could not have been more signal. On their first fire, twenty-three Tories fell dead. MARION captured almost the entire party, took eighty-four stands of arms, and a large quantity of baggage and provisions, without the loss of a man.

These brilliant achievements gave fresh hopes to the country, and induced many to rally to the cause. To capture "*Mr.* MARION," as Cornwallis called him, now became an object of leading interest with the British, and Tarleton was deputed for the task. He rose from a sick bed, and undertook its execution. He set out from Charleston to join his legion, then at Camden. MARION, in the meantime, made an effort to capture his dragoons, but, owing to some misunderstanding on the part of his scouts, did not succeed. Tarleton, by rapid marches, after having joined his legion, encamped in the immediate vicinity of MARION's force. The latter resolved to fall back. Reaching a strong position, trees were piled across the road, and other rude defenses prepared. This being done, he resolved to await the enemy's approach. About the time, however, he made this stand, Tarleton abandoned the pursuit, and, directing his thoughts to Sumpter, remarked to his troops, "Come, my boys! let us go back, we will soon find the game cock; but as for this d—d *swamp-fox* (MARION) the devil himself could not catch him."

MARION now directed his movements against Georgetown. His bold dashes at the enemy, aroused the country and perplexed the invaders, more than any other species of warfare. The position of the British was highly favorable. With a chain of posts stretching from Charleston to Augusta, embracing Ninety-six, Georgetown, Camden, and Winnsboro', the coast was secure. These posts were protected, in front, by a chain of smaller posts, consisting of forts Granby, Watson, and Motte. Beside these, nearly all the towns and cities of importance, were in their possession. Nothing but this bold partisan species of warfare, to carry on which no one was better qualified than MARION, could have succeeded

against such combined preparation and strength. Dashing from point to point, with his ubiquitous brigade, like a Roderick Dhu, his bold warriors would constantly cut off, from the enemy, small detachments, when least expected, and then escape to their hiding-places with a celerity that bid defiance to pursuit.

Crossing Black River, MARION now concealed himself in the swamps whence Horry was sent to reconnoiter Georgetown. Lying in concealment for some time, without making any discovery, Horry took his little band to a Mr. White's for refreshment. Before they were procured, however, he was surprised by seventeen mounted British, under Captain Merrit. They immediately sprang to their saddles and faced the enemy, who as quickly turned and fled. A brisk chase ensued. Every man of the surprising party, save three, are said to have fallen. Merrit reached a dense swamp, after a narrow escape, and, in the night, made his way into Charleston, according to Weems, "as gray as a badger," in consequence of his fright. Another party, dispatched on the same business, under Captain Melton, did not fare so well. They fell in with a party of Tories, and were driven off with the loss of some prisoners; among whom was young Gabriel Marion, a nephew of our hero, who was most inhumanly murdered. Thus warned of MARION's designs upon Georgetown, the British so strengthened it, that the Americans withdrew to Snow's Island, and pitched their camp. Snow's Island was well adapted to his operations. Having secured the boats, and fortified the place as well as circumstances would permit, he prepared to cut off whatever parties of the enemy vigilance and caution could bring in his way.

The cruelties now practised over the country, by the enemy, created a revengeful spirit in the minds of the yeomanry, and induced daily accessions to his little force. Thus was MARION situated in December, 1780.

During the encampment at Snow's Island, many daring exploits were performed by both MARION and his officers. The Horrys, the Conyers, the Witherspoons, and the Baxters, brave men all, were true as steel to his fortunes. Of Peter Horry, several amusing incidents have been related. He was a man of true courage and devotion, but no great martinet. Though no rider, he had a passion to lead mounted men, and was often saved from death by his soldiers. Swimming a stream, on one occasion, he became

tangled in the boughs of a tree, where, Absalom like, he remained swinging over the water, while his horse swam to the shore. He would certainly have perished, had not his men come to his relief. On another occasion, he was sent to intercept a detachment of the British. He concealed his men in a thicket, most dexterously, and awaited the enemy's approach, with orders for them to fire immediately on his giving the word. He stammered considerably, particularly when excited. The British came on right in the midst of the ambush. All excitement, Horry attempted to give the word, *fire!* It was no go. "*Fi—fi—fi!*" he cried, but the "*r-e*" would not out. At length, irritated beyond measure, as the enemy was about stepping unhurt through the ambush, he bawled out: "*Shoot!* d—n you, SHOOT! *you know what I would say. Shoot, and be d—d to you!*" At another time, while he was engaged in a skirmish, Captain Baxter was posted where he was much exposed to the fire of the enemy. Being struck by a ball, he cried out: "I 'm wounded, Colonel." "Think no more of it, Baxter, but stand to your post," said Horry. A moment after, being struck by another bullet, Baxter said: "I 'm wounded again, and can't stand." "Lie down then, Baxter, but don't quit your post," coolly answered the Colonel. "I 'm wounded a third time, and, if I stay here any longer, I shall be shot all to pieces," immediately exclaimed the seeming martyr. "Be it so, Baxter, but stir not," replied the incorrigible Colonel. Baxter obeyed, and received another shot soon after.

It was about this time, that a British officer, whose object was to confer with MARION in regard to the exchange of prisoners, was carried to his camp, and so politely *feasted* on sweet potatoes. Asking MARION if it was his usual fare, and being answered in the affirmative, and that his men thus lived among their forests, and fought without pay for their liberty, it made such impression on his mind, that he is said to have returned to camp a changed man, and to have immediately resigned the service.

The efforts of MARION and his brave colleagues, had kept the banner of liberty waving, and the camp-fires of resistance burning, until a more glorious page in the records of southern warfare was about to be turned. In 1781, General Greene assumed the command of the forces of the south. Not so haughty and self-willed as Gates, he knew full well how to appreciate the daring heroes, who, unaided, had breasted the storm against odds over-

whelming, resources, between which and their own, no shade of comparison could justly be instituted. The hopes infused into the minds of the people, on this assumption of command by Greene, were elevated by the fall of Clermont, a British post of considerable strength, commanded by Colonel Rugely. It was attacked by Colonel Washington, and taken. This seemed to be a good omen of Greene's successes in the south, and was so construed by the people.

Greene immediately addressed the following letter to MARION, which shows he had the proper estimate of the brave partisan:

"I have not the honor of your acquaintance, but am no stranger to your character and merit. Your services in the lower part of South Carolina, in awing the Tories and preventing the enemy from extending their lines, have been very important; and it is my earnest desire that you continue where your are until further advice from me. Your letter of the 22d of last month, to General Gates, is before me. I am fully sensible that your service is hard and that your trials are great, but how great the prize for which we contend! I like your plan of frequently shifting your ground. It frequently prevents a surprise, and perhaps the loss of your whole party. Until a more permanent army can be collected than is in the field at present, we must endeavor to keep up a partisan war, and preserve the tide of sentiment among the people in our favor as much as possible. Spies are the eyes of an army, and without them a general is always groping in the dark, and can neither secure himsef nor annoy his enemy. At present, I am badly off for intelligence. It is of the highest importance, that I get the earliest intelligence of any reinforcements which may arrive at Charleston. I wish you, therefore, to fix some plan for procuring such information and conveying it to me with all possible dispatch. The spy should be taught to be particular in his inquiries, and get the names of the corps, strength, and commanding officer's name,—place whence they came, and where they are going. It will be best to fix upon somebody in town to do this, and have a runner between you and him to give you the intelligence; as a person who lives out of town can not make the inquiries without being suspected. The utmost secrecy will be necessary in the business."

MARION was at Black River, still watching a favorable moment to attack Georgetown, when he received this letter. It is needless

to say its contents were carefully noted, and the requests, as far as possible, complied with. McArthur and Coffin, with some British troops, were between Hick's Creek and the High Hills of Santee. To watch their movements, MARION took position at Lynch's Creek; pretty strong forces were also sent to the vicinity of Georgetown, while others were busily engaged in storing provisions and necessaries at Snow's Island. Quite a series of maneuvers were now directed against Georgetown, which, owing to the want of artillery, proved of little avail. Not long after, MARION was joined by Lee and his famous legion. The following impressions left by Lee of MARION, at this time, are, no doubt, about correct: "MARION," he says, "was about forty eight years of age, small in stature, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious and taciturn. Enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deplored the condition of his beloved country. The commonweal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary sullied his ermine character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived, and retiring to those hidden retreats selected by himself in the morasses of Pedee and Black River, he placed his corps, not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends. A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart; and, during the difficult course of warfare through which he passed, calumny itself, never charged him with molesting the rights of persons, property, or humanity. Never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it, and acting for all around him, as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when necessary. Never elated with prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved his equanimity, which won the admiration of his friends and exalted the respect of his enemies."*

MARION and Lee now made a bold attempt to surprise Georgetown, but owing to a variety of causes, were unsuccessful. Had they possessed the requisite artillery, they would, no doubt, have taken the place. They next undertook the surprise of Colonel Watson at Nelson's Ferry, and pushed rapidly forward for that purpose; the colonel was apprised of their designs, and threw his men into Fort Watson, some distance above.

Lee was now ordered to rejoin Greene; and, deprived of his co-operation, MARION was again thrown comparatively upon his

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* Lee's Memoirs. Simms.

own resources. Far from relaxing his efforts, he sent active parties across the Santee and in the vicinity of Monk's Corner, with instructions to destroy the British stores and annoy the enemy. These were very successful, and rendered important service. MARION now organized a troop of cavalry, the command of which was given to Colonel Horry; he, also, had new swords manufactured for his soldiers. The cavalry proved of considerable service. This troop it was, to which Scotch McDonald belonged, who wheedled the old Tory out of his fine horse, Selim, astride of which he galloped through Georgetown, and had such a chase after Major Gainey.

The direction of his course toward Virginia, by Cornwallis, induced a temporary absence of Greene from Carolina, of which the British availed themselves to pour their myrmidons over the country, pillaging and plundering in every direction. MARION and his gallant followers were the chief obstacles to their progress. Colonel Watson was sent to take the "Swamp-fox," as Tarleton styled him, on his failure to accomplish the same business. Colonel Tynes, in the meantime, had collected another stout force, with which, smarting under his former defeat, and burning for revenge, he went into the forests to encounter the Americans. MARION proved more than a match for him, and he was again surprised and beaten, with the loss of almost the entire party. His next operations were against Major McIlraith, a British officer, who was sent in advance of Watson, to watch the movements of the Americans. MARION started in pursuit of that officer, whom he overtook at "Half-way Swamp." An attack immediately took place. With little loss to either party, the Major drew his troops to open ground. Here, MARION challenged him to a combat between twenty picked men from each side. McIlraith consented, and the preliminaries were arranged. No sooner, however, had the twenty Americans started to meet their antagonists, than the twenty British selected for the fight, wheeled round and fell back to their own lines. That night McIlraith abandoned his heavy baggage, and retreated to a strong position.

Watson and Doyle were now coming with a strong force upon the partisan hero. MARION, by a rapid march, hastened to meet Watson at Watboo Swamp. Colonel Horry was sent in advance with the horse. Colonel Richbourg was sent in advance by the enemy, with their horse, also. The two colonels met. Each

being surprised, seemed disposed to fall back. Recovering, however, Horry charged the foe with great coolness and drove them back, until arrested by the main body of the enemy. He now retreated, and was pursued in turn, until falling back to the advance of the regular forces, a stand was made. Here, after a series of brilliant displays of personal daring, the Tories were again driven to the shelter of Watson's regulars. MARION, next morning, began a slow retreat, hoping to lure the enemy into an ambuscade. In this hope he was not wholly disappointed. Crossing Black River, he destroyed the bridge, and so posted his sharpshooters as to dispute its passage. Watson came up, and opened his artillery against them across the stream, but with no effect. Every British soldier that approached the river was shot down. Watson was in great perplexity. He sent MARION a note, complaining of the uncivilized manner of his fighting, to which the latter paid no attention. An attempt was now made to pass the ford, but no sooner did the men approach the river than they were shot down. Some of MARION's men, in fact, climbed trees with their rifles, in order to get better aim at those who would not approach the stream on the opposite side. McDonald, the Murat of the southern army, was quite conspicuous on this occasion. He sent Watson word, that if he did not return his wardrobe, which had been stolen from him by the Tories, some time before, he would kill eight of his men. Knowing he would do what he said, his clothes were returned. "Tell Watson," said McDonald to the bearer, "that I will *now* kill but *four* of his men." He kept his word. Watson, after being harassed to death, retreated rapidly to Ox Swamp. Again he found MARION ready to intercept him. He now took to the woods, and made for the Santee, but again MARION was on his back. Horry's cavalry was in full pursuit, and cut off his men at every turn. At Sandpit Bridge, he was again discomfited by an ambuscade prepared for his reception. Beaten at every turn, and filled with mortification, he finally reached Georgia.

Watson, Doyle, and the Tories of Gainey, now aimed to combine their forces, for the purpose of making a final effort at MARION's expulsion from the province, which would leave it entirely in the hands of the British. Greene having returned to South Carolina, Lee hastened with his legion to rejoin MARION. Soon after the junction, these officers formally invested Fort

Watson, built upon an Indian mound, immediately on the banks of the Santee. After a siege of eight days, the fort was surrendered to the Americans, with its garrison and contents. Watson and Doyle were, soon after, called to assist Rawdon at Camden, which considerably weakened the enemy's forces in that part of the country. After the fall of the fort, Lee was recalled to the main army of Greene, and MARION again left upon his own resources.

MARION now did every thing possible to second the efforts of Greene. The brave Colonel Harden was sent against Fort Balfour, which soon surrendered to his men. He continued his efforts with success, cutting the enemy's small parties to pieces, annoying their foragers, and stirring up the people. So energetic was he, that from ninety, his command had soon swollen to two hundred effective men. MARION next invested Fort Motte, which, after a stout resistance, was forced to surrender.

The manner in which this fort was taken must be recorded. It was named Fort Motte, after the owner of the fine mansion adjoining it. He had been some time dead, but the house was still owned by his widow, Mrs. Motte (her name should be written in gold.) After the fort was invested, and operations began, Rawdon hastened from Camden to its relief. He was near at hand, with forces twice the number of the Americans. Before it could be forced to surrender by the ordinary process, he would be there. What was to be done? To set Mrs. Motte's house on fire, would force the garrison to a speedy surrender. MARION reluctantly suggested the idea to the lady. With a noble virtue, worthy the Spartan mothers, when they buckled the armor to their sons and sent them to battle, she said she would be proud to make the sacrifice for her country. By means of friction arrows, which she herself provided, the house was fired on the roof and was soon in a blaze. As the flames curled up, the commander, McPherson, hung out the white flag of surrender. The tide of affairs began now to exhibit a favorable change. After the investiture of Ninety-six by Greene, MARION and Sumpter were directed to hold Rawdon in check, who, it will be remembered, had reduced Camden to ashes, and hastened to the protection of the British posts. MARION had withdrawn from the regular army, after the fall of Fort Motte, and had joined Sumpter; the two made bold and successful assaults on the enemy whenever opportunity offered. Emboldened

by their successes in this way, MARION resolved upon another attempt against Georgetown. The place was formally invested on the 6th of June. The garrison, dispirited by their late losses, made little resistance, and fled to their vessels in the bay adjacent. Thus the place fell into the hands of the Americans. After destroying the works, and removing the valuables to a place of security, not being able to detach a garrison from his army to hold the town, he departed for St. Stevens. The arrival of reinforcements, enabled Rawdon to elude the vigilance of MARION and Sumpter, and hasten to the relief of Ninety-six, closely besieged by Greene. The loyalists around Charleston gathered, about this time, and under Colonel Ball, determined to lay waste the whole adjacent country. Hearing of their movements, MARION hastened himself, and drew off all the movable valuables, and destroyed the balance. He was, soon after, joined by Colonel Washington with his command. Operations were now directed against the enemy in the vicinity of Charleston, whither they had been forced to concentrate by the combined efforts of the Americans. A large detachment, under Sumpter, was sent against the British in that quarter. Before reaching the enemy, Sumpter separated his men into three divisions. Lee was sent against Dorchester, which quickly yielded to his arms. Colonel Hampton attacked the quarter-house, and penetrated to the very gates of the city. MARION and Sumpter, attacked Colonel Coates, stationed in force at Biggen. This was a strong redoubt, protected by a brick meeting-house. The post took its name from Biggen Creek, one of several small streams among which were Watboo and Quinby Creeks. Across the Watboo was a bridge leading from the enemy's post to the opposite shore. MARION sent a small detachment ahead to destroy this bridge. Unwilling to risk an engagement with superior numbers, they waited for reinforcements. Horry soon arrived, and attempted the destruction of the brigde. A brisk engagement ensued, in which each party seemed alternately successful. Various maneuvers, such as feints of attack, etc., were resorted to by the British to gain time, designing in the night to retreat. These partially succeeded. About midnight, setting fire to their stores and baggage, they began a retreat. The Americans were quickly on the alert. Hampton started in pursuit of the cavalry, but in vain; they effected their escape. MARION was more successful. Dashing ahead after the

enemy's infantry, he came up with them near Quinby Creek, and charged them furiously. They threw down their arms in cowardly confusion, without firing a shot. Coates had passed the Quinby bridge, and planted a howitzer to dispute its passage by the Americans. The cavalry dashed ahead over the bridge, drove the men from the howitzer, and opened the way for the other troops. Desperate encounters ensued. The crossing of Quinby bridge was a perilous undertaking; but the legion was used to peril, and so was MARION. Armstrong and Macauley, who, with their followers, succeeded in crossing the bridge, now finding themselves separated from the main army, and being exposed to Coates' superior numbers in front, headed the stream and made good their escape. Coates now retired to an adjacent farm, resolved to protect himself under cover of the buildings. Late in the afternoon, Sumpter came up with the main army. The British were drawn up for battle in front of Shubrick's dwelling. Sumpter attacked it with much courage. MARION's men bore the brunt of the day. The fight lasted several hours, and raged with intense fury. Sumpter was, at length, compelled to retreat, which he did in tolerable order, across the Santee. He lost many brave men, fifty of whom were of MARION's chosen troops, the entire body of whom fought like lions, imperiling their own for the lives of their comrades. The latter success of this expedition, may be mainly attributed to the breaking up of the forces into small detachments, by Sumpter.

After this engagement, Sumpter went up the Congeree, leaving MARION on the Santee. It was about this time that the execution of Colonel Hayne took place, which left a stain upon the character of Rawdon, and elicited the execrations of humanity everywhere. MARION remained on the Santee but a short time, when he moved his forces to Pon-Pon. Colonel Harden was in that neighborhood, and menaced by the enemy, with numbers vastly superior to his own. After a rapid and secret march of over a hundred miles, he reached the neighborhood, and set a successful snare for the British. He concealed his men in the swamp near Parker's Ferry, by the road along which he knew Major Frazier would soon pass with a body of British cavalry. He then sent out a small body of horse to lure them into the ambush. The trick was successful. Frazier pursued the horse, who retreated as directed, until the enemy were completely in the snare. Every musket of

MARION'S party, instantly hurled a mesenger of death upon the pursuing party. They aimed to charge the swamp, but another volley poured upon them with equal effect, made them recoil. Had MARION'S ammunition held out, the entire party would have been captured. Their loss was very heavy. Near thirty horses were found dead the day after; there must have been twice that number of men killed, as many horses, without their riders, were known to have run frantically from the scene. Thus, by a bold stroke, he had relieved Harden, and thinned the enemy's numbers without the loss of a man. These actions took place about the last of August, 1781.

MARION, now, by a dextrous movement, effected a junction with Greene in time to participate in the memorable battle of Eutaw Springs, of which enough has been said. As elsewhere said, a check was forever put to British, power in the south, at that battle. The enemy retreated from the field, and MARION and Lee were the first in pursuit. The British, feeling that their vaunted power was near an end, gave themselves up to plunder and rapacity.

Stewart, Doyle, and the other officers, now seemed disposed to lay in large supplies of provisions, etc., at Charleston, preparatory to a siege, and make arrangements for eventual flight, if unsuccessful. Rutledge issued a proclamation, calling on all who had accepted the terms of the English generals, to enroll under their true flag, promising pardon and protection to all who would comply. The American general, Greene, continued a close watch upon the movements of Stewart. Thus, the year 1781 passed by. MARION, in the meantime, had been elected a member of the Assembly, for which he surely was not so well adapted as the field. This was the same Assembly convened by Rutledge at Jacksonboro, where he was so careful to have sufficiency of rice prepared for their *feasting*, on the occasion of his resignation of the dictatorship. General Leslie was now in chief command of the British forces in Charleston, the only very important place remaining in their possession. Many minor skirmishes ensued, though the war was virtually at an end. MARION was called to the camp of Greene, in consequence of a rumor to the effect, that Leslie had been largely reinforced, which proved to be false. Shortly after, he had a slight affair with a small body of British horse at St. Thomas, which he defeated.

MARION now gave the command of his troop to his old friend, Horry, and took his seat in the Assembly at Jacksonboro, as senator from St. John's. The Confiscation Act, the approval of which by Rutledge, drew upon him the dislike of many, was the most important measure acted upon. During MARION's absence, his brigade was attacked by a detachment of the enemy from Charleston. They lost several valuable horses, and some equipage; though, but few men. MARION returned shortly after, and resumed its command.

In a spirited affair that took place with a body of British horse shortly after his resumption of the command, his brigade fully vindicated its past reputation. Unimportant skirmishes, like these, continued to take place between small parties, until the evacuation of Charleston by the British. After that event, which Moultrie describes, as "a grand and pleasing sight," MARION separated from his brigade, and retired to his farm. Though the war was over,—the great battle of liberty fought and won,—his fields, like those of many others, were but a desolated waste. After devoting himself, for a short time, to repairing his farm and getting it into tilling condition, he was again sent to the Senate from St. Johns. With motives pure, a judgment clear, a mind practically, at least, well informed, and eminently patriotic, he was sure to subserve the interests of his country to the best of his ability; though of FRANCIS MARION as a legislator, we think but little can be said.

He was opposed to the Confiscation Act, of which more will be said in the Life of Rutledge, and used every endeavor against its passage. In 1784, by legislative enactment, Fort Johnson was built in Charleston harbor, and garrisoned. MARION was made commander, with a salary of five hundred pounds.

During the same year, MARION was married to Miss Mary Videau, a lady of sterling qualities, fine sense, and considerable wealth. He was now over fifty years of age; his wife was not young, but is said to have watched his movements and listened to the recital of his exploits with all the pride of early girlhood for a length of time. This marriage proved eminently happy, qualified only by a want of issue. Thus in the bosom of a *family* he passed, quietly upon his farm, the residue of his life, leaving the influence of untarnished example to all posterity.

In 1794, he was addressed by a committee appointed by the

citizens of Georgetown, in flattering but modest terms. To this he made a short but appropriate verbal reply. His retiracy from all public cares, was the result of his knowledge of the fact that he was failing. He knew well that his life's sands were ebbing gently away.

He talked of approaching death with the serenity of a mind "soothed and sustained by an unfaltering trust." "Death may be to others," said he, "a leap in the dark, but I rather consider it a resting-place, where old age may throw off its burdens." He afterward said to his wife: "I am not afraid to die; for, thank God, I can lay my hand on my heart and say, that since I came to man's estate, I have never intentionally done wrong to any one."

Thus died FRANCIS MARION, on the 25th of February, 1795, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Enduring as truth itself, he will live where he rose, among the patriots of that day, till the War of Independence be forgotten.



JOSEPH WARREN.

JOSEPH WARREN.

"ROMANS know not only how to act, but how to suffer," exclaimed the heroic young Mutius, as he held his hand to the burning flames in presence of Etrurian Porsenna, who was endeavoring to re-establish the tyranny of the Tarquins over his beloved country. He held it there till it burned from his arm; thus showing the terrified king what Romans could endure for their homes and household gods.

While a foreign potentate was forging fetters for our country, many brave Americans, young, gifted and accomplished, proved that they knew "not only how to act, but how to suffer!" as they freely laid down their hopes, their fortunes, their lives for liberty. Among these, who will not remember the first hero martyr of the Revolution, JOSEPH WARREN? Accomplished, ardent, generous and esteemed, in the morning of a future of promise and usefulness, soon as the first war-note had sounded, tearing himself from life's endearments, he hastened to Bunker Hill, to make of his name a talisman, of himself an example throughout the struggle,—and that name, that example, will live when the proud granite that marks the spot where he fell, shall have crumbled to the dust.

Though materials are not abundant for an elaborate sketch of the patriot, from such as are at hand, we shall endeavor to draw his outline, as deserving a place among those who are "Freedom's now and fame's."

JOSEPH WARREN was born in the year 1741, in the town of Roxbury, Massachusetts. His father was a tiller of the soil, and possessed those sterling qualities of virtue and industry, for which the early New Englanders were so justly renowned. WARREN

was no exception to the generality of our great men, nearly all of whom had excellent, devoted mothers. His, early trained him to rigid principles of truth and honor. She lived to be a venerable woman, and died universally beloved and regretted. His father fell from an apple tree, and was instantly killed, while JOSEPH was a mere child.

Young WARREN, after reaping the benefits of the best schools in Roxbury, entered Harvard College in his fifteenth year. His college years were marked by affable manners, strict application, and a high courage. It is related of him that his classmates, wishing to engage in some species of frolic, in the upper story of the building, and knowing he would not relish it, locked the door of the room in which they assembled, to prevent his presence. He made his way out, however, through a window at the top of the house, and, letting himself down from the roof, by a gutter, to the window of the room in which the boys were engaged, he sprang into their midst, just as the gutter fell to the ground below. Though narrowly escaping death, he instantly commenced lecturing the boys upon their conduct.* This incident showed, at least, a heroism worthy of Bunker Hill. After leaving college, he began the study of medicine, which was every way congenial to his nature, feelings and talents. His open, frank manners, correct habits, fine talents, and noble bearing, won the esteem of all. In the study, he made extraordinary proficiency, and when he commenced the practice, rose rapidly into professional favor.

About the close of the French and Indian war, he removed to Boston, for the purpose of attending to the duties of his profession, in which he would certainly have attained high distinction, had not the sound of arms called him to the battle-field. Notwithstanding his courtly qualities and refined nature, he possessed a degree of military enthusiasm, and much civic tact. After the convention of the First Continental Congress, to which the Adamses and other older patriots had been sent as delegates, to take steps of resistance to the aggressions of England, he became an active leader in the movements going on, in and around Boston.

The occasions on which he first particularly distinguished himself, were at the anniversaries of the Boston riots. The day on which these riots took place, in 1768, was annually celebrated by

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* Sparks' American Biography. Everett.

the Bostonians, until the Declaration of Independence furnished a more worthy day of commemoration. In 1772, WARREN delivered the address, which was said to have been so chaste, fervid, eloquent and able, that the attention of all was directed toward him. Three years afterward, he performed the same service. The oration was delivered in the old South Church, to an immense auditory. At that time excitements in Boston were intense. Never was speech listened to with more eagerness. Everett tells us that, while he was speaking, an excited individual sprang to his feet on the stairs, and, stretching his arm toward the speaker, disclosed a number of pistol balls in the palm of his hand. WARREN, who was exceedingly graceful, proceeded with his discourse, but happily dropped a white handkerchief in his hands over the balls.

In 1772, WARREN and others formed the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, the labors of which proved invaluable to the revolutionary party. In 1774, he was elected as delegate to the Massachusetts Congress, a high evidence indeed, of the position he had attained among the people in the city of his adoption. Of that body he was chosen president, and was also made chairman of the Committee of Safety. This Congress, after sitting briefly at Salem and Concord, opened its deliberations in Watertown, in the spring of 1775. As chairman of the Committee of Safety, WARREN was untiring in his vigilance; and to him, perhaps, more than to any other one man, are due the results of the attempt of the British upon the military stores at Concord. Two days before the attack, WARREN, by his acute vigilance, notwithstanding the secrecy observed by the enemy, had divined their intentions, and spread the alarm. Finding they were discovered, every attempt was made by Lord Percy to keep the Americans in town. It was too late, WARREN had sounded the alarm.

On the 18th of June, 1775, the British embarked upon the expedition. The keen eye of WARREN was upon them. Knowing their destination, he sent a swift courier to Lexington, and another to Charlestown, to give notice. These messengers were faithful. Knocking at the doors, and hastening through villages and plantations on their route, they had the people thoroughly aroused. Teams were left in the fields, the wedge in the log, and the tree half felled. The hardy sons of the soil rushed from all directions with their hunting-pieces, to the scene of action. Arriving at

Concord, the British met a large body of sturdy men, who knew how to "aim their guns aright." In response to Major Pitcairn's order, to lay down their arms, and disperse, they returned a deadly fire. The British were compelled to retreat with considerable loss. The Americans followed, pouring upon them a galling fire at every step. Had the enemy not met Percy with reinforcements, the loss would have been very heavy. The agency of WARREN, in this affair, is readily perceived: had he not been so active in giving the alarm, the surprise would doubtless have been complete. When the British reached West Cambridge, WARREN, with his gun, went out to join the assailants, and exposed himself freely to the enemy. A musket ball is said to have cut a lock of hair from his head, without causing the least intimidation.

Blood had now flowed, and the war commenced in earnest. Steps were early taken by the Massachusetts Congress, to raise an army of thirty thousand men. By the 21st of May, fifteen thousand men, stern of purpose, but lax in discipline, had assembled in the neighborhood of Boston. These were placed under the command of General Artemas Ward, a man of bravery, and skilled in military tactics. He made Cambridge his head-quarters. General Putnam was placed at the head of the Connecticut and New Hampshire troops, and took his position on the Charlestown road. General Thomas commanded the Rhode Island troops, and some militia from Massachusetts and Connecticut. His position was at Roxbury. Colonel Gerrish was stationed with his command at Chelsea, while Stark and Read held Medford. These soldiers were men of "sterner stuff" than mixed bodies of mere adventurers, engaged in some Utopian scheme. They were the men of New England, called to service by hard necessity, to fight on the very thresholds of their homes and firesides.

Such was the state of things when JOSEPH WARREN, changing his surgical for battle instruments, came into the army with the commission of Major-General, conferred by Congress. Though young and unpracticed in the art of war, his commission was a familiar dress, and as such he wore it. Let us now take a hasty glance at the enemy. They were comfortably quartered, ten thousand strong, within the city of Boston, and commanded by the most distinguished military talent in the British service. Clinton, Burgoyne, Howe, Gage, and Percy, each accomplished veterans in the science of war. Percy was stationed

on the Common. Beacon Hill glittered with the arms of the infantry, while the cavalry desecrated the hallowed precincts of old South Church. The British general, with pompous complacency, selected and fortified Cop's Hill for himself and staff, as a point of observation. Strong batteries were stationed on Fort Hill, and near Cambridge; barriers, also, had been placed across Boston Neck. In the Charles River, between Boston and Charlestown, they had four vessels of war, well armed, to act in concert with the land troops.

It now became clear that a general action would shortly take place. On the 13th of June, the British general evidently manifested a desire to take possession of Dorchester and Charlestown Hights. The Americans were apprised of his intentions. Whether they themselves should first take possession of these Hights, became a question of momentous consideration in the Council of Safety. WARREN, who, as before remarked, was an efficient member of the council, opposed the movement. While the veterans, Putnam and Prescott, were equally urgent that it should be immediately undertaken. In accordance with the suggestions of the latter, the movement was attempted, but failed utterly, the scarcity of powder being the main cause. On strict reconnoissance, it was resolved to occupy Bunker, Prospect, and Breed's Hills forthwith, and Dorchester Hights if possible. Prescott, therefore, took possession of the former point on the 16th of June, and threw up fortifications. His forces, amounting to about a thousand strong, paraded near Cambridge, and held religious exercises previous to setting out on the perilous undertaking. The reliance of our ancestral fathers upon Divine aid, through the eventful struggle, was everywhere manifest. This was at early eventide. On arriving upon the ground, whether Bunker or Breed's Hill, was the one designated for fortifications, became a matter of dispute. They finally decided to throw up their works on the latter eminence, to be protected by smaller fortifications on the former. A strong redoubt was immediately constructed, fronting toward Charlestown. The night had half waned when these works were begun. Sentinels were posted so close to the enemy to watch their movements, that the cry from their patrols of "All's well," could be distinctly heard. By daylight, they had completed, quite strong, though rude fortifications. The surprise of the British at seeing them thus posted and intrenched on the

Hights, was very great. A furious cannonade was immediately opened upon them from the vessels of war and from Cop's Hill, though with little effect. Application was immediately made to General Ward and the Safety Council, for reinforcements. After some hesitancy, occasioned by prudential considerations, colonels Read and Stark were sent with their detachments from Medford, to their assistance. By the time these forces reached the Hill, the Americans had considerably strengthened their positions by erecting a fence, parallel with one of stone and rails, running from the fort to Mystic River, in the rear, and filling the space between with hay, which they found in close proximity. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the stir and commotion of the British troops, showed clearly that an attack might soon be expected. A company of the Connecticut and a portion of the New Hampshire troops, were stationed at the fence, under command of Captain Knowlton, while Putnam continued to strengthen Bunker Hill. At one o'clock, General Ward sent heavy reinforcements to the scene of action. Had this step been taken in the morning, the victory of the Americans would have been sure. That Prescott, with a thousand men, sustained by the reinforcements of Read and Stark, should have been left alone to defend Bunker Hill, while the main army remained idle at head-quarters, until too late to render efficient aid, seems most unaccountable. The American forces now prepared for action. Prescott, colonels Bridge and Brickett, manned the redoubt which the first thousand had erected. The artillery under Gridley and Callender was stationed between that and the breastwork. The reinforcements, as before stated, were at the rail fence. Old Putnam was riding to and fro over the field, encouraging the troops, telling them not to fire till they could "see the whites of their eyes." At this moment, General Pomeroy, without commission or companion, having "smelt the battle afar off," came rushing across the Neck, with his loaded musket, hastened up the Hill and fell into ranks with the privates at the fence, amid enthusiastic cheers.

The British resolved to attack the works in front. A little after noon, they landed in force and good order, at Morton's Point. A mistake in regard to balls caused some detention,—those they brought being too large for their pieces. This difficulty, however, was soon overcome. By two o'clock, sanguine of victory, the

British, amounting in all to four thousand men, under the command of General Howe, assisted by generals Abercrombie, Nesbit, Pigot and Clark, had crossed over to the point, and were ready for action. Such was the state of things on that lovely day in June. Let us contemplate it a moment. The Charles River meandering its silver stream between Boston and Charlestown, bore upon its bosom the ships of war, whose cannon frowned upon the latter place ready to vomit death upon its brave defenders. Boston, on the other side, had her steeples, spires, and observatories, filled with spectators, looking down with breathless anxiety upon the result of the action. Morton's Point glittered with the uniforms, arms, artillery and plumes of four thousand British regulars. The adjacent hills, clothed in the vernal bloom of summer luxuriance, on which herds were wont to browse in undisturbed repose, were soon to re-echo with the roar of cannon, and the stirring drum-beat.

Yonder on Bunker Hill, rides jolly-faced, heroic Putnam, among a small worn down band of hardy yeomen, to whose honest vision no such scene had ever opened before. Filed behind their works of hay and wood, the gallant Stark, Knowlton, and Read, awaited the approach of the foe. Eagerly anxious to give them a warm reception, the accomplished Prescott, cheers his men within the redoubt, while Gridley stands to his artillery frowning down upon Morton's point with a look of "I'm ready for you."

But, during the awful stillness that reigns over the combatants, there is an object near Charlestown Neck, of such interest, as to attract universal attention. A skillful horseman is seen urging his charger at full speed toward the Hights. On and on he dashes right to the Hill. Putnam's eye was quick upon him, and he rode forth to meet him. "JOSEPH WARREN!" he exclaimed, as the latter, flushed with ardor, bowed gracefully to the old veteran. "I rejoice and regret to see you," said Putnam, as he rode up. "Your life is too precious to be exposed in this battle; but, since you are here, I take your orders."* "General Putnam," he replied, "I have none to give. You have made your arrange ments. I come to aid you as a volunteer. Tell me where I can be useful." "Go then," said the veteran, "to the redoubt; you

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* WARREN, it must be remembered, was a Major-General.

will there be covered." "I came not to be covered," answered WARREN; "tell me where I shall be most in danger; TELL ME WHERE THE ACTION WILL BE HOTTEST." "The redoubt will be the enemy's object," continued Putnam, "if that can be defended, the day is ours."

WARREN hastened to the redoubt. On reaching it, Prescott asked his orders. "Colonel Prescott," said WARREN, "give me *your* orders; give me a musket. I have come to take a lesson of a veteran soldier in the art of war." WARREN was, also, urged not to expose his person, by Elbridge Gerry, who pointed out the dangers to be encountered. "I am aware of the danger," replied he, "but I should die with shame if I were to remain at home in safety, while my friends and fellow-citizens are shedding their blood and hazarding their lives in the cause." "But your ardent temper," said Gerry, "will carry you forward into the midst of peril, and you will probably fall." "I know that I may fall," replied WARREN, "but where is the man who does not think it glorious and delightful to die for his country?"

Such were the feelings of this noble hero, who to defend his country from the exactions of tyranny, thought it "delightful" to shed his blood in battle, to make his home a desolation, and overwhelm his wife with grief.

"Oh! monarchs, did ye know the peace ye mar,
The hoarse dull drum might cease, and man be happy yet."

Soon after WARREN reached the redoubt, a booming roar of artillery announced the approach of the enemy. In two strong bodies they ascended the Hill. To storm the redoubt, was left to General Pigot, while Howe, in person, advanced against the men stationed at the fence. As they wound up the Hill in brilliant colors and good order, the American artillery stationed in front of the redoubt, scarce reserving their fire till arriving in point blank shot, leveled their guns with deadly effect. The first discharge was, indeed, inopportune, so much so, that Prescott said: "Fire again at your peril,—the next man who disobeys orders shall be instantly shot."

They now remained quiet until the proper moment. On came the British, to notes of martial music, expecting scarcely a check from their opponents. When they arrived near the redoubt, or as Putnam said, when "the whites of their eyes" were visible, Prescott exclaimed promptly: "Now men! *now* is your time!

Make ready! take aim!! FIRE!! Simultaneous streams of death immediately paved the slope with the bodies of the enemy. Returning an ineffectual fire, the British quickly fled down the Hill. Nothing now but want of ammunition prevented a glorious victory. Had Ward sent the reinforcement early in the morning, as directed, the day would have been won; or, had Gridley not abandoned his position behind the breastworks, and removed the artillery against the injunctions of Putnam, to, as he thought, a more eligible position, the results would, doubtless, have been different. Gridley's object was to cover the retreat. While in this position, Colonel Frye, an officer of considerable military repute, approached and asked: "What do you mean here?" "Waiting to cover the retreat," replied Gridley. "*Retreat!*" said Frye, "who talks of retreating? This day, thirty years ago, I was present at the first taking of Louisburg, when your father, with his own hand, lodged a ball in the citadel. His son was not born to talk of retreating. Forward, to the line!" Gridley, however, could be induced to think of nothing but retreat; some of his officers, more brave than himself, despising his authority, tore themselves from his command, rushed up the Hill and engaged in the action. Gerrish, also, though he had served gallantly on former occasions, on reaching the Hill, refused, or was unable to engage with his regiment. It was in vain that Putnam expostulated. Deprived of their commander, his men were of little service in the action. He was dismissed from his command by a court-martial, for his unworthy conduct during the day, as was Gridley also, and Callender shared the same fate. The latter, however, redeemed his character in a series of heroic exploits, and was finally honored and respected.

Soon as the British were driven back, an awful stillness momentarily prevailed over the battle field. They soon renewed the attack, however, with spirit and discipline. Their efforts were directed against the defenses at the rail fence, protected by the hay thrown up by the soldiers. To render the scene more imposing, Charlestown was discovered to be in flames. Rapidly the fire spread, circling spire and dome, and covering the ground with crackling timbers, and smoldering ruins. It was fired by orders of the British, to prevent future annoyance from a body of Americans stationed in the town. The place was soon nearly destroyed. House burning seems to have been a favorite method

of carrying on the war of the Revolution by some of the British officers; it was a species of warfare worthy only the Mongolian hordes of a Ghengis Khan; the Tartar tribes of a Tamerlane, or the atrocious genius of an Attila or an Alaric. Proud Britannia! over Copenhagen, Charlestown, and St. Helena, yet gleams for thee the sword of retribution. Amid the conflagration, the enemy proceeded to the second attack, while calmly the Americans, unawed by the terrible scenes around them, awaited their approach. Near them was burning Charlestown, whence smoke and ashes curled in clouds over their heads; before them approached the armed hosts of England to storm their rude fortress, and manacle them with fetters by the same hands that had set the torch to their homes. Yet they were dauntless. According to instructions, they held their fire till the British arrived within a few yards of the works. The word was then given, and an instantaneous discharge followed, more murderous than the first. The enemy fell by hundreds. Howe's staff was cut to pieces; what few remained, recoiled and fled in great confusion.

Clinton now opportunely arrived with reinforcements, while the powder of the Americans as inopportunely began to give out, and they were compelled to slacken their fire. Howe and Pigot changing the plan of assault, prepared for a third charge. The soldiers were disencumbered of their knapsacks, and ordered to charge with the bayonet, through the opening at the upper end of the fence, which was comparatively insecure and undefended. For this charge, the entire strength of the army in the action was combined. No bayonets, and but few rounds of powder, the Americans again awaited the onslaught. The British succeeded in reaching the redoubt, and boldly made the attack. Mounting the parapet, "The day is ours," cried Pitcairn, who was immediately shot through with a musket ball. The struggle, hand to hand, now became desperate. With the agility of a gazelle, and the heroism of a Bayard, Pigot climbed a tree and threw himself into the redoubt, at which, loud shouts arose from his men who immediately followed. Without any effective means of defense, the Americans tried to beat them back with the butts of their guns, stones, or whatever weapon they could wield. Bleeding from a flesh wound, Gridley was taken from the scene; cut almost to pieces, Colonel Bridge was no longer fit for duty; with arms swinging to their sides, splintered by ball or pierced by bayonet,

several officers remained at their posts, till death relieved them of duty. Possessing no means to defend themselves, and falling on all sides before the enemy, who were gaining still greater advantages, Prescott gave orders to abandon the redoubt and retreat, which were obeyed with promptness and without serious loss, so far as numbers were concerned.

Like Laurens at Savannah, the gallant WARREN, on hearing the order to retreat, chafed like a wounded lion. It was a word unknown to his patriot heart. Remaining in the redoubt, after most of the troops had left, though British balls were riddling it to pieces, he seemed willing to fall with it. Seeing his exposed condition, Major Small (of the enemy), whose life had, in the early part of the action, been saved by the gallant Putnam, with voice and gesture, begged him to surrender, ordering his men, at the same time, to cease firing. Hearing his voice, WARREN turned his classic brow to the foe to see whence it came. Fatal moment. No sooner was his face turned full upon them, than a large ball struck his forehead, which produced instant death.

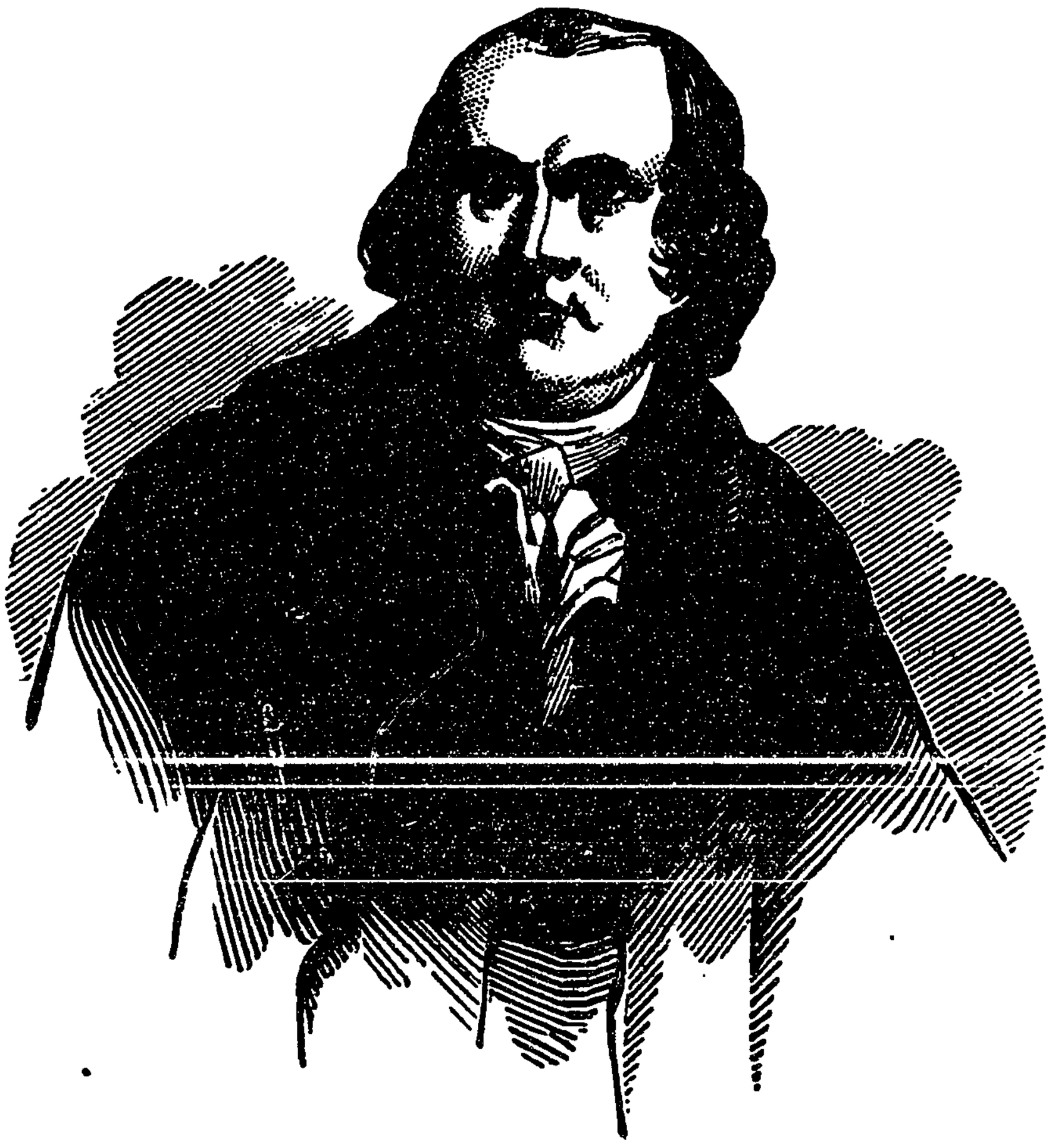
Thus fell WARREN, a man eminently endowed with the requisites of usefulness and honor in public capacities, and well calculated to adorn the walks of private life, by an exhibition of the rarest combination of virtue, refinement, and gentleness. Justice has not been withheld to his memory. In letters and marble, his name has been perpetuated. Eloquence, for the exhibition of its powers, hath chosen him as a favorite theme, while

> "You, too, ye bards whom sacred rapture's fire,
> To chant your heroes to your country's lyre,
> Who consecrate in your immortal strains,
> Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain,
> Securely now the useful task renew,
> And noblest themes in deathless song pursue."

The battle of Bunker Hill was glorious to the American arms. It resulted in the inspiration of confidence in themselves, and the justness of their cause. They lost near one hundred and twenty men, killed and missing. The British lost over five times that number, and though they kept possession of the Hill, had ever reason to regret the results of the day. WARREN was buried on the field of battle, near the redoubt, where he gave up his life. The next year his remains were taken to Boston. They now lie in the vault under St. Paul's Church. His services and sacrifice were suitably noticed in the proceedings of Congress,

which body designated him as "a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

WARREN left a wife and four children,—two boys and two girls. His wife survived him till about the close of the war. His sons both died early, the daughters grew up to womanhood,—amiable and lovely. They both married, and lived exemplary lives, worthy their hero father. The name of the patriot is linked inseparably with Bunker Hill, "and there it will remain forever." Unborn sires, with their children, will go there, and pointing to the monumental pile, reared upon the spot, will teach them to lisp the name of JOSEPH WARREN.



ROBERT MORRIS.

ROBERT MORRIS.

THE accomplished warrior who, after the overthrow of his enemies, assumed the title of "Imperator,"* and effected the destruction of his own commonwealth, understood well the combined powers of the purse and the sword. But if ancient history afford the example of a man who, by this combination of power, destroyed a republic, modern history has recorded that of a financial patriot who used the purse as effectually for those who drew the sword in the establishment of one; that patriot was ROBERT MORRIS,—Liberty's great banker through the Revolution.

He was born in Lancashire, England, January, 1734. Soon after his birth, his father came to America, leaving him with a relative, until in his fourteenth year, when he also reached this country. His father settled in Talbot county, Maryland. Educational facilities were then very meager, and young Morris, like most of the stern men of his times, received no benefit from colleges or universities. He was sent, on his arrival in the country, to an ordinary teacher of a common school. His progress was not rapid, though he soon said to his father: "I have learned all that he could teach me."

In his sixteenth year, young MORRIS lost his father, who was accidentally killed by being struck with a wad from one of the guns, on an occasion of firing a salute from the ships for which he was agent.

To prepare himself for a mercantile life, ROBERT was placed at

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* Julius Cæsar.

the store of Charles Willing, an extensive Philadelphia merchant, where he continued until the death of the proprietor. Willing, just before his death, called Morris to his bed-side, and taking him by the hand, said: "ROBERT, always continue to act as you have done." On the decease of his friend, his master, as he took pride in calling him,—having established a mercantile reputation, and mastered the intricacies of the profession, he entered into partnership with Thomas Willing, a son of Charles, with whom he continued an extensive, prosperous, and agreeable business, for over a quarter of a century.

The firm of MORRIS and Willing were engaged in heavy foreign transactions, when the British Parliament began to insist upon the Stamp Act schemes. Without a moment's hesitancy, MORRIS took part against any, and all such assumptions of power by the crown. Having taken this position, he was certain to maintain it. On the 23d of April, 1775, MORRIS, in company with a number of friends, met, on an anniversary occasion, at the City Tavern. While they were enjoying themselves with a high degree of social humor, the news of the battle of Lexington was told to them. No more social laughs, nor strains of mirth were heard in that room. Almost the entire party sprang to their feet, and made toward the door. Tables were upset, chairs were overturned; a thunder crash would scarce have produced confusion more sudden or apparent. MORRIS and a few friends were all that remained. He was soon absorbed in deep thought upon the condition of matters. He then arose, and with the firmness of an Amilcar, pledged himself to the Revolution.

The succeeding fall, MORRIS was sent by Pennsylvania, as delegate to the Second Continental Congress. His weight of character, known business qualities, high position, and extensive connections, early marked him as among the most influential members of the body. He was placed on the "Secret Committee, to procure arms and ammunition," the Committee of Ways and Means, and in several positions of importance, the duties of which, he faithfully discharged.

During the years 1776–'77, he took an active part in public concerns, insisting upon the proper regulations and restrictions of foreign trade. We have elsewhere referred to the gloomy state of affairs, at the period when Congress adjourned to Baltimore. The same day this took place, so hopeful was he of a successful

result to the struggle, so high above all selfish, mercenary feelings, that on his own personal responsibility, he borrowed ten thousand dollars for the prosecution of the war, relying upon Congress to liquidate, when better times would fill the public coffers. After Congress had left the city, MORRIS and a few others, were appointed a species of Continental Committee, to superintend any important business in that quarter. Washington was now on the Delaware. He wished to begin offensive operations against the enemy, but could not. His army was almost starving. In this strait, he wrote to MORRIS for a certain sum of money. The noble merchant was in his counting-room. The request was made at a time when it would be impossible to comply. That was the most troublous day of his life. The idea of writing to the commander that he could not aid him, stung his soul. On his way from the store, he met an acquaintance who interrogated him in the familiar style of old friends, with, "What's the news." "The most important news is, that I require a certain sum of specie, and you must let me have it," replied MORRIS. His friend rather hesitated. "My note and my honor is to be your security," added the patriot with seriousness. The friend looked up and said: "Robert, thou shalt have it." MORRIS, greatly relieved, procured the funds, and forwarded them immediately to Washington, who was thus enabled to commence active movements,—the brilliant affairs of Trenton and Princeton followed.

In the Spring of 1777, he was again elected to Congress. The Secret Committee, of which he was a member, was now done away with. In the fall, he was appointed on the Conference Committee, in connection with Gerry and Jones, to visit headquarters, and arrange with Washington, plans for the further prosecution of the war. He had, all along, been the financial manager, as it were, of Congress, a position for which his eminent character, strict business habits, and devoted patriotism, eminently fitted him. Having thus been identified with that department, in 1778, he was made chief of the Committee on Finance.

Never did man live more exclusively for his country than did MORRIS. Possessing means beyond most men in the country, and a commercial credit everywhere conceded, he used them freely and cheerfully, for the cause in which we were engaged. The following, from Judge Peters, is an instance of one of the many acts of self-sacrifice and devotion, which he exhibited during these

trying times. The Judge and himself were warm and intimate friends, enthusiastically wedded to their country. "In 1779–'80," says the Judge, "two of the most distressing years of the war, General Washington wrote me an alarming account of the prostrate condition of the military stores, and enjoined my immediate exertions to supply the deficiencies. There were no musket cartridges, but those in the men's boxes, and they were wet; of course, if attacked, a retreat or a rout, was inevitable.

"We (the board of war), had exhausted all the lead accessible to us, having caused even the spouts of houses to be melted, and offered abortively the equivalent in paper of two shillings specie per pound for lead. I went in the evening of the day on which I received the letter, to a splendid entertainment given by Don Juan Mirailles, the Spanish minister. My heart was sad, but I had the faculty of brightening my countenance even under gloomy disasters; yet it seems *then* not sufficiently adroitly. Mr. Morris, who was one of the guests, and knew me well, discovered some casual traits of depression. He accosted me in his usual blunt, disengaged manner: 'I see some clouds passing across the sunny countenance you assume; what is the matter?' After some hesitation, I showed him the General's letter, which I had brought from the office, with the intention of placing it at home in a private cabinet. He played with my anxiety, which he did not relieve for some time. At length, however, with great and sincere delight, he called me aside and told me that the Holkar privateer had just arrived at his wharf with ninety tons of lead, which she had brought as ballast. It had been landed at Martinique, and stone ballast had supplied its place; but this had been put on shore, and the lead again taken in. 'You shall have my half of this fortunate supply; there are the ow[illegible]s of the other half' (indicating gentlemen in the apartment). [illegible]es, but I am already under heavy personal engagements, as guarantee for the department to those and other gentlemen.' 'Well,' rejoined Mr. Morris, 'they will take your assumption, with my guarantee.' I instantly, on these terms, secured the lead, left the entertainment, sent for the proper officers, and set more than one hundred people to work, during the night. Before morning, a supply of cartridges was ready and sent off to the army. I could relate many more such occurrences."

Notwithstanding these high and disinterested manifestations of patriotism, he was not exempt from those shafts of detraction,

leveled by the breath of envy, at the best and first men during the Revolution. Willing and Morris, it was intimated by a member of Congress, then in session at Yorktown, had been defrauding the public in various transactions. At the instigation of Morris' personal friends, a searching committee was appointed to investigate the charge. The committee went to work and sifted the whole matter to the bottom. The accusation seems to have been based upon a suspicion that Willing and Morris had in their commercial shipments, availed themselves of the chartered vessels of the government to send their private cargoes. After a thorough investigation, it was shown beyond question that, the firm had sedulously avoided any connection, whatever, of their private, with the public interests, and the whole matter was cleared up. That Morris and Willing, intrusted as they were, with a large amount of public business, and lending their commercial credit, as well as opening their individual purses, as they freely did, should be arraigned before public opinion in any disreputable connection, whatever, is, indeed, most strange.

In 1780, it will be remembered, the condition of the southern army was distressing, and their appeals to the north for aid, incessant and imperative. To accelerate their provision with needful supplies, Morris organized and established, in Philadelphia, a bank of specie. By heading the subscription with his own name, to the amount of ten thousand pounds, and using his great influence among others to further the object, a capital basis of three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was soon subscribed, and the Bank of Pennsylvania put into successful operation. This was the first extensive moneyed institution established in the United States.

"The directors were authorized to borrow money on the credit of the Bank, and to grant special notes bearing interest at six per cent. The credit of the members was to be employed, and their money advanced, if necessary, but no emoluments, whatever, were to be derived from the institution. Congress, while they expressed a high sense of this patriotic transaction, pledged the faith of the United States effectually, to reimburse and indemnify the associators. Thus, at a time when the public credit was at its lowest ebb, and the public exigencies most pressing, an institution was erected on the credit and exertions of a few patriotic individuals, for the purpose of supplying and transporting to the army

three millions of rations, and three hundred hogsheads of rum, it continued until the ensuing year, when the Bank of North America was established."

Previous to this, in 1777, MORRIS had been again sent to Congress, in which body, as a member from Pennsylvania, he maintained his dignity, honor and reputation, as being among the most energetic and laborious members. A large portion of our foreign correspondence devolved on him, and was kept up with zeal and ability. His fellow-citizens, too, were fully advised as to the nature of this correspondence, and the attitude in which we stood toward nations abroad.

We have had frequent occasions to advert to the deplorable condition of the finances, during this period. Nothing but the timely aid, individually furnished by MORRIS, it seemed, at different periods, kept the cause from hopeless ruin. So well had his patriotism and capacity been tested in this way, that he was now looked upon in connection with a position of vast interest and importance, and in 1781, was placed at the head of American finances. No adequate conception, at this day, can be formed of the difficult and numerous duties imposed by this position. "He was required to examine into the situation of the public debts, expenditures and revenue; to digest and report plans for improving and regulating the finances, and for establishing order and economy in the disbursement of the public money; to direct and control all persons employed in procuring supplies for the public service, and in the expenditure of public money; to obtain accounts of all the issues of the specific supplies furnished by the several States; to compel the payment of all moneys due to the United States, and in his official capacity, to prosecute in behalf of these States, for all delinquencies respecting the public revenue and expenditure; and to report to Congress the officers necessary to conduct the various branches of his department. By successive resolutions of Congress, he was subsequently empowered to appoint and remove, at pleasure, his assistants in his peculiar office." These, and various other duties came within his sphere of action. This position was assumed at a period of general prostration, with a broken down currency, and not a dollar in the treasury, and but little national credit at home or abroad. Though he had reached a period in life, when he said, himself, his "mind, body, and inclination, combined to make him seek for relax-

ation and repose," he never shrank from these onerous labors. In his acceptance to Congress, of the position, after giving, at some length, his views and feelings in regard to it, he thus patriotically speaks: "Another consideration to which I must also pray the attention of Congress is, the present public debts. I am sure that no gentleman can hope that these should be immediately paid out of an empty treasury. If I am to receive and consider the application on that subject; if I am to be made responsible, that alone will, I fear, be full employment for the life of one man, and some other must be chosen to attend to the present and provide for the future. But this is not all; if, from that, or any other cause, I am forced to commit a breach of faith, or even to incur the appearance of it, from that moment my utility ceases. In accepting the office bestowed on me, I sacrifice much of my interest, my ease, my domestic enjoyment, and internal tranquillity. *If I know my own heart, I must make these sacrifices with a disinterested view to the service of my country: I am ready to go still further;* AND THE UNITED STATES MAY COMMAND EVERY THING I HAVE, EXCEPT MY INTEGRITY; and the loss of that would effectually disable me from serving them more."

With these feelings, and in the midst of a depression, to which financial history affords no parallel, MORRIS entered upon the labors of his office, and became, at once, the motive power of military operations. With a treasury, not only without a copper, but near three millions of dollars in debt, and a national credit, tottering, it seemed, to inevitable ruin, he soon changed the whole face of affairs, and restored both credit and confidence. Congress stopped the issue of the Continental paper, with which the country had been unavoidably flooded, without provision for its redemption, until it was utterly worthless. The issue of the "*red money*," which followed, was also soon discontinued. The Continental paper, at the commencement of the war, and during its early progress, served its purpose quite well. It was an undesirable necessity of ready resort. But, when it fell, it fell utterly. An enormous bulk of it was buried in Rhode Island, with great pomp, and all the honors of war. The States, severally, were now required to furnish supplies for the army by a *pro rata* regulation of Congress. They proved very remiss, however, in this, and the soldiers were soon in a state of utter destitution. The

elevation of Morris to the superintendence of the finance, was very timely and opportune. A long and successful mercantile experience, had shown him that strict punctuality in dealings, from which he himself never departed, was indispensable to the consummation of his objects. Careful, therefore, to meet all his engagements with promptness and precision, he soon reduced the disordered condition of affairs to regularity and system; so much so, that Washington himself said: "The abilities of the present financier have done wonders." The commencement of his administration of this department, presented the remarkable aspect of the credit of a nation, being backed by that of an individual,—he was emphatically the indorser of his government, at a time when it was in danger of being protested.

Morris early directed his vast energies to the establishment of the Bank of North America, in the incorporation of which he succeeded. Its capital was fixed at four hundred thousand dollars, in shares each of four hundred dollars. The bills of this institution, were to be considered legal money in each of the States. It was to be placed in charge of twelve directors, the books, papers, etc., to be accessible at all times, to a proper superintendent. When it was decided upon as a necessary measure, Morris published his bank plan, and appealed to the people of the country in its behalf. "To ask the end," he said, "which it is proposed to be answered by this institution of a bank, is merely to call the public attention to the situation of our affairs. A depreciating paper currency has, unhappily, been the source of infinite private mischiefs, numberless frauds, and the greatest distresses. The national calamities have moved with an equal pace, and the public credit has received the deepest injury. This is a circumstance so unusual in a republican government, that we may boldly affirm, it can not continue a moment after the several legislatures have determined to take those vigorous and effectual measures to which the public voice now loudly commands their attention. In the meantime, the exigencies of the United States require an anticipation of our revenues; while, at the same time, there is not such confidence established as will call out for that purpose, the funds of individual citizens. The use, then, of a bank, is to aid the government by their moneys and credit, for which they will have every proper reward and security; to gain from individuals that credit, which property, abilities and integrity, never failed to

command; to supply the loss of that paper money, which, becoming more and more useless, calls, every day, more loudly for its final redemption; and to give a new spring to commerce, in a moment, when, by the removal of all restrictions, the citizens of America shall enjoy and possess that freedom for which they contend."

In 1782, with less than one hundred thousand dollars subscribed, this bank began operations. Chiefly through the untiring energies of MORRIS, it attained permanent stability, and proved of infinite service to the country. In the spring, having practical evidences of the institution's ability, the different States passed laws for its protection, and the whole country became an immediate recipient of its advantages. So successful were its operations, that by midsummer, the bank had loaned the government four hundred thousand dollars, and had released it, in the meantime, from its subscription of two hundred thousand dollars, assumed from his stock shares by MORRIS. Its advantages were universally felt and conceded, while, through its influences, public credit was immediately restored. Delighted beyond measure at the success of his financial scheme, MORRIS thus wrote: "The establishment of the National Bank, answers all the purposes expected from it, and even exceeds, in success, the most sanguine hopes that had been indulged by its warmest advocates. As the operations of the Bank become extended, the benefits of the institution will be felt to the extreme parts of the United States. Their notes acquire, every day, a greater extent of circulation, and they have obtained the most perfect confidence hereabouts." Possessing an ample fortune, erroneous ideas were entertained as to its increase, by the ignorant and invidious, and falsehoods were readily put in circulation to the effect, that speculative purposes actuated him in his connection with the institution, and solicitude for its prosperity. To these he replied, saying: "By accepting the office which I now hold, I was obliged to neglect my own private affairs. I have made no speculation, in consequence of my office, and instead of being enriched, *I am poorer this day than I was a year ago.*"

At the time when Washington was authorized to procure supplies wherever found, and "the laws of necessity" were about being enforced, the severest sufferings were prevented by the efforts of MORRIS. Principally upon his own private credit, a

large quantity of flour was procured and placed in possession of the army. This somewhat embarrassed him, and he said in a letter to a friend, that he had taken "a load on his shoulders which it was not possible to get clear of, without the faithful support and assistance of those good citizens, who, not only wish, but will promote the service of their country." These acts of self-sacrifice and devotion, did not and could not fail to elicit merited consideration, and draw the attention of the country toward him. He was selected by the government to superintend the delivery of all the supplies for the army furnished by the State of Pennsylvania. A large part of the resources of the army, particularly flour, was drawn from that State, and MORRIS agreed to see that it should be furnished on requisition. He performed the duties of this, as of all other positions, with zeal and efficiency, and showed the commander-in-chief, that however remiss other States might be in bringing forward their respective portions of the supplies, Pennsylvania would promptly furnish hers. The subjoined extract, written by MORRIS at this time, to a public official, will convey some idea of his exertions and assumptions in behalf of the government.

"Sir,—I have this day settled an account with Thomas Smith, Esq., the loan officer, and have his receipt for one hundred and fifty-four thousand and seventy-four dollars and twenty-six ninetieths, on account of the four-tenths of the new emissions due by this State to Congress. As yet, I have not drawn one shilling from the treasury of Pennsylvania; and am of consequence so much in advance. There still remains due to Mr. Smith, on these four tenths, a balance of two hundred and thirty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty dollars and fourteen ninetieths. Those who have the warrants on him for this money, are clamorous to obtain payment. I had procured on account of Pennsylvania, a considerable quantity of flour. In the State of New York, one thousand barrels; in the State of New Jersey, four thousand barrels, and in this city, four thousand barrels.

"For all these I obtained credit, and with respect to the last, not finding consumption for it here, I have lately made payment of part by the re-delivery of three thousand three hundred and ninety barrels; which was a desirable circumstance: first, because the consumption of that article was, and probably would be, in places where it could be so purchased as to save on the transpor-

tation. Secondly, because the risk of spoiling, or other loss which I began to apprehend was not incurred; and thirdly, because as this article would probably fall in price, it might be procured hereafter on easy terms.

"My reason for purchasing in New York and New Jersey, were, that there would be a saving in the carriage, which was a benefit to the United States, and that there would also be a saving in the price, which is a benefit to this State. From what has been said then, your Excellency will perceive that my credit stands pledged for five thousand six hundred and ten barrels of flour. Some of the payments have already become due, and I have found means to satisfy them; the rest will shortly be so, which will create new difficulties.

"Had I drawn money from the state treasury at the time when the purchases were made, I must have exchanged it for specie. The rate at those times was from five to six, and even seven for one; but whenever it should have been known that it was drawn from the treasury, and sold on public account, in all human probability it would have depreciated still more. The credit, therefore, which I have obtained, has been beneficial, by giving time for that change of opinion which could alone operate an appreciation. Had the collection of taxes taken place as early as I was induced to believe it would, the paper would now be nearly if not entirely equal to specie; but at the present rate of exchange, it will require from eighty to a hundred thousand to fulfill my engagements for this flour.

"The payments on my contracts for rations, will shortly commence, and your Excellency, from the former expenditures at the several posts, will be able to form a more adequate idea than I can, what those payments will amount to. To all this I must add that I have every reason to believe that other considerable supplies from this State will soon become indispensable, and of consequence the most urgent demand for money be immediately created. I have also engaged, if his Excellency, George Washington, should obtain a quantity of flour, to be delivered on the North River to the use of the army, as part of this State's quota of supplies, to repay the same quantity of flour to his order here, or on the Chesapeake, as he may direct.

"I have thought it proper to make this full communication, that the supreme executive of the State may be informed of what is

passing in their affairs. You will clearly perceive that my situation is far from agreeable; yet such as it is I will struggle under it, and adopt every expedient that may probably afford relief; being determined not to draw money from the treasury, until the interest of the State shall invite, or inevitable necessity compel me to it."

For the insertion of this extract, though somewhat lengthy, it is presumed the slightest apology is unnecessary. It gives some idea of the unwavering fidelity with which he clung to his country, and the amount of liabilities assumed in its behalf. During the period of Greene's operations in the south, when his suffering troops, almost starving and naked "were galled by their cartridge boxes, and while a folded rag or tuft of moss protected their shoulders from sustaining the same injury from their muskets," Morris made every effort to relieve them. He sent George Abbot Hall to the south, as secret agent, with instructions to inform himself of the necessities of the American general, and whenever he became so embarrassed that he could not relieve himself, to furnish a draft on him for whatever sum might be deemed indispensable. These drafts were several times accepted by the financier, whose patriotism was as wide as the limits of his country, and whose liberality was bounded only by his resources and energy. It must be remembered that the pledged faith of the government was all the surety required or obtained, for the reimbursement of all these heavy advances, and that the government was bankrupt, with a heavy debt, threatened with extermination by the invaders against whom it was waging a war, the result of which was doubtful to the most sanguine. Morris has been accused of *neglecting* to furnish Greene the means necessary to supply his army. Such an accusation, against such a man, scarcely needs a word to brand it with falsity. The following, from numerous extracts of the same tenor, to be found in his correspondence with Greene, will show his disposition toward that officer:

"In my former letter, I mentioned that his Excellency, Governor Rutledge, would pay you any money for subscriptions, he may receive to the National Bank. Herein you will find a bill drawn by Hon. John Matthews, Esq., of this date, at ten days' sight, on Charles Drayton, for [illegible] hundred and seventy-three dollars. Major Burnet will also receive some money and stores

for your department, to which I give all the facility in my power. I can with truth assure you that I have every disposition to provide those things which are really necessary for the use of the army. * * * Your circumstances have long been arduous, but you have hitherto risen so superior to them, that we should be almost as much surprised now, if you were not successful, as we formerly were at your successes. I wish I could contribute to render you more easy. As far as my abilities extend, I shall do them most cheerfully, but they, unfortunately, are very limited. * * * I hope it is unnecessary to make assurances of my disposition to render your situation both easy and respectable. I am sure it is unnecessary to remark how inadequate the provisions have been, which the States have hitherto made; at least, it is unnecessary to you. Much less need I display the detail of expenditures which have been requisite for the accomplishment of that happy event which has taken place in Virginia. I have neither forgotten nor neglected your department. I have done the utmost to provide clothing, arms, accouterments, medicine, hospital, stores, etc.; and I flatter myself you will derive, through the different departments, both benefit and relief from my exertions. I have detained Pierce a day, in order to make up with infinite difficulty, one thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, in gold, which he is the bearer of, and which will, I hope, be agreeable and useful." Judge Peters, himself, who was well acquainted with Hall, the agent for supplying Greene with whatever means could be commanded, and who was in constant correspondence with Greene, affirms that no complaint or murmur ever came from that officer to him, reflecting the least upon the sterling worth of the great financier. Greene, himself, testified subsequently in the city of Philadelphia, to Morris' energy and solicitude, and said he "had acted perfectly right" and proper.

Enough has been said upon this subject, to exculpate Morris from the charge of proving recreant to the interest of the South,—his devotion to the country, and sacrifices to the cause in which she was engaged, show sufficiently that he served her to the fullest extent of his ability.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in the meantime, had taken place, and filled the country with joy. The agency of Morris in that glorious transaction, must not be passed unnoticed. The entire energies of the American army, it was decided, should

be directed against New York, and the campaign had been planned and agreed upon to that effect. Sanguine of success, Washington was waiting at Phillipsburg, the arrival of the French fleet, the admiral of which, had agreed to co-operate. Things were in this condition, when Judge Peters, of the board of war, and MORRIS, were deputed by Congress to visit the camp of Washington, at York Island, and see, by conference with him, what could be done to further his designs upon the city. They found the General in high hopes,—not the least doubting a successful issue, and in daily expectation of the French admiral with his fleet. Instead of the fleet, however, Washington received a letter from Admiral De Grasse, who, refusing to bring his ships into New York bay, as he had positively agreed to do, announced his early departure for the Chesapeake, where he would "remain a few weeks."

Washington, on this occasion, doubtless, manifested as much warmth as he was ever known to do. The whole design, owing to this refusal, was a complete and inevitable failure, and a new plan of operations had to be settled on.

With as much deliberation and judgment, as though nothing unusual had happened, after his mortification had subsided, Washington calmly sat down, and formed a new plan of operations. The leading idea of this, was the pursuit of Cornwallis into Virginia. This being settled on, he unfolded to Judge Peters and MORRIS, his designs, enjoining the strictest secrecy. To Judge Peters, he then said: "Well, what can you do for me under this unexpected disappointment?" Peters fixed his eye on MORRIS, and said: "Every thing with MONEY,—without it, nothing." "I understand you," replied MORRIS, "but I must know the amount you require." MORRIS, then, told Washington that his credit was the only resort, and questioned him as to the prudence of reliance upon it. "The measure is inevitable; and, therefore resolved on, and I must pursue it at all hazards," replied the commander. That credit, he promised to the fullest extent. He now returned to Philadelphia, and by the issue of his own notes, to the amount of near a MILLION AND A HALF OF DOLLARS, procured cannon, battering apparatus, powder and ball, and all the requisites for successful operations around Yorktown. These were placed at the disposal of the Board of War, by whom they were transferred to their destination. Thus, when the army passed through the city in September, on this enterprise, fraught

with momentous results to the country, they were well provided with the necessaries for the expedition, furnished by the will and energies of one man, in a most pressing exigency. Who knows, but the destinies of this country might have been changed for all coming time, but for the timely assistance furnished on different occasions by this patriot, which, as a golden cord, bound our army together, when naked and hungry, it seemed verging annihilation? Enough of his influence, at least, was manifested during the long and terrible struggle, to stamp his impress upon the young Republic, in part his own creation, until it widened and brightened in proportion to its development.

Soon after this, other drafts were made upon his liberality, which were promptly met. Be the personal consequences what they might, he determined to stand by the commander-in-chief. Says he, in a private letter: "The late movements of the army have so entirely drained me of money, that I have been obliged to pledge my personal credit very deeply, in a variety of instances, beside borrowing money from my friends, and advancing it to promote the public service, *every shilling of my own.*"

The failure of the several States to comply with requisitions made upon them for the service, involved MORRIS in infinite perplexities, and increased the difficulties of his position. At the same time, public creditors, who had little faith in the government ever redeeming its pledges, grew clamorous in regard to their claims, for the liquidation of which, they looked chiefly to MORRIS. To governors of the various States, he wrote the strongest appeals couched in the following style: he addressed the governor of Virginia, in 1782: "What, in the name of Heaven, can be expected by the people of America, but absolute ruin, if they are so inattentive to the public service? Not until December, will Virginia give any thing you say, toward the expenses of the current year. How, then, are we to carry on those operations which are necessary? How is our country to be defended? How is our army to be supported? Is this what is meant by the solemn declaration, to support, with life and fortune, the independence of the United States?" These appeals had little effect, however, upon the States. Congress, finally, in the fall of 1782, adopted a resolution bearing upon the delinquent States, to this effect: "That Congress call upon the States for a definitive answer, whether they will comply with the recommendation of Congress to vest them with

power to levy a duty of five per cent. on all goods imported, and on prizes and prize goods." This resolution, accompanied by a lengthy circular, was sent to the several States by the financier, in the hope of yet arousing them to a sense of duty. These efforts were comparatively abortive, and MORRIS still remained the self-immolated victim of invective and abuse. Day after day came, and passed, without relieving him from the trying monotony of responding to importunate duns, and the vindictive effusions of clamorous creditors. Yet, he was determined to continue his efforts to the last moment. Matters continued to grow worse. Finally, those who had agreed to furnish the army with supplies, notified MORRIS that, unless some guarantee was given that they would be reimbursed as soon as their agreements were fulfilled, they would no longer attend to the business. He would not, *could* not comply with this demand, and warned the authorities that, unless immediate means, by indulgence or otherwise, should be made, the law of necessity would yet have to be resorted to by the army. In spite of his mighty energies and devotion, he now began to fall behind in his payments, and said, himself: "My credit has already been on the brink of ruin; if that goes, all is gone." The feelings of the noble financier, when signs of his waning influence began to be manifest, on account of immense liabilities, individually assumed for the government, were extremely painful. He applied to Congress to know what was to be done, and again wrote to the States, urging them to the rescue. Thus, in a position of unexampled financial distress, greatly magnified by the reiterated and irritating calls upon him for liquidation of claims, with a mind keenly sensitive to the smallest insinuation, where honor was the object, he knew no ease nor comfort, save the consoling consciousness of having tried to do his duty. So clamorous became some creditors, that they wrote him taunting, abusive letters, to the effect, that they wanted, *and would have* payment. It is not strange that his great mind, though usually placid, and unruffled as a clear evening sky, should at length, momentarily lose some of its evenness, and reply thus tartly to an application of this nature, made by some French officials:

"GENTLEMEN,—I have received, this morning, your application. I make the earliest answer to it. You *demand instant payment.* I have *no money to pay you with.*" Under circumstances like

these, the busy tongue of slander was not idle. Patriotic, and self-sacrificing as he had always been, he was charged with speculating with the public funds,—draining the country of its hard money,—establishing the bank, only with a view to the enrichment of his private coffers. Having extensive business relations with the Pennsylvania merchants, by whom the whole matter was understood, and a total neglect to make exertions in favor of the southern army; each of these allegations was groundless and false. The successful operations of the bank, and the infinite good redounding to the whole country, was a fact practically demonstrated, and well justified MORRIS in the assertion that it would "exist in spite of calumny, operate in spite of opposition, and do good in spite of malevolence."

It is not surprising when, amid duties so onerous and unthankful, he was the object of abusive vituperation, that he should determine to resign his position. The success of the war being placed beyond question, the danger being past that called him to the post in the darkest hour of peril, in January, 1783, he sent to Congress a letter of resignation, couched in the language of patriotism and manly firmness. He gave that body to understand that, if they made provision to meet the assumptions incurred, he would continue his labors a few months, but if they failed to do it, they must take immediate steps to appoint a successor. "I shall be unworthy," said he, "of the confidence reposed in me by my brave fellow-citizens, if I do not explicitly declare, that I will never be the minister of injustice." Congress knew well the country possessed but one ROBERT MORRIS, and that a general knowledge of his intention to resign, would result in the utter prostration of what credit remained. Strict secrecy was, therefore, enjoined upon his communication. Two months passed, and that body had done nothing. MORRIS wrote them again, telling them that the time for the payment of some of the debts could no longer be postponed, and urged the withdrawal of the secret injunction.

At the urgent solicitations of Congress, MORRIS, at length, consented to remain in office, with the understanding that his sphere of labors was to be confined exclusively to those engagements, already contracted by himself. Had not the war virtually been at an end, painfully distressing as was the position of the financier, he would never have thought of taking the step. The question

was asked him, If the war continued, what his course would be? "The same motives that first induced my acceptance, would, in that case, continue to operate," was the reply.

The general joy prevailing throughout the country, on receiving tidings of a formal peace, was marred greatly by the gloom of bankruptcy that hung over us. Peace, of course, brought no funds, and caused little less financial embarrassment.

In the spring of 1784, the bills of the United States were protested abroad,—Holland being first to pursue that course. The finances sinking continually to a more deplorable condition, with little indication, on the part of the States, to come to their relief, and calumniators still pouring their abuse upon his well-meant efforts, MORRIS determined to resign, and gave formal notification of the fact. Congress was not so blind to the deepest interests of the country, as to be ignorant of the vast advantages, of which she had been the recipient at the hands of the financier, or to withhold a merited eulogium upon his character, energy, and talents, which was conferred at the time a board was instituted to attend to the duties incident to his resignation, May 6th. The ensuing fall, he informed the people, through a widely-circulated circular, that all liabilities taken upon himself, for the government, during his administration, would be liquidated, and warned them not to submit to any sacrifice of claims, as he held himself "*personally* responsible" for their payment. In the month of November, he formally resigned his post of superintendent of finance, and penned an address to the people of the United States, that closed with the following words:

"The inhabitant of a little hamlet may feel pride in the sense of a separate independence. But if there be not one government, which can draw forth and direct the efforts,—the combined efforts,—of united America, our independence is but a name, our freedom a shadow, and our dignity a dream. To you, fellow citizens, these sentiments are addressed, by one who has felt their force. In descending from that eminence, on which your representatives had placed him, he avoids the shafts which calumny had aimed. He has no longer, therefore, any *personal* interest in those jealousies and distrusts which have embarrassed his administration, and may prove your ruin. He no longer asks confidence in himself, that if you will not repose in the members of that general federal government, which you yourselves have chosen,

that confidence, and those powers which are necessary, you must and you will (in no very distant period), become the dupes of European politics. What may be the final event, time only can discover; but the probability is, that first divided, then governed, our children may lament, in chains, the folly of their fathers. May Heaven avert these evils, and endow us with wisdom, so to act, as may best promote the present and future peace, prosperity, and happiness of our country."

He was now appointed marine agent, and superintended the affairs of the navy, in conjunction with other labors, for some time after. His connection with the public finances, was now drawing to a close. His labors had been arduous and efficient; whatever calumny may have then dictated, or oppression wrung from an embarrassed country, and a disordered people, posterity will do him justice, and admit that "Americans certainly owed, *and still owe* as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of ROBERT MORRIS, as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin;"—the rest of the sentence;—" or even the arms of Washington,"* we are not prepared to indorse.

In 1785, the charter of the Bank of North America, formed and fostered by the exertions and solicitude of MORRIS, principally through the efforts of his enemies, and a bitter party spirit, was withdrawn. To the people of Pennsylvania, especially the stockholders of the bank, this was a serious inconvenience, and they resolved to make every effort for its re-charter. At the earnest wish of the citizens, MORRIS was elected, in 1786, to Congress, for this purpose. A warm friend to the institution, he was zealous in his efforts to effect their object. He failed, however, and it was not till the next year a new charter was obtained,

Actuated by the same patriotic spirit that induced him, from the outset, to serve his country, and affix his signature to the Declaration of Independence, MORRIS consented to serve in the convention that formed the Federal Constitution. It might here be remarked, that MORRIS, when he signed the Declaration, felt as though it was a *bond* by which the "*fortunes* and lives" of the signers were pledged to the country it severed from other countries. It is clearly evident that, though his life was not required, the pledge, on his part, so far as "*fortune*" was concerned, was

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* Botta.

redeemed to the letter. In the convention, he met many of his old companions, whose names, along with his, will reach the remotest hours of time, as signers of the Declaration. Franklin, Sherman, Gerry, and Wythe, were there. They had met in a different capacity, but with the same hearts, energies, and high purposes. "A firm, wise, manly system of Federal government," was his desire, and though he was not a scholar, nor a brilliant speaker, in that convention he labored with as much zeal, and evinced a solidity of judgment, and sternness of will, surpassed by no one.

After the submission and ratification of the Constitution, MORRIS was sent by Pennsylvania to the first Senate of the United States, which met at Philadelphia. This was in 1789. MORRIS, in that body, was a working, influential member. Though he seldom made speeches, when he did address the house, he elicited undivided attention. He possessed a good fund of historical knowledge, and was well-versed in political matters. His speeches, though not brilliant, were serious, earnest, brief, and direct to the point. His manners were plain, simple, and unaffected, while his firmness and decision were unsurpassed. While he possessed an intuitive discrimination of correct principles and rules of action, no man more carefully studied the full scope of his relative duties or labored more faithfully in their discharge. His services in the Senate closed his political life.

It is painful to know that this great patriot, who lavished means freely for his country, was, in old age, when the comforts of life were so much needed, reduced to poverty. Heavy and unfortunate land speculations, and commercial transactions with India and China, opened by the peace to which he so much contributed, hurried his private affairs to a disastrous catastrophe, swallowed up all his means, and left him a bankrupt. Wearied with the toils of a laborious life, and harassed to death by private anxieties, his old age, which should have been serene and quiet, was bitter and mournful. He was a large fleshy man, approaching to corpulency, with a full open face, that bid defiance to lines of misfortune and personal griefs. Though married at the age of thirty-nine, he never had issue. In his domestic life, no one was more kind, generous and hospitable. Worn down with accumulated infirmities of both mind and body, he died of asthma, to attacks of which, he had long been subject, on the 8th of May.

1806. Posterity will scarcely believe that this great man died in confinement, imposed by legal coercion; yet, such seems to have been the fact. At a time when ease and comfort were most needful to his failing frame, he was imprisoned for debt, and passed in confinement his latter days, from among men.*. The sad close of his eventful life, brings us toward the last of those who figured through the Revolution, of whom we shall attempt a portraiture.

The name of each, thus far in our work, has been more or less connected with that memorable event. Cotemporaries of a mighty era! we look back upon your struggles with admiration and awe,—sigh with reverence at the spots where you sleep, and ask if, for the conclusion of our task, there are not other names and other deeds worthy your gigantic labors,—heirs to your inflexible virtues! We think there are, and, admonished by your purity, will aim to place them faithfully along with yours, proud to claim them as part of your illustrious progeny.

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* Encyclopædia Americana.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

THROUGH the revolutionary struggle, men of distinction, both civic and military, simultaneously appeared upon the stage of action, imbued with firm resolve, energetic will, and talents adapted to the crisis. The hardy yeomanry of the soil, who without prior experience proved themselves equal matches for the veterans of many a battle-field, were equaled only by the statesmen and jurists who, though seemingly the creation of emergencies, gave evidences of superior mind and attainments. In no part of the country were the examples of individual patriotism and heroic effort more manifest, than in South Carolina, and few names more adorn the galaxy of early patriots, than JOHN RUTLEDGE.

The eldest of seven children, and son of Dr. John Rutledge, he was born in South Carolina, in the year 1739. His father was a native of the Emerald Isle, but came to America in 1735, and took up his residence in South Carolina, where he married the beautiful Miss Hexe, then in her fifteenth year, a native of that State. She, it is said, was remarkable for her beauty, energy of mind and mental accomplishments. Few women have given birth to sons more eminent than JOHN and Edward Rutledge.

Dr. Rutledge died when his son JOHN was but a small lad, leaving the entire superintendence of the family to his mother. She proved herself competent to the task. She was left in possession of a large fortune, which was judiciously managed, and its proceeds applied to the education of her children. JOHN RUTLEDGE, after receiving the best instructions his native State could afford, was sent to London for the completion of his studies.



JOHN RUTLEDGE.

where he was soon led to decide upon law as his vocation. Having passed the regular course, as student of the Temple, he obtained license as barrister: he returned to Carolina, and began the practice in the city of Charleston, in 1761, in the twenty-third year of his age.

He rose rapidly in his profession, and took an immediate stand among the most successful at the bar. In addition to a mind uncommonly strong, vigorous, and inquisitive, he had all the advantages wealth, education, and travel could give. His first case was a breach of contract. A man in his county had promised to marry a lady, and afterward refused. She brought suit for damages, and young RUTLEDGE was her attorney. He gained her cause without difficulty, and managed it in such a way as to establish a legal reputation in the outset of his career.

He enjoyed a long and lucrative practice; his services were sought after by all kinds of clients, who had great confidence in his ability. His attributes, as a lawyer, could not, perhaps, be better expressed than in the language of Dr. Simms: "He was," says he, "equal at once, to the boldest flights of passion and fancy, and to the strictest and severest processes of ratiocination. His reason and his impulse wrought happily together. His enthusiasm was never suffered to cripple his induction, nor the severity of his analysis to stifle the ardor of his utterance. A happy combination of all the essentials of the lawyer and the orator were soon acknowledged to be in his possession." He might have added also, that the whole was stamped with an independent originality, amounting almost to haughtiness, and a defiant disregard of opinions, bordering on recklessness.

In 1763, in his twenty-fifth year, RUTLEDGE was married to Elizabeth Grimke, by whom he had seven children, one of which subsequently became a member of congress. After enjoying an honorable practice in his profession, and taking a position at the bar surpassed by none in the colony, he was elected, in 1765, a delegate to the first continental Congress that assembled after the passage of the Stamp Act. Foremost among the most bold and denunciatory against the aggressions of England, in that body, stood JOHN RUTLEDGE. The creditable manner in which he discharged his duties, as delegate, won for him a bright name among the patriots of the day. Speaking of him as a lawyer and legislator, Ramsay pays him the following tribute: "In both capaci-

ties he was admitted as a public speaker. His ideas were clear and strong, his utterance rapid, but distinct; his voice, action, and energetic manner of speaking, forcibly impressed his sentiments on the minds and hearts of all who heard him. At reply, he was quick, instantly comprehending the force of an objection, and saw at once the best mode of weakening or repelling it. He successfully used both argument and wit for invalidating the observations of his adversary. By the former, he destroyed or weakened their force; by the latter, he placed them in so ludicrous a point of light, that it often convinced, and scarcely ever failed of conciliating and pleasing his hearers."

He continues these remarks by an hyperbolical comparison between RUTLEDGE's and Demosthenes' eloquence, that is too far fetched to possess any weight, in arriving at a correct estimate of the South Carolinian's characteristics.

On the adjournment of Congress, he resumed his labors as a lawyer in Charleston, which he pursued with energy and marked success, until the commencement of hostilities. He was then regarded as among the ablest advocates in his native State.

At the beginning of the revolution, no colony made a more decided stand, nor acted with greater unanimity, than did South Carolina. Her citizens met in general convention at Charleston, July 6, 1774, denounced in strong terms the Parliamentary enactments, established corresponding committees, and appointed delegates to a general Congress. Two of these were JOHN, and Edward Rutledge.

Some one proposed instructing the delegates as to how they should act. RUTLEDGE boldly opposed being trammeled by instructions, and desired to act with his colleagues as circumstances might dictate. Firm as steel, in his native independence, he urged his countrymen to resistance, in appeals that struck to their hearts. Speaking of the causes of complaint and urging the unanimous appointment of delegates to the general Congress, he met some opposition. While dwelling upon the advantages of such a body, a strong opponent of the measure asked: "What shall be done with the delegates if they betray their constituents?" "*Hang them! hang them!!*" characteristically replied RUTLEDGE, with passionate vehemence.

To participate in the deliberations of that Congress, the most eminent men in the country convened. Patrick Henry, on being

questioned concerning the different members, said: "The most eloquent man was JOHN RUTLEDGE." * * *

On their return home, the Assembly of South Carolina gave her delegates a unanimous vote of thanks for the manner in which they had acquitted themselves, as delegates to the general Congress. He was appointed, as was his brother Edward, to the next general Congress, where, along with the elder Adams, he was among the first to advocate an entire separation from the mother country, and the enactment of their own laws by the colonies. Being made chairman of a committee to which were referred some memorials, he expressed in his report a recommendation to the effect that Massachusetts should, as a colony, regulate her own concerns, "until a governor of his Majesty's appointment *consent to govern the colony according to its charter.*" RUTLEDGE was, in fact, according to John Adams, one who, "sink or swim, live or die," remained firm,—"completely with us, in our desire *of revolutionizing all the governments*" of the colonies.

By his course in Congress, and his stirring appeals at home, he became the champion of revolution in South Carolina, whose devotion to the cause throughout is greatly attributable to his talent and influence. From his position in the general Congress, he took his seat in the provincial Assembly of South Carolina, and devoted himself to the object of State reform. Having determined, after much opposition, to adopt an independent State constitution, RUTLEDGE was made one of the committee to draft that instrument. He made his report soon after, when the constitution, which was the result of the committee's labors, was adopted. By its provisions, the legislature was divided into three branches, an assembly, council, and privy council, with a president and commander-in-chief, who was the executor of general matters. Soon after the adoption of the constitution, RUTLEDGE was selected president unanimously, and entered upon the duties of his station at a time of eminent peril to South Carolina, as well as to America generally.

He was a member of the Assembly at the time of his election, and addressed that body, after receiving their pledges of support, in remarks of some elegance, much zeal, and decided firmness. Thanking them for the confidence reposed in his capacity, he reviewed the series of aggressive acts, insisted upon by the Eng-

lish ministry, and concluded by expressing his hopes "that, under Providence, the liberties of America might forever be preserved." After these remarks, he took the oath of office, and became governor of South Carolina. Speaking of this a short time after, he said: "On my part, a most solemn oath has been taken for the faithful discharge of my duty. On yours, a solemn assurance has been given to support me therein. Thus a public compact between us stands recorded. You may rest assured that I shall ever keep this oath in my mind: the Constitution shall be the invariable rule of my conduct; my ears shall always be opened to the complaints of the injured; justice and mercy shall neither be denied nor delayed; our laws and religion, and the liberties of America shall be maintained and defended to the utmost of my power. I repose the most perfect confidence in your engagements."

These promises were not made to be forgotten,—RUTLEDGE redeemed them.

He commenced his duties as president of the colony, just before its invasion by the British troops, a period of critical moment in southern history, memorable alike for the heroism of her sons, and the displays of wisdom by her public servants. In June, 1776, RUTLEDGE was advised of the approach of Clinton with an overwhelming force, which, it will be remembered, left Boston for that purpose. RUTLEDGE felt the importance of the crisis, promptly ordered out the militia, and took preliminary steps to meet him. His energy in concentrating the resources of the country, his unwavering firmness in infusing the proper spirit into the troops, and his iron-will in execution were acknowledged everywhere, and contributed much to the acceleration of subsequent events.

By his activity, six thousand men responded to the call, and rallied to the standard, raw recruits, but of dauntless hearts. Among them were Marion, Moultrie, Horry, Jasper and Motte. RUTLEDGE inspired them with his own proud ardor for the defense of Charleston. On Sullivan's Island, a rude fort was constructed of palmetto logs; the soldiers appearing as joyous while building it, as though they were preparing a feast. Meantime, reinforcements arrived; with them came General Lee. He gave the fort, which was called Fort Moultrie, a hasty examination. He condemned it at once: "It is a slaughter-pen, sir," said he; "they

will knock your fort about your heads in half an hour,"* and advised its evacuation. RUTLEDGE thought differently, and replied that, "while a soldier remained alive to defend it, it should not be abandoned." At length, the British fleet hove in sight,—the day of battle arrived. The gallant Moultrie slipped in his pocket the directions of RUTLEDGE, and prepared for action. They read as follows: "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not do so, without an order from me. *I would sooner cut off my hand than write one.*

J. RUTLEDGE."

RUTLEDGE gathered the citizens together in the city,—assigned them certain advantageous posts,—armed them as best he could; and, walked about among them, inspiring them with resolution to defend their homes, in case the British succeeded in landing. Meantime, the cannonade opened like a hail-cloud upon the little fort. The flag-staff was cut away, and it did seem as though they would knock the fort about their heads in half an hour; but, just then, Jasper leaped courageously upon the beach, among lead and ball, snatched up the broken banner, and replaced it upon the fortress. RUTLEDGE witnessed the scene. Lee still thinking a retreat advisable, sent to Moultrie the following order: "If you should expend your ammunition without beating off the enemy, or driving them on ground, *spike your guns and retreat with all possible order.*" RUTLEDGE still thinking differently, contrived a supply of powder into the fort, with the following characteristic note to Moultrie: "I send you five hundred pounds of powder. You know our collection is not great. Honor and victory, my good sir, to you and our worthy countrymen. *Do not make too free with your cannon,—cool and do mischief.*" They did do mischief. Some of the enemy's vessels blew up, others had their entire force killed or disabled.

After a cannonade of eight hours, with the loss of the commander, Lord Campbell, and many of their brave troops, they hauled off. By the victory of Moultrie, South Carolina purchased repose sufficient for breathing time, prevented the investment of Charleston, and diverted the efforts of the enemy from her borders. For these results, all praise is due the lion-hearted RUTLEDGE, who was the soul of the gallant army.

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* HORRY.

The day after the victory, RUTLEDGE visited the brave army, and with his countenance full of animation, addressed them with fervid eloquence,—his whole soul full of emotion. After concluding his speech, he called the intrepid Jasper from the ranks, and presented him his own sword. Years after this event, when age had silvered his locks, he stood upon the same spot, and with animated face, recounted its incidents, as memory transferred him back among his former comrades.

"I remember," said he to a friend, "the engagement, as though it were fought but yesterday; I remember my perfect confidence in Moultrie; I have all the scenes before me, too, when I visited the post to express the thanks of the country to the heroes who defended it. *Here* stood Moultrie,—*there* Motte,—*there* Marion, Horry, and the intrepid band they commanded. I addressed them with an energy of feeling that I had never before experienced; and if ever I had pretensions to eloquence, it was at that moment."

Gordon, in his Anecdotes, says: that during this recital, RUTLEDGE seemed animated, as though he was actually fighting the battle over again, and talking to the old companions he had mentioned. Meantime, independence had been declared; a copy of the Declaration was transmitted to South Carolina. RUTLEDGE sent it to the Assembly, with the following words: "It is a decree worthy of America; we thankfully receive the ratification, and rejoice at it; and we are determined at every hazard, to endeavor to maintain it, so that after we have departed, our children, and their latest posterity, may have cause to bless our memory." It was joyfully received throughout the State. On the convention of the Assembly, RUTLEDGE was again elected provincial president. For this post he was eminently fitted, and much prosperity happened to the State through the efforts of his administration. After the Declaration of Independence, South Carolina adopted a new constitution. As president, he had to ratify it. This he refused to do. The new constitution, for the name Colony, substituted State,—for President, Governor,—changed the legislature from three to two branches,—provided for the election of the second branch by the people, instead of the first, and declared rotation in the executive office. His objections were based upon a want of legislative jurisdiction in the premises, and an averred choice of the people to election of

one branch of the legislature by the other. The consequence of his refusal, was a resignation. Lowndes succeeded to the office of governor, and ratified the constitution.

RUTLEDGE, in his refusal, was conscientious, though his imperious nature was not the most susceptible of being convinced; his opinion was almost immovable, and principles fixed as the laws of his nature. After the ratification of the new constitution, and the election of his successor, he retired to private life, with a name untarnished. Soon after his retirement, an invasion more formidable than the first, threatened South Carolina, and filled the State with alarm. On the appearance of danger, all eyes turned to RUTLEDGE, as the man most suited to the emergency. General Lincoln assumed command in the south, while RUTLEDGE became the heart of the revolutionary movement. His energies were taxed to the utmost in preparing for the defense of Charleston, then threatened with formal investment by the troops of Sir Henry Clinton. The Assembly was in session, and sensible of the crisis, invested him with plenary powers. He called upon the militia; but, chilled by the host of Clinton, they did not comply. He issued a proclamation, threatening all with confiscation, who refused to assist in the defense; it was vain,—the spirit of Moultrie had departed,—subdued by the preparation of the foes. By great efforts, however, rude fortifications were thrown up, and manned with four thousand troops, after which, RUTLEDGE, as being almost the entire government, returned from the city. The British, soon after, opened a destructive fire upon their works, which were soon captured, and General Lincoln was forced to surrender the city.

South Carolina, which had not hitherto felt the heel of the invader, now became the theater of operations, and seemed almost subdued. All that firmness and decision could do to avert the storm was done by RUTLEDGE. No man loved his State better, or hated England with a more deadly hate. Failing in his endeavors to fly to the relief of the capital, and to assemble the State troops, he turned to Congress and importuned aid. He succeeded. The brave old De Kalb, with a body of regulars, was sent to rescue the almost conquered State, while Horatio Gates was placed at the head of three thousand troops for the same object. Flushed with the success of Saratoga, he thought of nothing but victory, nor made the slightest preparation for a

reverse. He marched his army to Camden, where, though much larger than that of the enemy, it was entirely routed. Gates did not lack activity on this occasion, *as he was found a great distance from the field, in an almost incredible short space of time, after the attack began.* His greatest faults were arrogance and cowardice. After the battle of Camden, the greatest consternation prevailed throughout the State, and the firmness of RUTLEDGE was all that kept the remains of the army together, and prevented entire despondency. He remained in the field, reassuring the crest-fallen soldiers of Gates, until the arrival of General Greene to take the southern command, under whose management, prospects began to brighten up again.

General Greene commenced operations under very inauspicious circumstances; and, but for his being so nobly seconded by RUTLEDGE, it is questionable, whether, from such military chaos, he could have derived means of sustenance. These two distinguished men labored in concert, in a manner highly creditable to both. In one of his earliest dispatches, Greene said: "We are obliged to sustain ourselves by our own industry, aided by the influence of Governor RUTLEDGE, *who is one of the first characters I ever met with.*"

That campaign of Greene, was one of the most arduous of the revolution, and to the series of victories that ultimately attended it, the influence of RUTLEDGE contributed much, and was fully appreciated by the commander. He was several times at the camp of Greene, during his most distressing difficulties, and continually exerted his great influence with Congress, to procure needful supplies for the army. Marion, Pickens and Morgan, too, were singled out for usefulness by his penetrating sagacity, and elevated to efficient co-operators with Greene, through all his achievments that terminated with such happy results at Eutaw Springs.

He went in person to Congress, for the purpose of obtaining necessaries, and was not unsuccessful. After these efforts, when victory began to perch upon Greene's southern banner, he returned to his more appropriate sphere,—the civic department of his State. Among the fragments of the desolating invasion, were the wrecks of civil government, that had to be reconstructed from the general chaos, by the hand of RUTLEDGE. He issued proclamations,—reorganized the courts of justice,—punished merce-

ary desperadoes, and by his bold energy, soon re-established order and system. Never, perhaps, was an independent, imperious nature more peculiarly adapted to the times, nor a man more fitted for his position than was he; yet, with his haughty temperament, there was a manly impulse that spurned to retaliate upon the enemy, the almost unheard of cruelties practiced through the State, by Tarleton and Rawdon, but pursued a course lenient as possible, not to be inconsistent with duty. He was present at the battle of Eutaw Springs, encouraging the militia, among whom, the name of RUTLEDGE was a talisman; they fought under the eye of Greene, and won his unbounded admiration. That battle was a virtual overthrow of British domination in South Carolina. All along, JOHN RUTLEDGE and the State government had been synonymous; he was both branches of the legislature and the executive; seldom have plenary powers been less abused, or more honorably exercised. He would draw up what measures seemed necessary, impress them with the great seal of the State, and they became law. After the victory, he issued a proclamation, declaring a full pardon to all who under the panic of British successes had joined the enemy, provided that, within thirty days, they would return to duty as militiamen in the American service,—with some flagrant exceptions. Availing themselves of the terms, many joined the army.

Not wishing to exercise his extraordinary power longer than necessary, and the British being hemmed up in Charleston, as their last stronghold, RUTLEDGE thought it a fit time to convene the Assembly, which had not met since the defeat of Gates. Election writs were circulated throughout the State; the Assembly was to meet at Jacksonborough, some ten leagues from Charleston. Fire and sword had swept over the State, and nowhere had the rapacity of the foe been more manifest, or the sufferings of the people more intense.

Accompanying the election writs he sent to Marion, was the following order for *feasting* the legislators: "I wish you to procure *twelve barrels of rice for the use of the Assembly*, at their intended meeting on the 8th of next month. Be pleased to have that quantity procured as high up Santee river as it can be got, and let me know as soon as possible where it is, that I may order wagons to fetch it down from thence to Camden in time."

It would be well enough for pampered Congressmen now-a-

days, to look back along Edisto river, to that rice-fed assembly, convened on the 8th of January, 1782. Marion was there, Gadsden was there, and there, too, was RUTLEDGE to give up his dictatorship. No interest but their country, no pay but liberty, they met as patriots for the public good. RUTLEDGE addressed them in one of his characteristic impetuous displays of spontaneous oratory, reviewing the list of wrongs endured by their injured country. He said: "Indians, slaves, and a desperate banditti of the most profligate characters, were caressed and employed by the enemy to execute their infamous purposes. Devastation and ruin marked their progress, and that of their adherents; nor were their violences restrained by the charms or influence of innocence and beauty. Even the fair sex, whom it is the duty of all, and the pleasure and the pride of the brave to protect; they, and their offspring, were victims to the inveterate malice of an unrelenting foe. Neither the tears of mothers, nor the cries of infants, could excite in their breasts pity or compassion. Not only the peaceful habitation of the widow, the aged and infirm, but the holy temple of the Most High were consumed in flames, kindled by their sacrilegious hands. They have tarnished the glory of the British arms,—disgraced the profession, and fixed indelible stigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy and profaneness on the British name. But I now congratulate you, and I do so most cordially, on the pleasing change of affairs, which, under the blessing of God, the wisdom, prudence, address, and bravery of the great and gallant General Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers and men under his command, has been happily effected; a general who is justly entitled, from his many signal services, to honorable and singular marks of your approbation and gratitude."

The Assembly immediately passed a law, which, though approved by RUTLEDGE, may very well be called in question; this provided for the confiscation of property belonging to such as adhered to the British, throughout the State. During the brief period of the enforcement of this rigorous measure, RUTLEDGE was violently assailed for giving his assent to it. On the expiration of his executive term, not being re-eligible under the Constitution, which provided, that the same man could fill the office of governor but two years out of six, he was superseded by John Matthews. He was immediately elected to Congress, and took his seat, May 2d, 1782.

Partaking in common, with the wisest members, of the apprehension lest recent successes showed an inactive spirit on the part of the States to terminate the war, that would be dangerous, he was selected to frame an address to the southern States, to counteract it. This was done in a very masterly style. Ramsay says: "He drew such a picture of the United States, and the danger to which they were exposed by the backwardness of the particular States to comply with the requisitions of Congress as produced a very happy effect. He acquitted himself with so much ability, that the Virginians began to doubt whether their Patrick Henry, or South Carolina RUTLEDGE was the more accomplished speaker."

This Congress numbered names since become historical; the bold and eloquent RUTLEDGE, the peerless Hamilton, the sagacious Madison, the erudite Ellsworth, the classic Dyer, and others were there. At the close of a mighty revolution, they stood contemplating the game of destiny which had just been decided,—each having figured considerably therein. Of its important transactions, we have spoken elsewhere. The difficulties incident to the depreciation of national credit,—the definitive treaty of peace,—the threatened anarchy of the army,—the inefficient regulations of Federative power; and the unsettled state of things generally, just after the war, made this a laborious Congress. RUTLEDGE leaned to the Federalists, politically, though his independence was his main monitor, and he eschewed partyism, unless its individual tenets were accordant with his own notions. He usually acted with Hamilton and his friends on national questions, and had great influence as a member of Congress. He favored the treaty of peace concluded with Great Britain, and defended Jay and its authors from the charge of having violated instructions in not consulting the French ministers in the negotiations, upon the high ground that, "*instructions ought to be violated by representatives, when public good requires.*" He was an influential working member, and was upon committees for the investigation of all important measures coming up for consideration.

Others may have acted a more important part, and occupied a wider sphere in the nation's eye, but none were more zealous or patriotic in the discharge of duty, or more correct in its conception. He closed his Congressional career in 1783, when that body was menaced by the Pennsylvania mutineers, and forced to adjourn to New Jersey.

RUTLEDGE, in 1784, was elected judge of the Chancery Court in his native State. Prior to this, the State judiciary had been in the hands of men, who, though possessed of excellent sense and the sternest patriotism, were not very remarkable for dignity of manners or rigidity of morals. Judge Burke was a fair specimen. He wore the robe through a part of the Revolution, and though he had a good practical mind, great wit, and some attainments, he indulged in the follies, not to say the vices that would not be tolerated now; he was especially fond of his daily potations, for the day before he died of dropsy, on being tapped, he addressed his physician with: "Well Doctor, what am I to expect,—life or death?" "Life," he replied, "you are an Irishman, and will yet last a loug time." Then, with an oath, exclaimed Burke, "*I shall be the first thing that ever lasted long in the house, after being tapped.*" He used to attend the courts, with his books and papers, to defend the law, and a couple of loaded pistols to defend himself. This would look oddly enough in our day. Just before RUTLEDGE's election, new courts had been organized, and the old proprietary manner of adjudication done away with. He framed the bill in part, establishing Courts of Equity, with three judges regulating its jurisdiction, etc..

He performed his duties, in this capacity, with his accustomed firmness and ability, until 1791, when he was elected Chief Justice of the supreme court of the State. This may be regarded as the first permanent step toward the purification of the State presidency. Prior to this, most of the incumbents had become so by foreign appointment, and were, as a general thing, unworthy men. One of them, Futurel, it is said, never saw a law book until he reached America. He it was, who, lying on a bench in a state of intoxication, observed a gentleman, at no great distance, changing his dress, and, supposing he was preparing for fight, cried out: "Oh! d—— you, if you are for that sport, I am at home,—come on!"

RUTLEDGE soon produced a change of things: Drayton, indeed, one of his predecessors, had taken the initiatory steps to reform, and RUTLEDGE consummated it. The South Carolina bar, then numbered among its practitioners, the Pinckneys, the Rutledges, and others of note. To follow RUTLEDGE, as he sat upon the bench of the supreme court, through the numerous decisions of his judicial term, would be to recapitulate the old Reports of South

Carolina, and to collate arguments and opinions in no way uncommon in the annals of jurisprudence.

He donned the ermine with the requisite abilities to preserve its purity, administered justice with rigorous impartiality, asserted and maintained the supremacy of the law, and contributed much to elevate the judiciary of his State. If the haughtiness of his nature dictated summary renditions, the honesty of his heart subdued the impulse; and if the independence of his will suggested a rejection of precedent and opinion, the soundness of his judgment prevented him from falling into extremes. As a whole, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the people among whom he acted, and the manifest necessity of bold and vigorous action, on many occasions, it seems as though JOHN RUTLEDGE was a man born for the times. Whether resisting the grasping policy of England in its earliest manifestations,—at the bar as an attorney,—traversing the State to stir up the militia,—pleading with Congress for supplies,—encouraging the troops at Sullivan's Island,—marching with the half-starved troops of Greene to Eutaw,—procuring rice for the Assembly,—holding over his State the dictatorial scepter,—making his bold voice heard in the continental Congress,—framing new laws for the people,—filling the executive chair, or wearing the ermine robes, he was the same stern, inflexible, matter-of-fact JOHN RUTLEDGE.

While chief justice, or chancellor,—as this position must not be associated with his future eminent post as Judge of the Supreme Court,—he was elected a delegate to the convention that formed the Constitution.

In that body he acted with his associate, Pinckney, and proved a working, zealous member. In the discussions that arose after the submission of the several plans elsewhere mentioned, he took an active part, and exerted a potential influence excelled but by few members of the convention.

After these protracted discussions, and the necessity of a compromise became manifest, he was placed on a committee of eleven to draft one, regulative of State representation. The draft of a Constitution was afterward submitted to a revisionary committee of five of the ablest men in the convention, among whom was JOHN RUTLEDGE; who finally submitted, in person, the result of their revision to the convention,—the rough draft of what was to be the Federal Constitution. It was modified, and underwent

considerable change in phraseology, but most of the principal features were retained.

The subject of Slavery seems to have come before that body for consideration. A proposition was made to prevent their importation into the States. This Rutledge opposed, as virtually excluding the Carolinas and Georgia from the Federal Union, as they would reject the Constitution upon the insertion of such prohibitory restrictions. But when provision was made not to interfere with their right of importation for twenty-one years, he signified his approval; careful, however, in providing for future constitutional revision, to insist upon a clause, preventing any change upon that subject during that time. September, 1787, the convention adjourned, and RUTLEDGE returned home, a zealous co-operator with the Federal party. On the submission of the Constitution to conventions of the different States for approval, many opponents, everywhere, stepped forth against it; this was the case in South Carolina. RUTLEDGE was a champion for ratification, and urged its importance before the people. His most formidable opponent was Lowndes. In discussion with that gentleman, on one occasion, while replying to one of his shrewdest and ablest efforts, RUTLEDGE said: "My friend's obstinacy brings to mind a friend of his country, once a member of this House, who said: 'It is generally imputed to me, that I am obstinate: I am *not* obstinate,—*but hard to be convinced!*'"

The friends of the Constitution, however, succeeded in carrying through the House the proposition to call a State convention, which met in the spring of 1788, and ratified the Constitution, RUTLEDGE and the Pinckneys being members.

The government being organized by the ratification of the Constitution, in the election of the chief officers, RUTLEDGE received the vote of his native State for first Vice-president. On Washington's election as president, and the organization of the American judiciary, John Jay, as we have seen, was appointed first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, with the name of JOHN RUTLEDGE next, as one of his associates, who was destined to be next at the head of that tribunal. This post he continued to occupy until Jay retired from the bench as chief justice, when the following, from the President, announced him as his successor:

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 18th ult., and Mr. Jay's resignation of the office of Chief Justice of the United States, came to hand yesterday. The former gave me much pleasure; and, without hesitating a moment, after knowing you would accept the latter, I directed the Secretary of State to make you an official offer of this honorable appointment; to express to you my wish that it may be convenient and agreeable to you to accept it; to intimate, in that case, my desire, and the advantages that would attend your being in this city the first Monday in August; at which time the next session of the Supreme Court will commence; and to inform you that your commission, as Chief Justice, will take date on this day, July 1st, when Mr. Jay's will cease; but that it would be detained here, to be presented to you on your arrival.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

RUTLEDGE accepted the commission and became the second chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Though he had been uniform in his adherence to the measures of the Federal party, up to the adoption of the Constitution, he opposed Jay's treaty violently, and made himself obnoxious to many of that party, so that his appointment to the supreme judgeship was not very well relished by them. . . . . .

Speaking of the course of the Rutledges in regard to the treaty, Ellsworth says in a letter: "that Edward Rutledge should not act at all is less surprising, than that JOHN RUTLEDGE should *act like the devil.* I wait for the unraveling, when more is to be known."

After the appointment had been tendered, Wolcott thus wrote to Hamilton: "To my astonishment, I am recently told that JOHN RUTLEDGE has had the tender of the office of Chief Justice. By the favor of Heaven, the commission is not tendered, and now, I presume, it will not be; *but how near ruin and disgrace the country has been!*" Hamilton, in his reply, said: "I find it is true, RUTLEDGE has been invited to be Chief Justice; but he is not commissioned, and I must presume, he will not be, after his late conduct."

These, however, were but ebullitions of partisan rancor, and had no influence with Washington in continuing the appointment, notwithstanding his opposition to a measure whose ratification he himself thought judicious. In RUTLEDGE he saw a man eminently

qualified by nature, experience, and education, for a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, and whether his political opinions were exactly accordant with his own, was a question, with him, wholly subservient to the good of the country. The appointment in no way detracted from his happy discrimination in selecting good, capable, and worthy public servants.

The opposition to this appointment, though it moderated, was not discontinued. Ellsworth wrote: "With regard to Mr. RUTLEDGE, it was certainly difficult, after he had come, not to commission him. If the evil is without a remedy, we must, as in other cases, make the best of it." Others remarked: "Many are hurt by his, RUTLEDGE's appointment, and are unable to account for it, but impute it to want of information of his hostility to the government, or some hidden cause, which justifies the measure. We shall be loth to find that faction is to be courted at so great a sacrifice of consistency."

This was not the cause. The opposition of RUTLEDGE to Jay's treaty, was well known by the President, and every one else; he was not the man to conceal his sentiments. In Charleston, soon after the treaty, he made a speech, perhaps the boldest and most denunciatory of his life, at an indignation meeting. This speech was published, denounced, carped at, garbled, and criticized by the federal press everywhere.

The newspapers denounced the appointment, and the Senate signified a reluctance to confirm it. Washington was stigmatized with much virulence. RUTLEDGE was attacked through the public press, his political actions aspersed with the bitterest acrimony, and his personal character abused with remorseless cruelty. The controversy was continued for some time, until a friend of his from South Carolina, roused by the gross charges against the favorite son of the State, repelled them with ability and triumphantly vindicated his name. All this grew out of his opposition to the Jay treaty, and shows into what extremes men may be hurried by the blind zeal of partisan favor.

RUTLEDGE, however, presided as chief justice but a short time, during which there were no cases of peculiar interest adjudicated. He exhibited, during the brief period he held the office, his usual firmness, discretion and good sense; this was in the intermediate time, after his commission, and prior to the convention of the Senate. When that body met, Washington sent in his name, but

they steadily refused to confirm it. Their refusal, Jefferson said, was "a bold thing, because they could not raise any objection to him but his opposition to the treaty."

Their rejection was well enough. RUTLEDGE had, years before, contracted a disease, it was said, by undue exposure among the swamps, during the war. While his commission was being discussed in the Senate, and about the time they refused confirmation, he was attacked with it in a manner more violent than hitherto, which resulted in an entire prostration of both mind and body. Heretofore we have viewed JOHN RUTLEDGE as a man of mighty intellect in his day, exerting great influence upon the destinies of his country, both in the field and in the cabinet.

By regular gradations, we have seen him rise, step by step, from one post of honor to another, until he stood high in his country's estimation, but we must

"Now look on that ruined arch, that broken wall,
Those chambers desolate and portals foul,"

without seeing the light of reason that shone so conspicuously. A mind even of the smallest caliber, in ruins, is a mournful sight, but one of RUTLEDGE's vigor to be thus shattered, is truly sad to contemplate. In December, 1795, while on his way to court, he was suddenly attacked and forced to return to the house of a friend he had just left. In a few days, so complete was the overthrow of reason, that, to prevent self-destruction, he was put under guard. In this distressing condition, he lingered until the ensuing year. He died in the summer of 1800, and was buried in the city of Charleston.

He is entombed in his beloved Carolina, and to freedom and fame belongs the memory of JOHN RUTLEDGE.

JOHN MARSHALL.

In Fauquier county, Virginia, in May, 1775, soon after the battle of Lexington, at a militia muster, acting as lieutenant, might have been seen a youth in his nineteenth year. "He was about six feet high, straight and rather slender, of dark complexion, showing little if any rosy red, yet good health; the outline of the face nearly a circle, and within it, eyes dark to blackness, strong and penetrating, beaming with intelligence and good nature; an upright forehead, rather low, which was terminated in a horizontal line by a mass of raven-black hair of unusual thickness and length,—features fully developed,—his body and limbs indicating great agility, dressed in a pale-blue hunting-shirt, and trowsers of the same material, fringed with white,—a round black hat, mounted with the buck-tail for a cockade."*

That youth was John Marshall. He had just heard of the affair at Concord, and walked ten miles to the muster-ground to attend the duties of his lieutenancy, the captain being prevented by sickness from attending. He arrived on the spot, where he was greeted, by all who knew him, with cries of "What's the news?" He told them the captain would not be there, and of the battle which had been fought, it being the first time they had heard of it. He told them that more fighting was expected, and that he in common with every true soldier should be ready to take the field, when called on. As lieutenant, he then drilled them through the various military evolutions of an old field-muster; after which, with youthful ardor and some eloquence, he told them all about the war, the calamitous results likely to

* Binney's Eulogy on Marshall.



JOHN MARSHALL.

ensue, and urged them to be in readiness for active service. After the speech, he engaged in a game of quoits, in which he beat his competitor. The exercises of the day closed with feats of running, jumping and wrestling, after which he returned home as he came, on foot.

He was the eldest of fifteen children, the son of Thomas and Mary Marshall, and was born in Germantown, Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1755. On the father's side he was of Welsh descent; his mother's people were natives of New England. Thomas Marshall removed from the paternal estate in Westmoreland, to Fauquier county, Virginia, where he soon after married Mary Keith.

He settled in the Northern Neck, on a portion of the vast domain which Lord Fairfax gave Washington to survey, and was also selected to assist in the same business.

He was poor, but possessed great energy and firmness of purpose; he was colonel in several severe actions of the war, and always gave evidences of courage. The future Chief Justice was often heard to say of his father, that "he is a far abler man than any of his sons. To him I owe the solid foundation of all my own successes in life."

At an early age, his father settled in the hollows of the Blue Ridge,—a comparative wilderness. Here, though wholly deprived of the benefits of school education, breathing the pure air and climbing the mountain-side, he studied Nature's volume and developed his physical constitution. He managed, too, to procure copies of Shakspeare, Pope, and other great authors, whom he read with pleasure and profit. He had a good memory, a fondness for study, and some taste for poetry. Imbosomed in the romance of his mountain-home, at an age of susceptibility, and fired by the thoughts of the poets above-mentioned, it is not surprising that he gave way to an inclination for poetry. Youth, however, is all poetry; but when awakened to manhood, the tinge of care and responsibility dispels the illusion, and life's reality develops the fact, that what we took for poetic fancy was only the ideal of existence. Though a taste for general literature is by no means uncommon, especially in their younger years with great minds, an indulgence in the seductive charms of poetry is often more injurious than otherwise; for as to revel in the halls of conviviality and ease tends to enervate the physical organism,

so to wanton in the shades of the muses, as a general thing, tends to impair the vigor and comprehensiveness of the mental powers, and to divert the mind from the useful and practical things of life, for which it is perhaps more adapted.

In his fifteenth year, young MARSHALL was sent into Westmoreland county, for the purpose of his education, where he enjoyed the advantages of intercourse with a learned gentleman, and made considerable progress in the study of the classics. Two years would embrace the whole time devoted by him to the attainment of his education, with any assistance worthy of note. But he made good use of his time, and got such a start that, by his own unassisted labors he eventually acquired a fund of knowledge rarely equaled; in this way it was he read Horace, Livy, and other Latin authors. He never could boast a collegiate education; but as Pindar has it:

"He that all he hath to schooling owes,
A shallow wight obscure
Plants not his step secure."

He had the "inbred nobleness" of which the same great poet spoke, in glowing strains of eulogy, that more than made up for all educational deficiencies.

He had scarcely concluded these two years' application, however, when, like most young men who had professional lives in view, he was called by the breaking out of the war, to the theater of action. Hence we find him, in his nineteenth year, at the muster-field above-named, as a young lieutenant declaring his readiness to embark in the cause.

When the proper authorities took preliminary steps to prepare for the crisis, we find him, true to his promise, enrolled in a company of minute men, under a lieutentant's commission. This company commenced active operations, September, 1775.

Lord Dunmore had erected a fort on Elizabeth river. Against him was sent Colonel Woodford, with several regiments of troops, among which was the minute batallion, where young MARSHALL acted as lieutenant. Woodford, deeming it imprudent to attack the enemy's works, built a fort close by, into which he threw his men and provisions. Dunmore resolved to dislodge them, and sent Captain Fordyce, with sixty British troops for that purpose. Fordyce undertook its execution right gallantly. He stormed the little fort with fixed bayonets. Its occupants flew to

its defense. Foremost among those who, at the post of danger, urged his men to action, might have been seen the tall, commanding form of young Lieutenant MARSHALL. While marching at the head of his men upon the fort, Captain Fordyce was shot down, when his whole party fled in the greatest confusion. The British lost nearly the entire number which commenced the attack, while the Americans did not lose a single man. Lord Dunmore, after this failure, abandoned his fortress on Elizabeth river, and retired on board some British men-of-war. In this spirited affair MARSHALL behaved with great bravery.

In 1776, he was promoted to a first lieutenant's commission, in one of the Continental Regiments; in which situation he remained until after the battle of Trenton, when he was made captain, and went with Washington into winter-quarters at Morristown. On the resumption of offensive hostilities, MARSHALL's company, with the main army, marched to the Brandywine, and was attached to Maxwell's division, in the battle at that place. In this action he acquitted himself with gallantry, and engaged in a skirmish or two with the enemy, where he exercised sole command. At the battle of Germantown, which was the next that was fought, Captain MARSHALL and his company formed a part of Woodford's division. They attacked the British infantry with such spirit that they were quickly forced back; but while pursuing their success, a sudden discharge of musketry from the enemy checked them, and the Americans were compelled to retire. These engagements, though they were not victorious, tended to confirm the faith of the American troops, and added luster to their arms. MARSHALL, in his Life of Washington, dwells upon them, and especially the part acted by his commander, with the greatest animation,—careful, however, from a natural modesty, not to mention his own services in higher terms than that "I was an eye-witness to the action," etc.

Of Washington and those stirring times, he could never speak without the liveliest emotions. His soldier days, and those who served with him, were never forgotten. On the other hand, he established a place in the hearts of the officers of the army, which he ever maintained. For Washington he conceived the highest attachment, that sufficiently indicates itself in his Life of that illustrious man. With Hamilton, too, he became intimate, and others of distinction; all of whom entertained for him feelings

of ardent friendship. The kind feelings cherished for him, by his old companions, are evident from the testimony of Judge Story, who says: "I myself have often heard him spoken of by these veterans, in terms of the highest praise. In an especial manner, the revolutionary officers of the Virginia line, appeared almost to idolize him as an old friend and companion in arms, enjoying their fullest confidence."

He was frequently appointed a kind of deputy judge for temporary purposes during this time, and gave evidences of civic ability, preponderant over his martial talents; this also increased his chances of becoming familiar with the leading men of the day, by throwing him frequently into their deliberations. A writer in the North American Review, during the year 1828, thus speaks of MARSHALL at the time: "When I first saw him, he held the commission of captain in a regiment. It was in the trying, severe winter of 1777–'78, a few months after the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown had tested his firmness, hardiness and heroism. The spot where we acquired our earliest information of him, was the famous hutted encampment at Valley Forge, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. By his appearance then, we supposed him about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. Even so early in life, we recollect that he appeared to us, *primus inter pares*; for, amid the many commissioned officers, he was discriminated for superior intelligence. Our informant, Colonel Ball, of another regiment in the same line, represented him as a young man, not only brave, but signally intelligent. Indeed, all those who intimately knew him, affirmed that his capacity was held in such estimation by many of his brother officers, that in many disputes of a certain nature, he was chosen arbiter; and that officers, irritated by differences, or animated by debate, often submitted the contested points to his judgment, which being given in writing, and accompanied, as it commonly was, by sound reasons in support of his decision, obtained general acquiescence." At Monmouth he closed his military service, and soon after retired to prepare for the more congenial duties of a civic career, in which he was destined to earn immortality, by honoring the American judiciary.

He devoted himself to the study of the law, and procured license in 1780. He commenced the practice at a time when business of all sorts was in a very inactive state in consequence

of the war, and peculiarly inauspicious to success in the legal profession; yet, by his affable way of demeaning himself, the severity of his application, and mental vigor, he soon reached an enviable position, and outstripped competition almost at a bound. As a lawyer, perhaps no better idea could be conveyed of MARSHALL, than is contained in the words of his eulogist, Binney: "His placidity and calmness," says he, "irresistibly won the esteem of men, and invited them to intercourse with him; his benevolent heart, his serene, and at times joyous temper, made him the cherished companion of his friends; his candor and integrity attracted the confidence of the bar, and that extraordinary comprehension and grasp of mind, by which difficulties were seized and overcome without effort or parade, commanded the attention and respect of the courts of justice." Add to this that truest and most infallible evidence of a truly great man, humility, and a seeming unconsciousness of any superiority, that placed him above the reach of envy, and made him regard all honest men as his equals, and himself simply as plain, republican JOHN MARSHALL, and we have a pretty fair portrait. No truly great man ever indicates his knowledge of the fact, if he even knows it; it is the little and narrow-minded who permit themselves to become puffed up by the honors of place or the fruits of success, and assume to be something better than common men, as though six feet of earth was not the common heritage. MARSHALL had a big soul; he loved his kind, and all his life mixed among his fellow-citizens, with as much ease, as he engaged in the game of quoits at the field muster we spoke of.

Much of his early success he ascribed to his numerous acquaintances, contracted by his uniform kindness of heart and gentle manners. He continued the practice of his profession with honor and profit, until 1782, when he entered public life as representative to the Assembly, from Fauquier County. He was selected to that post by his countrymen with much cheerfulness, on account of the unlimited confidence reposed in his ability and sound sense. When he took his seat in that body, politics had assumed no ordinary feature. Various measures of State policy came up for legislative arrangement. On the 2d of January, 1783, he married Mary Ambler, whose father was a prominent citizen of the State, and settled permanently in the city of Richmond. This

union was every way most felicitous, and continued during fifty years, with uninterrupted happiness.

MARSHALL was re-elected to the legislature, from his native county for several consecutive terms, and entered zealously the arena of political discussion. Here he met such men as Lee and Madison, and proved himself able to cope with them in mental power. Between him and the latter gentleman, quite an intimacy sprang up, which lasted for life, notwithstanding their differences of opinion upon political issues. Judge Story, who was the friend of each, said that "nothing could be more touching to an ingenuous mind, than to hear from their lips, in their latter years, expressions of mutual respect and confidence; or to witness their earnest testimony to the talents, the virtues, and the services of each other." This was the period when, aside from the measures of State policy coming before the legislature, the great question of Federal government was agitating the States, and the signs of the times developed a progressive tendency, showing the necessity of more permanent union, and that the old confederation was tottering to its fall.

Speaking of the times, and his own views, a long time after, MARSHALL says: "When I recollect the wild, enthusiastic notions with which my political opinions of that day were tinctured, I am disposed to ascribe my devotion to the Union, and to a government competent to its preservation, at least, as much to casual circumstances as to judgment. I had grown up at a time when the love of union and the resistance to the claims of Great Britain, were the inseparable inmates of the same bosom; when patriotism, and a strong fellow-feeling with our suffering fellow-citizens of Boston were identical; when the maxim: 'United we stand, divided we fall,' was the maxim of every orthodox American. And I had imbibed these sentiments so thoroughly, that they constituted a part of my being. I carried them with me into the army when I found myself associated with brave men from different States, who were risking life and every thing valuable in a common cause, believed by all to be most precious, and where I was confirmed in the habit of considering America as my country, and Congress as my government.

My immediate entrance into the State legislature opened to my view the causes which had been chiefly instrumental in augmenting the sufferings; and the general tendency of State

politics convinced me that no safe and permanent remedy could be found but in a more efficient and better organized general government."

With these views he identified himself with the advocates of a solid union, and became a zealous advocate of the federal Constitution. When that instrument was submitted to the subordinate conventions of the several States, MARSHALL was elected a delegate to that of Virginia, which met at Richmond, June 2d, 1788. It was an august body. No State in the Union could vie with Virginia in talented men; her most eminent were there, and its deliberations marked with a seriousness and attention, seldom witnessed. Crowds thronged the place, eager to catch the inspiration of their eloquence. "Day after day, from morning till night, the galleries of the House were continually filled with an anxious crowd, who forgot the inconvenience of their situation in the excess of their enjoyment; and far from giving any interruption to the course of debate, increased its interest and solemnity by their silence and attention; no bustle, no motion, no sound was heard among them, save only a slight movement when some new speaker arose whom they were all eager to hear and see; or when some master stroke of eloquence shot thrilling along their nerves, and extorted an involuntary and inarticulate murmur. Day after day was this banquet of the mind and of the heart spread before them with a delicacy and variety which could never cloy. There, every taste might find its peculiar gratification,—the man of wit, the man of feeling, the critic, the philosopher, the historian, the metaphysician, the lover of logic, and admirer of rhetoric,—any man who had an eye for the beauty of action, or an ear for the harmony of sound, or a soul for the charms of poetic fancy,—in short, every one who could see, or hear, or feel, or understand, might find, in the wanton profusion and prodigality of that Attic feast some delicacy adapted to his peculiar taste. Every mode of attack and defense of which the human mind is capable in decorous debate,—every species of weapons and armor, offensive and defensive, that could be used with advantage, from the Roman javelin to the Parthian arrow,—from the cloud of Æneas to the shield of Achilles,—all human activity was seen on that celebrated floor.*"

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* William Wirt. Van Santvoord.

Among them, using his great influence, might have been seen JOHN MARSHALL. He made several speeches during their deliberations, which evinced his correct practical views of good government. He seems to have been pitted against Patrick Henry, who was the most eloquent member, and among the most violent opponents to some parts of the federal Constitution. It required the ratification of nine States, and when Virginia gave in her adhesion, that number was obtained. The Richmond convention, however, expressed themselves favorable to it by a very small majority, to the attainment of which he contributed much. On the adjournment of the convention, he resumed his duties as a member of the legislature. In politics, upon the great question of national and State sovereignties, he differed widely with Jefferson and Madison. He supported the principles of Hamilton's financial system, especially his plan for paying the interest of the national debt, which, it will be remembered, Jefferson attacked with much bitterness. As a member of the legislature, none had more influence, sounder judgment, or greater powers of comprehension, and few more forensic eloquence.

But, principally as a lawyer and a jurist, we are to view JOHN MARSHALL. His main ambition was to excel in his profession,—an ambition which was gratified to its fullest extent. He was not one of those who, for the short-lived honors of a present political station, was willing to sacrifice his prospects in his chosen sphere. Of his profession he never lost sight, and made everything else subordinate to success therein. Even while in the legislature, he devoted himself to its study and duties. He had formerly resigned his place as one of the executive council, because it conflicted with his desires and prevented his applying himself to his business. Hitherto, he had found leisure from official duties, sufficient to pay attention to his private matters, but business accumulated so fast upon his hands, that he could not attend to both; so having to give up one or the other, he most unhesitatingly abandoned that, as a general thing, meanest of all trades, politics, and devoted himself entirely to his profession as a lawyer.

To follow him through his distinguished career, and notice, however briefly, the various important causes in which he was engaged, and whose decision he controlled, would fill several volumes; he continued in an extensive and honorable practice,

and so elevated the profession, that his name and the first talent of the American bar became synonyms. His was the ponderous weapon of truth and logic; where others led by rhetorical flourish, and lulled the sense with exotics of poesy, he drove his juries to conviction by his powers of argument. With such men as Henry, Bushrod Washington, and Campbell, he came in contact. Speaking of a suit of interest in which he was engaged with this latter gentleman, when quite an assemblage had met to witness the proceedings, Wirt says, that "Campbell played off his Apollonian airs; but they were lost. MARSHALL spoke, as he always does, to the judgment merely, and for the purpose of convincing. MARSHALL was justly pronounced one of the first men of the country. He was followed by crowds, looked upon, courted with every evidence of admiration and respect for the great powers of his mind. Campbell was neglected and slighted, and came home in disgust. MARSHALL's maxim seems to have always been, '*aim exclusively at* STRENGTH;' and," continues the writer, "from his eminent success, I say, if I had my life to go over again, I would practice on this maxim with the most rigorous severity, until the character of my mind was established."

After the issue of the neutrality proclamation, and the excitements it fomented, increased by the hostility to the Jay treaty, MARSHALL yielded a reluctant consent to the wishes of the people, and re-entered upon the duties of public life. He was elected as follows: Two gentlemen were candidates, and on the morning of the election, MARSHALL voted for the one entertaining views similar to his own. After he voted, some urged that a poll be opened for him; MARSHALL objected and went about his business. The poll was opened, however, in his absence, which changed the whole aspect of things. At night he was surprised to learn that he had been actually placed on the track, and elected over both the other candidates. Such instances of popularity are very rare. Sternly identified with the federal party, he entered the legislature a firm friend to the administration; armed with the powers of Ciceronian strength, he stood a bold colossus before his opponents during the controversies that followed. During the protracted discussion, while the ratification of Jay's treaty was pending, he so triumphantly vindicated it from the main objections urged against it, that the opponents abandoned them, and confined themselves to its inexpediency, instead of its averred illegality.

The speech he made on this subject, is said to have been one of the ablest of his life. Be this as it may, it was circulated throughout the States, and the fame of MARSHALL became extensive with their limits, and also reached Europe. He served several terms in the legislature, with marked ability and success.

In 1797, he was, in conjunction with Elbridge Gerry, and Pinckney, appointed minister to France. They reached Paris, October 4th, 1797, when flushed with success, Bonaparte was playing his great national tragedy upon the theater of continental Europe. Humiliated in defeat, Austria had grasped a forced reprieve at the bayonet's point, at Campo Formio; the bloody fields of the peninsula were strewn with memorials of the vanquished, and the tri-colored banners waved from the walls of Madrid; everywhere the spirit of nationality seemed crushed out, and Holland and Portugal bowed submissively to the imperial mandate; while stretching her vine-clad fields across the Alps, Italy forgot her mighty memories and paid reluctant tribute to power. In the cabinet a wily Talleyrand, more artful than a Macedonian Clineas, acted as premier, and, aided by his subtle genius, the power of the conqueror. It was too, not long after the recall of Monroe by our government, and the haughty rejection by the French Directory of Pinckney, as minister to the court of Versailles.

Under this unpleasant state of things, our ministers opened negotiations on the 17th January, 1798, by the submission of a paper, of which MARSHALL was the principal drafter, setting forth with particularity the existent differences. This has been regarded as among the ablest productions of the American State papers. It elicited no reply. Talleyrand had frequent interviews with them, but not in official capacity. Some days elapsed, when the premier was asked whether he had any reply to make; he gave notice that he had not, but in compliance with requests for an interview, appointed the 2d of March. On that day they were received, but not as ministers. After playing this game for some time, Talleyrand unmasked himself by demanding a loan, as the first step to negotiation: the ministers rejected it. This proposition he rather coated over to make it more palatable; Gerry, at length, consented to swallow it; MARSHALL and Pinckney still refused. The ministers were now divided, and slipping into the breach, the artful negotiator thought he could manage them to his

wishes. All his diplomacy, skill, address, and cunning, were brought into action. But it was of no avail. MARSHALL understood him, and thought as little of compromising the dignity of his nation, as of imitating the trickster's cúnning.

Disgusted with the shameless conduct of the Directory, and the vain arrogance of Talleyrand, MARSHALL and Pinckney returned home, leaving Gerry in France, who, however, refused all of the premier's propositions upon the basis that his powers were conjoined with his colleagues, and he had no right to act without their co-operation. Speaking of this embassy afterward, MARSHALL says: "History will scarcely furnish the example of a nation not absolutely degraded, which has received from a foreign power such open contumely and undisguised insult, as were on this occasion suffered by the United States in the persons of their ministers."

At a public dinner given him, soon after his return, his exemplified laconic "millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute," received the enthusiastic approval of his fellow-citizens. After reaching home, he fully determined to devote himself to his profession. His profession he loved, and it was almost a species of mental coercion to labor in any other sphere. In this expectation he was doomed to disappointment. He received a note from Washington, requesting his attendance at Mount Vernon. He complied, not thinking what was the object. In private conversation the President, after giving him to understand he did not deem it necessary to enlarge upon the troublous times, or the importance of correct men to meet their emergencies, disclosed himself by urging him to engage in national politics, and become a candidate for Congress. To MARSHALL's feelings, nothing could have been more repugnant, yet, urged by Washington, whom he knew to be actuated by motives purely for the public good, he sacrificed personal preferences and became a candidate.

This election, however, was far from unanimous; not that his personal popularity had waned, but the violence of party politics had increased, and personal considerations actuated men less in the bestowal of their suffrages. He took his seat in the national legislature, as a valuable accession to the Federal party, in December, 1799. The triumphs of that party, in electing heavy majorities to both houses, somewhat chagrined their opponents. Jefferson, speaking of the members of Congress, said: "Many

of them were new and moderate men, and soon saw the true character of the party to which they had been well disposed at a distance." This included MARSHALL. Wolcott, speaking of the same subject, says: "A number of distinguished men appear from the southward, who are not pledged by any act to support the system of the last Congress; these men will pay great respect to the opinions of MARSHALL; he is, doubtless, a man of virtue and distinguished talents, but he will think much of the State of Virginia, and is too much disposed to govern the world according to rules of logic; he will read and expound the Constitution as if it were a penal statute, and will, sometimes, be embarrassed with doubts of which his friends will not perceive the importance."

Unbiased, save by his own conclusions, MARSHALL labored for the public good; though as tending most to promote it, he generally acted with the Federal party. He voted affirmatively on the bill abolishing the Sedition laws, which had become so odious to the people. In the deliberations of that body, he exerted a potential influence, and was looked upon as a man unsurpassed for soundness of judgment, by any member on the floor. He was not to say one of the talking members, but when occasion required, he gave displays of compact, solid reasoning that had more weight than the most eloquent appeals. While he was a member, resolutions reproaching the President were presented for adoption by Livingston. This grew out of the compliance of the President to a demand made by the British government, for the person of a man, who, it was proved, had outraged the law on board one of their vessels; the individual was delivered up and executed. This called for the resolutions denouncing the course of the President. Here was a focus of centrality for party feelings, as they were favorable or unfavorable to the administration. Livingston had just made an able speech in their support; MARSHALL replied. It was a speech of some length, and was pronounced "one of the most consummate judicial arguments which was ever pronounced in the halls of legislation;" "an answer so irresistible that it admitted of no reply," etc. The consequence of this talented opposition was the defeat of the resolution by a good majority. We have said that MARSHALL was not to be called really an eloquent man, perhaps we had better let Judge Story, who knew him best and loved him best, speak of him as a debater. He says: "In regard to eloquence, if by that be merely meant an ornamental

diction, splendor of style, impassioned delivery, and fine flourishes of rhetoric, it could scarcely be said to belong to his forensic addresses. But if by eloquence be meant the power to address other men's minds in language expressive and luminous; to present the proper topics of argument in their just order and fullness; to convince the understanding by earnest and sententious appeals; and by the force of reasoning to disarm prejudice, to subdue passion, and dissipate popular delusion; if these be the attributes of eloquence, then, indeed, few men might more justly aspire to such distinction. I would not claim for him that he possessed the power to seduce men's understandings by persuasive insinuations or honeyed accents; but I affirm that he withdrew their understandings from the potency of such artifices, so that they fell lifeless at his feet. To him may unhesitatingly be applied the language of Cicero, pronounced upon one of the greatest lawyers of Rome, that he possessed a mastery of the highest art of oratory,—the art of analyzing, defining, and illustrating a subject; separating the true from the false; and deducing from each other the appropriate consequences." The same gentleman, speaking of his conversational powers, adds that there were times "in which he was roused, by the interest of the subject, to such a glowing strain of animated reasoning, that I am convinced that he was no stranger to appeals to the heart; and that when he chose, he could call up from the very depths of the soul its most powerful feelings." Divest the above of a little too high a coloring, incident to the most exalted friendship, and it is, doubtless, a fair estimate of MARSHALL's speaking attributes.

Congress closed its session, May the 14th, and with it ended his political career. For the ensuing quarter of a century, we are to view him in the august robes of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. True, he was appointed Secretary of State by Mr. Adams, to fill the unexpired term caused by the dismissal of Pickering, but it was of short duration. An important correspondence occurred during his secretaryship, wherein the national dignity was sustained with his usual judgment and firmness. From his espousal of the doctrines of the Federal party, he was accused by some of doing every thing the President required; and indeed, Adams himself affirmed, in excusing himself for dismissing Pickering, that his "new secretary, MARSHALL, did every thing to his entire satisfaction." With

regard to this, an eminent writer remarks, that "every one who knew that great man, JOHN MARSHALL, knew that he possessed, to an extraordinary degree, the faculty of putting his own ideas into the minds of others unconsciously to them. The secret of Mr. Adams' satisfaction was, that he obeyed the "secretary of State without being conscious of it." So it would seem that the President rather did every thing to MARSHALL's "entire satisfaction."

Fifty-eight years have elapsed since MARSHALL was appointed chief justice, in 1801, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Oliver Ellsworth. In regard to this appointment, McHenry, who had been secretary of war, said: "Mr. Adams has committed another blunder." Pity that executives now-a-days are not prone to commit such "blunders." He took his seat on the bench in February, 1801, with Chase, Patterson, Cushing, Moore, and Bushrod Washington for his associates. Seldom, if ever, has the Supreme Court been filled by so rare a combination of talent and learning. We can not think of following the chief justice through his long and honorable judicial career, with a view of particularizing the individual cases he decided, and which decisions are every where referred to as precedents, and safe expositions of the laws of the country; such a course would be a repetition of the most expansive and luminous collection of legal acumen upon the American records. In regard to the duties of his position, he entered upon their discharge, entertaining the following views: "I have always thought," says he, "from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or dependent judiciary." With the above conceptions in regard to his station, he combined the following personal appearance, which we have from Judge Story: "MARSHALL is of a tall, slender figure, not graceful or imposing, but erect and steady. His hair is black, his eyes twinkling, his forehead rather low, but his features are, in general, harmonious. His manners are plain, yet dignified, and an unaffected modesty diffuses itself through all his actions. His dress is very simple, yet neat; his language chaste, but hardly elegant; it does flow rapidly, but it seldom wants precision. In conversation, he is quite familiar, but is occasionally embarrassed by a hesitancy and drawling. His thoughts are always clear and ingenious, sometimes striking and not often inconclusive: he possesses great

subtlety of mind, but it is only occasionally exhibited. I love his laugh,—it is too hearty for an intriguer, and his good temper and unvaried patience are equally agreeable on the bench and in the study. His genius is, in my opinion, vigorous and powerful, less rapid than discriminating, and less vivid than uniform in its light. He examines the intricacies of a subject with calm and persevering circumspection, and unravels the mysteries with irresistible acuteness. He has not the majesty of Johnson; but in subtle logic, he is no unworthy disciple of David Hume."* With the above personal appearance, his views of an independent judiciary, before named, and inflexible firmness, with "always aim at strength" for his maxim, and the whole adorned with high moral purity, we can picture MARSHALL upon the bench fifty years ago. At his career there we can give but a hasty glance. His decisions are a part of the American law,—his opinions, its fair interpretation,—his laborious term, a bright page of judicial history.

Among the first of his many important cases, was that of Marbury against Madison. Without elaborating upon the case in detail, we will give the main principle involved and settled by his decision, which was, for the first time, established by supreme authority, and one upon which hinges the proper working of the judiciary. It was this: "That it is the right and the duty of the judicial department to determine the constitutionality of a legislative act, and if such act be found repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution, to declare it null and void." This was placing the department upon its deserved high grounds. In his able and somewhat lengthy opinion, he uses this language: "It is emphatically the province and the duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity, expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the court must decide on the operation of each. So, if the law be in opposition to the Constitution." Henceforth, this doctrine became forever a settled point.

Soon after, another legal principle was settled by his decision in the case of the United States against Judge Peters. It was this: "That the legislature of a State could not annul the judgment, or determine the jurisdiction, of the courts of the United

* Van Santvoord.

States, or destroy rights acquired under those judgments." "Otherwise," he continues, "the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery; and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals."

Another principle was settled in the case of Fletcher against Peck. The State of Georgia granted to the State Company a large parcel of land; Peck, by right of the company, conveyed by deed, a portion of the same land to the plaintiff Fletcher, relinquishing all State and company rights. Just before this transfer, Georgia had repealed the act whereby it was made Fletcher sued Peck for a breach of contract. Here was an express contract impaired by legislative enactment, against which was constitutional provision. The question then was, could Georgia or any other State annul an act under the Constitution, when the result would be a rescission of the contracts it originated. MARSHALL established the doctrine, "that a grant of lands is a contract within the meaning of the Constitution, and that when a State law was in its nature a contract, and absolute rights have vested under it, a repeal of the law could not divest these rights or impair the title so acquired." "Since then, in fact, a grant is a contract executed, the obligation of which still continues, and since the Constitution uses the term contract, without distinguishing between those which are executory and those which are executed, it must be construed to mean the latter as well as the former. A law annulling conveyances between individuals, and declaring that the grantors should stand seized of their former estates, notwithstanding these grants, would be as repugnant to the Constitution as a law discharging the vendors of propert from the obligation of executing their contracts by conveyances. It would be strange if a contract to convey was secured by the Constitution, while an absolute conveyance remained unprotected."

For these cases and opinions at large, the reader is referred to that golden casket of legal lore, Cranch's Reports, where he will find as bright a treasure of facts, as ever sparkled from the light of mind, and as fine a literary feast as ever regaled the taste of a student.

Inasmuch, as we can not dwell at length, upon the many cases both of general and local interest, adjudicated during MARSHALL'S judicial career, we shall select, as one that excited the popular mind to a degree rarely equaled, the trial of that singular combination of genius, talent, cunning and energy,—AARON BURR.

Entertaining, it was said, schemes of separating the Union, and establishing a "Western Confederacy" after his disappointment in getting to the Presidency, he was forced to see the project was too stupendous for him, enterprising and intellectual as he was. Having little moral principle, his highest quality being an inordinate ambition, he next turned his attention to Mexico, where, a second Cortez, he designed enthroning himself among the domains of the Tlascalan. Both of these projects were unlawful. The rumors against him became so strong, and were so corroborated by various movements set on foot, that a warrant was issued for his arrest. He was apprehended in January, 1807, while descending the Mississippi, and kept in close custody. He contrived to escape, and in disguise turned his course to Mobile, Alabama, but was recaptured on the Tombigbee river, soon after. It is mortifying to see one of the first intellects of his day, who had been Vice-president, thus pursued by outraged justice, as a culprit, to answer the charge of treason against a country by which he had been so highly honored. The lesson is not without its moral. It teaches aspiring young men that under our institutions, energy will lead them to the highest position, and that a total disregard of moral principle, which is, after all, man's true measurement, will as certainly hurl them to the lowest.

Burr was brought to trial, May 22d, 1807, before Chief Justice Marshall, in the city of Washington. On the side of the prosecution, were arrayed William Wirt, McRea, and Hoy. Burr appeared for himself, and managed the defense in a very able manner; he was assisted by Baker, Botts, and Luther Martin. Burr, it is said, evinced, during his trial, all the traits of an elevated mind and unsurpassed abilities as a lawyer. Despite the popular prejudice against him, both personal and general, MARSHALL presided over the court with stern inflexibility, determined justice should be done to the State prisoner. During the trial, Burr moved for a writ of *subpœna duces tecum* to the President, for the purpose of obtaining some documents, then in possession of General Wilkinson. This was strongly opposed by the prosecuting attorneys. MARSHALL decided in favor of the prisoner, and made the following just remarks: "It is not for the court to anticipate the result of the present prosecution. Should it terminate, as is expected, on the part of the United States, all those who are concerned in it should certainly regret that a paper, which the

accused believed essential to his defense, which may, for aught that now appears, be essential, had been withheld from him. I will not say that this circumstance would, in any degree, tarnish the reputation of the government; but I will say that it would tarnish the reputation of the court, which had given its sanction to its being withheld. Might I be permitted to utter one sentiment with regard to myself, it would be to deplore most earnestly the occasion which should compel me to look back on any part of my official conduct, with so much self-reproach as I should feel, could I declare, on the information now possessed, that the accused is not entitled to the letter in question, if it should be important to him."

On the 22d of May, the grand jury was impanneled, and brought in instructions against Burr and Blennerhasset for treason, June 24th. Day after day was spent in trying to get a jury; but, so great was the prejudice against the prisoner, that it was with much difficulty one was obtained. Many incidents of an exciting nature intervened during this time. Hamilton Morrison was being interrogated as to his pre-opinions, and on some objection being manifest, petulantly remarked: "I am surprised why they should be in such terror of me. Perhaps my *name* may be a terror, for my first name is HAMILTON;" true enough, to a man of more sensibility than Burr, it would have thrilled along the nerves like an electric shock; not so with him. "*That* remark is sufficient cause of objecting to you," coolly remarked Burr in his challenge. On the 3d of August, the regular trial began. Much asperity was manifest on both sides; none but a MARSHALL could have kept them in due bounds of restraint. To Luther Martin, Burr's old friend and counsel, it was hinted that he had better "economize time." "Economize time," he exclaimed tartly, "I know what economy they wish. They wish us to be silent; they would, if they could, deprive Colonel Burr's counsel of an opportunity of defending him, that they might hang him up as soon as possible to gratify themselves and the government." Burr's counsel replied "that it was a most unprincipled and unfounded assertion." Here the calmness of MARSHALL interposed with conciliatory language, that like oil upon the troubled waters, brought the court to a sense of duty. "I had hoped," said he, "that no such allusions would be made; that the government ought to be treated with respect, and that there was a delicacy to be observed

on that subject, from which he hoped there would be no departure hereafter."

"I rose to stop the progress of such language, when up before," coolly remarked Burr: "I had made sufficient apologies, if any were necessary, for any expressions which had been used, and I had hoped that no allusion would be made to the subject. It will be recollected that I have carefully avoided such myself, and imposed similar restraint upon my counsel; and urged that the government should be treated with the utmost delicacy, though there was great provocation from the gentlemen, on the part of the prosecution, which would have justified harsh terms. I hope these things will cease. On the part of my counsel, I am sure they will cease."

Burr was a polished man,—understood well the decorum due from him to the court. It has been said, that his designs in Mexico were worthy the enterprise of a Cæsar, or the genius of a Napoleon; and that their maturity might have changed the ultimate destiny of that distracted country. Let his motives have been what they may, throughout his trial he maintained a decorous dignity and manly bearing, notwithstanding the assertion of McRea to the contrary. This trial was a second Hastings' impeachment, and the ability evinced on the part of the prosecution, especially by Wirt, was a second Sheridan exhibition. They based their arguments in support of Burr's implication in the rendezvous of troops upon Blennerhasset's island, principally upon collateral evidence, which MARSHALL decided to be inadmissible.* He said that "if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting, by force, a treasonable object, all those who perform any part, however minute or however remote from the scene of action, and who are actually leagued in the general conspiracy, are to be considered as traitors." Burr, he insisted, was remote from the island at the time of the hostile demonstrations, and that the collateral proof proposed to be adduced from his actions was insufficient to establish his connection therewith.

Under solemn instruction from the court, as to the weight to be attached to the testimony, the jury retired. After a short absence they brought in a verdict of not guilty. MARSHALL was widely

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* Lives of Chief Justices.

censured for several rulings in this case, especially that excluding collateral testimony. Wirt wrote that "MARSHALL had stepped in between Burr and death. He has pronounced an opinion that our evidence is all irrelevant. Burr not having been *present* at the island with the assemblage, and the act itself not amounting to a levying of war." "The second prosecution against Burr," he continues, "is also at an end;" MARSHALL again arrested the evidence. "A motion will be made to commit him and his confederates for trial in Kentucky, or wherever else the judge shall, from the whole evidence, believe their crimes to have been committed. There is no knowing what will become of the motion; I believe it will be defeated."

Burr was held to appear in Ohio, against a charge of originating a secret movement in that State against Mexico; his bail was fixed at three thousand dollars. He never appeared. At this decision he was highly displeased, as were his prosecutors, at the former. He wrote his daughter that "the opinion was a matter of regret and surprise to the friends of the chief justice, and of ridicule to his enemies,—all believing that it was a sacrifice of principle to conciliate Jack Cade." Prominent men animadverted, and harshly too, upon his course. Giles, the senator from MARSHALL'S own State, brought in a bill in view of the developments of the Burr trial, defining treason, and fixing its penalties. In urging it before the legislature, he answered the chief justice in strong terms, saying: "I have learned that judicial opinions on this subject are like changeable silks, which vary their colors, as they are held up in political sunshine."

These opinions affected the chief justice about as much as the dart of a Lilliput would the shield of an Achilles. His motives were pure, his course correct, his virtue irreproachable, his firmness unbending and his consciousness of right, the property of his own bosom. Some one asked Wirt, after the trial, "why he did not tell MARSHALL the American people demanded a conviction." "Tell *him* that; I would as soon have gone to Herschell, and told him that the people of America insisted that the moon had horns, as a reason why he should draw her with him," was the response. Wirt knew the man; and that the want of the American mind, excited by prejudice, would not move him an iota in his decisions as chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Nationally, the trial of Burr excited universal attention, and

assumed a place of importance equaled by few ever adjudicated in this country. For the full proceedings, the reader is referred to "Burr's trial," as we must now consider other matters. Among the decisions of MARSHALL that established principles of law in definite settlement, were some of judge and admiralty nature, which embrace almost the alpha of this branch of American jurisprudence. Among these was the principle settled in the case of Rose against Himely, "that the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal may be examined in the Supreme Court of this country, and if such tribunal can not, consistently with the law of nations, exercise the jurisdiction it has assumed, its sentence is to be disregarded; that, though the rights of war might be exercised by a country on the high seas, yet that the legislation of every country being territorial, its rights of sovereignty in the execution of a mere municipal law, must be exercised within its own territory; and therefore, that the seizure of a vessel not belonging to a subject, made on the high seas, for the breach of a municipal regulation, was an act which the sovereign could not authorize, and such seizure was totally invalid."

It was not long from this time, when Judge Story came upon the bench, to fill the place of Cushing; as associate judge, William Pinckney brought to the court his talents and legal acumen; Clay and Webster also appeared there as younger aspirants for legal fame. We will notice one more case of admiralty, and proceed: Pinto, a Buenos Ayres merchant, got a British man-of-war, for the conveyance of goods, etc., from London to that place. During the voyage, she was captured by one of our privateers, carried to New York, and condemned as a prize. Pinto brought suit, averring that, as a neutral, he had the right to charter an armed vessel of the enemy for the purpose of conveyance. The case was argued at length, by Emmett and others, for the plaintiff, while on the opposite side, appeared William Pinckney. Emmett argued the case with discrimination, and the latter gentleman made one of his ablest efforts, characterized with the most fervid eloquence. But all his skill, tact, learning, and eloquence could not move MARSHALL, though he testified to his masterly speech. In the course of his decision, alluding to Pinckney's effort, he said: "With a pencil dipped in the most vivid colors, and guided by the hand of a master, a splendid portrait has been drawn, exhibiting the vessel and the freighter as

forming a single figure, composed of the most discordant materials of peace and war. So exquisite was the skill of the artist, so dazzling the garb in which the figure was presented, that it required the exercise of that cool, investigating faculty, which ought always to belong to those who sit on this bench to discover its only imperfection,—*its want of resemblance.*"*

In his decision he had no landmark,—no precedent of a like nature. He decided that neutrals had a right to employ unarmed ships for transports belonging to an enemy at war,—and consequently, armed ones too, provided the persons so employing them do not insist in resisting, on their capture, in case of attack. This, it is said, was about the most unsatisfactory opinion he delivered during his thirty-four years' term.

Passing over a large number of important cases tried, the most casual notice of which would be impossible in this connection, we will notice briefly the celebrated Bank Case. This was a suit between the United States and the State of Maryland, and grew out of an act passed by the latter, levying tax upon a branch of the United States Bank, situated in the State. This act was alleged to be unconstitutional by the government. The State thereupon said, the charter of the institution, in the first place, was not guaranteed to the Constitution. This was a great case. Wirt, Webster, Pinckney, Martin and Jones were counsel in the argument. Pinckney made the last speech, and said,—"nothing but miserable shreds, the ragged odds and ends, the *tristes reliques*," had been left of the argument. The decision was against the State, and in favor of the Bank. In his long opinion, occur the following words: "We admit, as all must admit, that the powers of the government are limited, and that its limits are not to be transcended. But we think the sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the national legislature, that *discretion*, with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate,—let it be within the scope of the Constitution, *and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution,*

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* Van Santvoord.

are constitutional." Upon this principle he based his decision. Though no political or party biases influenced him in the least, in this or any other decisions, it will be borne in mind that he was a Federalist. The Bank could not be taxed by the State, he said, "on a principle which so entirely pervades the Constitution, is so intermixed with the materials which compose it, so interwoven with its web, so blended with its texture as to be incapable of being separated from it without rending it into shreds. This great principle is, that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme, that they control the constitutions and laws of the respective States, and can not be controlled by them. From this, which may almost be termed an axiom, other propositions may be deduced as corollaries, on the truth or error of which, and on their application to this case, the course has been supposed to depend. These are: 1st, that a power to create, implies a power to preserve; 2d, that a power to destroy that if wielded by a different hand is hostile to, and incompatible with these powers to create and to preserve; 3d, that where this repugnance exists, that authority which is supreme must control, not yield to that other over which it is supreme." He further says: "If the States may tax one instrument employed by the government in the execution of its powers, they may tax any and every other instrument. They may tax a mint; they may tax the mail; they may tax patent rights; they many tax the papers of the Custom House; they may tax judicial process; they may tax all the means employed by the general government to an excess which would defeat all the ends of the general government. This was not intended by the American people. They did not design to make their government dependent on the States." Other causes hinging upon the constitutionality of the Bank, etc., ensued, which were disposed of upon similar views. With scrupulous conscientiousness, he made every thing subordinate to the Constitution. For, he would say, if so and so "be the Constitution, it is the duty of the court to bow with respectful submission to its provisions. If such be not the Constitution, it is equally the duty of the court to say so, and to perform that task which the American people have assigned to the judicial department."

A case, argued and decided not long after, involved the question of occupancy and discovery to the lands of North America. It

was the case of Johnson against McIntosh. Johnson claimed some land in the State of Illinois, which he held by title from the Indians: McIntosh claimed the same land, under a title from the general government. It was argued at length, by able counsel on both sides. The opinion of MARSHALL was learned, elaborate, unanswerable and conclusive. He showed that the right of occupancy had been superseded by discovery and subsequent revolution, thereby establishing the territorial jurisdiction of the United States over her immense possessions.

But, as before indicated, we can not pursue these opinions to too great a length; his career on the bench, is an epoch in the history of our judiciary, and coming to the bench just at a time when the various departments of government had passed the fearful ordeal of experiment, and assumed the appearance of vigorous progressive expansion, he more than any other man, deserves to stand foremost in the bright array of American jurists.

MARSHALL, it will be remembered, had literary tastes when young; these he retained. It was said of Trajan, that he was peculiarly fortunate in finding a Pliny; of Washington, it may be said, he was equally so in finding a MARSHALL, to adorn history with his mighty deeds. MARSHALL's Life of Washington, until the more recent issues of the elaborate works of Sparks and Irving, was the best biography of that eminent man, and as a history of those stirring times is a valuable work. Like every thing coming from MARSHALL, it is plain, simple and unaffected, evidently showing a greater desire to instruct the mind than to please the ear,—to benefit the people rather than disarm criticism.

In 1829, Virginia called a convention to revise the State constitution. To this body MARSHALL, then in his seventy-fifth year, was sent as a delegate. Madison and Monroe, MARSHALL, and Upshur, "venerable men, who had come down from another generation,"—men learned with the accumulated wisdom of years, and woven with the elements of their country, were there. Monroe was chosen president of the body, an honor which Madison declined on account of his age and infirmities. In the able debates that followed, MARSHALL participated only to a limited extent. The noble type of a primeval age, his locks all whitened, his frame somewhat attenuated, his manners gentle, his figure tall, his eyes black and piercing, and his mien reverential, he occupied his seat,

like a sage instructor over a school of younger legislators, who emulated each other in doing him homage.

Illustrative of this, during a heated debate, and much excitement, MARSHALL was making some remarks, when the noise became so great that he could be heard with difficulty; suddenly rising to his feet, one of the members exclaimed: "Wisdom crieth aloud in the street and her voice is not heard." Order was soon restored. MARSHALL was a federalist, but not a partisan. Warm and ardent in his attachment to both men and measures, his purity and patriotism restrained undue exhibitions of his feelings. As a man, he was simply plain JOHN MARSHALL. An anecdote is related of him, which shows the practical simplicity of his nature. A young man of the dandy school, one day purchased a small article or two at a store, and was sadly vexed that he could find no one to take them home. He stood furiously lamenting his fate, when MARSHALL coming along in his plain attire and manners, asked the cause of his irritation, which was explained. MARSHALL remarked, that he was going by his house, and would carry it for him. The young man, scarce deigning to notice so plainly clad a gentleman, gave up the article. Arriving at his gate it was given up to him, and his valet quietly passed on. "What old man is that who brought this along for me?" inquired the exquisite of the first passer-by. "That gentleman," he answered, "that is JOHN MARSHALL, chief justice of the Supreme Court." The nice youngster's feelings, at so cutting a rebuke, will have to be imagined.

In 1835, MARSHALL presided over the Supreme Court for the last time. Though he had attained his eightieth year, his great intellect was undimmed; in fact, fearing that his mental powers might become impaired, he had requested near friends, in case of any indications of such an event, to tell him immediately of the fact, with a view to his retiring from the bench. At this last court, he evinced his usual vigor of mind and dignified demeanor, though no business of very great importance was transacted.

On its adjournment, and soon after he reached home, he became very ill. He improved, however, in a short time, so as to be enabled to receive his friends; strong hopes were now entertained of his recovery. He consented to visit Philadelphia, for the purpose of availing himself of the best medical aid. There, his

illness assumed an alarming aspect, and hope was entirely abandoned. Surrounded by the best of friends, who did all they could to alleviate his suffering, he continued to sink until the 6th of July, 1835, when he died as a Christian alone could die.

His remains were conveyed to Richmond by an escort, where, after the most solemn funeral obsequies, they were deposited beside the grave of his wife, in the cemetery. Many tributes were paid to his illustrious name. At the next session of the Supreme Court, Henry Clay pronounced his eulogy, and Story responded. Resolutions expressive of their grief and loss, were passed by the members of the bar throughout the entire country. One passed by the bar at Charleston, South Carolina, reads as follows: "Though his authority as Chief Justice, was protracted far beyond the ordinary term of public life, no man dared to covet his place, or express a wish to see it filled by another. Even the spirit of party respected the unsullied purity of the judge, and the fame of the chief justice has justified the wisdom of the Constitution, and reconciled the jealousy of freedom to the independence of the judiciary."

Having thus glanced at MARSHALL's public career, we will close with the words of his eulogist, Binney, in regard to him as a private individual: "He had no frays in his boyhood. He had no quarrels or outbreakings in manhood. He was the composer of strifes. He spoke ill of no man. He meddled not with their affairs. He viewed their worst deeds through the medium of charity. He had eight sisters and six brothers, with all of whom from youth to age, his intercourse was marked by the utmost kindness and affection; and although his eminent talents, high public character, and acknowledged usefulness, could not fail to be a subject of pride and admiration to all of them; there is no one of his numerous relations, who has had the happiness of a personal association with him, in whom his purity, simplicity, and affectionate benevolence, did not produce a deeper and more cherished impression, than all the achievements of his powerful intellect."



JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON.

It has been said of Gibbon's works, that they form a bridge, which, spanning the abyss of the medieval age, connects ancient with modern times, and enables the historic student to pass from the deeds and exploits of more recent actors, to the theater of past glories, and gather the treasures of long-gone centuries.

Having endeavored to give the records of those who figured most conspicuously in our country, from the first assertion of colonial right, through the tumultuous throes of revolution, till an organization was effected that has resulted in her present glorious proportions, it seems but proper to bring in the name of one, with whose administration, our great *development* seems to have fairly commenced.

The eighteenth century passed by, leaving us triumphant in a war of opinion. We had declared, then fought, and then organized. Though, successful in these, young Freedom, yet at its parent breast, had to be nursed into strength to support itself. The task of its development devolved, in a measure, upon others than those, who kept it from being "strangled in its birth." Fortunately, it was fostered with fraternal care, till "hardened into the bone of manhood," by anxious and patriotic guardians. Among the first of these was JAMES MADISON, who, through cloud and storm, protected its growth for four years, and gave it into the hands of his successor in a state of progressive maturity.

He was born in Orange County, Virginia, March 5th, 1750. His family was one of influence and wealth, and much respected for their high traits of character. The name of his father was also, James; the family were of Welsh descent, and were among

the earliest settlers of Virginia. Young Madison was early started to school, and studied the elementary branches under the tuition of Donald Robinson. Another gentleman, Rev. Thomas Martin, was afterward secured as private teacher in his father's family, by whom he was instructed in the higher branches, and prepared for college. After enjoying the benefits of the instruction of this worthy man for some time, he entered Princeton College, where he graduated with credit, in 1771.

At college, he was studious, energetic, and ambitious to excel. So high was his character at this institution, that the president, years after, declared to a friend: "That, in the whole course of Madison at college, he had never known him to say or do an indecent thing." Though active and ambitious, Madison was careful to fortify himself by the cultivation of correct reasoning and solid principles. Hence, on approaching the period when his talents and abilities were called into requisition in behalf of his country, he possessed a judgment, seldom inaccurate, and a discretion that prevented any acts of imprudence. His thoughts were early directed to the law; but, scarce had he returned to his State from college, and begun to devote himself to the profession, when the war prevented all opportunities of advancement. In 1775, he was placed on the Committee of Safety, in his native county, and was the next year elected to the State Assembly.

This body, taking into consideration the destiny that was opening before him, was for him the finest of schools; he was a vigilant member, and studied carefully the manner and workings of a legislative body. At this session, he laid deep and broad the foundations of his future career and usefulness. In 1775, he was created a member of the executive council, which post he continued to occupy for nearly two years. After his services in this capacity, he was elected to the Continental Congress. He took his seat in that body, March 20th, 1780,—a portentous period in our history.

"It was then in the midst of the Revolution, and under the influence of its most trying scenes, that his political character was formed, and then it was that the virtue of discretion, the spirit of moderation, the conciliatory temper of compromise found room for its exercise in its most comprehensive extent."* He continued

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* John Quincy Adams.

a valued member of that body until the close of the war, careful on all occasions, to labor for his country, and study the principles of political economy. Enough had been observed and noted, to convince him of the defects of the then existent form of government, and to identify him with the earliest friends of revision and amendment. These defects, principally relating to commerce, revenue, and debts, have been noticed elsewhere, in connection with those who, like MADISON, early perceived the inefficiency of the old confederation.

In 1783, it was resolved by nine States, to recommend the levying of a tax on spirituous liquors, and other luxuries, and also five per cent., upon all imported goods; that a sum of a million and a half dollars be raised, to pay the public debt,—each State to secure, by tax, its respective portion; and that the States relinquish their individual territory, the proceeds of the sales of which, should go to the liquidation of the public debt. Upon these recommendations, a committee, consisting of MADISON, Oliver Ellsworth and Hamilton, was appointed, for the purpose of furthering the several objects. An address, remarkable for its fine composition, marked ability, and correct views of the necessities of the times, appeared from the pen of MADISON. It closed as follows:

"Let it be remembered, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended, were the rights of human nature. By the blessings of the Author of these rights, on the means exerted for their defense, they have prevailed over all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent States. No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected, hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation, and fulfill the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and luster, which it has never yet enjoyed; and an example will be set, which can but have the most favorable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our government should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of

these cordial and essential virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate, will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature, will be turned against them; and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation."

He well knew that, notwithstanding a peace had been conquered, and independence recognized, there was really no government solidified upon the basis of experience and power, essential to prevent internal dissensions, a sequence to which, would be embroilment with, and perhaps submission to, external combinations and influences; hence, his warning voice was raised thus early in appeals to his country, to preserve and maintain the blessings, which, by blood and suffering, they had won.

Madison continued a member of Congress till 1783, when, by constitutional restriction, his term of office expired, and he was elected to the State Assembly, of which he continued an efficient member, till 1786. Jefferson, it will be remembered, brought a bill in the house, preventing legal interference with religious opinions, or religious exercises, giving unrestricted liberty of conscience in these matters. Its passage was earnestly urged by its friends, and as sternly opposed by its enemies. The Church of England being the prevailing faith, and all who did not indorse its peculiar tenets, being branded as dissenters, arrayed the people against its ministers, had produced infinite mischief during the Revolution, and was still continuing to do so. It was to root out this aristocratic feature of his commonwealth, that induced Jefferson to bring in his bill. It was at first defeated, and its friends almost despaired of carrying it through;—the necessary absence of Jefferson at the next session, greatly increased these fears. Madison, however, a warm friend to the measure, sternly identified with the advocates of pure republicanism, and strongly opposed to any thing conflicting with its principles, came a true champion to its rescue, and by his labor and influence, effected its passage. Side by side with Jefferson, he labored, also, in remodeling the laws of the State of Virginia. The ordinance of 1787, so settling the difficulties arising from the cession of the north-western territory, that they no longer operated as a barrier to the ratification of the Federal Constitution, received as much, perhaps, more of his labors and anxious attention, as of any other

individual. Daily experience and observation, both in public and private capacities, convinced MADISON that the federal government was, in many of its features, sadly defective, and unadapted to answer fully the objects of its framers. He, therefore, urged, after consultation with his friends, who coincided with his views in regard to the matter, a general convention of delegates, for the purpose of regulating the commercial interests of the country. This proposition finally passed the legislature of the State. This convention, composed of delegates from five of the States, to wit: New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, New Jersey, and Maryland met at Annapolis, in the fall of 1786, and selected Dickinson, of the latter State, to preside over their deliberations. After a brief session, an able address, in the preparation of which MADISON took an active part, was agreed to, urging upon all the States, the reassemblage of delegates at Philadelphia, to take into consideration the federal articles more fully, and at length.

When this convention met, May 9th, 1787, MADISON, who was sent as one of the delegates of Virginia, became, at once, a leading member. In most of the reports, addresses, resolutions, and articles presented, the reflex of his genius and talent is clearly visible. The scope of their labors became wider than was at first anticipated, and finally resulted in the consolidation of all the States into ONE PEOPLE, protected by *the Constitution of a Federal Government.* This is not the proper place to speak in detail of the proceedings of that body. We can not refrain, however, from giving the views of MADISON, upon the great question of the political government of the United States, and the proper constitution for her regulation and protection. These views were embodied in a letter written to Washington from MADISON, which will be found in the North American Review, and reads as follows:

"Mr. Madison thinks an individual independence of the States utterly irreconcilable with their aggregate sovereignty, and that a consolidation of the whole into one simple Republic would be as inexpedient as it is unattainable. He therefore proposes a middle ground, which may at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and not exclude the local authorities whenever they can be subordinately useful.

"As the groundwork, he proposes that a change be made in the principle of representation, and thinks there would be no great difficulty in effecting it.

"Next, that, in addition to the present federal powers, the national government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity; such as regulation of trade, including the right of taxing both imports and exports, the fixing the terms and forms of naturalization, etc.

"Over and above this positive power, a negative in all cases whatever on the legislative acts of the States, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative, appears to him absolutely necessary, and to be the least possible encroachment on the state jurisdictions. Without this defensive power, he conceives that every positive law which can be given on paper, will be evaded.

"This control over the laws would prevent the internal vicissitudes of state policy, and the aggressions of interested majorities.

"The national supremacy ought also to be extended, he thinks, to the judiciary departments; the oaths of the judges should at least include a fidelity to the general, as well as local Constitution; and that an appeal should be to some national tribunals in all cases to which foreigners or inhabitants of other States may be parties. The admiralty jurisdiction to fall entirely within the purview of the national government.

"The national supremacy, in the executive departments, is liable to some difficulty, unless the officers administering them could be made appointable by the supreme government. The militia ought entirely to be placed, in some form or other, under the authority which is intrusted with the general protection and defense.

"A government composed of such extensive powers should be well organized and balanced.

"The legislative department might be divided into two branches, one of them chosen every —— years, by the people at large, or by the legislatures; the other to consist of fewer members, to hold their places for a longer term, and to go out in such rotation as always to leave in office a large majority of old members.

"Perhaps the negative on the laws might be most conveniently exercised by this branch.

"As a further check, a council of revision, including the great ministerial officers, might be superadded.

"A national executive must also be provided. He has scarcely ventured, as yet, to form his own opinion, either of the manner in

which it ought to be constituted, or of the authorities with which it ought to be clothed.

"An article should be inserted, expressly guaranteeing the tranquillity of the States against internal as well as external dangers.

"In like manner, the right of coercion should be expressly declared. With the resources of commerce in hand, the national administration might always find means of exerting it either by sea or land; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a State, render it particularly desirable that the necessity of it might be precluded. Perhaps the negative on the laws might create such a mutual dependence between the general and particular authorities as to answer; or perhaps some defined objects of taxation might be submitted along with commerce, to the general authority.

"To give a new system its proper validity and energy, a ratification must be obtained from the people, and not merely from the ordinary authority of the legislature. This will be the more essential, as inroads on the existing constitutions of the States will be unavoidable."

Madison, at the close of his labors in the legislature, was returned to Congress, the intervening time having rendered him re-eligible, and was a member during the sitting of the convention. About this time the "Federalist" was commenced, several numbers of which, are from the pen of Madison, and regarded yet, as among the finest contributions to our national literature. In these able and elaborate commentaries upon the Constitution, he agreed with Hamilton, and labored with him to secure the adoption of the instrument, though a perusal of the articles penned by the two, develops wide diversity of talent and genius. They afterward differed upon many questions of the day.

The influence of the "Federalist" upon the public mind, in securing the adoption of the Constitution, has already been mentioned. Madison was a devoted friend to the instrument, and during the intensely exciting debates in the Virginia convention, in which Madison, with his armor rebuckled, and fresh from the investigation of the subject, while contributing to the "Federalist," was pitted against the strongest men of the opposition, whom he successfully met at every point, and never left them till they were in a position of utter discomfiture.

Formidable among the opposition, were Mason and Patrick

Henry, the latter of whom, as already remarked, was against the whole thing in letter, spirit, and detail. Inasmuch as the ratification of the instrument by Virginia, made the assent of the nine States necessary to its final adoption by the country, and it being the State wherein opposition was most violent and bitter, MADISON felt all the importance of the occasion, and roused his powers fully up to the crisis. Thoroughly master of his subject, his severe logic and plain reasoning, made every thing clear to each member's vision, that otherwise might have been blinded by the fascinating eloquence of Patrick Henry and his associates.

Few bodies ever convened in the United States, the deliberations of which, evinced a more thrilling interest, or grander displays of eloquence, argument, and patriotism, than did those of that Virginia convention. A cradle of great men, Virginia was at that time in her palmy state of glory, and many of her most illustrious sons were in that convention. MADISON, Marshall, Randolph, Pendleton, Henry, and Lee, were there. Some idea can be had of the results of contact and collision of such minds, upon questions of national policy. MADISON and his friends secured the ratification of the Constitution, which placed its acceptance beyond further question.

Upon the organization of the government, and election of Washington to the presidency, MADISON was sent to the First Congress, convening under the Constitution. Before the representatives of a newly-formed Republic, loomed herculean labors. Commerce, foreign affairs, revenue, debts, the seat of government, and an infinite variety of subjects, opened for immediate action. MADISON went bravely into the great work. An architect of no ordinary skill, he had labored in the construction of the government machinery, and now, during Washington's first administration, the fadeless splendors of which lit the world; he was ready to prove that he understood how to assist in keeping it in proper motion. While the breach was widening between Jefferson and Hamilton, and dissensions, growing out of the funding system, were waxing warm; placid, and steadfast, MADISON sought unostentatious performance of duty, in a spirit of meekness and conciliation.

"Too happy should I be," said John Quincy Adams, speaking of these eventful times, "if, with a voice speaking from the last, to the coming generation of my country, I could effectually urge

them to seek, in the temper and moderation of JAMES MADISON, that healing balm which assuages the malignity of the deepest-seated political disease, redeems to life the rational mind, and restores to health the incorporated union of our country, even from the brain fever of party spirit." In 1793, when the country was torn by excitements in regard to the affairs of France, Washington submitted the subjects of a neutrality proclamation, and the reception of a French minister, to cabinet consideration. Hamilton, it will be borne in mind, favored the proclamation, and insisted upon the qualified reception of Genet. The coincidence of the President with these views, drew upon him severe animadversions from various sources. These elicited in his defense the "Pacificus" letters of Hamilton. Here, MADISON, watchfully jealous of every republican right, and influenced, perhaps, to some extent, by the opinions of Jefferson, began to fall into the idea considerably prevalent, that the author of 'Pacificus,' leaned too much toward monarchy, and to draw off from his old friend and coufederate in securing the Constitution. He replied to 'Pacificus,' over the signature of "Helvetius," through the public prints. His reply was embraced in five numbers, which, for finish of composition, clearness of reason, and severity of logic, have never been excelled in our national papers. 'Pacificus,' though not from any timidity, lest in the contest he should be overpowered by his opponent, never replied to these letters, and MADISON's friends claimed a triumph over the Federal leader. Imagine a war of words from the dagger-pens of two such men as Hamilton and MADISON, upon the most vital questions that ever agitated a young republic. From two such caskets of mental treasure, there could but fall pearls, priceless as ever gemmed a nation's coronet. As such, they are prized. Through these letters, along with the 'Federalist,' ring their hushless voices yet upon those, among the nicest abstrusities of our political organism, "the distribution of legislative and executive powers," and there the student of his country's history will pore with pride, and drink in their ideas to be again diffused as long as freedom has a friend, or liberty knows a lover.

On Washington's retiring from the presidency, MADISON resigned his seat in Congress, and became the supporter of Jefferson, Vice-president, under the elder Adams. Availing himself of the current of popular dislike to the Alien and Sedition laws,

Jefferson readily foresaw that, by arraying the State assemblies against the acts of the Federal government, he could concentrate a large accession to his party. Knowing well his talents and powers, he sought and obtained the influence of MADISON in this design; this, is often a dangerous experiment. Appeals made to the State, against the acts of the Federal government, are oftener fraught with mischiefs than otherwise. The public mind is too easily inflamed,—too jealous of every right, to withstand skillfully-urged charges against chief depositaries of power, without becoming aroused, almost to resistance. Twice has the principle here, first broached, been attempted, and each time with results, dangerous to the country, and unhealthy to our nationality. Everywhere popular and conceded to possess extraordinary abilities, Jefferson, now identified with the opponents of measures, in no high favor, was in a fair way to build up a large and powerful party. The rapid rise and progress of the Republican party, was the result of the joint efforts of himself, MADISON, and their friends. It has been said of Jefferson that, "among the numerous advantages which it was the rare good fortune of his life to enjoy, was that of the uninterrupted, disinterested, and efficient friendship of MADISON,—the friendship of a mind, not inferior in capacity, and tempered with a calmer sensibility and a cooler judgment than his own.*"

Siding with Jefferson upon most of the political questions, then exciting the country, and devoted to him by the strongest ties of personal friendship, he was well prepared to lend aid, the most efficient and powerful, to that great democratic leader. He was opposed to a national bank,—differed with Hamilton in regard to his plan of settling the public debt,—was not fully satisfied with the neutrality proclamation, and occupied grounds, highly hostile to the Jay treaty. His views upon some questions of the policy of the country, then, are embraced in the following resolutions urged, in person, before the Virginia Assembly, at the instance of Jefferson, in the winter of 1798:

"*First.* That the Constitution of the United States was a compact to which the States were parties, granting limited powers of government.

"*Second.* That, in case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous

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* Adams.

exercise of other powers, not granted by the compact, the States had the right to, and were in duty bound, to *interpose*, for arresting the progress of the evils, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

"*Third.* That the Alien and Sedition laws, were palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution.

"*Fourth.* That the State of Virginia, having by its convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and the press, can not be canceled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States, and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition, having, with the other States, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was, in due time, annexed to the Constitution, it would mark a reproachful inconsistency, and criminal degeneracy, if an indifference were shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which might be fatal to the other.

"*Fifth.* That the State of Virginia declared the Alien and Sedition laws, UNCONSTITUTIONAL,—solemnly appealed to the like dispositions in other States, in confidence that they would concur with her in that declaration, and that the necessary and proper measures would be taken by each for *co-operating* with her in maintaining unimpaired, the authorities, rights and liberties reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

"*Sixth.* That the governor should be desired to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that they should be communicated to the respective State legislatures, and that a copy should be furnished to each of the senators and representatives of Virginia in Congress."

A unanimous combination, nugatory of the Alien and Sedition laws, on the part of the several States, was the object sought to be attained by these resolutions. They were partially successful. Some of the State legislatures, especially that of Kentucky, into which, resolutions of a similar import, drawn by Jefferson himself, had been introduced, took high grounds against them, though, the idea of *nullification*, they did not fully sanction.

That these laws were odious to the larger portion of the people of the United States, is well known. The activity of Jefferson in making them a cause of *party* diversity, and arraying the State against the Federal government, has been, and not without a degree of plausibility, ascribed to his ambition, to place his party in the ascendency, with himself at its head. The co-operation of MADISON in the movement is not, at least to the same extent, to be attributed to the same reasons. He, no doubt, acted from convictions of duty and patriotism, swayed, perhaps, somewhat by the strong friendship existing between Jefferson and himself. Certain it is, that MADISON never *fully* indorsed the sentiments of Jefferson in regard to these laws.

The deep hold taken upon the people by Jefferson, designated him as the first person for the next presidency. On his accession to that office, in 1801, MADISON was appointed Secretary of State, a post for which he was eminently qualified, by talent, prudence, and experience. The great difficulties through which this administration had to pass, has already been adverted to. All Europe was then at "tilt and tournament," in a bloody war of conquest or defense. England swept the seas with her fleets, while the towering genius of Napoleon thundered his triumphant cannon from Alp to Pyramid. Neutrality,—strict, uninterrupted neutrality, was certainly the policy of this country. The dark evolvements of European war-clouds, should not then have gathered from across the wave to obscure our Republican sun.

The foreign correspondence, incident to these exciting times, was extensive, delicate, and important. With a pen moved by no nerveless arm, MADISON kept it up in a manner that showed superior statesmanship and unerring sagacity. The "Dissertation upon Neutral Trade," connected with Great Britain, was written about this time. Never did pen more freely flow with talent, genius, and wisdom, than did his, while leaving on paper-scroll this essence of international law. The whole of Jefferson's term of office, was rendered harassing by fits of European frenzy, that kept this country in a state of national twilight,—hoping peace, yet fearing complication in foreign quarrels. At the close of his last term, he was succeeded by MADISON, who went into office, entertaining the same principles, substantially, as his predecessor. Seeds of dissension between us and Great Britain, had already been sown, and though anxious for peace, MADISON was

unwilling to sanction any terms whereby it would be maintained at the sacrifice of national dignity and honor. We have already mentioned the Milan and Berlin Decrees and Orders in Council, and their succession by the American Embargo. Bad national feelings were engendered by the failure of England to rescind the orders, until matters had almost reached a crisis; at the recommendation of MADISON, war was declared by the American Congress. Unlike the Revolution, this war was essentially a contest, on our part, for the rights of neutrals. In her commercial intercourse with other nations, by the vigorous enforcement of Parliamentary acts, on the part of England, directly at variance with the more liberal features of her policy, the United States were forced into the measure. Not until the war, were her odious maritime regulations modified. The course of MADISON, in sanctioning a resort to arms, drew upon him the abuse of a large portion of the citizens of the States, particularly those of New England. Fresh from the French wars, and not disposed to yield the smallest concession, England went into the war, thinking, no doubt, to humiliate, perhaps crush the rising fortunes of America. How our past reputation was vindicated in the struggle, is a matter of history. Whatever of abuse or indignation may, at the time, have been heaped upon the originators of this war, it proved of vast importance to us, maintained our national dignity and commerce, and settled, forever, the asserted rights of our country. Elected by one of the heaviest majorities ever cast, MADISON came to the office of chief magistrate, March 4th, 1809, a period when our foreign relations were in a condition extremely delicate and complicated.

Some time prior to the close of Jefferson's official term, prospects had indicated a collision with England, which was becoming every day more apparent. In his inaugural address, he used the following words, in regard to the course marked out for his administration: "To cherish peace and friendly relations with all nations having correspondent disposition; to maintain sincere neutrality toward belligerent nations; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them, by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and

too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the Union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitation as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States, and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with rights of conscience, or the functions of religion so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press; to observe economy in the public expenditures; to liberate the public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debt; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics,—that without standing armies, their liberties can never be in danger, nor with large armies safe; to promote, by authorized means, improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external, as well as internal commerce; to favor, in like manner, the advancement of science, and the diffusion of information as the best aliment of true liberty; to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state: as far as sentiments and intentions, such as these, can aid the fulfillment of my duty, they will be a resource which can not fail me."

As members of his cabinet, he selected for Secretary of State, Robert Smith of Maryland; for Secretary of Treasury, Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania; for Attorney-General, C. A. Rodney of Delaware; for Secretary of War, William Eustis of Massachusetts; for the Navy department, Paul Hamilton of South Carolina; Gideon Granger of New York, for Post-master-General.*

A survey of the vast duties before him, developed an unpleasant perplexity of national affairs, the regulation of which, required the mightiest energies, talent, firmness, and decision. Commercial relations were distracted,—revenues were in an unsettled

* This was not then a Cabinet office

condition,—parties struggling for ascendency, needed conciliation; while war with England, it became evident, was inevitable.

The antipathy between the two countries, was deep-seated and reciprocal; England had never fully abandoned the idea of controlling this Continent. Thinking herself in a better condition to effect her designs, than when she acceded to the stipulations of the treaty of peace, she violated many of its important provisions, which resulted in renewed hostilities. In addition to the disagreeable fetters imposed upon commerce and national intercourse, through her emissaries, the northern aborigines were impelled to acts of cruelty upon the settlers, particularly the more recent occupants of the great Mississippi valley. The efforts of our first presidents to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians, have been remarked. This commendable disposition, on the part of our government, which as is well known, deprived them of not one foot of territory, of which they were the legitimate owners, save by purchase, was thwarted in every instance by England, and in a way that admitted of no counteraction. Equipments and warlike instruments were not only furnished the Indians, but as an additional incentive to the perpetration of barbarous cruelties, they were supplied with whisky, rum, etc., and then urged upon the unoffending whites.

Conspicuous among her secret agents in thus kindling difficulties between the settlers and Indians, then, was one Simcoe, through whose efforts and those of his associates, robbery, murder, and incendiary depredations were carried on along the frontier. In the operations of St. Clair, England's efforts in behalf of, and co-operative with, the savages, proved the greatest obstacle; so in Wayne's famous Indian expedition, which has been mentioned before, she manifested a willingness to protect the Indians; and when they were defeated, threw open the gates of Fort George to afford shelter to the savages. Complicated in a variety of difficulties nearer home, after the successes of Wayne, and the evacuation of the northern posts, according to stipulations of the Jay treaty, and the formal Indian treaty of 1795, hostile manifestations began, for a while, to relax. Catching, in the meantime, the spirit of liberty that had made Americans doff the yoke of domination, the nations of Europe were rising in their majesty to assert their supremacy. The practical evidences of the benefits of unshackled, social, political, and religious freedom were so palpably

evinced by the rapid strides with which we were advancing to commercial and national fame, induced a disposition to imitate our example everywhere, and resulted, to some extent, in the universal convulsion of monarchies and despotisms. The jealousy of England,—mistress of the seas, and the defender of modern monarchy,—it may be readily perceived, was quickly excited, and notwithstanding treaty obligations, she did not hesitate upon the infliction of outrages upon our commerce and international trade, a submission to which, would have proved us recreant to the inheritance of freedom received from our ancestry, and the principles for which they contended through the Revolution.

Not satisfied with unfurling her sea-conquering flag from the masts of her privateers, and sending her robber bands to every port, for the purpose of crippling and destroying our commerce, she resorted to the odious measure of impressing our seamen, and forcibly making them serve upon her own vessels, in lieu of the services of those of whom she had been deprived by her long-continued disputes with the nations of Europe.

These things, taken in connection with her attempts to urge the Indians to the commission of further depredations, produced growing bickerings until the spring of 1809, when the closing of the French ports against the entry of neutral vessels, be they laden with whatsoever they might, and the assignment of a large naval force to hover along our seaports, for the purpose of preventing any vessel from freighting for any of them, precipitated matters to a crisis. The protection, by a resort to arms, of her commerce, by the United States, or its entire, not to say disgraceful abandonment, were now the only alternatives. The embargo of 1807, called forth by the dire necessity of the times, produced great and wide-spread dissatisfaction on the part of a large portion of the people, who began to call loudly for redress. British annoyances continued to become more excessive, and in 1809, about the time of MADISON's accession to the Presidency, the non-intercourse acts were resorted to, interdicting all trade or commercial relations with Great Britain. She was now excluded, in retaliation, from our ports. Still showing, however, notwithstanding the oppressive enormities practiced upon us, a disposition to maintain amicable relations, Congress passed the following act: "That in case Great Britain or France should, before the 3d of March, 1811, so revoke or modify her acts, as that they should cease to violate

the neutral commerce of the United States; and if the other nation should not, within three months, thereafter, so revoke or modify her edicts in like manner, the provisions of the non-intercourse and non-importation law, should, at the expiration of three months, be revived against the nation refusing or neglecting to revoke or modify its edict." This was in the spring of 1810,—the President having, in the meantime, been vested with powers nugatory of the non-intercourse provisions, in case of a revocation of the edicts by the foreign powers just named. A succession of urgent, though firm and dignified efforts, on the part of the government of the United States, now followed, in the hope of a satisfactory adjustment of all difficulties. Thus, the spring of 1811 opened, but brought with it no revocation or modification of those disagreeable causes of disturbance, the edicts. Still, not unwilling to lengthen out the time of probation,—hoping a happy result, and the maintenance of peace,—the American Congress passed another act, to this effect: "That, in case at any time Great Britain should so revoke or modify her edicts, as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, the President of the United States should declare the fact by proclamation; and that the restrictions, previously imposed, should, from the date of such proclamation, cease, and be discontinued."

This act passed, March second. All these efforts for peace, proved of no avail. Great Britain was resolved to push her schemes. "They had seized the commercial property of American citizens to an incalculable amount. She had united in the enormities of France, to declare a great proportion of the terraqueous globe in a state of blockade; chasing the American merchant flag effectually from the ocean. She had contemptuously disregarded the neutrality of the American territory, and the jurisdiction of the American laws within the waters and harbors of the United States. She was enjoying the emoluments of a surreptitious trade, stained with every species of fraud and corruption, which gave to the belligerent powers the advantages of peace, while the neutrals were involved in the evils of war. She had, in short, usurped, and exercised on the water, a tyranny similar to that which her great antagonist had usurped and exercised upon the land. And amidst all these proofs of ambition and avarice, she demanded that the victims of her usurpations and

her violence, should revere her as the sole defender of the rights and liberties of mankind.

"When, therefore, Great Britain, in manifest violation of her solemn promise, refused to follow the example of France, by the repeal of her orders in council, the American government was compelled to contemplate a resort to arms, as the only remaining course to be pursued for its honor, its independence, and its safety."*

Such were some of the causes leading to the war of 1812. As already indicated, embargo had, during the previous administration, been tried in vain; non-intercourse was substituted with as little effect. Though these resorts were had with hopeful anticipations of securing peace, in case of failure, MADISON provided, in view of the aspect of affairs, a special assemblage of Congress, which convened in May, 1810.

Immediately on the assemblage of this body, matters took a more pacific turn. The British minister, Erskine, proposed restitution for losses sustained by our commerce, and a rescission of the orders in council at an early day; these terms were accepted, and MADISON advised the people accordingly, through proclamation, as agreed upon in the act of Congress, before named. Again, signs of peace brightened up the land, and again they were destined to disappear. Erskine received few thanks for his conciliatory efforts, and was, principally through the influence of the British Secretary of foreign affairs, Canning, superseded in his post by one ready to indorse and further the most extreme measures. This new minister† desired nothing more sincerely, than a rupture between the two countries, and took steps well calculated to insure the gratification of this desire. The war-spirit was rapidly on the increase in the country, on finding that England was not disposed to comply with the agreements made by Erskine. The pacific desires of MADISON were made use of now, as means of abusing him, by his opponents, some of whom affirmed that he could not be "kicked into a war." MADISON now issued a second proclamation, announcing the changes that had taken place, and declaring the full force of the non-intercourse acts. "Free trade, and sailors' rights," now became the cry throughout the entire country. Though MADISON still manifested a conciliatory spirit,

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* Foster's Correspondence.

† Mr. Jackson.

the people of the country were everywhere disposed to resistance, and a resort to arms for redress of their wrongs. Such were the state of things at the regular convention of Congress. MADISON, in his message, gave a clear statement of intermediate events, and advised early steps to place the country in a condition to protect her interests. This was no small task. Just emerging into prosperity, from the effects of the old struggle, no great attention had been paid to military affairs. In naval preparations, we had been sadly enough remiss, while the militia had not been trained or disciplined. The prostration of commercial operations had affected very seriously the revenues of the country, and reduced the coffers of the treasury. Congress took immediate steps to act in accordance with the wishes of the President, and expressed a willingness to raise a large force for the emergency. Matters now approached a crisis, and were rapidly maturing for active hostilities, which the recall of the British Minister tended much to accelerate. An act was passed, by Congress, declaring that a failure, on the part of France, to revoke the Milan and Berlin decrees, or of England to withdraw her council orders, would result in a declaration of war against the party refusing. France complied, and gave early notification, that the decrees would be revoked. This placed the cause of quarrel between Great Britain and the United States. As the last opportunity, England was given three months to withdraw her restrictions. Pinckney, our minister at the British court, labored earnestly to maintain peace, and secure their withdrawal. Finding his efforts abortive, and receiving an answer, substantially, a formal refusal to subscribe to the terms, further negotiations were broken off, and he returned to the United States. This was the 1st of March, 1811.

Meantime, apprehending an unsuccessful result in their efforts to avoid a rupture, Congress had taken measures to prepare for the event. An American vessel, the President, was, in May, fired upon, by a British vessel, the Little Belt, without provocation. A spirited action ensued, in which the President got the better of the Little Belt, and killed many of her men,—a good omen of the results of the contest. This very much increased the war-spirit, already burning warmly among the people of the United States.

The northern Indians, England's ready auxiliaries to strike the blood-trail and ring the war-whoop, whenever prospects of carnage and plunder offered, were soon kindling their council fires, and

lifting their tomahawks to engage in the contest. Their defeat at Tippecanoe, and the destruction of their posts and towns by Harrison, checked their progress, and rather overawed them for the future.

The Twelfth Congress convened in November, and organized by the elevation of Henry Clay to the speakership. No longer harboring hopes of adjustment, MADISON, in his message, urged active measures upon the country, and its immediate assumption of "an armor" and an attitude of defense, demanded by the crisis. The deliberations of that body were now prompt and decisive. Twenty thousand regulars were called for; provision was made for strengthening the naval force; volunteers were urged into the service; while the different States were asked to furnish their quotas in marching trim without delay. They had long been laboring for peace,—actively, heroically,—they now prepared for war. Too much credit can not be ascribed to Henry Clay, who was then fairly entering upon the splendid career opening before him, nor to James Monroe, the successor to the first honors of the nation, for the boldness and earnestness with which they labored to work Congress and the country up to their duty, in resisting the oft-repeated aggressions of England.

It would be unjust to MADISON and his fame to ascribe his conciliatory course, and repeated overtures for adjustment to any thing like fear or timidity. True, he was anxious to preserve peace,—what good executive is not?—and for its preservation, was willing to make, and did make every effort compatible with the dignity and honor of the people over whose destinies he presided. Most of the influential and talented men of the country, until the last expedient was exhausted to prevent a rupture, were opposed to hurrying matters to a collision. Among these were Pinckney and Gallatin. But, like MADISON, when all hope of reconciliation gave way, they were as firmly identified with the advocates of war, as they had formerly been with those of peace, and co-operated with efficiency and zeal, in every movement that tended to the national credit, and the humiliation of the enemy.

Bonaparte finally revoked the decrees, April 28th, 1811. Russell was then our minister to the court of Great Britain. After every effort had been made in vain, to induce an abrogation of the orders in council, he wrote to our government, that he "no longer entertained a hope that we could honorably avoid war."

An embargo was now passed upon all vessels lying in, or coming to, our ports. Notwithstanding the sufferings of a large portion of British merchants, in consequence of the commercial derangements incident to these measures, the ministry persisted in the enforcement of the orders. Convinced that further efforts to settle the vexatious difficulties would only detract from the dignity of the country, MADISON, on the first day of June, 1812, sent a message to Congress, breathing a warlike tone, and recommending steps of redress; it closed as follows:

"Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities, which have been heaped on our country; and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might, at least, have been expected that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligation, or invited by friendly disposition, on the part of the United States, would have found in its true interests alone, a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high sea; that an enlarged policy would have favored that free and general circulation of commerce, in which the British nation is, at all times, interested, and which, in times of war, is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself, as well as to other belligerents; and more especially, that the British cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, persevere in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.

"Other counsels have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great and common highway of nations, even in sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, on returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destination, confiscated by prize courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts, and their unfortunate crews dispersed or lost, or inveigled in British forts into British fleets, while arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever. 'We

behold in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States, a state of peace toward Great Britain.'

"Whether the United States will continue passive under these progressive usurpations and accumulating wrongs, or opposing force to force in defense of their national rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty disposer of events, avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honorable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the Constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, free, and a powerful nation."

Upon this message, Congress deliberated seriously, and with closed doors. After considerable time had been taken up in its consideration, and much earnest debate, Pinckney prepared the following act, which was reported by Calhoun: "That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the government of the said united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof."

Considerable excitement prevailed on the introduction of this bill. It finally passed the House, however, by a good majority, and afterward the Senate, by a vote of six in favor of it. Congress then passed an act limited to the existence of the embargo, prohibiting all exports. A general land office, also, was instituted; the public lands were surveyed; treasury notes were issued; duties were increased, and the apportionment attended to. Combinations were now formed to prevent the re-election of Madison to the presidency,—his name being already widely mentioned by his friends in connection with the office. Great excitement had followed the formal declaration of war. Opposition at many

points was strong and virulent, while the friends of the measure were equally earnest in the maintenance of their views. The western States were ready and anxious to indorse the course of Congress; the New England States were generally hostile to the act, while, in the middle and southern parts of the Union, the public mind was about equally balanced. The act having passed, hostilities commenced in earnest. Henry Dearborn was appointed Major-General, with Wilkinson, Hampton, Hull, and Pinckney, for his subordinates. Large forces were called into service, and some attention paid to the navy. On the commencement of active operations, several severe disasters ensued, owing, in a measure, to the incapacity of some of the generals. Of the military operations, incident to the war of 1812, this is not the proper place to speak. Upon these, more extended remarks will be made, when we come to speak of those immediately connected with them.

The efforts of the Federalists to supersede MADISON in the presidency, were unavailing. He was re-elected over their candidate, De Witt Clinton, the same year that war was declared, by a very handsome majority. Soon after his inauguration, which took place on the 4th of March, 1813, the Russian minister offered mediation, on the part of his government, between the belligerent powers. It was accepted, but resulted in no more than the reiterated determination of England to adhere to her declared principles. Late in the fall, however, she manifested a willingness to enter into formal negotiations, and Lord Castlereagh gave notice of the fact. This indication was highly satisfactory to MADISON and the country. These negotiations were not so easily consummated. After the battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and New Orleans, on land, and exploits equally brave and honorable, had taken place at sea, arrangements were made for the adjustment of all difficulties. After a serious and somewhat protracted struggle, that redounded to the renown of America, and checked, forever, any designs of England upon our growing country, negotiations were formally opened that resulted in the peace of Ghent, concluded, December 24th, 1814. Though MADISON consented to the war with a considerable degree of reluctance, after the measure had been settled upon, he was firm, decisive, and unflinching, in promoting its successful prosecution. The return of peace was to no one more welcome, than himself. Nothing now remained to mar the close of his last administration.

Fostering a spirit of enterprise in manufactures and every mode of home industry, he closed his official term, by encouraging peaceful pursuits, and inspiring a love of country, virtue, and duty. Many events of importance, beside the war of 1812, took place during his administration. The United States Bank was chartered in 1816; Indiana was admitted into the Union as a State; and the name of *Missouri* was given to the territory now forming that State. March 3d, 1817, closed the political life of this great man.

He was now in his sixty-seventh year, but, in the enjoyment of good health. He left public life at a time when, in the language of one of his messages, we had established "a government, which watches over the purity of elections, the freedom of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, and the equal interdict against the encroachments and compacts between religion and State; which maintains inviolable, the maxims of public faith, the security of persons and property, and encourages, in every authorized mode, that general diffusion of knowledge which guarantees to public liberty its permanency, and to those who possess the blessings of the true enjoyment of it; a government which avoids intrusion on the internal repose of other nations, and repels them from its own; which does justice to all nations with a readiness equal to the firmness with which it requires justice from them; and which, while it refines its domestic code from every ingredient not congenial with the precepts of an enlightened age, and the sentiments of a virtuous people, seeks by appeals to reason and by its liberal examples, to infuse into the law which governs the civilized world, a spirit which may diminish the frequency, or circumscribe the calamities of war, and meliorate the social and beneficent relations of peace; a government, in a word, whose conduct within and without, may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions,—that of pronouncing peace on earth, and good-will to man."*

In the undisturbed repose of his home he passed at Montpelier the remainder of his days, practicing the virtues of which his life had been an exemplification. He was sent to the Virginia convention, in 1829, and took part in the proceedings that resulted in the revision of the State constitution. He was, also, selected president of a society of agriculture, for which he had a passionate

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* Eighth annual message.

fondness. He labored, too, with his venerable friend Jefferson, in the establishment of the University of Virginia. His long and useful career was brought to a close, on the 28th of June, 1836, in the 86th year of his age.

MADISON was married, in 1794, to Mrs. Dolly Payne Todd, a young widow of great beauty, fascinating manners, and high intelligence. Of all the ladies that ever graced the White House, few, if any, have ever excelled her in accomplishments or fitness for its honors. This union resulted in no offspring, but was one of high felicity.

MADISON's death threw the whole country into mourning, and elicited, everywhere, proper testimonials of sorrow. His name will, forever, occupy a high place in the history of our country, worthy the admiration of succeeding generations, and the pride of mankind. "In his personal appearance, MADISON was of small stature, and rather protuberant in front. He had a calm expression, penetrating blue eyes, and was slow and grave in his speech. At the close of his presidency, he seemed to be careworn, with an appearance of more advanced age than was the fact. He was bald on the top of his head, wore his hair powdered, and generally dressed in black. His manner was modest and retiring, but in conversation, he was pleasing and instructive, having a mind well stored with the treasures of learning, and being particularly familiar with the political world. He was fond of society, though he had traveled but little; never having visited foreign countries, or seen much of the people of the country over which he presided. When a member of deliberative bodies, he was an able debater, having acquired self-confidence by slow degrees. As a writer, he has had few equals among American statesmen, and the style of his public documents and his correspondence, has always been much admired. He was, at the time of his death, the last surviving signer of the Constitution, and the part he bore in framing that instrument, his subsequent advocacy of it by his writings, with his adherence to its provisions, obtained for him the title of 'Father of the Constitution.'"

JAMES MONROF

THE illustrious Grecian,* when he came to die, remarked to friends around him, that in extolling the acts of his life, they failed to notice the greatest and most honorable part of his character,—that no Athenian, through his means, ever put on mourning. He had filled high stations, and figured prominently among the great men of his day; a statesman of vast capacity and energy, he had served his country with fidelity during one of the most eventful periods of its history. Though he had taken active part in both civic and military affairs, while the people were rent by intestine dissensions within, and menaced by enemies from without, he had maintained a smooth and even course; and now, as earthly toils and strifes were fading from his sight, while taking a retrospect of his career, its splendors were forgotten in the consoling fact, that in no act of his life had he given his people cause to wear mourning.

If the Athenian rejoiced because he had overwhelmed none with grief, what infinite source of satisfaction was afforded to the fifth President of the United States, who, after a peaceful administration of the government for eight years, left it in a condition of unexampled prosperity, teeming with the richest blessings of liberty, its people rejoicing at indications of growing greatness. He came to the presidency at a time when, after the convulsions of two wars, and the organization of the government, the resistless march of progress and improvement, had commenced under favorable auspices. A peaceful, dignified course, toward all

* Pericles.



JAMES MONROE.

nations abroad, an earnest watchfulness and guardianship of internal institutions at home, with a solicitude for the fostering of manufactures, the encouragement of learning, and the protection of religion, arts, and sciences, formed the combination, essential for a chief executive; at that time, by no one, perhaps, was this combination more eminently possessed, than JAMES MONROE.

He was born on the 2d day of April, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, in the year 1759, of poor, but highly respectable parentage. While those elder veterans, therefore, who, with hearts of oak, were resisting the assumptions of the Stamp Act, and the whole country was stirred into excitement, incident to that measure, MONROE was yet in comparative infancy. The Declaration of Independence, and the gloomiest periods of the war, found him at the college of William and Mary, completing his education. His youth was passed amid the high excitements of the times, and resistance to the crown, became ingrained into his organism as part of himself. Schooled by the sternest men of the opposition, with a temperament easily fired with a love of country and liberty, it is not strange that he should become enthusiastically devoted to the cause. He had been at college for sometime, where he was noted for amiability, gentleness of manners, kindness of heart, and application to his books. No sooner had the Declaration been drawn, however, when the cause bore its most hopeless aspects, than he, without remaining to complete his course, threw aside his books, bade adieu to college associations, and hurried to the camp of Washington. Though but seventeen years of age, he went there to participate in the terrible scenes around Haerlem Hights, and braved the perils of 1776. Though more of a student than a soldier,—more a civilian than a military man,—he forgot all academic honors that were in reserve for him, and which he could soon successfully grasp, to serve his country in her hour of need.

Such was the temperament of this ardent youth at seventeen years of age. During the celebrated retreat through the Jerseys, a retreat, though not in numbers, in objects more grand than the famous one made by Xenophon and the ten thousand Greeks, he stood by Washington with firmness and courage, notwithstanding the gathering darkness of the times. Simultaneous with the assertion, that his country should be free and independent, MONROE commenced his career, not aware of the glories that country would

heap upon him. With patriotic ardor, he had gone to the field of his own accord, a mere boy, when older men, and men of experience were accepting Howe's terms of pardon, and deserting their cause as hopelessly lost. At Haerlem Hights, at Flatbush, at White Plains, at Long Island, and Fort Washington,—days of misfortune and gloom,—the hearts of the sternest began to grow cold, and sicken at the prospect of speedy defeat and annihilation. Not so with MONROE. True to the cause he had espoused, ere manhood had bloomed upon him, he remained with Washington's disheartened band through all its trying scenes, till the ever-memorable 25th of December, 1776, kindled a fresh beam of hope. Among the lone band that drew up on the banks of the Delaware the night previous to the battle of Trenton, was the youthful MONROE. As they pushed to the attack the next morning, he led the van. "He wore the cheek of a boy, but moved with the tread of a veteran." In the thickest of the fight, under the immediate eye of his commander, he behaved with courage and daring, until a musket-ball from the enemy inflicted a painful wound that checked his movements. He now retired from active service, until the recovery from his wound enabled him to rejoin the army, when he was appointed, as a reward for his bravery, Aid-de-camp to Lord Sterling. In this capacity, he served through the severe times, during which, the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, were fought, in each of which, he participated with bravery and coolness. At the instigation of the commander-in-chief, he next attempted to raise a body of men for the service, of which he was to assume the command. Not succeeding in this, he commenced the study of law, under the tuition of Governor Jefferson, in his native State. Toward the close of the war, he was sent to the south to investigate the condition of the army, with a view of promoting its amelioration. This commission was faithfully and satisfactorily performed. These operations, with a few voluntary acts, during the latter part of the war, constitute a brief summary of his military career.

His first entrance into public life, and a civic capacity, was in 1782, when he was elected to the Virginia legislature. His services in this assembly resulted in his selection to the executive council. Having thus, in a brief space of time, served his country with credit and efficiency, through a portion of her first great struggle, almost before he had emerged from youth, he was, in his

twenty-fifth year, sent to Congress; in which body he took an honorable position, and maintained it with dignity and ability. Among those who acted as the committee, at Annapolis, on that august and sublime occasion, when Washington repaired there to lay down the commission he had held so long and so faithfully, was JAMES MONROE. He continued a member of Congress till 1786, serving his country, in the national councils, with the same zeal and devotion he had exhibited in her war. Like Madison, MONROE early saw the defects in the old articles of confederation. During the early part of his labors as a member of Congres, he brought in some resolutions, conferring certain powers upon Congress, regulative of commerce, revenue, etc. He was among the earliest to urge a general convention of delegates, for the purpose of remodeling the existent form of government. In his report, indeed, as chairman of the committee, to whom his resolutions were referred, the changes obviously demanded for the public good, were suggested with force and earnestness.

His resolutions giving to Congress the power to levy an impost of five per cent., and sole jurisdiction of commerce, passed in the spring of 1784. His suggestions in regard to a change of government, were discussed the ensuing July, and had some effect in the assemblage of delegates at Annapolis, which met in 1786, for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration. The succeeding year witnessed the assembling of the General Convention that resulted in the Constitution of the United States. Thus, in the initiatory steps that secured that instrument, JAMES MONROE, though comparatively a young man, figured with no inconsiderable conspicuity. Disputes between different States in regard to their boundaries, were then of frequent occurrence. The older order of things gave Congress the power to appoint members from the house to settle such disputes as might thus arise,—both parties to the dispute to have a voice in their selection.

MONROE, in his twenty-seventh year was selected one of these commissioners to adjust a difficulty between the States of Massachusetts and New York. Some of the other commissioners appointed for the same service resigning, the final settlement was unavoidably delayed. MONROE frequently wrote to Congress, in regard to the matter. Seeing no prospect of being able to render any real advantage to the country, he resigned his commission, and the difficulty was finally satisfactorily arranged by a convention of

delegates from each of the two States, which assembled at Hartford, in 1786. The selection of MONROE to this position, was no small concession, on the part of Congress, of his abilities and purity of character.

Difficulties growing out of the controversy relating to the navigation of the Mississippi, have already been mentioned. The mouth of that river being claimed by Spain, to be in her dominions, she asserted entire jurisdiction from bank to bank, over the whole stream, and forbade its navigation by the United States. The two countries, indeed, seemed verging to hostilities upon this subject. An American citizen had been imprisoned by the Spaniards, who, in their turn, had wrested from us an important government post. In this predicament, a proposition was made to compromise the matter with Spain, by giving in lieu of the privilege of navigating that stream, equivalent commercial advantages she did not claim to possess. This proposition had many warm and able advocates. The Virginia members opposed it with great unanimity. MONROE was a champion in the opposition, and met the question squarely at every point. The proposition finally failed; and we became eventually, not only possessed of the right of navigating the Mississippi, but of all Louisiana and the Floridas, none contributing more to the result than JAMES MONROE.

In 1786, he closed his labors in Congress, having won high civic renown, during his career there. About this time, also, he was married to a Miss Kortright, one of the first families of the State of New York. She has been represented as one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her day, possessing great fascination of manners, rare beauty, and high cultivation. They lived amicably and happily together, for a period of near fifty years,—she dying but a short time before her husband. MONROE, relieved from public cares, now retired to Fredericksburg, with the sincere purpose of engaging in the practice of the law; but, his reputation as a civilian was too firmly established, and his name too widely and favorably known, for him to be permitted to remain in the obscurity of a law office, and he was again called to the public service. No sooner had he settled himself, than he was sent to the legislature, whence he was immediately sent to the Virginia convention, that met to take into consideration the Federal Constitution.

Monroe, we have remarked, was convinced, during his early labors in Congress, of the inefficiency of the old confederation, and its demand for revision and amendment. Yet after the convention had met and formed the Constitution, he was not in favor of it, thinking that several essential features of the instrument were susceptible of much improvement. His opposition, however, was not of the violent, relentless cast of Patrick Henry. He took his seat in the Virginia convention identified with the opposition, and when the final vote came to be taken, we find his name recorded with the seventy-nine who voted against its adoption, it being secured by a majority of only ten votes. The formation and final adoption of the Constitution has been happily pronounced, by one of its purest and ablest defenders, "the greatest triumph of pure and peaceful intellect recorded in the annals of the human race." Though it may seem strange to the reader of the present day, that pure patriots and men of wisdom, talents, and virtue should have arrayed themselves against an instrument by which our richest blessings have been secured and are perpetuated, they acted from pure motives and through a spirit to serve their country. Differences of opinion upon this vital question, partook not of partisan virulence or sectional jealousies. Consequently those stern, tried men lost no hold upon the people for their opposition to a measure, the beneficial influence of which, soon after its adoption, became so obviously apparent. This is sufficiently shown in the fact that, in 1789, Monroe was elected to the Senate of the United States, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of William Grayson.

Of this body he continued a member till 1794, a period during which most important national measures came up for consideration, and political parties began to form upon permanent bases, agitating deeply the public mind by conflicting views and opinions. His views upon the great issues then agitating the country, and producing rival antagonisms between our greatest minds and noblest patriots, can not be said to have been widely different from those entertained by Jefferson.

When revolting from the coercive restraints of the Directory, and flinging at their feet its self-arrogated authority, the French were whirling in the delirium of a red revolution, as before stated, the influence upon this country was powerful and instantaneous. Hatred to England was excelled only, if excelled at all, by a sympathy for

those who desired to throw off the yoke of despotism and assert their own majesty and supremacy. Among those who, in opposition to the more neutrally inclined, favored, with somewhat of ardor the French revolution, was JAMES MONROE. He was opposed to the neutrality proclamation, notwithstanding the evident utility and expediency of the measure. To a friend of republicanism it is needless to reiterate here the causes that might well make men, even the purest, feel like sympathizing with France at that time, even though a full and mature deliberation of the whole matter might have dictated a contrary policy. A variety of causes operated, particularly upon the minds of those who, of an ardent, impetuous temperament, were ready to draw the blade for freedom, everywhere, to prevent a thorough, impartial, and mature investigation of the subject in all its complications.

Gouverneur Morris, our Minister to France, entertained views just the opposite, and advocated the strictest neutrality. His course not being agreeable to the French people, and, as they thought, highly inimical to their interests, he was recalled by our Government, and was superseded by MONROE, who was appointed Minister to the Court of Versailles in the spring of 1794. Fully identified with the anti-federal, republican party, and having opposed the leading measures of the administration, this appointment was a high compliment to the talents and reputation of the new Minister, and an excellent commentary upon the virtue and patrictism of Washington, which, rising above the bitterness of party, sought to unite and blend all discordant elements into one unruffled tide of peace and happiness, and to allay all jealousies, making men's objects, aims, and interests center upon their country's weal. Though aware of his favor to the French revolutionary party and opposition to the neutrality proclamation, the power by whom he was appointed was not the least mistrustful of recreancy on his part to the interests of the nation whose embassador he had been created. He was instructed to express, on the part of his Government, a lively sense of gratitude for past services rendered by the French nation, a warm and enduring friendship, and a desire to maintain uninterrupted the existing harmonious relations between the two countries. With these instructions he set out on his embassy to France. Reaching his destination, his views of policy having preceded him and made him already a favorite, he was received with a pomp and splendor

by the National Convention perhaps hitherto never extended to an envoy to a foreign court from this country. Though disposed to carry out the spirit of his instructions, honestly entertaining views different from those by whom they were given, he found it next to impossible; and becoming complicated and embarrassed in his diplomatic relations, he was, about the close of Washington's administration, recalled, and was succeeded by Pinckney. On reaching the United States, no doubt somewhat mortified at the unpopularity of his mission, he published a large volume bearing the title of "A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, connected with the Mission to the French Republic during the years 1794, '95, '96." The book never reached any high degree of popular favor, and seems now to be little regarded, either as an interesting detail of facts or a good specimen of literary success.

On his return, he was elected to the Legislature of his native State with a cordiality that showed his reputation had undergone no diminution in the public mind. Though opposed to the measures of the administration and the provisions of the Jay treaty concluded with Great Britain, he never had denounced either Washington or Jay, but accorded to them the highest merit as statesmen, patriots, and men of the purest motives. After the discharge of his duties in this capacity, he was elected Governor of Virginia, which office he held with dignity and credit till the expiration of his term of three years. While an incumbent of this office, he was startled, as were most of his countrymen, by indications of danger in an unlooked-for quarter. In the midst of his success, Bonaparte had, by secret treaty with Spain, come into possession of the territory of Louisiana. Everywhere victorious, the occupancy of this territory brought the jurisdiction of his triumphant genius into immediate proximity to our borders. Though this acquisition to the Napoleonic empire was effected at the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in the year 1800, it was two years after before the United States were made aware of the fact. Appearances then indicated a design on the part of France to pour her legions into the New World, and wrest from us all her original possessions, from Orleans to the Canadas. The smallest appearance of such a design being attempted, was well calculated to, and did, excite apprehensions in the United States. It was resolved to send, with due expedition, ministers to the Courts of

France and Madrid, for the purpose of making such arrangements in regard to the territory of Louisiana as would be mutually satisfactory and preventive of any collision with European powers and influences. Pinckney was in fact already Minister to Spain, but received additional powers and instructions. Early in 1803, MONROE was associated with Robert Livingston, then resident Minister at the Court of France, as Envoy Extraordinary, to effect a purchase of New Orleans and the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi river. He was further instructed to act with Pinckney at the Court of Madrid, in relation to Louisiana. Livingston had opened negotiations in a very able manner before the arrival of MONROE, and on being joined by the latter, prospects indicated a favorable consummation of their objects.

Having elsewhere said as much of these purchases as space would allow, we pass to other branches of the subject. The mission to France terminated satisfactorily, resulting in the acquisition, by purchase, of the entire province of Louisiana and New Orleans, immediately after MONROE's arrival. He now hastened to London, whither he had been commissioned Minister in the place of Rufus King, who had resigned. Our country's commerce being still interfered with by the continuance of England to impress our seamen, beside other restrictions, he labored, while in the English metropolis, to consummate such arrangements as would protect the rights of our flag against these unjustifiable assumptions of power. Being able to effect but little toward the object, he proceeded to Madrid for the purpose of carrying ont the remainder of his instructions, by acting in concert with Pinckney in securing the final settlement of all difficulties appertaining to the newly-acquired territory. At Madrid, obstacles of no insignificant nature presented themselves to the diplomatists. Bonaparte, in the transfer of the territory, had confined himself to the unsatisfactory boundaries affixed by Spain in her secret transfer at the treaty of St. Ildefonso. Spain now aimed to make it appear that the whole area contemplated was comparatively small—not much larger than the island of New Orleans. Considerable discussion resulted from the boundary difficulties. The two Ministers, MONROE and Pinckney, after protracted but unsuccessful efforts to settle the disputes amicably, abandoned all hope of speedily putting an end to the quarrel.

Affairs with England, in consequence of a stubborn persistence

in her designs, were in the meantime daily becoming more threatening and complicated. In 1805, MONROE was sent as Minister to that country. He found Pitt in the zenith of his premiership, his policy fettering commerce, and by his mighty mind keeping in check even the gigantic prowess of Napoleon. Soon after his return to London he was joined by William Pinckney, who had also been appointed Minister to the English Court. They succeeded in effecting a treaty, a copy of which was sent to the United States. Without submitting it to the consideration of Congress, Jefferson returned it for revision and modification, saying they never could conform to some of its requisitions. A change, however, unfortunate for the accomplishment of negotiations, had taken place in the meantime, and on the arrival of the returned treaty, MONROE received notification that their mission was, at least for the present, at an end. The attack upon the Chesapeake following, negotiations abruptly closed, and the Ministers returned home. As MONROE closed with credit his military, so this last ministry to England ended his diplomatic career. This was in 1807. Soon after his return he was again elected Governor of Virginia, previous to his entrance upon the duties of which office he enjoyed an agreeable repose at home with his lovely wife and children. The rejection of the treaty concluded during his mission, by Jefferson, without so much as senatorial submission, though it resulted in no serious breach between the two, alienated MONROE from his old friend for some time. It passed by, however, and was comparatively forgotten. MONROE occupied the executive chair of his native State till 1811, when he was appointed by President Madison, Secretary of State.

We have already glanced, in the preceding pages, at some of the perplexities to be encountered at this time. War between America and Great Britain was near breaking out. The decrees, the orders in council, the impressment of our seamen, the embargo, non-intercourse acts, and various measures of vast importance agitated the public mind, and coming directly within the purview of the labors of our Secretary of State, some idea can be had of the extent of his responsibilities. Through the pressing necessities of the times, he discharged the duties of Secretary of State as became a statesman and patriot. Up to the time when, Genseric-like, the British commander ordered the destruction of Washington City, he attended only to the duties of that office.

When the capitol was destroyed, General Armstrong, who had been Secretary of War, was forced, by the weight of popular odium heaped upon him, to resign, and MONROE, at the urgent solicitation of the President, consented to discharge the duties of both offices. He was now the occupant of two stations, the duties of which, if faithfully executed, were sufficient for the talents and energies of more than one ordinary mind.

As Secretary of the War department, he had to fix upon plans of operation, and many other duties incident to the position. Coming into the office at a time when Louisiana was threatened with invasion by a large force of England's victorious, veteran legions, who were flushed with the glory of long-contested, hard-earned success, and were turned upon our shores without occupation for their enterprise, eager for new fields of battle and new rewards of achievement, the public emergencies now required that the sternest and ablest men should be placed at the head of affairs, and that the resources of the country should be developed as soon as possible and to the fullest extent. With such men as Madison and his double Secretary, MONROE, we were sure to receive the proper meed of solicitude, anxiety, and effort toward the restoration of peace. To meet the invader in successful encounter at New Orleans was, to the American cause, a matter of the last importance. As Secretary of War, the task of providing the army with necessaries requisite to their condition devolved upon MONROE. The financial condition of the country was perplexed and embarrassed. Every effort, however, was made by the Secretary to procure what was needed. Failing, from the depressed condition of affairs, to obtain sufficient means from the proper sources, like Morris and like Franklin, he stepped forward, and upon his own private credit, was enabled to furnish large supplies. Party animosities and bickerings had resulted in a failure to recharter the old bank, and though not amid such distresses as in the days of the old war, funds were exceedingly difficult to procure. The currency was broken down, and revenues crippled. "Banks, with fictitious capital, swarmed the land, and sponged the purse of the people, often for the use of their own money, with more than usurious extortion. The solid banks were enabled to maintain their integrity only by contracting their operations to an extent ruinous to their debtors and to themselves. A balance of trade, operating, like a universal fraud, vitiated the channels of

intercourse between north and south, and the treasury of the Union was replenished only with silken tatters and unavailable funds; chartered corporations, bankrupt under the gentle name of suspended specie payments, and without a dollar of capital to pay their debts, sold at enormous discounts the very evidence of those debts, and passed off upon the Government of the country at par their rags, purchasable in the open market at depreciations of thirty and forty per cent."

The fact that MONROE died in extreme poverty, has frequently been mentioned as derogatory to his merits. Aside from the consideration that he is not an isolated instance of great men being in the same condition, it would be well for posterity to reflect that this voluntary offering of his means and credit for his country was never, during his life, properly appreciated by the Government, and had much to do in bringing about the disastrous condition of his private resources.

For the prosecution of the war, it was resolved to raise sixty thousand men. MONROE urged, though unsuccessfully, an addition of forty thousand, which, had they been raised, would doubtless much sooner have terminated the struggle. Of the incidents and measures connected with the war of 1812, we shall say more in the proper place.

It resulted in an honorable peace and additional renown to the whole country. MONROE, during its progress, discharged the heavy duties connected with the war department till its close, when, resigning that office, his energies were exclusively devoted to the post of Secretary of State. Through Madison's administration the labors belonging to that office were severe and onerous. MONROE performed them with credit to himself and honor to the country, co-operating zealously with the President in all the great questions of the day.

On the expiration of Madison's second official term, MONROE was looked upon as his successor. In March, 1817, he was formally inaugurated fifth President of the United States. We have thus followed him in each gradation of rise and progress from a youthful volunteer, without name or commission, at Haerlem Hights and White Plains, till the first honors of the great republic adorn his brow. What a commentary upon the blessings of republican institutions! His inaugural was couched in the language of a true patriot, and gave assurances that were

redeemed, of making every effort to maintain the welfare of his country and promote her interests to the best of his ability. "It is particularly gratifying to me," says he, "to enter on the discharge of these duties at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the Executive, on just principles with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable of any, and rendering to each what is its due. Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our Union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our Government extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by just reflection and a faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accordance with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects, the best interests of our country, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions."

On the conclusion of his inaugural, the oath of office was administered, and he entered upon his duties as President of the United States. For his cabinet, he selected John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; Isaac Shelby (who did not accept), Secretary of War;* and, B. W. Crowninshield to the navy department. Having thus begun his administration at a time of peace and prosperity, and having long been engrossed with deep public cares, in June, after his inauguration, he commenced a general tour through the different States. He was everywhere received with warm congratulations, and the recipient of grand ovations. This trip made a deep and grateful impression upon his mind, and he was often heard to speak of it as among the happiest periods of his life. Soon after his return to Washington, Congress convened, and organized by

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* John. C. Calhoun was afterward appointed to this office.

the re-election of Henry Clay to the speakership. Acting from the outset, as we have seen, in harmony with the President, that great man gave, in his address, every assurance of using his utmost endeavors to carry out his pacific views.

On the 2d of December, MONROE sent in his first annual message,—a State paper, that breathed the most elevated and patriotic sentiments, and guaranteed a zeal and devotion to the service of his country, true to the tenor of his whole life. The most important part of this message, is the unqualified assertion of his belief, that Congress should possess the right to make appropriations for purposes of internal improvements. This was a leading idea of MONROE, in reference to which, he said as follows:

"A difference of opinion has existed from the first formation of our Constitution, to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of Congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honored, it would be improper, after what has passed, that the discussion should be revived with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting it. Disregarding early impressions I have bestowed on the subject, all the deliberation which its importance and a just sense of my duty required; and the result is a settled conviction in my mind, that Congress do NOT possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to Congress; nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary mean, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I can not resist the obligation which I feel, to suggest to Congress, the propriety of recommending to the States the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, which shall give to Congress the right in question."

Immediately after the commencement of his first term, Mississippi having attained the requisite number of inhabitants, and adopted a constitution, applied for, and obtained, admission into the Union as a sovereign State. A spirit of what, at the present time, would be termed fillibustering, began, in December, to be manifest. Designs on the part of adventurers, against Texas and the Floridas, were obvious, which the pacific temperament and policy of the Executive promptly suppressed. During the First Congressional session of MONROE's administration, many highly important measures were enacted. The pay of members

of Congress was fixed at eight dollars a day, at which, it continued for a long period; internal duties were done away with; pension regulations were adopted; Illinois was admitted into the Union as a State.

In 1818, a treaty that was deemed advantageous to the country, was concluded with Sweden, and the Seminole war brought to a victorious termination. Early in 1819, arrangements were commenced with Great Britain, allowing Americans the privileges of the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, settling definitively the northern boundaries of the United States, and extending certain commercial privileges guaranteed by former stipulations. These were all satisfactorily consummated. A month later, through John Quincy Adams, the purchase of the Floridas was effected with the Spanish minister, Luis de Onis. In March following, the territorial organization of Arkansas was effected.

At peace, at home and abroad,—every thing in a flourishing condition,—we continued, under the benign influences of this administration, to expand and develop, far beyond all precedent. About this time, MONROE took a trip through the southern States. He visited most of the principal cities, where he was hailed with pride and admiration; he returned to Washington in August, 1819.

The admission of Missouri as a State, afforded fruitful source of controversy and excitement, during the ensuing session of Congress. The restriction of slavery to its present limits, had already become a leading idea with many politicians of talent and note. It was settled by compromise that she should be admitted, upon the principle of State sovereignty, but that the institution of slavery should never extend to any other territory north of 30° 30'. The Missouri compromise, projected by able men, and sustained by MONROE's administrative advisers, has since held a prominent place among the national questions of the day. Before its final adoption, great perplexities grew out of the application for admission. The non-introduction of slavery was urged as a condition of acceptance. Objections were immediately raised to the imposition of this condition, and maintained with zeal and force. Those in favor of unrestricted admission, averred that such a requirement was not warranted by the Constitution, by the treaty through whose provisions we became possessed of the territory, and that it would be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Debates upon the subject waxed warm, and the whole

country became excited about the matter. Among those who were conspicuous in insisting upon the non-introduction of slaves as the condition of admission, were Rufus King and John Sargent. Henry Clay and Pinckney led the van of the opposition. Dissensions, the most bitter and intensely fierce, grew out of the discussion of this measure. The compromise first originated in the Senate. Its introduction immediately divided that body according to the localities of members,—north or south,—the members from each section sustaining and voting with marked unanimity, the sentiments of their respective sections. This, as all struggles for the balance of political power growing out of the slavery question have done, threatened, for a time, the tranquillity of the Union. In the House, the same spirit was manifest. The northern men still persisted in saying "no more slave States," while the south were equally determined to maintain their political equilibrium. The compromise, which finally ended the Missouri controversy, may very justly be considered as a southern measure, originating with, and being carried through by, southern men.*

Our affairs with Spain became the next question of importance that occupied the deliberations of Congress. In March, 1820, MONROE sent that body documentary papers, received from our minister to Russia, having direct bearing upon the subject, and containing assurance of his anxiety to see a final settlement of all difficulties between the two countries. Earnest requests from both Russia and France, were also transmitted, that no active steps should be taken, calculated to embroil the States in a war with Spain. With his accustomed prudence, he recommended the relinquishment of final action upon the Spanish affairs, until the intervention of sufficient time to afford honorable adjustment. Other documents, relative to the same subject, were soon after transmitted, informing Congress of changes taking place in the Spanish government, and still recommending the most conciliatory spirit on their part. These things continued until the next session.

Congress again convened, early in November, 1820. Clay not being able to be present, the speaker's chair was filled, for the time, by L. Cheves. MONROE immediately sent in his annual message, which was in the same tone of moderation that dictated

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* For further particulars in regard to this measure, see life of Henry Clay.

his former ones. During this year MONROE was put in nomination, by the Democratic or Republican party, for a second term, and was re-elected by the most unanimous vote ever cast for President in this country, except in the case of Washington.

The final and permanent settlement of the Missouri question occupied the earlier attention of this session. The subject finally ceased to be one of political discussion, though the same principles have agitated the country on several subsequent occasions.

On the 22d of February, 1821, through a congratulatory proclamation, the President formally advised the country of the full and satisfactory arrangements of all difficulties with Spain.

On the 5th of March, MONROE, for the second time, took the oath of office as President of the United States, and delivered his inaugural. It closed with the following sentiments: "If we turn our attention, fellow-citizens, more immediately to the internal concerns of our country, and more especially to those upon which our future welfare depends, we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results. It is now rather more than forty years since we declared our independence, and thirty-seven since it was acknowledged. The talents and virtues which were displayed in that great struggle were a sure presage of all that has since fol lowed. A people who were able to surmount, in their infant state, such great perils, would be more competent, as they rose into manhood, to repel any obstacle which they might meet in their progress. Their physical strength would be more adequate to foreign danger, and the practice of self-government, aided by the light of experience, could not fail to produce an effect equally salutary on all those questions connected with internal organization. In our whole system, national and State, we have shunned all the defects which unceasingly preyed on the vitals and destroyed the ancient republics. In them there were distinct orders, a nobility and a people, or the people governed in one assembly. Thus, in one instance, there was a perpetual conflict between the orders in society for the ascendency, in which the victory of either terminated in the overthrow of the government and the ruin of the states. In the other, in which the people governed in a body, and whose dominions seldom exceeded the dimensions of a county in one of our States, a tumultuous and disorderly movement permitted only a transitory existence. In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, whose

power, by a peculiarly happy improvement of the representative principle, is transferred from them without impairing, in the slightest degree, their sovereignty, to bodies of their own creation, and to persons elected by themselves, in the full extent necessary for all the purposes of free, enlightened, and efficient government. The whole system is elective, the complete sovereignty being in the people, and every officer in every department deriving his authority from, and being responsible to, them for his conduct."

Congress again convened, December 3d. Phil. P. Barbour was chosen Speaker. The message of the President was a lengthy and elaborate exhibit of the prosperous condition of the country, and contained wise and judicious remarks upon manufactures and every department of home industry and enterprise. By "prosperous condition," we do not wish to be understood as inferring that no difficulties attended the administration of MONROE. The finances were, for a time, at a deplorably low ebb, and great distresses prevailed. Yet every department of internal enterprise and national policy bore unmistakable marks of progress and eventual emancipation from all embarrassments.

In January, 1822, the House went into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering the propriety and policy of a general bankrupt act. Many, Randolph among others, contended that Congress had no right to annul the obligations of private contracts.

About this time, Congress was thrown into mourning by the death of William Pinckney of Maryland, one of the most eloquent men and efficient members of that body. Suitable tributes were paid to his memory, aud all felt the irreparable loss sustained. Early in the spring the subject of South American independence, a measure warmly recommended by MONROE, came up before the House, and elicited several speeches of great power and eloquence in its behalf. The special message of the President on this subject was referred to a select committee that reported unanimously in favor of acknowledging their independence. Their course invoked the denunciation of the Spanish Minister, who averred, in a letter to the Secretary of State, that such a procedure was an infringement upon the rights of his country, inasmuch as it would tend to prevent the recovery of certain territory, sought to be held by the South Americans. Adams

replied in a dignified, manly tone, affirming that no infraction upon the rights of Spain was aimed at, but that, as lovers of liberty, they wished to sympathize with congenial spirits everywhere, the world over.

On the reassemblage of Congress in December, Barbour was again elected to the speakership. The President's message was in keeping with those that had preceded it,—still the same able, but unostentatious document.

Of the close of MONROE's administration little remains to be said. Peaceful and quiet, no question of exciting interest in which he was an actor disturbing the public repose, it ended as it began, calmly and happily. Business pertaining to revenue, unsettled accounts, the regulation of the militia, the improvement of the navy, the subjugation of pirates infesting the high seas, were matters of some interest and legislative interference. The second session of the Eighteenth Congress, and the last under MONROE's administration, began December 6th, 1824. The President, as he approached the close of his executive career, was happy to state, in his last annual message, that "our relations with foreign powers are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled. Our revenue, under the mild system of impost and tonnage, continues to be adequate to all the purposes of government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing, in a degree authorized by existing appropriations, to maturity, and due progress is made in the augmentation of the navy to the limits prescribed by law." The question upon the occupation of Oregon, and measures to clear the sea of pirates, were the leading objects before Congress during this session. The former was lost in the Senate, though it received a respectable vote. In regard to the latter, the naval strength was increased for the purpose of bringing the pirates to punishment.

On the 3d of March, 1825, MONROE's last executive term was brought to a close. Laden with honors, and occupying a high place in the affections of his fellow-countrymen, he retired to enjoy the rich and congenial repose of private life. At his residence in Loudon county, Virginia, he found, with his family, that glorious, serene enjoyment which is the reward of labor and merit. From the office of President of a republic, he consented to serve as a Justice of the Peace, which he did for some time

for his county. He was also curator of the Virginia University in the prosperity of which he manifested as deep an interest, as did Jefferson or Madison.

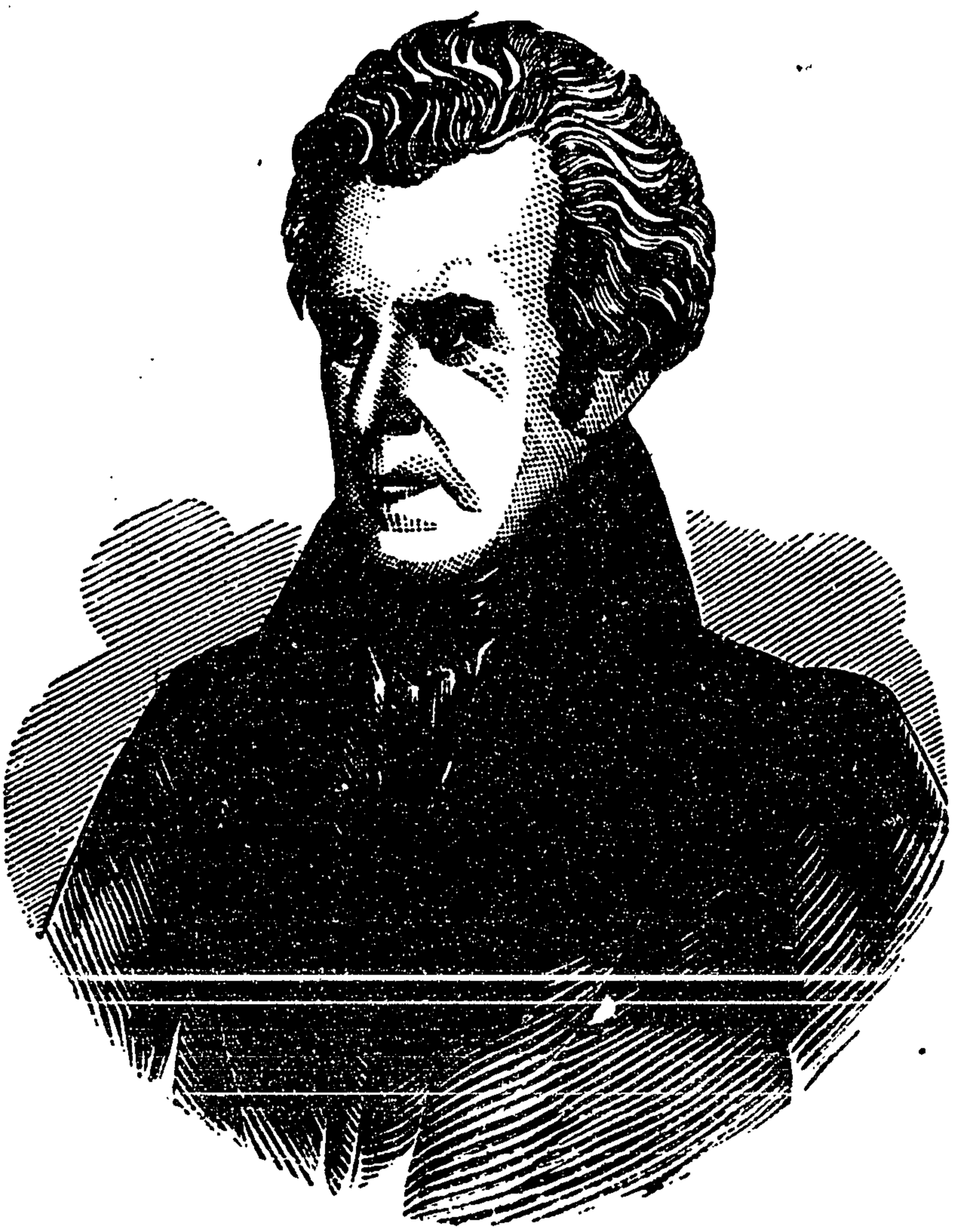
In 1830 he was elected to the Virginia convention, to revise the State constitution. Over that body he was unanimously selected to preside, but was, on account of severe sickness, compelled to resign the position. The close of his political career left him heavily in debt, and his last years were pained by conscious inability to liquidate just claims against him. Soon after his labors in the convention, he lost his wife, who died of sudden illness the ensuing summer. He now removed to the city of New York, where he was the daily recipient of kindly greetings and surrounded by a host of admiring and appreciative friends. He was not destined long to survive the partner of his bosom. His life was protracted till the 4th of July, when, like Adams and Jefferson, he sank to sleep on the anniversary day of his country's independence, leaving a name imperishable, as one of its purest defenders. In the language of John Quincy Adams, his renowned successor and eulogist, MONROE, though "not exempt from the errors and infirmities incident to all human action, was characteristic of purposes always honest and sincere, of intentions always pure, of labors outlasting the daily circuit of the sun, and outwatching the vigils of the night, and what he said none but a faithful witness is bound to record; of a mind anxious and unwearied in the pursuit of truth and right; patient of inquiry; patient of contradiction; courteous even in the collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments, and firm in its conclusions."

In his personal appearance, "MONROE was tall and well formed, being about six feet in stature, with light complexion and blue eyes. His countenance had no indications of superior intellect, but an honesty and a firmness of purpose which commanded respect and gained favor and friendship. He was laborious and industrious, and doubtless compensated, in some degree, by diligence, for slowness of thought and want of imagination. His talents, however, were respectable, and he was a fine specimen of the old school of Virginia gentlemen, generous, hospitable, and devoted to his country, which he did not hesitate to serve, to the utmost of his ability, through a long life, and his career was highly honorable, useful, and worthy of admiration."

ANDREW JACKSON.

It was said of the renowned Themistocles, that his preceptor, on witnessing early indications of talent and determination, told him that he was born to be either a blessing or a curse to his country. He soon after became so ambitious to excel in heroic deeds, that he declared the trophies of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, would not suffer him to sleep. Andrew Jackson, very early in life, gave evidences of a military fire and iron will, self-reliance and determined spirit, which showed that he was destined to enroll his name among the world's great men, either as a benefactor of his country or a destroyer of her liberties. Combining, with the highest courage and military genius, the deepest penetration and sagacity as a civilian, he proved himself calculated to lead our armies to victorious battle or to direct successfully the legislative councils. Had he been less patriotic and more selfish, he might have been the Cæsar of modern times, baptized his country in blood, destroyed a commonwealth, and, assuming the imperial robe, ascended the throne of a despot. This, however, was not his ambition. Whatever of detraction and abuse may have been heaped upon him during times of political excitement, the whisperings of envy have been long since silenced, while upon the pages of his country's history, and occupying wider space in the public eye than most men of his time, are the name and figure of Andrew Jackson.

He was born in the Waxhaw settlements of South Carolina, on the 15th day of March, 1767. His parents were of Scotch descent. They removed from Scotland to Ulster, Ireland, long before the birth of our subject, or policy had dictated emigration to



ANDREW JACKSON.

this country. His grandfather, Hugh Jackson, followed the business of a draper while in Ireland. He had four sons, the youngest of whom, named Andrew, was the father of our ANDREW JACKSON. The two eldest were born before he came to America. On resolving to cross the water, immediate steps were taken to put the design into execution. The vessel in which they sailed came into the harbor at Charleston in 1765. They immediately settled amid the wild, though somewhat romantic, scenery on the banks of Waxhaw creek, where ANDREW was born two years after. Upon the birth of ANDREW, Mrs. Jackson lost her husband, and was, though not in utter destitution, left with a very small property. With but little means, and four young boys, far from former friends and associations, and in a comparative wilderness, she had to make provision for rearing her family and their education. With a fixedness of purpose and stern energy, she devoted herself to the task as but few have ever done. She was, in every respect, a model woman. With great energy, a hopeful, buoyant temperament, and strong intellect, she combined strict religious principles, and enjoined the same upon her offspring. What imperishable monuments to their mothers' memory are the illustrious men of America! When spire, and dome, and gilded portal shall, in a heap of smoldering ruins, form the tomb of buried greatness, our maternal ancestry, in the examples and careers of their distinguished sons, will have representatives of their sterling worth lasting as time itself. ANDREW JACKSON, whose dauntless, unbending spirit and hatred of oppression became so early manifest, derived the attributes of his great nature principally from his mother. His antipathy to England was, in a great measure, a maternal inheritance. The oppressions of that country had been felt over Europe, and upon Scotland and Ireland were particularly severe. Both the land of her fathers and that of her adoption had felt the bitterness of its persecution. Driven from each to a remote wilderness, which, soon as it began to blossom as the rose, was to be overrun by the same legions, it was but natural that she should feel all the indignity of a true woman, and that her son should partake of the same feeling.

Detecting with a mother's solicitude and penetration, the early dawnings of an intellect that with some cultivation and development, would make itself felt and known, she determined as far as her straitened circumstances would permit, to give her youngest

son an education. She designed him for the ministry,—and imagined that, at no distant day, he would fulfill her expectations; but the future hero of New Orleans early felt that he was not made for a preacher, and that he could use a sword to more purpose than he could a Bible.

Young ANDREW was sent to school, in accordance with his mother's resolution, at Waxhaw academy, a common, though among the best institutions of learning in that part of the country. He was engaged in studying his books at Waxhaw, when the Revolution began. Soon as the tide of war rolled southward, the brave Carolinians shouldered their muskets and prepared to defend their homes and altars. Among those who first fell, after the invasion of Carolina, was Hugh Jackson, ANDREW's elder brother; he was killed at the battle of Stono. After the fall of Savannah, and the destruction of Beaufort's command by Tarleton's dragoons, fearful scenes were enacted in that part of Carolina. JACKSON visited the field of carnage, strewn with the bodies of Beaufort's butchered men, and though but twelve years of age, felt the hot blood of revenge mounting to his temples. He is said to have looked upon the bodies of the dead as they lay in heaps, right in the vicinity of his mother's home, with intensest interest. From that hour, England had a foe, than whom, in Hannibal, Rome had not one more deadly. Weymiss and Rawdon now poured their hordes over the Carolinas, carrying desolation wherever they went. Mrs. Jackson, as they approached the Waxhaw, fled with her family to North Carolina, to avoid their outrages. As the system of plunder, rapine, and cruelty, practiced by the British in that part of the country, began to increase, and the clouds to gather thicker and darker, young JACKSON took his resolution. Though but thirteen years of age, and scarce able to carry a musket, when the beat for volunteers was made, he seized his gun, and fell into the lines. Straining him to her bosom with deepest affection, thinking of her eldest son, already fallen in battle, with a heroic virtue, worthy the mother of olden time, who giving to her son his shield as he went to battle, bade him return to her with it or *on* it; Mrs. Jackson resigning him to the chances of war, and invoking Heaven's blessings upon him, saw her young boy depart for the scene of action.

His first engagement was in the attack made by Sumpter against the British at Hanging Rock. His brother Robert was

also in this engagement. The Americans did not gain a victory, but behaved with great coolness and daring. Young JACKSON, in company with his brother, now returned home, where they remained for some time in inactivity, though ready to take the field at a moment's warning. ANDREW was brave from his boyhood, and while in his teens, possessed a fortitude that might have been the pride of a veteran. An incident illustrative of this, is sufficient. The Tories, or the more honorable name, *Loyalists*, which they were frequently called during these times, proved as troublous in that part of the country, as did the British. Their midnight incursions, and secret plunders, kept the country in continual alarm. An American captain came into the neighborhood to spend the night. Fearing a surprise from the Tories, a guard of eight men was deemed necessary;—the two young Jacksons consented to be of the party. Watching for hours, without seeing any signs of danger they went to sleep. Not long afterward, a body of Tories were seen in the darkness, stealing toward the house. Frightened out of his wits, a British deserter, who was first to perceive them, hastened to JACKSON and roused him from his sleep with, "The Tories are upon us,—the Tories are upon us." Not the least disconcerted, he snatched his musket and went to meet the approaching party. Soon as he got close enough, he rested his gun in the fork of a small fruit tree, and called out to them. No answer was made. Repeating it the second time with the same result, he fired upon them. The party returned the fire, a shot hitting his companion, the deserter, and leaving him dead on the spot. JACKSON now ran into the house to dispute its entrance by the enemy, whose movements around the building, showed a design to get in by the opposite side. Being joined by his companions, he recommenced firing upon the enemy, who returned it with effect. Young JACKSON remained firm till each of his companions had fallen, and then he continued alone to defend the house. A timely bugle-blast that rang upon the night air, was, perhaps, all that saved the seventh President of the United States. Major Isbel, who heard the firing, and suspecting the cause, blew the blast in the hope of alarming the Tories. It had the desired effect. They broke and fled, thinking a troop of cavalry was full upon them. JACKSON and his brother now kept watch over the dead bodies of their comrades until morning.

Shortly after this, Tarleton's dashing dragoons made a bold

incursion into the Waxhaw settlements, and took many prisoners, among whom were young ANDREW JACKSON and his brother Robert. In endeavoring to escape from the enemy, they hid themselves in a dense thicket, where they passed the night in great anxiety and pain. Leaving their concealment to procure some food, they were surprised by a body of tories and captured. This was at the house of Lieut. Crawford. After pillaging the house of its valuable contents, and various other exhibitions of ruffianism, the British officer in command presented his foot, and ordered young ANDREW to black his boots. Meeting an indignant refusal from the proud youth, he aimed a blow at him with his sword, which, being warded off with his hand, left a cut, the scar of which lasted him through life. Requiring, then, the same service of his brother Robert, and meeting the same kind of a refusal, he drew his sword and inflicted a wound on his head, from which he never fully recovered. ANDREW was now ordered to show the troop the way to Major Thompson's, a noted Whig, devoted to the cause, who was personally known to him. The youthful prisoner was told that a failure to conduct them directly to the plantation would result in his immediate death. Though his hand was bleeding freely, nothing daunted by the threats of taking his life, JACKSON thought only upon some method by which he could save his friend. Instead of taking the direct course for his house, which would soon have brought them to it, he took a long, circuitous track through woods and old fields. They at length came up to the gate. JACKSON's heart beat heavily as he saw his friend's saddle-horse hitched in front of the house. Its owner was in. The dragoons made rapidly for the house. Thompson, seeing the danger, sprang to his horse, plunged into a stream near by, and gained the opposite shore, to the great delight of our hero. JACKSON was now sent to Camden, where, with quite a number of others, he was thrown into prison, and most inhumanly treated. While thus confined, to his great joy he learned the accession of Greene to the southern command, and that an attack would be made on Camden. Burning with revenge, his young heart beat high with hope. From the top of the hill where the jail stood, Greene's camp could be easily seen. From this he expected to witness the battle soon to take place. Not so, however. The whole area was suddenly and unexpectedly closed with a high plank fence, that prevented

any view beyond. He was not to be thus disappointed. With an old razor blade, he worked on the fence at night till an aperture had been made sufficiently large to afford a good view of the movements of the army. Next morning Rawdon drew out his forces for battle. JACKSON nimbly climbed to the hole in the fence, and applied his eye. The whole scene was before him. Thus the boy-patriot, the future hero of New Orleans, remained with dilated eye and throbbing heart, watching the military evolutions going on around Camden. Thus perched upon the fence, his worn companions eagerly gathered around to hear the progress of the battle of Hobkirk Hill; how the brave boy's heart beat with joy or sickened with sorrow as the prospects of defeat and victory alternated, till the last remnant of the American forces were drawn from the field, over which streamed in triumph the flag of the same country that had oppressed the lands of his fathers and desolated the homes of his ancestry. He watched the retreating army till it disappeared over the brow of the hill, then turned sadly away.

JACKSON's mother, of course, felt all the pain a mother could at the condition of her boys. She had followed them with prayers and solicitude in all their sufferings, and had tried every way to secure their release. Unknown to them, she had made her way to the British camp, and was then in Camden. She at length succeeded in procuring their exchange. They did not look like the same boys that left her some time before. The wound on Robert's head had never been dressed, and they both looked pale, haggard, and ill. Their mother could scarcely control her feelings as she beheld her emaciated sons. They immediately started for their home on the Waxhaw. Never, perhaps, was a journey pursued under more disadvantageous circumstances. They had means only sufficient to procure two horses, one of which was given to Mrs. Jackson, while Robert was placed on the other, supported by his fellow-prisoners. Young ANDREW trudged along on foot, with every vein in him swelling with disease, the boys having become infected with small-pox. This sad, sick group presented a sorrowful aspect as, past desolated and deserted hamlets they slowly traveled back to their homes. The second day, when within a few miles of the settlement a sudden shower of rain overtook them before they could reach shelter, that drenched the party to the skin, and drove the eruption in

on each of the boys. They were immediately taken dangerously ill, and the disease, combining with the putrid, undressed wound, brought on inflammation of the brain in Robert, and in two days he was dead. ANDREW became delirious, and nothing but the constant nursing and care of his affectionate mother kept him from sharing the same fate.

Scarcely awaiting his recovery, Mrs. Jackson, in company with other noble spirits like herself, set out for Charleston for the purpose of alleviating the distresses of the prisoners, who, crowded together in the holds of wretched ships, at that place, were suffering every conceivable torture. They arrived there safely, and, notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the place where the miserable unfortunates were confined, for no other offense than fighting for their country, she entered the gloomy precincts of pestilence and death to administer to their wants. The task was too severe for her. She early fell a victim to the infectious disease of the place, and died, engaged in this errand of mercy. No one knows where rest the remains of this noble woman. JACKSON himself was denied the mournful solace of sighing over her grave or erecting a monument to her memory, though he never ceased to honor, esteem, and venerate her name, or encourage those virtues that, to so great an extent with him, were the implantation of her own. The mothers of America can not study too well or imitate too closely the examples of those estimable women whose offspring founded States and ruled Senates by their power and wisdom. Instances are so very rare of a truly great man who had not an excellent mother, that the fact is certainly worthy of remark.

Of the Jackson family who had fled persecution, and fled in vain, ANDREW was now the sole representative. In almost penniless orphanage, he had to work his way through every obstacle, till from the delta of the Mississippi arose the obelisk that told he was honorably avenged. He had some little means, but falling into acquaintance with some dashing spirits, who had taken refuge in the Waxhaw settlements, when the city of Charleston surrendered, and being of a generous, unsuspecting nature, he was led into habits of dissipation, and squandered what he had. On his arrival in Charleston, whither he followed his new associates, a splendid horse, for which he always had a fondness, was all that remained of his patrimony. This horse he staked upon a game

of dice, against its equivalent in money, and won. His course was now resolved on, and when once resolved, nothing could turn him aside. Pocketing his money, he left the room, mounted his horse and returned home a better, if not a wiser man. Many a reflection, during that ride to the old home, now desolate, must have agitated his bosom as along the retrospect so much of sadness and sorrow appeared in review before him.

It is said that the reformation was so thorough and radical, that he had serious thoughts of studying for the ministry, and did make preliminary preparation. Be that as it may, he was, soon after, pursuing the study of the law with a high degree of pleasure and profit. He acquired a knowledge of law quite readily, and in 1786, began the practice in the town of Salisbury, South Carolina. In 1788, then twenty-one years of age, he was appointed Governor-solicitor for that portion of territory forming the now thriving State of Tennessee, which afterward became the State of his adoption. While engaged in this business, he was subjected to rather an unpleasant mode of life, but one well calculated to develop his character for scenes in which he was destined to act a conspicuous part. He first visited Jonesboro', next the people living along the Cumberland. Civilization had made no great progress in that country, and social order was little known; creditors, JACKSON found indisposed to liquidate. They had procured the only legal services in the country, and consequently those on the opposite side of interests found it very difficult to get any process served. The arrival of JACKSON, changed the face of affairs very materially. He issued writs almost by the hundred. The people now combined to get rid of him. But how was that to be done? They concluded to bully him from the country. In this they were mistaken in the man. While in Nashville, these attempts were made. Men noted for their pugilistic propensities and great strength, were set upon him for the purpose of so intimidating him that he would return home. Several encounters in which JACKSON came off victorious, convinced them of the folly of repeating such attempts, and wonderfully elevated the young solicitor in the estimation of the pugnacious pioneers. In these personal encounters, JACKSON's eyes seemed to flash fire that made his antagonists quail before him. An instance is given of this. During the business of his collectorship, a very large muscular man, gave him an intentional affront, for the purpose of raising

a quarrel. JACKSON, quick as thought, seized a piece of timber, and hitting him furiously in the breast, felled him to the ground. The enraged bully sprang to his feet, and with a stake from a fence, near by, rushed toward his antagonist. Several gentlemen who were present interfered, when JACKSON told them to stand aside and let him come on. Then seizing his timber, he sprang to meet his enemy with the fierceness of a tiger. Such a look, such a gesture, it is said, were never seen from another. The bully stopped short,—dropped his weapon,—jumped the fence, and fled to the woods. Being asked, afterward, why he did so, he said he was not afraid of JACKSON'S physical strength, but that he could not meet the flashes of his eye. After several other exhibitions of this kind, efforts to bully him ceased. His excellent qualities, and high-toned manly attributes of character, began to endear him to the people, and he was fast becoming domesticated in their midst. During his travels from Nashville to Jonesboro' and other points, he made many narrow escapes from the Indians, who were in no sort of subjection to the whites. Of an ardent, aspiring nature, active, healthy, and robust, and accustomed to tasks of danger, peril, and hardship, he sought every possible method of doing good to those who needed his services. Many incidents are recorded of his encounters with the Indians, and of timely advice brought to different parties, that enabled them to escape their savage brutality.

His reputation for daring and coolness became known throughout the territory. An incident is given of him, that illustrates his character in this particular. A lady was placed in charge of some travelers going from Nashville to Lexington,—she wishing to stop at the latter place. After traveling some two or three days, the lady became sick, and was unable to proceed. Surprising as it may seem, the party prepared to continue their journey, leaving her alone in the wilderness. JACKSON came up and begged them not to leave her thus exposed and unprotected. The men were no adepts in chivalry, and paid little attention to his remarks. JACKSON watched them till they were preparing to mount their horses; his whole soul convulsed,—seizing a rifle, he deliberately leveled it at the foremost of the party, and said: "I will shoot the first man dead on the spot who attempts to put his foot in the stirrup." One look at JACKSON, convinced them that he meant what he said. Neither of them wishing to test the truth

of his threat, they consented to remain until the convalescence of the lady enabled her to proceed on the journey.

These characteristics became widely known, and his name a terror to the Indians. Here occurred an event in the life of JACKSON upon which much comment has been made, and some rather severe animadversions indulged in. When he took up his residence in Nashville, he boarded with a Mrs. Donaldson. She had a daughter who possessed great personal beauty, refinement of manners, a vigorous and highly cultivated mind, and who was married to a Mr. Robards. This man was unfit, not only for a husband, but the duties of a private citizen. The union was every way infelicitous, and at length, on the part of the wife, became insupportable, and she returned to her mother's. JACKSON and she were, consequently, thrown into daily association, and were pleased with each other's company, and qualities. Matters were in this way when her husband arrived at Nashville, with a view of settling the domestic quarrel, for the purpose of keeping house. Finding out the friendship between JACKSON and his wife, he became inflamed with rage, and in a fit of jealousy took his departure, which he declared should be final. His wife now determined to have no more to do with him, and in company with some acquaintances, concluded to go to the south to keep from being annoyed by his presence, as she learned that he designed returning. JACKSON was solicited, and consented to escort the party on this trip, as traveling through the country, to those not familiar with the route, was extremely perilous. It must be remarked that this was no new service to JACKSON, he having, on various occasions, performed the same for different parties. On his return, Robards, indignant beyond measure, applied to the Virginia Assembly for a divorce, which was granted. JACKSON now hastened to Natchez, Mississippi, where the lady was, offered her his hand which was accepted, and they were married. Learning after marriage, that the Virginia act did not amount to a full divorce, after Robards had been successful in his application to a Kentucky court, he procured license, and was again married. The affair, though regarded as unfortunate at the time, was fraught with no unhappy results to JACKSON. The public ceased to talk about it,—they lived together in conjugal felicity, were adapted in disposition to each other, honored, esteemed, and respected.

JACKSON, having laid the basis, broad and deep in his boyhood,

was soon on the high-road to fame, every obstruction to which, he was destined to overcome at a bound. He was created Attorney-General for the territory of Tennessee, which post he held till 1796; when it becoming a State, he was chosen a member of the convention that formed her constitution. He served in this capacity with credit, and in 1797, was sent to Congress, and the year following, to the United States Senate. Nothing occurred during his services in these several spheres, that gave opportunity for the acquisition of additional distinction. Resigning his seat in the Senate, he was appointed to a position for which, in view of the singular phases of society at the time, he was far more eminently fitted. This was the supreme judgeship of the State. For this position, at that time, he was the very man. His spotless integrity, immovable decision of character, and legal attainments, would insure his bringing to the bench most essential prerequisites to the rigorous enforcement of justice, without favor, partiality, or personal motive. The first exercise of his judicial functions, was at Jonesboro', the first point in Tennessee where he became acquainted. The first cause to be heard was rather a novel one. Russell Bean, a drunken desperado, was to be tried for cutting his child's ears off. He was a powerful man, with the courage and muscle of a Rob Roy, and swore no one should lay hands on him. The sheriff, intimidated by the imposing display of deadly weapons in his hands, reported to the court, that "Russell Bean would not be taken." JACKSON could scarcely contain himself, as he ordered the sheriff to make the arrest, even though it were necessary to order assistance. The sheriff, after the adjournment of court, summoned a *posse comitatus*, and proceeded to his business. To form his *posse*, the judges had been summoned. "Very well, sir, I will attend you and see that *you do your duty*;" exclaimed JACKSON sarcastically, as he heard his name called on the list. Accompanying his actions to his word, he seized a loaded pistol and ordered the sheriff to proceed. They reached the court yard where Bean was, when the sheriff was again overcome with fear, inspired by the attitude of Bean. "Advance and arrest him;—I will protect you,"—thundered JACKSON. The sheriff, half frightened to death, would not stir. JACKSON, biting his lips at such cowardly exhibitions on the part of an official, boldly advanced, in person, upon the desperado. Bean began to fall back, designing to escape. "Stop, sir, and submit

to the law," said JACKSON. Bean eyed his approaching form for a moment, threw down his arms and gave himself up, saying as he did so, "I will surrender to you, sir, but to no one else." There was something terribly imposing about JACKSON, when, wrought up by high excitement, he gave vent to his stormy passions in a manner that overawed and made men quail before him.

No man ever possessed quicker or firmer decision of character than he, or carried out resolves more surely. During his judgeship he became involved in a quarrel with one Sevier. The friends of the latter took it up, and made quite a sensation of the affair. On JACKSON's arrival at Jonesboro', he found a large mob, headed by a Colonel Harrison, prepared to give him a coat of tar and feathers. When the Judge got to his room, he was informed of the matter. Springing to his feet, and opening the door of his room, he said to the messenger, "Give my compliments to Colonel Harrison, and tell him my door is open to receive him and his regiment whenever they may choose to wait upon me; and I hope the Colonel's chivalry will induce him to *lead* his men, not *follow* them." Overawed by his boldness, the mob abandoned the idea of carrying their designs into execution. The quarrel grew out of something connected with the canvass for Governor, Sevier being one of the candidates for that office. Not long after, while making a speech at Knoxville, Sevier used harsh language toward JACKSON, that resulted in a challenge from the latter. It was accepted; but the meeting being deferred from time to time by Sevier, without any apparent cause, JACKSON posted him as a coward. Agreeing to meet him afterward, Jackson went to the ground, and remained for some days. The Governor did not make his appearance. Jackson started for Knoxville, determined to chastise his insolence. He had not gone a great way when he learned that his antagonist was hastening to meet him with twenty horsemen. Not caring for numbers, he sent him a letter of bitter denunciation, which, the former refusing to receive, was returned. The wrath of Jackson, at this indignity, knew no bounds. Without waiting to get out his pistols, he poised his cane, plunged the spurs into the sides of his steed, and, with face flushed with anger, he dashed forward upon the party like a thunderbolt. Springing into their midst, the Governor was immediately unhorsed, when JACKSON leaped

upon him, and would have torn him to pieces but for the interposition of his friends. The party stood looking upon JACKSON impressed more with feelings of awe than of hostility. This was the last of the Sevier duel.

JACKSON, not long after this affair, resigned his judgeship. These personal rencounters, however, did not end with the expiration of his judicial term. Soon after his resignation, he got into a quarrel with Charles Dickenson in regard to a horse-race. JACKSON, it seems, had pitted his favorite steed against one owned by Dickenson's father-in-law, Mr. Erwin. On the day of the race, Erwin withdrew the wager, and paid the forfeit. Aiming to put some bank notes on JACKSON that were not fully current, the latter insisted that he had the right to select the bills from the stake, which was granted. Though settled, the affair did not end here. A rumor was put in circulation to the effect that JACKSON had charged Erwin with disreputable conduct at the race-course. JACKSON gave it the lie squarely, and a hard fist-fight ensued. The quarrel was now kept up with great bitterness, till finally JACKSON, learning that an editor of one of the public prints had a letter in his hands branding him with cowardice, galloped to town in a perfect fury, and demanded the paper, which was promptly furnished. He immediately sent Dickenson a challenge, which was accepted. Dickenson was a desperate character, and, though the best shot in the country, he sketched JACKSON with chalk-marks on a board, and practiced on it for days before the meeting. Dickenson, being the challenged party, selected the best method to secure the advantages of his skill. The day of meeting came on, and JACKSON, though not in the least intimidated, had made up his mind to die. The mode selected by Dickenson was, that the parties should stand with their backs to each other, walk forward a given distance, then suddenly wheel and fire. With these specifications they met, and the word being given, they stepped suddenly forward from each other, then turned face to face, Dickenson firing on the instant. His ball hit his antagonist in the breast, broke two of his ribs, and penetrated his side, where it remained a number of years. JACKSON was stunned a little by the shot, but, without being the least disconcerted or unnerved, he drew his coat tightly around him, and, walking up to Dickenson, shot him dead on the spot. JACKSON now left the field with his second, who was not aware

that he had been hit till they had gone several miles, when the blood began to drip from his clothes. During this time he was in a state of moody silence.

JACKSON'S course in this affair is certainly subject to censure. To say nothing of the horrible practice of dueling, which is, in our day, properly looked upon with peculiar reprobation, it was beneath his position and character to place himself upon terms of equality with a man of Dickenson's desperate nature and fortunes.

During this time JACKSON had been engaged in agricultural pursuits, and devoted much time and attention to the breeding of fine horses. His farming operations thus far had resulted in no very great accession to his purse. About this time, without abandoning his farm, as a partner he engaged in a mercantile business in the city of Nashville. This proved an entire failure. The firm became involved in heavy debts, and was finally pronounced utterly insolvent. The debts had to be paid by JACKSON, who was forced to sell his farm, stock, and every thing else. Again he was thrown penniless upon the world, to hew his own way. By diligence and energy, he soon began to rise again, and assumed the position of a thriving, prosperous farmer. Engaged in these avocations, and administering acts of kindness and justice to his friends and neighbors, he continued to prosper till the breaking out of the war of 1812. After the surrender of Hull at Detroit and the disastrous affair at Raisin, by his influence and exertions, JACKSON raised a body of two thousand five hundred troops. The services of these and himself he offered for the emergency. They were accepted, and immediately ordered to the southern frontier. He started for Natchez on the 7th of January. No sooner had he reached that place, all signs of attack having vanished, than he was directed to give up his supplies and disband his troops. Caring as little for the orders of Government as for the orders of one man, when obedience was a manifest violation of principle and right, JACKSON refused to comply, and gave notice that he should, in person, lead his men back to their homes. This decision elicited quite a lengthy letter from General Wilkinson, begging him to desist from his design. JACKSON characteristically replied, "I know what I am about, and will take the responsibility." Giving his officers to understand that no power on earth could change his determination to see

them safely at home, he ordered the quartermaster to prepare the wagons for marching. These orders not being promptly obeyed, that officer was ordered from his presence with a severe reprimand, and JACKSON in person superintended the preparations. He then saw that the sick, of whom there was quite a number, were comfortably cared for. Just as this humane duty was about being concluded, the surgeon reported that one man was dying, indicating that his removal being unnecessary, it would be a useless incumbrance to take him along. "Not a man shall be left who has a breath of life in him, sir," said the General; "bring him carefully out."

They now directed their steps homeward. JACKSON, during this march, gave up his own horse to a sick soldier, and traveled himself afoot. In this situation, walking first from rear to front, encouraging each with words of hope and comfort, they proceeded to Tennessee. Most of them arrived safely. Even the youth who was reported dying was restored to health and friends.

JACKSON now remained inactive till the spring of 1813, when signs of the times began to look threatening and ominous. Triumphant from Detroit and the Raisin, the British made preparations to sweep the northern coasts, while the semi-civilized and brave Tecumseh visited the south with a view of uniting all the Indian tribes into one league, to join in a war against the whites. Tecumseh was very successful in these designs. Brave, fiery, and persuasive, he induced most of the tribes with whom he came in contact, to lift the tomahawk and draw the scalping-knife. Among those who joined in his schemes, the Creeks and Seminoles were the most powerful and influential. The alarm spreading among the whites, they gathered, with great consternation, at Fort Mimms, a poor species of block-house on the Alabama River, in charge of Major Beasly, with a garrison of about a hundred and forty men. Alarmed by the rise of the savages, whole families from the adjacent country, men, women, and children, had flocked for safety to this rude fort. With a negligence unpardonable, Beasly adopted no measures of precaution which might prevent a surprise, nor made any preparations to meet his foe. The consequence was, they were surprised by a body of seven hundred Indians in broad daylight. The savages, rushing upon the little fort, with yells that echoed far and near, one of the bloodiest massacres ensued ever recorded in the annals of border

war. The fort was set on fire, and every one butchered who attempted to escape. Seeing their inevitable doom, the little garrison fought with desperation, and slew some threescore of the assailants. As the flames spread, making the entire abandonment of the place imperatively necessary, the indiscriminate slaughter that followed was terrible. Women, despite their implorings for mercy, were most brutally murdered. Babes were made missiles with which to strike their mothers dead; very few of the inmates escaped a terrible death. Not satisfied with slaying their foes, the Indians would hack their dead bodies to pieces with hyena-like ferocity. Such was the massacre of Fort Mimms. News of this dreadful day flew over the south like a storm of fire. The Carolinas, Tennessee, and Georgia were thoroughly aroused. A large public meeting was held at Nashville for the purpose of considering means of defense. Their action resulted in the appointment of JACKSON to the command of the State forces. The Legislature immediately made an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars to meet the emergency. JACKSON being thus duly authorized to take steps to prepare the country for defense, issued an appeal to the people, of which the following is a part: "Already are large bodies of hostile Creeks marching to your borders, with their scalping-knives unsheathed to butcher your women and children. Time is not to be lost. We must hasten to the frontier, or we shall find it drenched in the blood of our citizens."

Prior to this, he had had an encounter with Thomas H. Benton, in which one of his arms was severely injured, and from its effects he was still suffering. They subsequently became the warmest personal and political friends. About the 21st of September, 1813, he placed himself at the head of his men, prepared for active service. He was just in time. Word was immediately brought him that the Indians, in large numbers, had made preparations for the formal invasion of Georgia, which they designed laying waste. JACKSON, on receiving this intelligence, pushed forward with his army, twenty-five hundred strong, toward Huntsville, Alabama. which place he reached on the same day. At a point called Ditto's Landing, he made a junction with the forces under Colonel Coffee; he now halted and examined his position. An estimate of his forces showed that nearly five thousand troops, embracing the commands of the several subor-

dinate officers, could be placed under his immediate direction. With these he did not doubt a successful issue in the contest. His first step was to send Colonel Coffee, with six hundred men, against Blackwarrior, a town of no inconsiderable importance to the foe. On the 19th, he put his army in motion, and marched toward Thompson's Creek. Arriving at his place of destination, after a toilful march of two days, instead of finding supplies that were so much needed, a letter was brought him, informing him that no flour could be spared. He was now in the midst of a dense wilderness and an enemy's country, surrounded by a foe the most resentful and cruel. He called on the people in a most stirring appeal, giving every assurance that the "order to charge would be the signal for victory." Entreating them not to be remiss in coming to the rescue of the country, he uses the following language:

"Your General laments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to *hint* at a retreat, when speaking to freemen and to soldiers. Never till you forget all that is due to yourselves and to your country, will you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy wholly unacquainted with military evolutions, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages and hideous yells than upon their bravery or their weapons,—shall such an enemy ever drive before them the well-trained youths of our country, whose bosoms pant for glory? Your General will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy and submit himself to their scalping-knives. But he has no fear of such a result. He knows the valor of the men he commands, and how certainly that valor, regulated as it will be, will lead to victory."

Soon as this appeal was made, showing his confident reliance on the bravery of his men, he gave orders for the troops to begin their march. With scarcely any provisions, and menaced by numbers largely superior to his own, he penetrated the wilderness and constructed a rude fort, which was to serve as a kind of storehouse for his provisions. To this he gave the name of Fort Strother. Having made this hasty preparation, he thus wrote to Governor Blount:

"Indeed, sir, we have been wretchedly supplied. Scarcely two rations in succession have been drawn; yet we are not despondent. While we can procure an ear of corn apiece, or any thing

that will answer as a substitute for it, we shall continue our exertions to accomplish the object for which we are sent."

A dispatch was now sent to General White, urging his hasty advance toward the Fort. Colonel Coffee, who had been successful in his operations in the south, was sent against the Indians at a place called Tallushatchee. This expedition was successful, resulting in the almost total destruction of the Indians, against whom it was directed. Here an incident occurred illustrative of JACKSON's humane nature, notwithstanding his passionate disposition. Among the slain was an Indian mother. She was found dead, with her babe trying to draw nutriment from her pulseless bosom. JACKSON requested some of the Indian females to take care of the infant. They each refused, saying, "His relations are all dead; kill him, too." JACKSON then took the infant in charge till it grew to be a sprightly boy. He then gave him an education, and had him taught a good trade, and always manifested for him the deepest solicitude.*

The next expedition was against Fort Talledega, which was threatened by the Red Stick Indians. Soon as information was received of its condition, marching orders were issued. In a short time they were upon the foe, whom they discomfited with the loss of five hundred warriors. The Americans lost ninety-five of their number.

General White, it will be remembered, had been ordered to Fort Strother with his command. The order was not complied with, and the garrison at that place was left in an unpleasant situation in consequence. The condition of the fort prevented JACKSON from following up his successes. He was compelled to return to its protection. He found the men almost starving, without regulation, and completely disheartened. Their hardships were for a time intensely severe. A half-famished soldier, perceiving the General eating, as he leaned against a tree, begged for a portion of his food. JACKSON good-humoredly replied, "I will most cheerfully divide with you what I have," and handed the soldier some acorns from his pocket. These hardships resulted in a mutinous spirit not easily quelled. The militia, refusing longer to fight for a country that failed to supply them with the absolute necessities of life, notified their commander of

* Headley.

their intention to return home. The General begged them to remain at their posts, which they positively refused to do, and fixed upon a day for their march. Seeing persuasion in vain, JACKSON determined to try what virtue there was in coercion. As the militia paraded under arms, to put their design into execution, they were much surprised to find JACKSON at the head of the volunteers, drawn up in battle order to dispute their passage. They were thus forced back to duty. The volunteers now caught the infection and resolved also upon desertion. They were still more surprised next morning, to find the militia drawn up in precisely the same order they were the day before, with the general in front to compel them to duty. JACKSON commiserated the condition of his men, and shared with them every toil and privation, but was resolved to maintain military discipline and order, with rigid strictness. He now made a speech to his soldiers, urging them to duty, assuring them that provisions would yet arrive, and if they did not, he would, in person, return with them to their native State within two days. The time having expired, and no supplies coming in, the men prepared to require the fulfillment of his promise. He now gave the discontented leave to do as they pleased, when to his bitter regret, he saw large numbers turn their backs to the fort, and their faces homeward. He now consented to redeem his promise, and broke up his camp preparatory to his return home. Mortified beyond measure at the failure of a campaign, begun, and pushed forward under such favorable auspices, he sat down in the midst of the discouraging scenes and wrote a lengthy letter to the contractor for supplies, of which the following is the close:

"I can not express the torture of my feelings, when I reflect that a campaign so auspiciously begun, and which might be so soon and so gloriously terminated, is likely to be rendered abortive for want of supplies."

Seeing that his men were determined to leave, and that preparations were nearly complete, for the abandonment of the fort and camp, all the lion of his nature became aroused, and he exclaimed with an emphatic gesture: "If only two men will remain with me I will never abandon the post." "You have one, general," exclaimed a voice by his side. It was the brave Captain Gordon who spoke. Efforts were now made to see how many would imitate his example. Something over a hundred gathered around

the general with a willingness that indicated they would triumph with him or die with him. As the main body prepared to depart, he told them that, in case of the arrival of the long promised supplies, he should require their return to the post. After marching a distance of four leagues, they met a lot of beef cattle, designed to supply the army with food. They halted and devoured several of these in quick time,—many of the half-starved troops not waiting for the meat to be cooked. This timely arrival induced most of the men to return and remain with their general. One company, however, determined to proceed home. Learning this, JACKSON ordered his horse, and dashing ahead, drew up the troops under Coffee, to intercept the refractory company. Intimidated by so formidable a barrier, the men turned about to retrace their steps. The general now mingled among his men, in hopes to satisfy them with their condition. These hopes, however, began speedily to diminish. He was told that the whole army had altered their intentions, and were bent on returning. JACKSON stepping up before them, leveled a musket at the foremost of the number and said he would shoot down the first man who attempted to advance. There he stood, like a Titan,—his eyes flashing fire upon the soldiers who dared to disobey.

Affairs continued in this mutinous state, until the 9th of December, when it was ascertained that a whole brigade determined no longer to respect the orders of the commander. Matters had now reached a crisis. He planted his cannon, so as to sweep the advancing columns of the refractory brigade, and placed men at them with their matches. As the brigade came on, JACKSON went to meet them; he appealed to them in the name of their country and patriotism, not to be guilty of such a breach of faith, and wound up by telling them that if they would not submit, he would direct his guns upon them, and at the word fire, they would be riddled with shot. He gave them a few minutes to consider the matter:—awful suspense! No answer came. He directed the men at the guns to make ready. Another moment, and the blood of brothers in arms would have drenched that southern field. The men knowing, full well, that he always kept his word, looked at the raising matches, then at the majestic form of their general, stern as a mountain-crag, and began to whisper. "Let us go back." The officers, at this critical juncture,

stepped from the ranks and pledged fidelity for the future, on the part of the respective commands. Thus ended this affair.

Notwithstanding his unexampled distresses, supplies were not yet furnished for his relief. Anxious to penetrate the heart of the Creek country and terminate the war, which could speedily have been done with the necessaries for the enterprise, his army in a state of mutiny, and tied down because the country would not come to his assistance, to a nature like his, his situation was extremely perplexing and delicate. Crippled as he was, he resolved on active operations, and marched forward against a large body of Indians stationed on Emuckfaw Creek; he reached their camp on the 21st of January. Pitching his tents, he encircled them with large fires that threw their glaring light into the dark woods beyond, and stationed men to keep a vigilant watch to prevent surprise. This prudence was of the last importance. Late in the night, sounding the fierce war-whoop, the Indians rushed upon the camp; the men were quickly under arms, and the savages being exposed by the light of the fires, they were enabled to pour upon them a deadly fire that made them recoil to the shelter and darkness of the woods, leaving a large number dead on the field. The next morning a general attack was made upon the camps of the Indians, which resulted in their entire defeat. In this action the heroic Coffee behaved with signal courage and daring. JACKSON now resolved to fall back and recruit his troops and horses, the latter being in extreme need of rest and attention, not having been well fed for days. With his usual caution, well acquainted with his foe, he was careful to send scouts ahead, to prevent surprises and ambuscade. He proceeded without molestation, till he reached a creek running between him and his destination. While passing the stream, the savages from their lurking-places made a fierce onslaught upon his troops, and threw them into considerable confusion, notwithstanding his caution in preparing for such a contingency. While many of his men, greatly to his chagrin, were running from the foe, JACKSON, with what brave men would stand by him, used every effort to drive them back. The Indians continued their desperate efforts, with wild shouts and yells, and a final rout seemed inevitable. At this juncture, the gallant Coffee, who had been carried in a litter in consequence of his wounds, ever since the previous engagement, though worn and emaciated, glanced over the confusion,

jumped from his litter, leaped upon his horse, and rushed like a Mameluke into the battle. Charging over the field, and encouraging his men by his words and example, the whole face of things began to change. Seeing his intrepidity, and the flash of his eagle eye gleaming from Coffee's pale face,—"We shall whip them yet, my boys—the dead has risen and come to aid us!" thundered JACKSON. Inspirited by such bravery, the men rushed into the fight, confident of victory. After a desperate struggle, which was kept up for some time, and the loss of many lives, the savages precipitately fled. He now proceeded to Fort Strother, which he reached without further annoyance. He now dismissed those of his soldiers whose terms of service had expired, and suspended active hostilities till the arrival of reinforcements. His fame began to spread over the country, and men and supplies poured in from all directions. Early in the spring he was able to muster for battle near six thousand troops, beside valuable Indian auxiliaries. With these forces, he determined to penetrate the heart of the Creek country, and end the war by a decisive and final stroke.

He began his march on the 5th of March, 1814. Passing the Coosa River, where he built Fort Williams and left a small garrison, he proceeded by the way of his old battle-field, Emuckfaw, toward the Tallapoosa River. In a large semicircular bend of this river, near two leagues below Emuckfaw, the Indians had encamped in heavy force.

From this section of country ANDREW JACKSON derived the name of "Old Hickory," which, in after years, became the rallying shout of one of the greatest parties that ever existed in a republic. That country had long borne the name of the "hickory ground." The Indians had been taught to believe that, through the influence of the Great Spirit, it was consecrated to the braves, and forever unconquerable by the white man. Under the infatuation of this prophecy, the deluded wretches had selected this sacred ground for their encampment, resolved to await the approach of the enemy. It fell to JACKSON to dispel the illusion, and gain a complete victory, in the very midst of the sacred precincts of the "hickory ground." Hence, "Old Hickory" became, and is yet, familiar in the country, in Presidential contests, and the time when the party that loved him so well and whom he so faithfully served, shall cease to pierce the skies with the

hickory pole, and fling to the breeze the flag he defended so heroically, is yet hidden in the future.

The curve in the river, where the Indians were encamped, was large, and gradually assumed the shape of a horse-shoe, and embraced an area of about a hundred acres of ground. The Indians had fallen back deep into the curve, and from heel to heel, so to speak, of the horse-shoe bend, or across the neck had constructed a log breastwork, leaving apertures to render defense more feasible. This breastwork was eight feet high, and, though constructed without science or skill, presented quite a barrier to the progress of the American force. The warriors were stationed on the elevated ground rising from the neck, while upon the margin of the stream were the huts that sheltered the squaws and their offspring. On the 25th, JACKSON prepared for the attack. His first care was to make such disposition of his forces in the enemy's rear as would effectually cut off their retreat, and prevent them from crossing the river anywhere along the curve. These directions were promptly carried out. JACKSON, then, in person, heading his men, approached the neck in front, for the purpose of destroying the breastwork, against which he directed a brisk fire from his artillery. The heavy logs did not give way, but seemed almost impervious to the effects of cannon-shot. In some canoes, which were brought from the opposite shore by a party of friendly Indians, who swam across and untied them, a portion of Coffee's men, stationed in the rear, crossed over and fired the houses. Not discouraged by the flames that curled from their dwellings, and made courageous by the delusive prophecy that they were fighting on hol: ground, the Indians shouted defiance in the teeth of their assailants, and vigorously disputed every inch of ground over which they had to pass. JACKSON now gave orders to charge through the neck upon the breastwork. Loud shouts followed the order, and the men swept through the neck with an enthusiasm that indicated sure victory. On they rushed, till a well-directed fire through the apertures of the breastwork thinned their ranks, and laid many a brave man to the earth. The breastwork was nobly defended, and had it been of sufficient hight, would have proved a strong protection. Pressing on through the first two or three rounds from the enemy, the Americans reached the works. Leaping upon the breastwork first, Montgomery unrolled the stars and stripes, and boldly called

on his comrades to follow. Soon the works were lined with men. Montgomery was a sacrifice to his daring. Amid his shouts of encouragement, a ball pierced him in a vital part, and he fell back dead. The Americans now poured, like an irresistible tornado, over the breastwork, and engaged the savages in a desperate hand-to-hand struggle. Wildly terrible was the scene that followed. In front, the swarthy savage flashed his knife and tomahawk, reeking with the blood of the assailants, before whom they only fell back inch by inch, and then when forced to do so. Over the fierce din rang the clear voice of JACKSON, who directed the onset, here and there, with commanding voice. In the rear were the burning houses, round which danced the Indian prophets, still assuring the warriors that it was sacred ground, and could not be conquered. One of these prophets, the most vehement in proclaiming victory, it is said, was shot in the mouth in the midst of his incantations, and it was construed into a message from the Great Spirit, contradicting his words.

The Indians now began to give way, and endeavored to swim the stream. JACKSON, with the unerring sagacity of military genius, early foresaw this, and therefore had placed Coffee, as before stated, in the rear, on the opposite side of the river, to prevent their escape. To swim that stream in the face of Coffee's men, was a fearful undertaking. The poor creatures seldom reached midway in the stream before a musket-ball sent them to the bottom, darkening the wave with their life-blood. No Indian demanded quarter on that day. Every one fought like a madman, reckless of danger and careless of life. They were now in great confusion. Giving way changed to open retreat, then to entire disorder, and finally to indiscriminate slaughter. Never was victory more complete. Proudly rejecting JACKSON's offer of pardon, the Indians fought like lions till night closed over the combatants. Near a thousand warriors fell in this engagement. The American loss was not one-fourth that number. Such was the battle of the Horse-Shoe, which was virtually the close of the Creek war.

Laden with honors, after making suitable arrangements to prevent further outbreaks from the subjugated foe, JACKSON returned to Tennessee, where he was everywhere greeted with the highest applause and evidences of popular esteem. Thus ended the Creek war,—a war, in many respects, without a parallel. Noth

ing but the firmness and bravery of JACKSON could, through all the difficulties that surrounded him, have pushed it to such a termination. A boy, he had drawn his maiden sword, nor sheathed it till gleaming in triumph over the hostile aborigines of the south, he could return it to the scabbard, and turn his steps to his beloved State, ready to embark in whatever services of peril or usefulness his country might deem him fitted. These struggles had developed characteristics that could not fail of being called into requisition, as they soon were in a capacity of higher position and responsibility.

In May, 1814, he was appointed to supersede Harrison as Major-General in the army, and intrusted with the defense of the south. The war of 1812 was then just beginning to rage with its greatest fury. The continued efforts of the British to excite hostile feelings among the Indians against the United States, formed a matter of deep interest, and JACKSON determined, as far as possible, to suppress them. He had fought the Indians, and forced them into submission. To avoid further annoyance from them was a consideration of the highest importance. As the first preventive measures to effect this end, it was deemed advisable to cut off all intercourse between them and the English. Though conquered, and, for the time being, forced to submit to the restrictions imposed after their defeat at the battle of Horse-Shoe, they might, influenced by British art and diplomacy, throw off all restraint, and again renew the contest. In view of this state of things, it was proposed to enter into a treaty with the Indians, settling definitively the territorial boundary between them and the United States. To accomplish this, JACKSON, in conjunction with Colonel Hawkins, who had long been the Commissioner to the Creek Indians, was selected in the summer of 1814. He reached Alabama, on this mission, July 10th, and succeeded in procuring a satisfactory treaty, the leading features of which were, that they would engage with no foreign power in a quarrel with this country,—that they would consent to the establishment of fortifications in their territory and the uninterrupted navigation of their streams,—and that their trading operations should be exclusively with the people of the United States, unless by authority of our Chief Executive.*

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* Eaton.

This treaty virtually completed a dismemberment of the various Indian tribes, and secured, by territorial acquisition, the frontiers of Alabama and Georgia. The Indians in Florida now afforded the greatest source of apprehension. They were in a position where arms, ammunition, and all necessary warlike accouterments could be easily furnished through the emissaries of the British. The latter had long been suspected of secretly conveying these to their savage assistants, particularly those in the vicinity of Pensacola, and JACKSON had more than once called attention to the matter. Pensacola being within the jurisdiction of Spain, that country was also implicated in the transaction. During the pendency of the Indian treaty, JACKSON learned that the British had thrown up a fort at the mouth of the Apalachicola, with a view of exciting the Indians against us. To prevent movements of this sort, he urged with cogency the speedy capture of Pensacola. The United States government, not wishing embroilment with Spain as long as she adhered to the position of neutrality assumed, did not give the permission to make an attack upon that place. JACKSON, however, on his own responsibility, made several movements in that quarter, that operated as a check upon the British government in offering open inducements to incite the Indians to war against the frontier. This was while Armstrong was acting as Secretary of War. Soon as JACKSON had called attention to the subject, Armstrong wrote him to this effect:

"If the Spanish authorities admit, feed, arm and co-operate with the British and hostile Indians, we must strike on the broad principle of self-preservation; under other and different circumstances we must forbear."

The letter from which this extract is taken, though written on the 18th of July, 1814, did not reach the General till late in January of the ensuing year. Otherwise things would have been different; for JACKSON afterward wrote in regard to the matter as follows:

"If this letter, or any hint that such a course would have been winked at by the government, had been received, it would have been in my power to have captured the British shipping in the bay. But, acting on my own responsibility against a neutral power, it became essential for me to proceed with more caution than my judgment or wishes approved, and, consequently, im-

portánt advantages were lost, which might have been secured." Frequent letters passed between JACKSON and the English governor of Pensacola in regard to the matter, the former affirming, and the latter denying, the agency of Great Britain and Spain in furnishing arms to the Indians, and encouraging their hostile feelings toward our country. The governor admitted, however, that when the *necessities* of the Indians appealed to them for aid, it was not withheld. Upon the basis of existing treaty relations between the Creek Indians and Spain, he also affirmed that they had a right to deal thus toward them. He also assured our government of having protected deserters from them, and encouraged depredations upon their commerce on the high seas. JACKSON replied to these assertions in a manner characteristic of him. "Your excellency," says he to the governor, "has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done while you are pretending to be neutral. You can not be surprised, then, but on the contrary, will provide a fort in your town for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it into my head to pay you a visit. In future, I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon."

Shortly after this, information was received that the British had paraded a large number of Indians, under arms, in Pensacola, and were actually drilling them in military tactics. These facts were immediately brought before the government for consideration, and urgent appeals were made by JACKSON to march upon the place. He insisted upon the immediate muster, for active service, of all the troops to be engaged in the service, and bringing the friendly Indians into government pay. While Butler was recruiting in Tennessee, JACKSON took his departure for Mobile, Alabama, where he was soon after joined by General Coffee with a force of two thousand strong, well-armed men, mostly Tennesseeans. The destination of this force was at the instigation of JACKSON, who assumed the responsibility of the whole matter, against Pensacola. Britain and Spain had already united at that place in secret combination, to rouse the Indians of the north-west against the United States. JACKSON was determined to counteract

these machinations. Nicholas, of the British squadron, recently arrived, endeavored to force his way into Mobile bay by effecting the destruction of Fort Bowyer. In this attempt he was completely foiled, being repulsed with the loss of one of his ships and several men.

JACKSON, after conference with Coffee, resolved upon the immediate invasion of Florida and the capture of Pensacola. His army, counting Indian auxiliaries and all, amounted to over three thousand men,—Coffee and his brigade, forming the most efficient force. JACKSON made pacific overtures to the governor, before commencing his march. He demanded the surrender of certain important posts on her borders, until Spain would conform to the existent neutral relationships. It was all in vain; the messenger was fired upon from the fort, over which waved the Spanish flag. All hopes of accommodation being thus cut off, JACKSON gave immediate marching orders. On the 7th of November, the army began its advance upon Pensacola. Soon the armies of JACKSON were thundering into the city,—soon, too, the hitherto arrogant governor was hunting up the general, with a flag of peace, expressing himself willing to submit to any terms they might think proper to impose. This was just what the American commander desired. Complying with his demand to surrender the posts, an agreement was soon consummated. Thus Pensacola and the adjacent fortifications, fell into the hands of the United States, as a guarantee that neutrality should be respected.

As if to vent their spite on the conquerors, the British, as they departed from the place, carried with them a large number of slaves, without leaving any remuneration. The capture of this place and the forts around the country, was effected by the Americans without the loss of more than twenty men. Remaining in the place but a short time, he turned his thoughts to higher projects. While at Pensacola, however, he wrote the following laconic message to the governor:

"The enemy has retreated; the hostile Creeks have fled to the forest; and I now retire from your town, leaving you to occupy your forts and protect the rights of your citizens."

It had, for some time, been apparent that the British had designs upon New Orleans; had they, in fact, made an attack upon that place some months sooner than they did, the city must inevitably have fallen into their hands. Anxious to be at the point

where danger was most threatening, JACKSON made early arrangements to quit his present position and hasten to the defense of the Crescent City. After leaving Mobile in a state of comparative security, though in feeble health, he prepared for the expedition. Having left Mobile in charge of General Winchester, and dispatched Coffee and Hinds to New Orleans, he departed late in November, in person, for the latter place, which he reached on the first of the ensuing month. He was now thrown in direct contact with the regular forces of the British army,—successful veterans of many a hard-fought field. He had now to contend with the same enemy whose oppressive exactions his ancestors had been compelled to endure, and against whom he first drew his maiden sword at Hanging Rock. His men were not well equipped, he was himself unwell, his forces were inferior to those against whom he was to contend, and many other circumstances tended to render his position not the most agreeable. Louisiana was comparatively a new country, and settled with a heterogenous population, possessing different manners, feelings, and habits, and in many instances, speaking different languages.

Amid all the difficulties that surrounded him, he did not give way to gloomy forebodings, but with the coolness and constancy of purpose characteristic of him, he appeared among his men, drilled them to discipline, and inspired them with confidence. Active efforts were made to present formidable defense. The governors of Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee were appealed to, to furnish their respective quotas of men. They responded in the proper spirit, and soon additional forces were on the way to New Orleans. While these recruits were being raised, JACKSON was preparing for active operations at the city. The soldiers were strictly disciplined. New fortifications were thrown up and old ones repaired. One of the greatest difficulties he had to encounter originated from the writ of *habeas corpus*. JACKSON endeavored in vain to secure a suspension of its operations through the Legislature. That body refused assent to the proposition. Not to be outdone, and always ready to take responsibilities, the General declared the city and vicinity under martial law. On the 14th of December, five gun-boats, belonging to the American service, were attacked and captured by the British on Lake Borgne.

The approach of a British fleet toward New Orleans threw the

whole city into great excitement. JACKSON, with the cool courage of an accomplished martinet, made preparations to receive them. Never were exertions more active or efficient. Day and night the city, then numbering but thirty thousand inhabitants, resounded with the sounds of martial music. JACKSON in a little time changed the whole aspect of affairs. Inspired by his indomitable energy, the citizens, without distinction of race or tongue, rallied to his standard. A regiment of St. Domingo negroes was enrolled for the service. The enemy's fleet, numbering eighty sail, under Admiral Cochrane, and filled with the flower of the English soldiery, approached nearer the coast every hour. The people of New Orleans, while they had unbounded confidence in the invincibility of JACKSON, looked upon this powerful armament with no little alarm and anxiety. Careful to keep up a buoyancy of hope and reliance in themselves, JACKSON labored with heroic zeal among his men, and had soon so increased the defenses of the city, that a stout, if not a successful, resistance might be reasonably expected. With a strong navy, a large regular army, and abundantly supplied, England came against a country possessing none of these advantages, and was repulsed. As the large and handsome fleet neared the city, the consternation began considerably to increase. The women walked through the streets with wan features and cries of distress. JACKSON said to them, "Be calm; *the enemy shall never reach the city.*" Thus assured, and encouraged by the bravery and energy he exhibited in preparing for the defense of the place, their fears at once subsided, and all expressed the utmost confidence in his ability to repulse the enemy in the engagement. JACKSON, notwithstanding his manful efforts in behalf of the people of New Orleans, had many difficulties to combat. The press of the city did not second his efforts; the Legislature regarded him with feelings not the most liberal and generous; the enforcement of martial law, under which he had placed the city, involved him in perplexities with public officials. Judge Hall released a prisoner whom JACKSON had imprisoned, and was for this disregard of the General's authority himself ordered into confinement. These things did not in the least prevent JACKSON from doing his duty and making every effort in behalf of the city. Owing to its geographical position, New Orleans was a city exceedingly difficult to put in a good condition of defense. Lakes Borgne and Pont-

chartrain, beside the mouths of the river, afforded easy ingress to the enemy's vessels. This was a source of great perplexity to JACKSON. His force, weak as it was, he was compelled to separate into several detachments for the purpose of guarding each of these avenues, and redeeming his promise that the enemy should not reach the city. On the 9th of December the British fleet appeared in full force upon the coast. The defeat of Lieutenant Jones, who was sent to watch the movements of the enemy, gave the British complete mastery of Lake Pontchartrain. In passing Lake Borgne, his vessels could not proceed in consequence of a dead calm, and in this condition he was attacked by superior vessels, and compelled, after a brave resistance, to yield. Sailing up Lake Borgne without opposition, the British vessels came to anchorage within a few miles of the city, and landed their soldiers. As soon as he was aware of their proximity, JACKSON immediately resolved upon an attack before they could unite their forces. Commodore Patterson, with his schooner, was ordered down the river to take a position in front of the British vessels. This order was executed quietly and effectually, the rattle of shot hurled from her decks being the first intimation given the enemy of her approach. Coffee, with his gallant brigade, was sent to the enemy's rear, while JACKSON, with near fourteen hundred men, prepared to attack them in front. Coffee attacked the rear with great ardor, and drove the enemy, after they had rallied several times, before him at every point. The shot from Patterson's schooner made the British retire beyond the range of his guns. It was this, indeed, that accelerated the collision between Coffee's advance and the British. They continued to retreat from the steady advance of Coffee till a breastwrok afforded protection. He could not drive them from this post. These operations were during the night of the 9th of December. JACKSON pushed ahead through the darkness to the front, the light flashing from the schooner, and the enemy forming his only beacon. He arrived at the enemy's lines, whom he found protected by a deep ditch. The men poured upon them one heavy discharge, then leaped the ditch, driving the British before them. This operation was the third time performed, the enemy having formed three ditches for their security; they were each time driven back. The increasing darkness put a stop to further efforts. The schooner had slackened her fire, while Coffee's bri-

gade had been thrown into considerable disorder before JACKSON could effect a junction with him. His own men, too, were beginning to be confused, in consequence of the impenetrable gloom. JACKSON, therefore, satisfied with the result, resolved to withdraw with his troops and renew the contest at early dawn. By morning, however, the enemy's forces had swelled to six thousand strong, and not deeming it prudent to hazard the success of the campaign in an engagement with such disparity of numbers, he fell back behind a ditch stretching from the Mississippi River across the levee to the swamp. Here he determined to make a bold stand. In the night engagement just mentioned, he lost over two hundred men; the loss of the British exceeded five hundred.

He now resolved to concentrate his forces for a general battle, hoping that decisive results would ensue. The British, in securing a landing at an unexpected and advantageous position, had evidently gained advantage, availing themselves of which, they could, unless prevented by some decisive stroke, fortify themselves and advance upon the city at their leisure.

Having resolved on risking all upon the result of a general battle, JACKSON made every exertion to make his position as impregnable as possible. The ditch was widened and deepened. Trees were felled at its terminus in the swamp. At this extremity of the ditch, Coffee was stationed. The fortitude of that general and his men, for a number of days, during their occupancy of this station, has never been excelled. They were in mud, through the day, up to their knees, while at night their only couch was the boughs of trees piled upon it to keep them from being engulfed. Trenches were cut through the levee, letting the waters of the Mississippi overflow the swamp, so as to afford additional security. Beside these precautions, a large number of cotton bales were procured, and piled along to increase the hight and strength of the breastwork. Preparations were carried on most vigorously. Day and night the sound of tools, the rattle of cart-wheels, the ring of the spade, the voices of command were heard. The city, menaced by a dreaded foe, presented a scene of busy mournfulness. The army, eager for its rescue and victory, toiled with an unsubdued spirit to accomplish the object. JACKSON, the vigilant commander,—the hope of all,—was here, and there and everywhere, not only encouraging his men, but participating in their

toils. Four days and nights are said to have passed without bringing the slightest repose. It has been stated by reliable authorities, that during these preparations, midnight and midday, found JACKSON at his labors.

Morgan was now sent with directions to fortify himself on the right bank of the river, while another officer was directed to prevent, if possible, the approach of vessels of war through Barrataria pass.

Every thing now indicated an early engagement. The Kentucky troops had not yet arrived, which was a great source of annoyance to the commander. Several messengers had been sent to hurry them to the scene of action.

The British, from a newly-erected battery, opened an attack upon the Caroline; the schooner commanded by Patterson, before mentioned. Owing to the prevailing calm, all efforts to bring the vessel beyond the range of the guns were abortive. Her men, therefore, set fire to and abandoned her, and took refuge on the shore. She was, soon after, entirely consumed. On the 28th of December, the British made an attack upon the American works. They opened a well-directed, but not very effective fire at the distance of half a mile, which was actively returned by the Americans. The Louisiana war sloop opened upon the British a galling and destructive fire. Their ranks being thus thinned before they had approached near enough to the fort to do much execution, they were forced to give up the attack and take shelter in their camp. In this attempt, the enemy lost about a hundred men; the American loss was some seven or eight. The gallant Colonel Henderson of Tennessee, fell in this engagement. It became evident now, that a decisive battle must soon follow, and the people in the city became more alarmed as the crisis approached. Some of the more fearful were greatly intimidated, and walked the streets with a downcast mien, whispering mentally that all was lost. JACKSON, himself, was filled with the deepest anxiety in regard to the fate of the city. Stern and brave, he knew that the place and its fortifications were capable of presenting formidable defense; but his troops were, many of them, raw recruits, unused to scenes of war. Would they stand the approach of British regulars? Would they return fire for fire, until the foe were swept from the field? To insure success, as far as possible, he mingled among his men and cheered them with hopeful words

and a brave example. To increase his solicitude, the Legislature did not second his efforts, but were absolutely debating the propriety of surrendering the city. Claiborne was then governor, and a warm friend of JACKSON's. Learning the proceedings of the Legislature, the general sent word to the governor to shut that body in, and stop their deliberations, or at least, keep the results of them from being noised abroad. Claiborne was brave himself, and looked upon the surrender of the city in the same light that JACKSON did. Indignant that such a measure should be sanctioned by the State officials, and zealous in the cause of defense, he concluded that the more effective mode of preventing such legislation, would be to turn the members out of doors, which he accordingly did. A legislative committee, just before the governor assumed this heavy responsibility, waited on JACKSON, for the purpose of conferring with him upon the subject. One of the number, who, doubtless, fancied he already heard the representative hall tumbling about his ears, timidly asked JACKSON what he should do if driven from his works. A dark frown gathered over the hero's brow, as he fastened upon his interrogator the most withering look, and replied: "If I thought the hair of my head could devise what I should do, I would cut it off forthwith. Go back with this answer: say to your honorable body that if disaster does overtake us, and the fate of war drives me from my lines to the city, that *they may expect to have a warm session.*"

After the battle, he was asked what he should have done had he been driven from his works? "I would have retreated to the city," replied he, "*fired it, and* fought the enemy amid the surrounding flames." Headley very pertinently remarks of this reply, that, "New Orleans in flames, and JACKSON charging down its blazing streets, would have presented one of the most frightful exhibitions furnished in the annals of war." Had such been the result, there is no doubt but JACKSON and Coffee, with their brave regulars, would have fought amid the conflagration, nor yielded an inch till buried in its ashes.

Failing in the attack on the 28th, the British landed their cannon and concentrated their forces for a general assault upon the American lines. By the 1st of January, 1815, they had marshaled their forces upon the banks of the river for that purpose. One of those dense fogs peculiar to that climate overhung the city and environs, on the morning of the 1st. Soon as the sun

had risen sufficiently to disperse the fog, the British opened a tremendous fire upon the American breastwork. The scene was sublimely terrible. Bombs, shot, and rockets filled the air, and fell like streams of fire upon the works. Roused by the roar of the guns, every energy strained to its utmost for the crisis, JACKSON hurried to the scene, and placed himself at the head of his men. No sooner had he vacated his quarters than a tremendous discharge of balls, directed against the house he occupied, tore it to splinters. The Americans now returned the fire with remarkable precision and rapidity. For several hours the boom of cannon shook the city to its foundation, while the smoke curled heavily over its buildings. Varied and painful must have been the feelings of the citizens when, right at their threshold, the conquering veterans of the Peninsula were aiming their destruction, and the sacred precincts of their homes were rocked by the roar of artillery. An awful destiny seemed wrapped up in the moment. So skillfully did the Americans direct their fire, that, after a bombardment of about four hours, the guns of the British were silenced, and they were forced to take refuge in their camp. The loss of the enemy in this affair was not estimated. It could not have been heavy on either side. Had the British made these attacks earlier, before JACKSON had time to fortify himself and inspirit the people, they might have succeeded. The British were now becoming daily more discouraged, and the Americans more buoyant.

Satisfied of the futility of further attempts in their present condition, the British determined to await reinforcements. The Americans were also in continual expectation of aid. JACKSON spared no pains or toil to strengthen his position during this interval. It is related of JACKSON that a wealthy Frenchman coming to him to request remuneration for damages sustained by his property during the attack on the city, he replied to him, "Men who have property should defend it." He then presented him with a musket, and ordered him into the ranks.

Six or eight days now intervened before the resumption of active hostilities. During this time the city of New Orleans presented a singular aspect. In the river lay, with snowy sails, the British fleet in full trim, while the tents of the soldiers begirt the city, presenting an imposing appearance. The drum-beat and fife-note, the cannon-boom, the musket-shot, the march, the coun-

termarch, the sentry-challenge and reply, all mingling with the buzz and commotion incident to the occasion, conspired to make the scene one of thrilling interest. Behind the breastwork of cotton-bales and other material lay the defenders of the country, those in whose hands were the destinies of home, family, friends and even freedom itself. Like the maidens of old Carthage, who parted with their jewels to aid in the defense of their famed city, against Scipio Africanus, the noble ladies of New Orleans were busy in preparing clothing and other articles needed by the soldiers. Before another attempt was made upon the American works, the troops from Kentucky arrived and fell into ranks. This was a source of joy to all, and tended to elevate the spirits of the army. They were badly equipped, many of them bringing nothing but their old hunting-guns. The British had now received a large accession to their number, and both parties seemed ready for battle. JACKSON, ever vigilant, on the night of the 7th of January, made a close reconnoissance of the grounds and defenses. His quick eye soon perceived that the enemy was preparing to attack the works. Immediate preparations were made on his part for fight. Coffee retained his old position at the swamp on the left. Carroll, with the Tennesseeans, was posted in the center,—while JACKSON in person commanded on the extreme right, next to the river. The Kentucky troops were stationed in the center also, behind Carroll's brigade.

Affairs were in this condition when the sun rose over the Crescent City, on Sunday morning, January 8th, 1815. At early morning the roar of artillery announced the commencement of the battle. From high batteries, reared the preceding night, a heavy fire was opened upon the Americans. A solitary shot, curving high into the heavens, like a red meteor, told that all was ready.

A body of nine thousand British regulars now issued from their quarters, and converging in two divisions, proceeded in good order to attack the American center and right. On they came, with steady tread and cheering shouts. On they came, like a dense, variegated cloud, moving up to the works with streaming colors; in the highest state of discipline, trained on fields of victory in Europe, never did soldiers present a grander spectacle. Now perceive them as the levee narrows toward the fort, they are compelled to crowd themselves very

compactly. In this condition they approach the breastwork. Stepping with the utmost regularity and decision, not a sign of fear or disorder, they approach within a short distance of the American lines. In the meantime, with compressed lip and hushed breath, the Americans crouch behind their works, awaiting orders. That red cloud of British soldiers is near the lines, and victory, as they think, is already achieved. But now the earth seems to upheave under their feet; fire seems to rain from heaven. The American guns had opened their fire, and so tremendous was its effect, that all the thunderbolts of heaven seemed let loose upon them. A perfect storm of shot and ball cut long, wide lanes through the British ranks, and hewed them down by hundreds. Quickly the gaps are filled up, and over the dead bodies of their comrades another essay is made to capture the works. Again the death-shots hiss through their columns, re-opening lanes wider than the first. Again the gaps were filled, and again the sturdy veterans pressed to the assault with loud cheers. Their shot went over the American works, and fell beyond, without doing the least execution. The Americans had hitherto reserved the fire of their small arms till the enemy made nearer approaches to the works. On they came, till they approached the ditch, passing over the lifeless bodies of their fallen comrades at every step. As they reached the ditch, "Fire!" was sounded along the American lines, and the reports of a thousand muskets responded to the command. Never, perhaps, did such a sheet of death pierce an advancing column. Instead of leaving gaps through their columns, as the guns had done, whole ranks of the foe sank down like grain before the scythe, many of them pierced with a dozen balls. So tremendous was the discharge, that many who, before the fire, stood in compact ranks, found themselves afterward standing alone in the blood of their comrades, who lay piled around. Bereft of their senses, those who survived the discharge knew not what to do, till the word of command, through the din and clash of the combatants, came ringing over the field, again urging them to face the stream of death. It seemed downright murder to witness those brave men, to whom fear was an utter stranger, torn from home, friends, and associations beyond the wide Atlantic, thus driven to the slaughter, without being able to do the least execution upon those against whom they were contending. Again they pressed on to

the edge of the ditch, dug, it seemed, for the grave of British veterans. No sooner was it reached, than a repetition of the murderous discharge sent hissing upon them the same messengers of death. Again they fell in heaps, as on the first volley. At this time, in harmony with the scene around him, glancing down at the awful havoc made upon the foe, then encouraging his men, who sent up loud huzzas as he rode along, JACKSON's countenance beamed with confident hopes of victory. Every bullet fired took effect. There was no waste of ammunition there. The Kentucky troops, who, it will be remembered, were stationed behind Carroll's brigade, in the center, reloaded the guns of those before them, and prevented any pause in the firing. No troops under heaven could have withstood such a fire. The whole British columns began at last to waver and fall into disorder. At this juncture, General Packenham, who had more courage than prudence, more bravery than generalship, spurred his horse straight through the confused ranks toward the breastwork. Endeavoring to imitate his example, the troops for a few moments seemed to recover their courage, and were willing to make another charge; but the death of Packenham, who fell pierced with several balls, cooled their ardor. Other generals took his place, but shared the same fate. The troops now broke, and fled in every direction. They at length reached a ditch where, being met by Lambert with reinforcements, they were again rallied and led to the slaughter. As they advanced, the men fell in heaps, literally covering the ground with their dead bodies. Kinnie, who led this last and final charge, fell dead among the bodies of most of his men. The failure of this last effort resulted in the indiscriminate flight of the British. Driven from the field at all points, they sought shelter in a ditch, where they remained till night set in, when they retreated through the darkness to their ships and camp. Never were the ravages of war more visibly manifest than on the ground in front of the American breastwork. Bodies heaped on bodies, torn to pieces by cannon-shot, lay there within the entire range of the American guns. News of the defeat flew to the city. Shouts, loud and prolonged, rent the air, and general rejoicing prevailed.

The morning of that Sabbath saw British warriors, urged on by the cry of "beauty and booty," march gallantly to the contest. Evening closed over the scene, and found the very men in whose

homes they expected to feast and riot, engaged in burying them upon the field. Such are the fortunes of war. The British came into the action with more than double the number of troops engaged, than those on the side of the Americans; yet, the loss of the former was near two thousand, while the latter lost *thirteen* men,—all told! Search the annals of the world, and you will never find such an instance. Among all the battle-fields of the world, great in importance though they may have been, we can not find one where better generalship was displayed, than on this occasion, by JACKSON. On the other hand, the British generals, though they did not lack bravery, behaved more like madmen than men versed in military science. Had the British, instead of attacking JACKSON's stronghold, taken time and availed themselves of such advantages as circumstances may have developed, they would have been able, at least, to prevent such a wholesale slaughter of their troops, if not, to take the city. The victory at New Orleans was, in one sense, the close of the war. An armistice was immediately entered into, and the British went on board their ships.

JACKSON now made his triumphal entry into the city. Never was hero received with higher demonstrations of joy and regard. Bells pealed a merry welcome; smiling maidens dressed in robes of white, strewed his way with wreaths and flowers. The shouts of the people rent the skies, and echoed away along the Mississippi.

Discontents still prevailed among some narrow-minded men, in regard to the city being placed under martial law. A member of the Legislature, named Louallier, had, by the publication of inflammatory articles in the Louisiana Gazette, endeavored to excite the troops to insubordination. This elicited the just displeasure of JACKSON, who had him arrested. Louallier immediately applied to Judge Hall for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was issued. Not caring for his writs, JACKSON had the judge arrested also, and sent from the city. Hall, soon after, being restored to his official capacity, had JACKSON brought before him to answer the charge of disobeying the writ. Dressed as a plain citizen, the general promptly appeared. He was fined a thousand dollars, which the people determined to pay themselves. JACKSON would not accept the offer. The whole sum, with interest, was refunded by Congressional enactment, in 1844.

On the 13th of February, after the battle of New Orleans, tidings of a formal peace, concluded with Great Britain by our ministers, reached JACKSON's head-quarters. Again war had ceased its ravages upon our young and growing confederacy. Again could the soldier return to his peaceful avocation, without being disturbed by the hostile armies and fleets of foreign power. The troops were discharged, and with victory perched upon their banners, returned to their respective homes. JACKSON also proceeded to Nashville, which place he reached in May. The fame of the hero of New Orleans had reached every extremity of the country. He was everywhere regarded as the truest representative of American military genius and skill. The reception given to him by the warm-hearted Tennesseeans, was a spontaneous exhibition of the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. Addresses of welcome were delivered in the city of Nashville, on his arrival there, and other demonstrations of popular regard extended to him. Receiving these with heartfelt gratitude, he retired to his home, where, surrounded by his friends and uninterrupted domestic quiet, he enjoyed that repose essential to his shattered health.

Legislatures of most of the States accorded to him votes of thanks for his services, while the National Congress appropriated a gold medal as a token of public respect and admiration. In 1815, he was appointed, in the place of Pinckney, Commander-in-Chief of all the southern forces in the United States. After recruiting his health, he visited the city of Washington, and was everywhere, on his route, the recipient of marked esteem and public favor. It was now that his name began to be first spoken of, in connection with the office of President of the United States. Combining with the true pre-requisites of an able military man, executive talents of the highest order, he was urged forward for the position. Whatever of interest he may afterward have felt in regard to this, it is perfectly evident that he was quite indifferent upon the subject at this time. Many prominent politicians, conspicuous among whom was Aaron Burr, urged his claims to the office. This wily politician was anxious to have JACKSON placed before the people, in place of Monroe, and wrote thus to an influential man of South Carolina: "Nothing is wanting but a respectable nomination before the proclamation of the Virginia caucus and JACKSON's success is inevitable. JACKSON

is on his way to Washington. If you should have any confidential friend among the members of Congress, from your State, charge him to caution JACKSON against the perfidious caresses with which he will be overwhelmed at Washington." A few days afterward, he thus wrote:

"Things are wonderfully advanced. These will require a letter from yourself and others, advising JACKSON what is doing. That communications have been had from the northern States, requiring him only to be passive, and asking from him a list of persons to whom you may address your letters." These letters did not reach Governor Alston, the person to whom they were directed, until too late to secure the nomination of JACKSON by his native State. Alston, therefore, replied, that it was "too late, of course, had circumstances been ever so favorable to be acted upon in the manner proposed. I fully coincide with you in sentiment; but the spirit, the energy, the health necessary to give practical effect to sentiment, are all gone. I feel too much alone, too entirely unconnected with the world to take much interest in any thing."

Thus it appears, that the tardy action of his friends in relation to the matter, was all that prevented JACKSON from receiving the State nomination for the office of President of the United States. Matters had taken quite a turn. Fortune was evidently smiling propitiously upon him. Here we see the first honors of a great nation being heaped upon one who, on his first introduction to the reader, was a friendless boy, ordered by a British subordinate officer to black his boots.

In the spring of 1816, JACKSON visited New Orleans,—the scene of his great exploit, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants of the city. He, soon after, effected a treaty with the Indians, on terms highly advantageous to the United States. In these transactions, JACKSON looked into the future, when teeming with a numerous population, and the varied productions of a prolific soil, the United States would require considerable territorial expansion.

He was not destined much longer to enjoy the desired repose of domestic life. So high was the military character developed by him, both in the Indian and the British wars, that whenever hostilities were manifest from any quarter, the eye of the nation was sure to be turned to him as the person best fitted to lead her armies to battle. In 1818, the Seminole Indians, a powerful tribe,

roaming the forests of Florida, disregarding treaty regulations, began to perpetrate many annoyances upon the southern frontier. General Gaines, acting under instructions of the government, had erected forts for the protection of the frontier, and succeeded in partially quelling the war-spirit of the Indians. The benefits of his expedition, however, were but temporary. The command of Lieutenant Scott, consisting of some forty men, was attacked by the Indians at Flint River, and almost the entire party butchered.

Having proper authority as general-in-chief of all the southern forces, JACKSON, immediately after this engagement, mustered together an army of five thousand men, and marched with characteristic rapidity toward the Seminole villages at Mickisucky. The Indians fled before him, leaving their houses. These he burned to the ground, and pursued his course toward the Spanish post of St. Marks, on the Appalache bay, in Florida. Here he captured some British and Scotch traders, whom he suspected of having incited the Indians to open hostilities, and had them placed in close confinement. They were subjected to a trial by court-martial, condemned, sentenced, and executed. Learning that a large body of Indian warriors had assembled at Escumbia, in the vicinity of Pensacola, he pushed rapidly for that point,—took possession of the latter place, and posted some of his men at Fort Barrancas. After these operations, he thus wrote the Secretary of War, in June, 1818: "The Seminole war may now be considered at a close. Tranquillity is again restored to the southern frontier of the United States, and as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the gulf of Mexico, America has nothing to apprehend, either from foreign or Indian hostilities. The immutable principles of self-defense justified the occupancy of the Floridas, and the same principles will warrant the American government in holding it till such time as Spain can guarantee, by an adequate military force, the maintaining of her authority within the colony."

JACKSON now, having brought the Seminole war to a successful close, returned to Nashville, Tennessee, where he received the renewed congratulations of his fellow-citizens. The resignation of his commission in the army immediately followed. During the session of Congress in January, 1819, he revisited Washington, being greeted everywhere in his route by the same demonstrations of popular appreciation. The manner in which the war

in Florida was prosecuted became a matter of censorious Congressional investigation. His having wrested from Spain some of her posts and fortifications, was construed by some into a transcendent exercise of his authority. Resolutions of censure were introduced into Congress, but failed in eliciting sufficient support to effect their passage. Though this debate resulted in the restoration to Spain of her conquered posts, the conduct of JACKSON was sustained and vindicated by the President and his cabinet. JACKSON was subsequently censured, during times of high political excitement, in which his friends largely participated, while he was before the country for the suffrages of the people for the highest office in their power to bestow. The employment of bloodhounds to assist in finding out the hiding-places of the Indians was denounced in unmeasured terms, as a resort worthy only the spirit of vandalism practiced upon civilization in olden times. These accusations never resulted to the permanent injury of the fame of the great military leader.

When he was commissioned, as the commander of the southern forces, to put a stop to the ravages of frontier warfare, as such, in the plenitude of his official capacity, he consulted no one as to the best method of procuring the desirable result. Proud and self-reliant as a military leader, he saw, almost by intuition, what was the proper course to pursue, and, though a rigid disciplinarian, decisive in his resolves and operations, and, to some extent, careless of the means employed to insure the speedy success of his campaigns, the accusation that he was inhuman, either to friend or foe, is contrary to the tenor of his whole life, in direct conflict with his highest characteristics, and can not be sustained from the record of his acts or the exhibitions of his nature.

Having vindicated himself of the charges preferred against him in the national councils, he visited Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and other great commercial cities of the Union. The enthusiasm with which he was everywhere greeted, attested full well his great worth and the high place he had attained in the esteem of the people.

Accepting the governorship of Florida, tendered him by the President in June, 1821, he immediately hastened to the territory and entered upon his official duties. The first duty he had to perform was the imprisonment of the Spanish Governor Callava, who, refusing to deliver the papers and documents pertaining to

the office to JACKSON, was arrested and forced to submit to the demand. Soon as the papers in question were obtained, he was released from custody. Four months embraced the entire period of his incumbency of this office. The situation being neither congenial to his feelings nor affording opportunity of doing any great service for his country, he resigned and returned to Tennessee. In 1823 he received notification of his appointment by President Monroe as Minister to Mexico. This not being the sphere of action suited to his bold, imperious nature, he peremptorily declined. Previous to this, when a successor to James Monroe to the Presidency became the topic of exciting consideration, JACKSON was put forward by the Tennessee Legislature as a candidate. This was in 1822. Several other States also nominated him for that office. In the fall of 1823 he was elected to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of Tennessee, and took his seat in that body in December following. Intensely democratic as he was in national measures, JACKSON had never for mere partisan purposes acted contrary to his convictions of right. During his term in the Senate, the tariff of 1824 was a question of considerable moment. JACKSON was friendly to the measure, and on its final submission, cast his vote in favor of it.

The contest for the Presidency in 1824 was one of the most exciting ever witnessed in the country. Adams, JACKSON, Clay and Crawford were the candidates. JACKSON received ninety-nine electoral votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. This threw the election into the House, and resulted in the bitterest personal and political animosities. The course pursued by Clay, who preferred to vote for Adams, was the cause of his being assailed by the opposition throughout the entire country with a bitterness unsurpassed in the annals of political warfare. By a long life of usefulness and honor to his country, Clay triumphantly vindicated himself from the charge of corruption made against him in consequence of having cast his vote for Adams.

JACKSON now retired to the Hermitage in Tennessee, where he enjoyed the seclusion of his quiet homestead, in a manner that became the soldier, the civilian, and the statesman. Among the pleasing occurrences of this retiracy to the Hermitage, was the reception of Lafayette, who visited the United States in 1824. He remained at the home of JACKSON for some time, and was

entertained with the true hospitality of a noble and generous nature.

At the succeeding presidential canvass, JACKSON was again put forward as a candidate; John Quincy Adams being the opposition candidate for re-election. This canvass was also exciting. JACKSON beat his competitor by a very large popular majority,—near two to one. About this period he lost his wife, to whom he had been attached by the strongest conjugal ties.

Here begins a new era in the life of ANDREW JACKSON,—the eight years of his administration,—embracing one of the most important epochs in our whole political history. Though, in a work like this, it can not be expected that we should give in detail, all the incidents connected with his administration, we shall endeavor to notice its leading and most important features. That administration has become history,—valuable, instructive political history; worthy the careful study of the student and the statesman. On the 4th of March, 1829, he entered upon the duties of his office. He was conducted to the Capitol by a band of old revolutionary soldiers. He made the following brief reply to an address delivered on the occasion:

"RESPECTED FRIENDS:—Your affectionate addresses awaken sentiments and recollections which I feel with sincerity and cherish with pride. To have around my person at the moment of undertaking the most solemn of all duties to my country, the companions of the immortal Washington, will afford me satisfaction and grateful encouragement. That by my best exertions I shall be able to exhibit more than an imitation of his labors, a sense of my own imperfections and the reverence I entertain for his virtues, forbid me to hope. To you, respected friends, the survivors of that heroic band, who followed him so long and so valiantly in the path of glory, I offer my sincere thanks, and to Heaven my prayers, that your remaining years may be as happy as your toil and your lives have been illustrious."

He now retired to the eastern portico of the Capitol, where, in the presence of the members of the Supreme Court, the foreign ministers, and members of the House, he delivered his inaugural address, which closed in the following language: "It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits, a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane, considerate attention to their rights and wants, which is

consistent with the habits of our government and the feelings of our people.

"The recent demonstrations inscribe on the list of executive duty, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of *reform*; which will require particularly, the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have distorted the rightful course of appointment, and have placed, or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

"In the performance of a task, thus generally delineated, I shall endeavor to select men whose diligence and talent will insure in their respective stations, able and faithful co-operation, depending for the advancement of the public service, more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers than on their numbers.

"A diffidence, perhaps too just, in my own qualifications, will teach me to look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors, and with veneration to the lights that flow from the mind that founded, and the mind that reformed, our system. The same diffidence induces me to hope for instruction and aid from the co-ordinate branches of the government, and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally; and a firm reliance on the greatness of that Power, whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy, and has since upheld our liberties in various vicissitudes, encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that he will continue to make our beloved country the object of his divine care and gracious benediction."

On the conclusion of the inaugural, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Marshall, and one of the most remarkable administrations of this or any other government, was ushered in. After receiving the congratulations of friends and citizens, upon his accession to the Presidency, and the auspicious circumstances that surrounded him at the commencement of his executive labors, he formed his cabinet.

For Secretary of State, he selected Martin Van Buren of New York; for Secretary of the Treasury, Sam. D. Ingham of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of War, John H. Eaton of Tennessee; for Attorney-General, John McPherson Berrien of Georgia; for Secretary of the Navy, John Branch of North Carolina. The

office of Postmaster-General, was soon created a cabinet office, and William T. Barry of Kentucky,—a name which that noble State will ever love to cherish and venerate, was appointed to that position. John C. Calhoun presided as Vice-president over the Senate. JACKSON, in the selection of his cabinet, showed, at least, that he harbored in his breast no feelings of bitterness against his opponents,—Van Buren, the Secretary of State, and Branch, Secretary of the Navy,—both having been warm supporters of Crawford in the presidential contest. The principle however, indicated in the selection of these gentlemen from those who opposed his election, was not carried out. No sooner had his cabinet been formed, and the adjournment of the Senate taken place, than he began a system of executive proscription, ruthless and intolerant. The Capitol swarmed with applicants for official station, whose claims were based upon no other consideration than electioneering services rendered during the campaign. These were quite successful in their designs. Old incumbents were turned adrift,—the heads of departments were removed, and new office seekers substituted in their stead. Congress had adjourned, and sustaining himself behind the broad power of executive privilege, he managed the business of removal and appointment pretty much at will. Treasury officers, collectors, attorneys, marshals, diplomatists, registers, all shared alike the same fate. Qualification for a post weighed little in the balance,—political proclivities, controlled the whole business. During the Adams administration, previous, there had been but *two* removals from office; during the entire six precedent administrations, there had been in all but *seventy-four* removals from office; yet JACKSON, in the exercise of his executive functions, during the first Congressional recess found occasion to make *one hundred and seventy-six* new appointments,—more than half of which was made necessary by his removal of old incumbents! Many of these, too, were conferred upon members of Congress, against the appointment of whom to office, during their Congressional terms, JACKSON had formerly been vehement in urging a constitutional provision. This proscriptive policy elicited the denunciation of the people,—particularly of the opposite party. He was defended by his friends upon the ground that things needed change and amendment. This, to some extent, was true. There had been frauds and defalcations detected against the government to a considerable amount, on the

part of high officials; but still, those that were discovered, were not sufficient to justify the wholesale removal of officers who had proved faithful in the discharge of every duty, merely for the purpose of making room for political favorites. The course of our executives has ever been subject to censorious criticism, frequently profusely and unjustly heaped upon them. The bitterness of partisan faction, has had much to do with loading our chief magistrates with undeserved opprobrium. At the same time, however, the indiscriminate removal from office of faithful public servants, because they may chance to be of different politics from the President,—a procedure which may be properly said to have first been inaugurated with the commencement of JACKSON'S administration, is contrary to the tenor of our Republican institutions, and justly merits the disapprobation of good citizens.

Dissatisfaction now became strongly manifest throughout the country, and portended the difficulties destined to be encountered by the administration of JACKSON for the ensuing eight years. In no department of the government coming under executive regulation, was this proscriptive policy more obviously apparent, than in the post-office department. Under the superintendence of McLean, that department had given almost universal satisfaction. His removal, and the substitution of Barry in his place, were the initiatory steps to the numerous changes made throughout the entire country. According to postal statistics, carefully formed at the time, there were, it appears, near five hundred post-masters removed from office during the first year of his administration.*

Though JACKSON had been in the Senate of the United States, and had, on several important questions, voted affirmatively with those entertaining the idea that the Federal government was empowered by the Constitution, to regulate manufactures, revenues and banks, and to make appropriations for purposes of internal improvement, much anxiety, and some doubt existed in the public mind as to the course he would pursue in his administration. His competitors were men of more experience, and had filled a larger space in political life. They and their friends were disposed to give the measures of the new President a fair trial, and await the development of events, without taking positions hostile to him. Elected by an immense majority, upon the

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* American Annual Register. Williams.

avowed principle of national reform, and his own high personal popularity, he went into office divested of all coercive restraints, free to carry out his own views. Thus, "with a surplus of more than five millions of dollars in the national treasury, the country respected abroad, at peace with all the world, and in a state of unexampled and progressive domestic prosperity," JACKSON entered upon the administration of the government. Congress, with large majorities in both houses, favorable to his election, met, December 7th, 1829, and organized by the election of Andrew Stevenson to the speakership. The President's first annual message, though one of conceded ability, embracing an elaborate review of foreign relations, the condition of the revenues, and domestic affairs generally, was not altogether satisfactory to his friends and supporters in the two Houses. In this message, he touched upon the subject of a continuance of the old United States Bank, in a manner that indicated the course he would likely pursue in regard to that institution. He said:

"The charter of the Bank of the United States expires in 1836, and its stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privileges. In order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I can not, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature, and the people. Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank, are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens; and it must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform sound currency.

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the Legislature, whether a national bank,—one founded on the credit of the government and its revenues,—might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties, and, at the same time, secure all the advantages to the government and country, that were expected to result from the present bank."

JACKSON's friends in Congress, became early arrayed in hostility to the policy indicated in the foregoing extract, and a want of harmony between President and cabinet soon became quite manifest. Among the first acts of importance, during this Congress,

was the passage of a bill regulative of duties upon woolens imported into the country. Considerable dissatisfaction existed in regard to some features of the tariff of 1828, to procure a modification of which, this bill was passed. The subject of tariff monopolized the larger portion of the early deliberations of this Congress, and bills reductive of former duties upon several articles were passed. This was a laborious Congressional term, and many important subjects became matters of legislative consideration. Thirty thousand dollars were appropriated toward putting a stop to the traffic in slaves: tunnage duties were regulated: the collection of the revenue was so arranged as to prevent fraudulent practices: the office of Solicitor of the Treasury was created: territorial divisions were attended to: several military claims were settled.

On the 29th of December, 1829, the celebrated Foot resolutions were introduced into the deliberations of Congress, and elicited one of the most talented and remarkable debates ever witnessed in the Capitol. Webster, Hayne, and Benton, towered each in all their native sublimity of eloquence, force, and logic. Of the incidents connected with these resolutions, we shall speak more fully in the life of Daniel Webster. The discussion took a wide range, embracing the great question of State rights and federal sovereignty, and touching upon the principles of nullification. The noble and patriotic sentiments so eloquently expressed by Webster, seem to have been indorsed by the country, and though many of the southern people held to their favorite doctrine of State rights, they were subsequently, in his nullification message, sustained by JACKSON himself.

The continued removals from office widened the breach between President and cabinet, and the national Legislature refusing to confirm many of the nominations of the Executive by votes sufficiently heavy to convey a direct censure upon his course, the destruction of all harmony was becoming inevitable. In this state of things, a coolness began to indicate itself between JACKSON and the Vice-President, John C. Calhoun. The friends of the latter, indeed, began already to look upon him as the successor to the first honors of the nation, and gathered around him, not averse to the continuance of the rupture between him and the President. While the star of Calhoun, however, seemed rising to success, the unsound base of his pretensions gave way, hurling

him down and dashing forever the national scepter from his grasp.

In the investigation, before mentioned, of JACKSON's conduct in the Seminole war, it was alleged that Calhoun had proposed to censure the General for the capture of the Spanish posts. A letter containing this accusation was placed in the hands of JACKSON, who, astonished that the Vice-President should pursue such a course, immediately transmitted it to him, demanding an explanation. Calhoun, in reply, affirmed that he regarded the capture of the Spanish posts as a transcendental exercise of his authority. An open rupture between the two was the result. This greatly hightened the inharmonious feelings, now becoming apparent at the seat of government.

Nullification early became a subject of exciting agitation. Opposed to the tariff of 1824 and 1828, the South Carolina delegation in Congress, on the passage of the latter with its various modifications, contemplated the resignation of their seats. But, changing their views, they determined to assail the tariff system in every conceivable form of hostility, to make it odious to the people. In accordance with this idea, they issued their protest and prepared for operations. Nullification was now rife, and declarations to the effect that Congress had no constitutional power to pass acts regulating domestic manufactures were boldly made. The incidents connected with the nullification spirit formed one of the most important topics of discussion in our entire political history. For more elaborate and extended remarks upon this subject, the reader is referred to the life of that singular combination of talent, profundity, and statesmanship, John C. Calhoun.

The veto of two bills passed by Congress, appropriating moneys for internal improvements, by the Executive, created great excitement in both Houses, and convinced the people that he would not be over-sensitive in the exercise of executive prerogative. These bills were the authorizing of subscriptions to the Maysville and Lexington Railroad Company and to the Louisville and Portland Canal Company.

In 1830 our foreign affairs received a due meed of executive and legislative consideration.

By acts passed by the United States in 1818, 1820, and 1823, such commercial restrictions had been placed upon the vessels of

Great Britain coming into our ports, that the former power was induced to establish measures excluding all intercourse on our part with her colonial possessions. The disadvantages to this country from these proceedings were great, and McLean was sent as Minister to England for the purpose of obviating them. He was instructed to propose to England, on the part of his government, a repeal of the acts of 1818, 1820, and 1823, if she would open to our commerce the West India, Canada, and other colonial ports. This mission was highly successful. The entire colonial trade of Great Britain was opened to the United States, which in turn declared the restrictive acts absolutely repealed. Peaceful and prosperous commercial reciprocity was now, in one sense, established between the two countries.

This was followed by treaties highly important to this government, concluded with Brazil, Prussia, Turkey and Denmark,—the United States recovering from the latter over a half million of dollars for damages previously sustained by our commerce.

Congress commenced its second session in December, 1830, and began its labors with the trial of Judge James H. Peck, impeached at the instigation of one Lawless, who alleged that he had confined his (Lawless's) person contrary to authority. He was acquitted by a majority of one vote, the whole number cast being forty-three.

This resulted in the introduction and final passage of a bill regulative of the judiciary in such cases, considerably restricting the power of the courts.

The President, in his message, gave his reasons for vetoing the bills of the preceding session making appropriations for internal improvement, and indicated decided hostility to that kind of legislation. "This mode of aiding such works," said he, "is in its nature deceptive, and in many cases conducive to improvidence in the administration of the national government. Appropriations will be obtained with greater facility and granted with less security to the public interest, when the measure is thus disguised, than when definite and direct expenditures of money are asked for. The interests of the nation would doubtless be better served by avoiding all such indirect modes of aiding particular objects. In a government like ours, more especially, should all public acts be, as far as practicable, simple, undisguised, and intelligible, that they may become fit subjects for the approbation

or animadversion of the people. The bill authorizing a subscription to the Louisville and Portland Canal affords a striking illustration of the difficulty of withholding additional appropriations for the same object when the first erroneous step has been taken, by instituting a partnership between the government and private companies. It proposes a third subscription on the part of the United States, when each preceding one was at the time regarded as the extent of the aid which government was to render to that work, and the accompanying bill for lighthouses, etc., contains an appropriation for the survey of the bed of the river, with a view to its improvement by removing the obstruction which the canal is designed to avoid. This improvement, if successful, would afford a free passage of the river, and render the canal entirely useless. To such improvidences is the course of legislation subject in relation to internal improvements on local matters, even with the best intentions on the part of Congress."

These views encountered bitter hostility. That portion of the message relating to the subject was referred to a special committee, who brought in a report highly condemnatory of his position. The friends of internal improvement, among whom were numbered many of JACKSON's former supporters, went bravely to work. Bills making appropriations for various purposes passed, notwithstanding the expressed opposition of the Executive, by heavy majorities,—sometimes nearly three to one. This decisive stand, right in the face of his former vetoes, induced the Executive to regard at least with deference the acts of the National Congress, and prevented the overthrow of the policy that had long been looked upon as settled by the public mind. The deliberations of the second session of the Twenty-first Congress resulted in the regulation of the copyright law, giving to authors a term of twenty-eight years, with the right of renewal for one-fourth of that time; the regulation of revolutionary pensions and provision for superannuated soldiers; provision for the adjustment of debts contracted during Monroe's official term; appropriations for the final settlement of Indian affairs; acts liquidating the claims of certain public debtors; provision for the collection of duties at Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and Nashville, Tennessee, etc.

Before the close of this session of Congress, the breach between JACKSON and Calhoun had widened, and the bitterness of their

respective friends had become more acrimonious. The publication of the correspondence between them, that occurred in regard to the Seminole war, gave Calhoun somewhat the advantage in the controversy, and detracted considerably from the influence of the administration. JACKSON refused to enter into cabinet consultation with his constitutional advisers upon matters of vital national interest. He was accused, however, with being influenced by a combination of petted office-holders in his appointments and on many important measures. Opposition to his administration began to assume a form of deadly hostility by those entertaining different political views. He was persecuted and assailed with resentful perseverance. His alleged office-holding combination was denounced as "*the kitchen cabinet*," while in regard to himself, names of the worst tyrants of ancient times were sought out and placed as parallels. In the midst of excitements like these, candidates for the ensuing Presidential term began to be talked of. Though JACKSON had often declared that no incumbent should hold the office for a longer period than one term, and had suggested a constitutional amendment to that effect, he was not, it now became apparent, averse to engaging in a second canvass. The friends of Calhoun in the south, and those of Van Buren in the north, had urged the claims of those statesmen to the succession, and were no little chagrined at the disposition of JACKSON to permit his name to go before the country for re-election. JACKSON was re-nominated in February, 1830. The resignation of his entire cabinet followed, and created no small stir in the Democratic ranks. This cabinet dissolution has been ascribed to a want of harmonious social intercourse between the heads of the families of the cabinet, the ladies of the other members refusing to recognize on terms of intimacy the wife of the Secretary of War.

In the summer of 1831, a new cabinet was formed. Edward Livingston of Louisiana was created Secretary of State; Lewis McLean of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury; Lewis Cass of Ohio,—now of Michigan,—Secretary of War; Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy, and Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

A large number of the people, who had resolved to oppose the re-election of Jackson to the presidency, had determined to bring forward the name of Henry Clay in contest. This combination

favorable to Clay, was recognized as the "National Republican" party. Their proposed standard bearer was early put in nomination by several State Legislatures, and a general convention was called at Baltimore, to meet on the 12th of December, 1831. Political anti-freemasonry, growing out of the Morgan affair, had, in the meantime, gathered a certain degree of strength in the State of New York, and was gaining ground with considerable rapidity. This party, at first local, but having drawn to its support many able politicians, also recommended a national convention at Baltimore, for the purpose of presenting a presidential candidate. They were to meet in September. They met and nominated William Wirt as their candidate. Affairs were in this condition at the assembling of the Twenty-second Congress, December 5th, 1831. The majorities in both Houses were largely administration men, though their candidate for speaker, Andrew Stevenson, was elected, after numerous close ballotings, by a majority of only two votes.

The first action of the Senate was, on the confirmation of Van Buren's appointment as Minister to England. His name was sent in by the President. After lengthy deliberation with closed doors, he was rejected by the casting vote of the Vice-president, whose apology for his course was the alleged agency of the candidate in breaking up the old cabinet.

By the representative apportionment, according to the census of 1830, the western States had acquired an unreasonable preponderance of influence. This matter came up for early consideration. It was referred to a committee, of which James K. Polk was chairman. He presented a report, fixing the representation at forty-eight thousand; after protracted debates, and the change of the report to forty-seven thousand seven hundred, it passed and became a law.

The renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which was to expire in 1836, was one of the most exciting political questions that ever agitated the public mind. This session of Congress brought it before the people in all its multifarious bearings. JACKSON, as we have shown, indicated, in his first annual message, the course he should pursue in regard to the application of its stockholders for a new charter. In his message to this Congress he was still more explicit in this avowed hostility, and set forth his reasons in language not to be mistaken. His

recommendation of banks based upon the public funds, was received with surprise by Congress. Benton asked leave, early in the session, to bring in a bill opposing the re-charter of the Bank, Permission was refused by a vote of twenty-three ayes, to thirty nays. These efforts of the opposition to the Bank did not, in the least, depreciate the value of its stock, though both the Executive and his adherents continued to reiterate their objections. The presentation of a memorial to Congress by the stockholders, and those friendly to the renewal of the charter, submitting the matter thus to consideration, produced immediate disputes between the friends of the administration and those of the Bank; the former affirming that it was an inopportune introduction of the measure before they were prepared to act,—the latter persisting in a course deemed essential to the protection of its interests. The memorial praying a renewal elicited grave consideration. It was referred to a select committee, composed of men, eminent for their talents and influence. Early in March, they reported, urging some changes, but little restricture of the operations of the Bank, and recommended a renewal of the charter for a period of fifteen years. It was in this state in the Senate, when it was resolved to await the action of the lower House. Here the contest came up in all the heat and bitterness of political rivalry. The memorial was presented by McDuffie of South Carolina. It was referred to the committee of Ways and Means, which reported in favor of a renewal of the charter. Early in May the subject came up in the Senate, and was discussed with marked ability in all its bearings. After various modifications and amendments, the bill for the renewal passed by a majority of eight votes. It passed the lower House on the 30th of June, by a majority of twenty-two. It was now forwarded to the President for approval or rejection. On the 10th of July the bill was returned with the President's veto. The veto message was quite elaborate,—setting forth, in detail, his reasons for the course pursued. After summing up the reasons why he withheld his signature, he closed as follows:

"I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find, in the motives which impel me, ample ground for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us and the dangers which threaten our institutions, there is cause for neither dismay nor alarm. For relief and deliverance, let us firmly rely

on that kind Providence, which I am sure, watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our Republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through His abundant goodness, and their patriotic devotion, our liberty and union will be preserved."

This veto, though its effects were favorable to JACKSON's popularity in some sections of the country, drew upon him the severest censure. The State of Pennsylvania was particularly denunciatory of what they termed usurpational exercise of prerogative. A very large meeting convened in the city of Philadelphia, and passed a number of condemnatory resolutions; among others, one to the effect that they would "use all honorable and lawful means to prevent the re-election of ANDREW JACKSON to the presidency."

Next, as a matter of legislative action, followed the subject of the public lands. Bibb of Kentucky, proposed a bill reducing the price fixed upon the public domain. Here Henry Clay was unpleasantly involved. An aspirant to the presidency, and chairman of the committee of Manufactures, it devolved on him to bear the brunt of satisfactory settlement. The public lands, consisting of large territorial areas acquired from the old Atlantic States, Louisiana, and the Floridas, and acquisitions from the Indians, were originally designed to settle the old revolutionary war debt, and for educational purposes. To make such provision for their disposition as would be mutually satisfactory to the old Atlantic States and the interests of the growing West now devolved on the committee on Manufactures.

Clay, by one of those master-strokes of statesmanship characteristic of him, not adopting either of the propositions submitted for consideration,—the reduction of the price of the lands, and their cession to the several States,—elaborated his scheme for the *distribution of the proceeds* of the public lands.

During this session of Congress, the subject of internal improvement came up, in the shape of several bills passed by the two Houses, making appropriations. Contrary to the expectations of many, two of these received the signature of the President, though the harbor bill was postponed till the next session.

The tariff question again presented itself for consideration. After several reports, amendments, and modifications, a bill was agreed upon reductive of former duties, and admissive of the protective principle. Contrary to anticipation, South Carolina

was not satisfied with this measure. The people of that State met in convention, and denounced the acts of the federal government in unmeasured terms. Here followed the long train of evils engendered by the tariff question, and the assumptions of that State of the right to declare null and void the acts of the national government.* In the midst of these nullification troubles in the South, a subject of considerable moment presented itself in the North. This was the Maine boundary question. The settlement of our north-eastern boundary had, by treaty stipulation, been submitted for arbitrament to the king of the Netherlands. Overlooking the point of dispute entirely, he proposed a new boundary highly advantageous to Great Britain. Our Minister justly objected to this as being beyond his authority, and while England was insisting upon the enforcement of the decision, entered an emphatic protest. The State of Maine, disdaining the interference by treaty or otherwise, with her long-established geographical outlines, would not consent to the decision. On account of some of the citizens taking part in the election of a representative on that side the line awarded by the arbiter to Great Britain they were thrown into confinement. This raised the indignation of the State, and measures were taken to protect themselves. The administration now proposed a purchase from the State of Maine of the disputed territory, and preliminary steps were taken to accomplish the object. Massachusetts was a party to the dispute, also claiming the territory, and it was recommended that the transaction should be fully laid open to the governor of that State. Upon the assertion that much of the transaction was of a confidential nature, the State of Maine refused to furnish the correspondence to the governor of Massachusetts. That State, therefore, refused to become a party to negotiations in which matters of leading interest were withheld from her knowledge. In this shape the matter came before the Senate, and the President was instructed, by formal vote, to enter upon new negotiations.

The reciprocal commercial privileges established between the British colonies and this country did not result so advantageously to us, as might have been imagined.

By the imposition of heavy and unequal duties upon shipping commodities, American commerce was almost wholly withdrawn

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* See Life of John C. Calhoun.

from their ports, while England continued to carry on hers under a system of discriminate duties, against which we could not compete.

Our foreign affairs, in the aggregate, however, during JACKSON's administration, were managed with ability and decision. A treaty during the year 1831, regulative of boundary and commerce, was concluded with Mexico. Treaties were also concluded with France, Austria, Turkey and Naples, on terms highly advantageous to the United States. The principal feature in the treaty with France was the indemnity of the United States for losses sustained by our commerce. Such was also the case with Naples. During the foolish reign of the unfortunate Murat, sad depredations had been sustained at their hands. Restitution was demanded, and this treaty resulted in a guarantee to pay to the United States the sum of one million seven hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Thus JACKSON's first administration drew to a close, leaving the country in a state of great prosperity, which the friends of the President were not slow to attribute to the manner in which his duties had been discharged. The thoughts of the nation were now turned to the choice of his successor. The Anti-masons, as before mentioned, nominated Wm. Wirt. Those opposed to the administration met in convention at Baltimore, and nominated Henry Clay for President and John Sargent for Vice-President. In May, 1832, the administration party met in large and enthusiastic convention at the same place. JACKSON received the nomination without dissent. Martin Van Buren was put on the ticket for Vice-President with great unanimity.

Thus the contest opened warmly enough. Calhoun and his friends, though alienated from the administration and somewhat disappointed at not being considered in the nominating convention, could not support the Clay ticket. While the Anti-masonic party, eschewing, to a great extent, every political question, could not unite with either. A well-organized combination of the friends of Clay, Calhoun, and the Anti-masonic party, might have had some chance of beating JACKSON. This canvass was a virtual submission to the people for indorsement of the measures of the precedent administration. His views upon banks, internal improvements, tariffs, and the public lands, were well known, and before the country. No document from any executive, perhaps,

was even more extensively circulated than was his veto message. The Bank of the United States, therefore, figured conspicuously during the canvass, and on that subject, so far as JACKSON's views were concerned, there could be no mistake. His election, therefore, would be a rejection of the bank, compared to which, the highest kingly prerogative sinks into insignificance. The result was, that JACKSON was re-elected by a larger electoral vote, but not so large a popular one as cast for him in 1828. He received two hundred and nineteen, Clay forty-nine, Wirt seven. Thus, for four years more, he was chosen to preside over the destinies of a country, whose battles he had fought so bravely, and whose civic affairs he had endeavored to administer patriotically.

Congress met in December, 1832. John Bell, member from Tennessee, was chosen speaker. Tariff and nullification early occupied the attention of Congress. On the communication of the ordinance of Nullification by the President, it became the all-absorbing topic of discussion. In the debates that followed, John C. Calhoun bore a conspicuous part, and vindicated his gallant State from the charges of treason and bad faith in a masterly manner. After long and animated discussions upon the tariff, Clay came forward, as the great pacificator, with his compromise tariff, which, meeting the views of Calhoun and the opposition, passed the House, and resulted in a final adjustment. This wise measure passed the House by a majority of thirty-four, and the Senate, by a majority of thirteen. It received the signature of the President, and became a law in March, 1833.

The leading and most important measures touched upon by the President in his annual message, were the removal of the deposits, and the sale of the United States Bank stock. The capital and excess of funds belonging to the bank amounted to over forty-two millions of dollars. These subjects were referred to a committee, who reported that they considered the deposits safe in the custody of the bank. Resolutions were immediately adopted against their removal, by a vote of one hundred and nine ayes to forty-six nays.

The investigation of this subject was followed by appropriations for internal improvement purposes,—rivers, harbors, roads, etc. These acts and some minor legislation, closed the first administrative term of ANDREW JACKSON.

He entered upon the duties of chief Executive a second time, on the 4th of March, 1833. Our foreign affairs were in a condition

highly prosperous. Treaties of commerce and reciprocity formerly concluded with the principal European powers, seemed to be complied with, and all things indicated a peaceful official term.

Nullification had subsided in the south,—the partisan heat, incident to an exciting campaign, had ceased to agitate the public mind, and every thing indicated a state of tranquillity in public affairs. This, however, was but a calm that preceded the impending storm. The subject of the removal of the deposits early came up. The law by which the bank was chartered in 1816, required that the public moneys should remain in the vaults of the institution, but provided that they might be removed by the Secretary of the Treasury upon his giving Congress satisfactory reasons for such a course.

On JACKSON's refusal to sanction a re-charter of the bank, he determined to effect the removal of the deposits. Louis McLean, the acting Secretary of the Treasury, being opposed to the removal of the deposits, was transferred to another department of the government, and William Duane was appointed in his stead. He soon learned that Duane was also opposed to the measure. That gentleman declaring explicitly that he would not remove them without instructions from Congress to that effect, he was removed, and Roger B. Taney appointed in his place. In this gentleman, the President found a ready instrument for carrying out his measures. Assuming the responsibility with an independence, worthy the greatest civic or military hero, he had the deposits removed from the custody of the bank. Frightful commercial distress and monetary depression followed, and the prostration of public and private credit seemed, for a time, inevitable. The whole country was intensely excited,—the bank and the removal of the deposits formed, everywhere, a theme of discussion and animadversion.

The Twenty-third Congress, though a majority were administration men, presented, in their deliberations, the most exciting scenes. That part of the President's message relating to the all-absorbing topic, was deemed highly unsatisfactory, while the Secretary's report, setting forth the reasons for the step, elicited the severest censure.

The distresses prevailing in all parts of the country, were followed by numerous memorials and petitions to the President

from merchants and manufacturers, praying a re-charter of the institution, or some species of relief. His invariable and characteristic reply to these numerous applications was: "that the government could give no relief and provide no remedy; that the banks were the occasion of all the evils which existed, and that those who suffered by their great enterprise, had none to blame but themselves; that those who traded on borrowed capital ought to break."

This continued the theme of Congressional discussion through the entire winter. Early in April, resolutions passed the House to the effect that the old bank ought not to be re-chartered, and that the deposits ought not to be returned to its vaults. The first of these resolutions passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-two ayes to eighty-two nays,—the second, by a vote of one hundred and eighteen ayes to one hundred and thirteen nays.

The first session of the Twenty-third Congress was long and arduous. Beside legislation upon matters of secondary importance, the coinage of the United States was regulated; renewed appropriations were made for the improvement of rivers and harbors; for the Road from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Memphis, Tennessee,—also the Cumberland River road, and extending highways through Michigan.

The books and papers belonging formerly to General Washington, were also bought by legislative enactment, during this session of Congress. The second session commenced, December 1st, 1834. This was a brief and comparatively an unimportant session. Acts were passed regulative of the mints, providing surveys and post roads, and in reference to the deposits in the various State banks to which they had been transferred. This Congress closed its deliberations on the 3d of March, 1835.

It was thought by many, at this time, that JACKSON would resign the presidency in favor of Van Buren. Whether he ever designed such a course is more improbable than a matter of question. He favored Van Buren's claims to the succession, and so expressed himself as early as January, 1835, but the idea of resigning his high trust before the expiration of his official term, he never, for a moment, seriously entertained. Van Buren, it finally became evident, would be the candidate for the ensuing canvass. Many of the Democrats in the south were favorable to the election of Hugh Lawson White,—a senator of high reputation from the State of Tennessee. He was nominated by the States of

Alabama and Tennessee in January, 1835. On the assemblage of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, in May, 1835, Van Buren was nominated by acclamation, as a candidate for the presidency, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for the Vice-Presidency. Among the names for the same office on the part of the opposition, were Daniel Webster, William Henry Harrison, and John McLean. The Twenty-fourth Congress met, December 7th, 1835, and organized by electing James K. Polk to the speakership.

With the exceptions of our relations with France, our foreign affairs were still in a promising condition. That power having failed to pay the first installment of the indemnity agreed upon in former treaty stipulations, involved us in an unpleasant position, and induced the President to recall our minister from the court, until a different attitude was assumed by the delinquent.

The Distribution act, as it was termed, was the most important of the session. Except some five millions of dollars, it provided that all the money in the treasury should, on the first day of January, 1837, be deposited with the several States according to their representation in Congress,—the deposits to be made in quarterly amounts. It passed the Senate,—ayes thirty-nine, nays six,—House, ayes one hundred and fifty-five, nays thirty-eight. A bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands also passed, by a majority of five votes. A law, regulative and protective of patents, and patent rights, was also passed at this session. Michigan and Arkansas were admitted as States into the Union.

The suspension of the National Bank, induced the legislatures of the several States to charter State banks, and soon a general system of banking, beyond the restraints of national law, was prevailing all over the the Union. A speculative spirit in stocks and public lands, soon became widely manifest. It was this land speculative mania, and the hazardous issues of these new banks given in payment, that induced Thomas H. Benton to bring in a bill providing that nothing but specie should be taken in payment for the public lands,—hence the name, "Old Bullion" identified that veteran statesman through life.

At the presidential election, Van Buren was elected by a majority of forty-six votes, over all the candidates opposed to him. Harrison received seventy-three, White twenty-six, Webster four-

teen, Mangum eleven votes, making a total of one hundred and twenty-four, while Van Buren received one hundred and seventy. Johnson was elected Vice-President by a good majority.

The second session of the Twenty-fourth Congress commenced December 5th, 1836. Few acts of interest came up for deliberation. The expunging resolutions, offered by Benton, formed the most exciting theme of controversy. The expunging resolutions passed by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen, though much warm discussion took place before their final passage. To protect the finance, a bill passed both Houses this session, limiting the receivable revenues of the United States. This bill was retained by the President until after the adjournment of Congress, which was equivalent to its veto. This was the last act of JACKSON'S political life.

He left the high position to which he had been twice honored, when the country was in a state of great prosperity and development. "You have," says he in his farewell address to the people of the United States, on the occasion of his retirement, "no longer cause to fear danger from abroad; your strength and power are well known throughout the civilized world, as well as the high and gallant bearing of your sons. It is from within, among yourselves, from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition and inordinate thirst for power, that factions will be formed and liberty endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves. You have the highest of human trusts committed to your care. Providence has showered on this favored land, blessings without number, and has chosen you as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race. May He who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, make you worthy the favors he has bestowed, and enable you with pure hearts and pure hands, and sleepless vigilance, to guard and to defend to the end of time, the great charge he has committed to your keeping.

"My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that, before long, I must pass beyond the reach of human events, and cease to feel the vicissitudes of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in a land of Liberty, and that he has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son. And filled with gratitude for your constant and

unwavering kindness, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell."

Thus closed the public life of ANDREW JACKSON, a man in many respects among the most remarkable of his day. He now retired to the Hermitage, where he closed his life among his friends,—an inactive, though most attentive observer of passing events.

During his life, he was looked upon as the oracle of his party. He survived the close of his last administration but eight years. He was, during this time, a member of the Presbyterian church, and paid great attention to religious duties. He had, for some time, been affected with dropsy, under the influence of which, he was gradually declining. He continued to fail until the spring of 1845, when his disease assumed an alarming aspect. While prostrate, and suffering intense pain, he turned to the Bible for consolation, saying: "I am in the hands of a merciful God. I have full confidence in his goodness and mercy. My lamp of life is nearly out, and the last glimmer is come. I am ready to depart when called. The Bible is true. Upon that sacred volume I rest my hope of eternal salvation, through the merits and blood of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

He thus continued to sink until Sunday morning, the 8th of June, when speedy dissolution became apparent. He called his family and domestics to his bed-side, and said: "Do not grieve that I am about to leave you, for I shall be better off. Although I am afflicted with pain and bodily suffering, they are nothing compared with the sufferings of the Savior of the world, who was put to death on the accursed tree. I have fulfilled my destiny on earth; and it is better that this worn out frame should go to rest, and my spirit take up its abode with the Redeemer." He continued to sink until evening, when he breathed his last.

News of his death flew rapidly over the country, and called forth, everywhere, the highest testimonials of national grief and regard. Thus died ANDREW JACKSON. Whatever may have been his faults, through the bitterness of party faction, they were highly exaggerated, and posterity is best prepared to render him that justice which can not be withheld, and designate him as one who ranks among the foremost of the great men of our country,—whose patriotism can not be questioned, and whose ermine character was above reproach. We can not, perhaps, close this

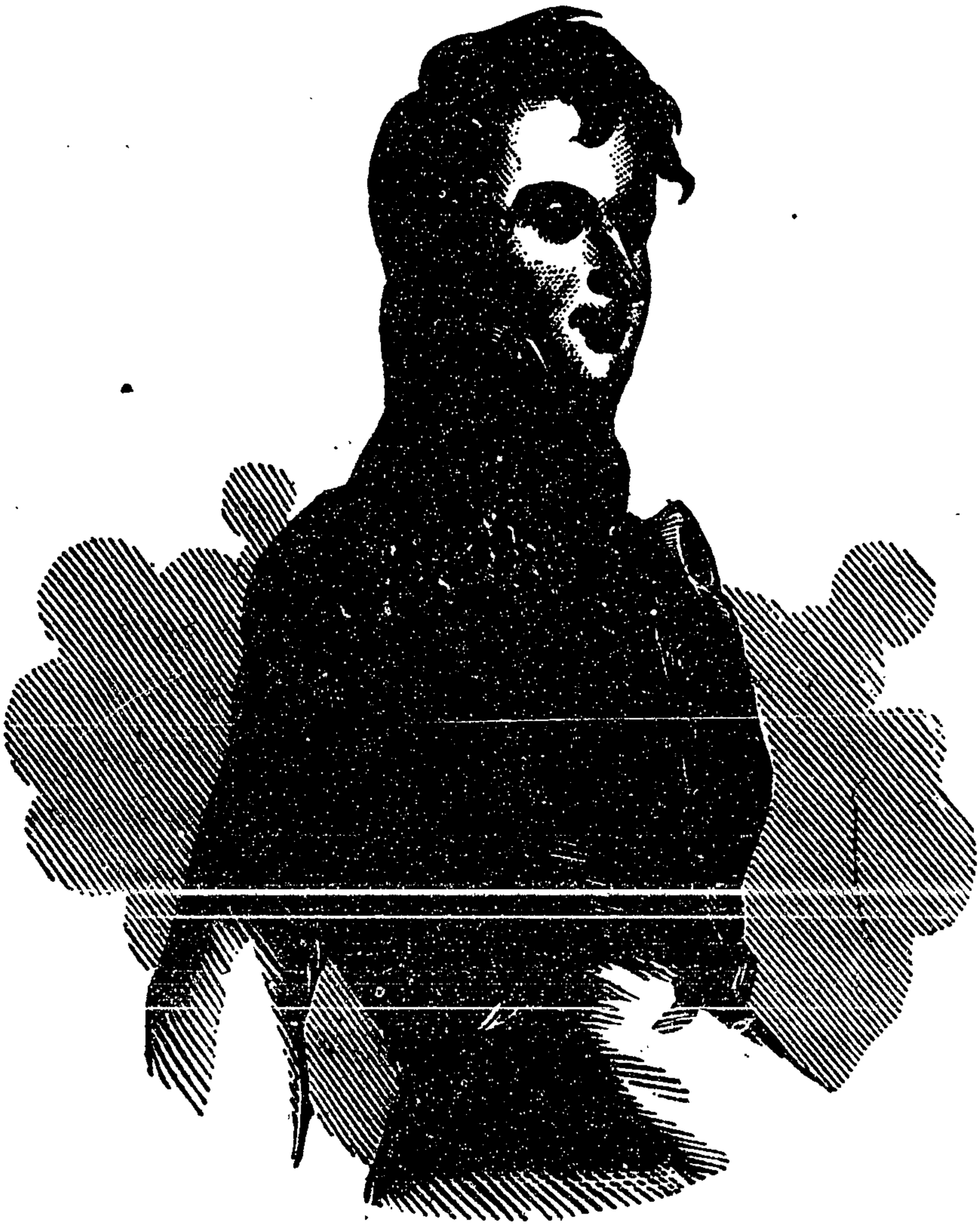
sketch in a more befitting manner, than to adopt the language of his friend and biographer, Eaton:

"In the person of General JACKSON is perceived nothing of the robust and elegant. He is six feet and an inch high, remarkably straight and spare, and weighs not over one hundred and forty five pounds. His conformation appears to disqualify him for hardship; yet accustomed to it from early life, few are capable of enduring fatigue to the same extent or with less injury. His dark blue eyes, with brows arched and slightly projecting, possess a marked expression; but when from any cause excited, they sparkle with peculiar luster and penetration. In his manners he is pleasing,—in his address commanding, while his countenance, marked with firmness and decision, beams with a strength and intelligence that strikes at first sight. In his deportment, there is nothing repulsive. Easy, affable, and familiar, he is open and accessible to all. Influenced by the belief that merit should constitute the only difference in men, his attention is equally bestowed on honest poverty as on titled consequence. His moral character is without reproach, and by those who know him most intimately, he is most esteemed. Benevolence in him is a prominent virtue. He was never known to pass distress without seeking to assist and relieve it."

STEPHEN DECATUR.

Among those who contributed most to bring the American navy into repute, was an ardent hero, who, in person, "rose slightly above the middle hight, and was vigorously, yet gracefully moulded. From his ample shoulders depended well-knit, sinewy arms; his waist was slight, limbs long and well rounded. His whole figure denoted mingled activity and strength, and he eminently excelled in all the athletic exercises, being in particular, a vigorous swimmer, and an adept in the use of arms of every kind. His body, by nature and training, lent itself admirably to the prompting of his active and intrepid spirit. He was patient of fatigue, sparing in his diet, averse to luxurious indulgence. The erectness of his figure adding to the appearance of his hight, harmonized with the towering arrangement of his head, which, inclining upward, gave him a spirited and noble air, and contributed much to the graceful stateliness of his carriage. His hair and beard were black and curling, his brow lofty and calm, terminating in dark and well-arched brows; his eyes large, black, and lustrous, habitually soft and gentle in their expression, but of piercing brightness in moments of excitement. * * * The expression of his countenance when in repose, was calm, contemplative, and benignant; in conversation, complaisant, and persuasive; in scenes of excitement, spirit-stirring and commanding. His temper was excitable and impetuous; but, in his mature years, so completely under command, as to exhibit almost imperturbable calm of manner."*

* Mackenzie.



STEPHEN DECATUR.

Such was the appearance of STEPHEN DECATUR,—the justly styled Bayard of the seas, when England swept them with her triumphant men-of-war. Such was the gallant commander, who was to arrest her progress and unfurl the colors of his country to stream victorious in every port and on every wave.

He was born in Worcester County, Maryland, January 5th, 1779. His paternal ancestors were French, having emigrated to this country at an early day,—on the mother's side, he was of Irish descent. His father, whose bold disposition led him to adopt a seafaring life, fought in the Revolution, and after the peace, entered the merchant service, in connection with some of the most enterprising men of the country, in which he continued for a number of years.

Young STEPHEN took a sea voyage with his father, in his ninth year, and thus early manifested a love for the "ocean wave." When a small boy, he was brave, but affable, courteous and frank, giving evidences of an ingenuous disposition. His early schooling seems to have commenced in the city of Philadelphia, where his mother returned after its evacuation by the British. Here he first gave indications of a capacity destined to be useful. Fond of athletic sports, gay and lively like the French, persuasive and gentle, like the Irish, he was a favorite with his companions, who styled him "Captain Dick," and chose him for the leader of their frolics and amusements.

An incident is furnished, illustrating the nature of young DECATUR, and affording a clue to his future distinction. When about fourteen years old, he and his companions were going to a fishing excursion. It was customary in those times for youths to wear the blue cockade of their country. It was about this time that the sympathies of a large portion of the people were warmly aroused in behalf of Genet and the French nation. Parties were divided, and the boys adopted the opinions of their fathers. Young DECATUR and his friends had on the blue cockade. They fell in, however, with a much larger party of boys, who wore the tri-colors of France, and were singing Jacobin songs. One of these accosted DECATUR, bidding him substitute the tri-colored for the blue cockade. "*I have a right to wear the colors of my country, sir, and will do it,*" was the reply. The other, trying to enforce his order, rushed at STEPHEN, who parried his blow, when a brisk fight ensued. All the boys became mixed up in it,—each deter-

mined to maintain his principles. After fighting for some time they were separated, leaving DECATUR and his friends in possession of their colors.

Transferred from his primary school to the Pennsylvania University, he made considerable progress in his studies, until becoming wearisome to his daring, active nature, he threw aside his books and entered the counting room of Gurney & Smith, mercantile partners of his father in the city of Philadelphia. Here, though diligent in his duties, his partiality for the naval service indicated itself in unmistakable evidences. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of mathematics and charts, and the construction of miniature ships,—their arrangement in order of battle, etc.

Seeing his proclivities were not for the counting-room, he was sent to New Jersey, where he assisted in the construction of the frigate United States,—the same vessel on which he began his naval career, and which he led so proudly to victory. When the United States government, after an apathetic spirit that seems unaccountable at this time, was induced by the depredations of France to turn attention to naval affairs, the command of the Delaware was given to the father of DECATUR, who was commissioned post-captain, May 11th, 1798. He, soon after, fell in with, and captured the French privateer, *Le Croyable*, of fourteen guns and seventy men. This was the first capture of a French privateer. The heart of DECATER swelled with pride, as he saw his father's noble vessel come into port towing the captured prize. He could no longer be curbed by parental solicitations. The frigate United States, under the command of Commodore Barry, was soon to sail, and he determined to try his fortunes on the same vessel he had helped to construct. Arrangements were made, and he departed on the United States with the commodore. After cruising in the West India seas, and making voyages to Barbadoes and Martinique, the United States and Delaware succeeded in capturing two French frigates,—the Jaloux and Sans-pareil, one of sixteen, the other of fourteen, guns. The United States, soon after, took two other vessels belonging to the French, though they were of smaller caliber. Falling in with a French frigate, in the vicinity of Martinique, in 1799, the United States sent a broadside against her, from the effects of which, she must inevitably have sunk. Seeing her condition, the crew raised implor-

ing supplications for help. The United States speedily hove to. DECATUR was first to reach the sinking vessel. By great presence of mind, and the most active efforts, the boats were let down, and every man on board saved just as the vessel sank in the sea. DECATUR, himself, pulled the captain of the French craft into his boat. Utterly surprised, the captain asked: "Is that a ship of the United States?" "It is," was DECATUR's reply. "I am very much astonished, sir,"—added the captain. "I did not know the United States were at war with the French Republic." "No, sir," rejoined DECATUR, "but you knew that the French Republic was at war with the United States; that you were taking our merchant vessels every day, and crowding our countrymen into prison at Basseterre, to die like sheep." The truth of the remark admitted no cavil, and the French captain surrendered, with his crew, without further complaint.

During this cruise, and the actions incident to it, DECATUR rendered essential service, as attested by the fact of his advancement to the post of Lieutenant. The following letter by an eye witness of his conduct during these times, has been preserved, and affords great insight into the character of DECATUR, and the attributes whereby he attained distinction. It was written by Captain Robert T. Spence:

"The first time I saw DECATUR," says he, "was in the West Indies, during our differences with the French Republic. He was then a lieutenant on board of one of our largest frigates, whose officers had been selected from among the most promising in the navy, and were, on the occasion to which I allude, generally on the quarter deck, grouped as is the custom, in different places, conversing on the various subjects of their profession. I was introduced to many of them. They were pleasing, gentlemenlike men, having the characteristic air and look of sailors. But in DECATUR, I was struck with a peculiarity of manner and appearance, calculated to rivet the eye and engross the attention. I had often pictured to myself the form and look of a hero, such as my favorite Homer had delineated; here I saw it embodied.

"On being released from a kind of a spell by which he had riveted my attention, I turned to the gentleman to whom I was indebted for the introduction, and inquired the character of DECATUR. The inquiry was made of a person, to whose long experience and knowledge of human nature, the inward man seemed to be unfolded.

'Sir,' said he, 'DECATUR is an officer of uncommon character, of rare promise,—a man of an age,—one, perhaps, not equaled in a million.' 'A man overboard!' was now cried through the ship. 'Second cutters away!' 'Third cutters away!' was called from deck to deck. I observed DECATUR spring from the mizzen chains. I ran to the stern. In a few minutes I saw a youth upheld above the surging wave by a buoyant and vigorous swimmer, and thus sustained until released by the boats. Life had nearly fled; but it was not extinct. It was the life of one who has since had celebrity, and lived to see his preserver the pride and glory of his country.

"It was under such circumstances I first saw the generous DECATUR; a man more unique, more highly endowed than any other I ever knew; to whom, perhaps, the country is most indebted for that naval renown which is the admiration of the world; a renown so associated with the name of DECATUR, as to render them indissoluble."

This, though a somewhat highly-colored portrait of the young naval hero, leaves, no doubt, a very correct impression of his nature and characteristics.

Shortly after, being in his twenty-first year, DECATUR was regularly commissioned a lieutenant in the navy. On his return from his West India cruise, he took acceptable presents to his former school mistress, then advanced in life. These consisted of a barrel of coffee, a barrel of sugar and other necessaries of living. Many incidents have been recorded, illustrative of the generous, noble nature of our hero. Not long after he received his commission, he became involved in a quarrel that resulted in a duel with a man by the name of Somers. The facts were about these. DECATUR was sent to Philadelphia to enlist a new crew for the vessel. He succeeded in procuring a number of able-bodied and expert seamen. Some of these fell in with a sea captain of another ship, who prevailed on them to go on board his vessel. This exasperated young DECATUR, who immediately went on board the Indiaman and demanded restitution. The chief mate was forced to comply, but given to an irritable temper, he used abusive language to DECATUR, who immediately sent him a challenge. It was accepted, and the parties met. DECATUR only wished, in accordance with the custom of the times, to redeem his honor, without depriving the mate of life,

and declared to his friend, Lieutenant Stewart, that he should aim to hit him in the hip. When the word was given to fire, DECATUR took his aim, and lodged the ball precisely where he said,—in the upper part of the mate's hip. Through this affair, he not only exhibited great coolness and bravery, but a spirit of magnanimity highly commendable.

During this time, the United States frigate had been undergoing repairs, which being completed, with swelling canvas and a fresh crew, she again put to sea. After cruising along the coast, from Georgia to Cape Cod, for some time, guarding vigilantly our commercial interests, she sailed with the American diplomatists for the ports of France. She encountered a stormy, troublous voyage, and after various fruitless attempts to enter a French port, put in at Corunna, in February, 1800, whence the commissioners proceeded by land on their mission. Directing her course homeward, she reached the Delaware about the middle of the ensuing April, in a condition no longer fit for duty. This, for a time, threw DECATUR into inactivity against which his nature rebelled. At his earnest request, he was transferred to the brig Norfolk, commanded by Calvert, who put to sea the last of May. Touching first at St. Domingo, Calvert sailed to the Spanish Main, and returned home without accomplishing any thing worthy of note.

Hoping the occurrence of some opportunity for distinction, he returned to the United States frigate, which sailed for Guadaloupe in December, 1800. All hopes of present distinction, however, were soon blasted. The conclusion of a treaty of peace between the American and French commissioners, shortly after, put an end to hostilities, and the vicissitudes that required his service.

The father of DECATUR, who had thus far borne an active part in the efforts of our young navy, now returned to his old mercantile pursuits. He subsequently settled near Frankford, Pennsylvania, where he continued to reside, giving, on all occasions, evidences of the high bred gentleman,—a good and honored citizen, and a man above reproach, until his death.

DECATUR was now exempt from naval service, until the piratical depredations of Tripoli and the Algerines, upon our commerce, induced the government to send a squadron to the Mediterranean. This squadron was composed of the Philadelphia, Captain Samuel Barry; the President, Captain James Barron; the Essex, Captain Bainbridge, and the schooner Enterprize, Lieutenant Sterrett,—the

whole under Commodore Dale. Captain Bainbridge of the Essex, in the selection of so important an officer as first lieutenant, with unerring judgment, pitched upon DECATUR, who sailed immediately in that capacity, to the northern coast of the Mediterranean. The instructions of Bainbridge were to protect the coasts and watch the ports of Tripoli and Tunis, and assist the American convoys in all cases where his service might be needed. He first stopped at Barcelona, whence, after a brief stay, he sailed down the Mediterranean with a large convoy, which was conveyed safely through the straits. No inconsiderable service was rendered by this vessel to the homeward-bound convoys belonging to America.

Commodore Dale, in the meantime, having sailed for Gibraltar, and overawed the Tripoline admiral at that place, and dismantled the cruisers, now left vessels at Syracuse with directions occasionally to appear before Tripoli and Tunis, and the Essex to watch the cruisers around the former point, returned with the Enterprize and President to the United States.

The arrival of Commodore Morris in May, 1802, with the Chesapeake, relieved the Essex of her duties. She, therefore, sailed for home, where she arrived early in July, carrying among her crew the gallant DECATUR. Enjoying but a few weeks' repose, in the capacity of first lieutenant, he joined himself to the New York, a thirty-six gun ship, commanded by Captain James Barron. She sailed for the Mediterranean, September 1st, 1802.

Hostilities being now more open, on the part of the Tripolines, Commodore Morris was directed to use every means to bring them to terms. He, therefore, assembled his squadron, consisting of the President, the John Adams, the New York, and Enterprize, at Malta, for the purpose of commencing more vigorous operations. Detained here by a heavy gale, Midshipman Bainbridge became involved in a quarrel with a British officer, that resulted in the death of the latter. Bainbridge had attended the theater in company with some fellow officers. They were the subjects of disparaging remarks of the Briton, who said, among other things, that "Those Yankees could never stand the smell of gunpowder." The remark was quickly resented. A duel ensued, in which DECATUR stood second for his friend Bainbridge, and behaved with the greatest courage and firmness. The parties exchanged two shots. At the latter

round, Bainbridge's ball struck his antagonist below the eye, and left a mortal wound,—he himself escaped untouched.

DECATUR now returned to the United States, and received the temporary command of the Argus. Sailing in this for Gibraltar, in accordance with naval regulations of seniority, he resigned command of the brig, and assumed that of the schooner Enterprize, with twelve guns. On the 23d of October, soon after assuming this command, he captured the Tripoline craft, Mastico, with seventy prisoners, near Tripoli. In this action he showed great courage and capacities of command.

After remaining inactive for some time in the antiquated city of Syracuse, hallowed by her historical memories, and associated with a Hiero, a Diosnysius, a Nicias, and an Archimedes it was resolved to commence operations. Bainbridge was a prisoner in Tripoli. The gallant old ship Philadelphia, was in possession of the Tripolines. With forty guns, always loaded and well manned, she protected the entrance to the harbor, and was a trophy whose appearance was as encouraging to the enemy, as depressing to the Americans. On consultation, it was resolved to burn her in the night time. But who was to undertake the perilous service? To the heroic DECATUR, nothing was more congenial. He proffered his services, which were accepted. He assembled his men on board, and asked who would follow? Every man and boy on the Enterprize gathered around their commander. Selecting what was necessary, in connection with the Siren, commanded by Stewart, she lifted anchor,—sailed for Tripoli, and came in sight of the Bashaw's Castle, February 7th, 1804.

Immediate preparations were made for carrying their designs into execution, but a heavy wind arising, their ships were forced back into the sea. Many days of heavy weather now set in, during which, the Intrepid, DECATUR's vessel, and the Siren, were buffeted about, in imminent peril of foundering. To highten the difficulties of the expedition, provisions began to fail, and signs of discouragement became apparent. To a mind like DECATUR's, however, difficulties only afforded a stimulant. By great patience and dauntless energy, he succeeded in bringing the vessels in sight of the Philadelphia. As she loomed before him, the same noble craft that his father had rescued on a former occassion, his soul seemed inspired with his mission. Standing at the helm,

his young eyes steadfast upon the frowning guns of his prize, he approached the Philadelphia. Beside him stood his interpreter, in case of being spoken. The balance of the crew were still and concealed. Behind, in the darkness, lay the Siren. The moon was shining, but not very brightly. On the deck of the Philadelphia; he saw the heads of the ever-vigilant crew, gazing upon his vessel, now within twenty yards of the foe. The next instant, "*Keep off*," fell through the night upon his ear. The interpreter, according to instructions, told them they had lost their anchor, and asked leave to pass to the shore to procure others. At this moment the Siren was descried in the distance, which renewed the subsiding suspicions of the men on the Philadelphia. They asked what vessel she was? "The Transfer," replied the interpreter, "formerly a British vessel, now purchased for the Tripolines, and much needed by them." They were again quieted. During this time, the Intrepid had approached the vessel, and fastened herself to the ring-bolts. She was thus drawing along-side the huge enemy, when suddenly they were discovered. "Americans! Americans!" cried the crew of the Philadelphia, as they made preparations to fire their guns. "Men board!" shouted DECATUR, as he sprang upon the Philadelphia. He was followed by his brave men, who leaped eagerly forward. They sprang to the decks. DECATUR formed his men. Each man drew his sword and rushed to a night encounter. To clear the vessel was the work of five minutes. The Tripolines were hurried pell-mell into the water, and sank to rise no more, fell by the sword, or jumping into boats, made for the shore. He was soon master of the vessel. The crew of the Intrepid went into their places. The cables and sparring of the Philadelphia were cut, and she was set on fire. As the streaming flame circled around mast and boom, flinging its lurid glare over the waste of water, the old vessel floated along until her final explosion;—the exultant shouts of her captors penetrated the prison walls of Tripoli, and proclaimed speedy liberation.

Few naval achievements have been recorded, where a higher degree of courage and daring were manifest, than in the capture of this vessel by DECATUR. The fame of the young naval lieutenant became extensively known, and his character much admired.

He now resumed command of the Enterprize, while Commo-

dore Preble effected a blockade of Tripoli. Remaining before that place for a short time, he sailed to Tunis, thence to Naples, Messina, and Syracuse. From the latter place he returned to Tripoli, and made early preparations to attack the place,—none more eager than DECATUR. The Bashaw, looking on upon their preparations from his castle, and seeing the wooden crafts of the commodore battling with the angry waves, and relying upon his strong defenses, remarked of the Americans, "They will mark their distance for tacking; they are a sort of Jew, who have no notion of fighting." Preble, however, boldly arranged his vessels for the attack. DECATUR was placed in command of a division of the gunboats, and gallantly assisted in the bombardment.

Both parties now opened a heavy fire,—the American vessels still advancing. When within two cables' length of the shore, it was perceived that the enemy, relying upon their great superiority of numbers, had left their strongholds, and were making for a fight on water. DECATUR, determined to board them, bore rapidly down with the intention of attacking the enemy's eastern division. In this he was assisted by Bainbridge, Trippe, and his brother James. Amid a thick shower of balls and grape, he pressed steadily forward. Reaching the enemy's crafts, he commanded his men to board. They instantly sprang upon the decks, and notwithstanding the enemy were three to one, engaged in a most desperate hand-to-hand fight. In ten minutes the decks were cleared,—the Tripoline flag hauled down, and the stars and stripes floating triumphantly in its place. At this moment, information was brought that his brother's boat had succeeded in capturing one of the heaviest of the enemy's boats, but as he was preparing to tow her out, the captain, in a most dastardly manner, stepped forward and shot him dead on the spot. The lion of his soul was aroused, and revenge, at the sacrifice of every prudential consideration, was uppermost in his mind. With but nine men, and the brave McDonough, he turned the head of his vessel to the enemy, and boldly pushed forward within their lines. Singling out the vessel to which his brother's murderer belonged, he leaped upon her deck, followed by McDonough and his gallant little party. Fierce was the contest that ensued, and against fearful odds. At length he perceived the gigantic and assassin-like form of the man who had slain his brother. The Tripoline captain was armed with a long heavy pike, DECATUR had nothing but a small cutlass and a pistol.

The captain made a pass with his pike; in attempting to ward it off DECATUR broke his cutlass at the hilt. Another pass was made which pierced DECATUR's shoulder. The captain now grappled him and both fell,—DECATUR uppermost. By his superior weight, however, the captain turned him under. At this instant a blow was aimed at the head of DECATUR by an unseen foe, that must have put a period to his eventful career, had not a daring young marine laid his own head to the blow, and with his own heroic life, saved that of his commander. The captain now drew a steel dagger from his breast, and lifted it gleaming at the heart of the prostrate DECATUR. He seemed to have but a moment to live. But the naval hero never lost his presence of mind, and disengaging his left hand, he parried the blow, and then with his right dextrously drew his pistol and cocked it at the breast of his antagonist, who relaxing his hold gave back in great consternation, leaving him again victorious. Trippe had also a personal encounter, but succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in discomfiting his antagonist. These results decided the day. Imitating the example of their captains, the Tripolines gave way on all sides. DECATUR himself, took two prizes, and killed and captured a large number of the enemy. And, notwithstanding the desperate hand-to-hand fight in which he was engaged, and surrounded with overwhelming numbers, he received no considerable wound.

DECATUR was now advanced to the rank of post-captain, and received a sword by vote of Congress, as a merited reward of his gallantry. A series of four spirited attacks was now made against Tripoli, the last of which proved particularly destructive. In each of these DECATUR behaved with characteristic bravery and discretion. After the town had suffered severely, being in many places literally riddled by the grape, bombs, and balls, fired by the Americans, more decisive measures were resolved on. Preble determined to send fire-ships into the harbor for the purpose of burning the enemy's shipping. The Intrepid,—the same in which DECATUR had performed his daring exploit against the Philadelphia, was therefore selected, and laden with one hundred barrels of powder and near twice that number of balls. Fusees were so fixed, that a quarter of an hour intervened from the time they were lighted before ignition took place,—thus giving time to those who led the ship to escape.

Somers volunteered and was accepted for the service. This

movement terminated disastrously. Just after night-fall, early in September, with proper convoys and boats to bring off the adventurous crew, the fire-ship commenced gliding into the harbor. Before reaching her destination, a blue sulphurous light was seen to illume her apertures, and the next moment one of the most inconceivably terrific explosions took place, scattering timber, ball, and splinter, through the air, and hurling destruction all around. Neither Somers nor any of his gallant crew were ever heard from. All night the men of the squadron were in a state of intense anxiety in regard to the fate of their comrades. Daylight revealed considerable damage sustained by the ship of the enemy, who were hauling the wrecks of some of their boats to the shore. It was conjectured that the enemy had discovered the Intrepid, and sent a boarding-party to surprise her, and that rather than fall into the hands of the enemy and fail entirely in his undertaking, Somers had put a match to the magazine, and made martyrs of himself and friends to their country.

Preble was succeeded in the command before Tripoli by Commodore Barron, who arrived with the President and Constitution, on the tenth of September. DECATUR was placed in command of the Constitution, and Preble returned home. DECATUR at once proceeded to Malta. At twenty-five years of age, he found himself commander of one of the finest vessels in the service. He early began operations, and was styled, as his vessel would dart along the bosom of the deep, the "terror of the foe." At Syracuse, whither he sailed after giving his vessel some repairs, he was transferred to the command of the frigate Congress, of thirty-six guns,—Commodore Rogers, by seniority, taking command of the Constitution. Preble, after settling his accounts, and receiving a letter of affectionate farewell from all his subordinates, that proved the harmony and good-will existing among all, returned to the United States, where he was hailed with demonstrations of joy and welcome.

The squadron of Commodore Rogers having made necessary repairs, reappeared before Tripoli, determined to end the contest. The Bashaw, however, exhibited a desire to relinquish the unjustifiable exactions demanded, and signified a willingness to negotiate terms of peace. Ministers were therefore appointed, and a treaty was concluded, promotive of the interests of our country. On the consummation of this important event, to which he had contributed

so much and so gallantly, full of pride and hope, young DECATUR returned to his native land. He was welcomed as a hero, and entertained by all ranks in a manner that attested his exalted position. At one of these entertainments, his father was present. While his son was receiving the toasts and gratulations of all, the venerable man arose,—his heart swelling with paternal pride, and tears trickling down his cheeks, and responding to a toast, he said in a tremulous voice: "Our children are the property of the country." The scene was truly impressive, and never forgotten by his son.

Soon as the Tripoline war was brought to a close, the navy was reduced, and France and England began their system of spoliations upon our commerce. Under pretext of intercepting their enemies, they hovered about our coasts, and did great mischief to our trade on the high seas. Jefferson called earnest attention to the subject, and recommended naval preparations. Congress, instead of taking steps for the preparation and equipment of a suitable navy, by an unaccountable misconception of the true interests at stake, authorized the construction of fifty gunboats. DECATUR was appointed to the command of a squadron of these stationed in the Chesapeake, and, notwithstanding the nature of his duties was new and arduous, devoted himself to their discharge with zeal and alacrity. When not in active service, he made Norfolk the principal point of his anchorage. During his stay in this city, he formed the acquaintance of a Miss Wheeler, to whom he became warmly attached. His feelings were fully reciprocated, and they were married soon after. She was a lady of rare beauty, grace and refinement. The union was the result of much happiness to both parties.

Soon after his marriage, he was appointed to the command of the Gosport navy-yard, and entered upon its duties. The attack upon the Chesapeake by a British vessel soon followed. While at Norfolk, it seems some British deserters had enlisted with Sinclair, who was making a crew for the Chesapeake. DECATUR, on assuming the command of the Gosport navy-yard, received a letter from the British consul, requiring that they be speedily delivered up. DECATUR refused, giving as his reason, that Sinclair was not under his command. The Chesapeake having shipped her crew, and been fitted up, departed for the Mediterannean. Reaching Hampton Roads, a British vessel, the Leopard, of fifty guns, began chase, and

having proceeded near enough, sent a messenger to the American commander, requiring him to permit a search of his ships for the deserters. This, Commodore Barron, in writing, refused to do. A heavy fire was opened from the Leopard. The Chesapeake, after firing a few guns only, being in a very disadvantageous position, struck her colors and surrendered. Having carried out his instructions in the affair, the commander of the Leopard now withdrew. This affair created a wide-spread sensation, and accelerated the declaration of war on the part of this country against England. Barron was subjected to a court-martial, of which DECATUR, contrary to his wishes, was a member, and Barron was suspended from the command for a period of five years. When the famous Milan and Berlin decrees of Bonaparte, and the English orders in council, resulted in the American Embargo, DECATUR was appointed to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, which had already become unpopular for her unsuccessful cruises.

About this time he lost his father and mother, both of whom he loved and cherished with all the fervor of an ardent, affectionate son. For the enforcement of the Embargo, to which services DECATUR was immediately assigned, the President urged the increase of the naval force, and Congress authorized the equipment of a hundred and eighty gun-boats. The inefficiency of gunboats becoming visibly apparent, it was determined to fit out several vessels of larger caliber for the service; among those thus selected was the United States, the command of which was given to DECATUR. Thus, on the same proud vessel he had helped to construct, and in which he had commenced his first naval efforts, he unrolled the colors of his country, and dauntlessly began cruising along the coasts. About this time the President, commanded by Commodore Rogers, was fired into by the British sloop, Little Belt, and a warmly contested skirmish ensued. Both parties claimed the advantage, and the reports of both commanders were so contradictory, that a court of inquiry was instituted into the conduct of Rogers. Over this court, in view of his sterling integrity, and superior judgment, DECATUR was selected to preside. The verdict of this court resulted in the unequivocal acquittal of Rogers, and the maintenance of his report of the action.

After the settlement of this affair, DECATUR was engaged in conversation with Captain Carden of the British service. Their

remarks turned upon results likely to grow out of a war between England and America. They were speaking as friends, not as commissioned officers of two belligerent powers at war with each other. Carden made the following remark: "Though, DECATUR, your ships may be good enough, and you are a clever set of fellows, what practice have you had in war? There is no rule. We now meet as friends, and God grant we may never meet as enemies; but we are subject to the orders of our government and must obey; what do you suppose will be the result?" DECATUR made the following noble reply: "I heartily reciprocate your sentiment, that you and I may never meet except as we do now; but if as enemies, and with equal forces, the conflict will undoubtedly be a severe one, for the flag of my country will never be struck, while there is a hull for it to wave from."

As will be seen, these two congenial spirits afterward met, in obedience to the stern mandate of war and the orders of their government, on another part of the ocean, in deadly battle array. The continued outrages upon our commerce, and imprisonment of our seamen, on the part of England, upon the most flimsy pretexts, led to a formal declaration of war, though every effort had been made to avoid a catastrophe, so fraught with infinite mischiefs to both countries. At this event, no one connected with the naval service, occupied a more prominent position, or was better calculated to insure distinction than was STEPHEN DECATUR. As commander of the United States, he still hovered around the southern coast, watching with constant vigilance, opportunity to signalize his gallant vessel and cripple the efforts of the enemy.

So inadequate was our naval force to cope with the power that had long maintained supremacy of the waters, that Congress actually contemplated preventing its venturing offensively to sea; a measure which was only checked by the timely remonstrance of Commodore Bainbridge and Captain Stewart, both of whom were in Washington, and who wrote beseeching and effective letters against such a course. Having determined to make every possible arrangement to meet the aggressor on her own hitherto unconquered element, DECATUR was transferred with the command of the United States to the squadron of Commodore Rogers, which he joined at New York, June 21st, 1812.

The squadron immediately put to sea, with a view of attacking the British fleet, bound from Jamaica to England, and laden with a

valuable cargo. Suffering himself to be diverted form his original design by falling in with the Belvidere, he gave chase to that vessel, which, after leading him many leagues from his course, made her escape. Rogers, no doubt, by this movement, lost the opportunity of making a valuable capture. After various maneuvers, in which six British vessels were taken, the squadron returned to Boston, by way of Newfoundland, where it arrived in the latter part of August. They immediately put to sea. They were not long in finding opportunity for service and honor. DECATUR, again on the decks of his noble vessel, the United States, had been careful to keep her in excellent war trim. On the 25th of October, near the Island of Madeira, DECATUR perceived the Macedonian bearing down toward him. This was the same vessel of which Captain Carden, to whom reference has just been made, was commander, and one of the most efficient in the British service. DECATUR looked upon her beautiful form and flowing sails with dilated eye, and gave the order to prepare for battle. Furling sails and manning the guns, as the ships approached each other, a stern encounter became obvious. The action soon commenced. At first the firing was kept up at too great a distance to do much execution on either side. As they neared each other, the topmast and gaff of the Macedonian snapped by a fire from the United States, and fell into the water. Changing her position, the Macedonian approached to closer combat. DECATUR's vessel opened upon her an awful fire. So precise and continuous was it, that it seemed a livid sheet of flame. More than once the British crew thought her on fire, and raised exultant shouts. They were soon convinced of their error. The thunders of Heaven seemed let loose upon them, as men fell all around, and spar, mast, and rigging, were ripped to fragments over their heads. Pierced to splinters, the mizzen-mast quivered and fell into the surge. "Ay, ay, Jack," exclaimed the gun-captain, who directed the shot, "we have made a brig of her." "Take good aim, my lad," replied DECATUR, "at the main-mast and she will soon be a sloop." Turning quickly to another captain of a gun, he said: "Aim at the yellow streak; her spars and rigging are going fast enough; she must have a little more hulling." These directions were promptly obeyed, and soon, shot to pieces, literally riddled, her main-mast and foreyard were all that remained of the wreck of the once proud vessel. A few minutes after, she

hauled down her colors, and a triumphant shout arose from the crew of the United States. The Macedonian, a complete wreck, was cut to pieces from stem to stern, hull, mast, and rigging. Covered with the dead and dying, and bespattered with blood, she presented a sad spectacle. The British lost a hundred and four, killed and wounded, and the entire crew as prisoners. The loss of DECATUR was but twelve, killed and wounded. The same Captain Carden, between whom and DECATUR we have just recorded a friendly conversation, now became the prisoner of the latter. Being conveyed to the United States, he presented his sword to his young conqueror, with an equanimity that war's grim frowns could not subdue. DECATUR courteously said: "Sir, I can not receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship."

The capture of the Macedonian and Captain Carden,—justly esteemed among the most accomplished of the British officers, just upon the heel of the surrender of their boasted war-craft, the Guerrière, created a decided sensation in England, and produced a more favorable opinion of the inexperienced naval capacities of a young Republic, contending for "free trade and sailors' rights." The recipient of just renown, DECATUR returned from the capture of the Macedonian to his own country, where he was received with unbounded enthusiasm. At New London he received marked distinction and applause. He had drawn upon himself the gaze of men, and was rapidly reaching the meridian of his fame. State legislatures and the National Congress, heaped honors upon him in the shape of votes of thanks and complimentary resolutions. Swords and medals were profusely awarded to him as being the champion of the American navy. Addresses, toasts, and entertainments were showered upon him, and the public prints teemed with his praise, and the blazonry of his heroic deeds. Yet modest and unpretending, considering himself as belonging to his country, toward which, he felt he had discharged no more than a duty she had a right to demand, he did not become intoxicated from drinking of the cup of adulation, but with manly dignity, elevated by patriotic fervor, mingled with his countrymen as one of her ordinary independent sons. Having attained a position first in the rank with those connected with the naval service, the Macedonian and Hornet were now added to DECATUR's

command. After a very brief respite, he took his squadron into Long Island Sound.

He now maneuvered with considerable tact and naval ingenuity, sometimes avoiding attack by a dextrous movement, then separating the enemy's line, and endeavoring to give chase. The number of the British ships that hovered around, seeking for some advantage to engage, was superior to his own, and well manned. By his vigilance and sagacity, he proved more than a match for them. A battle was finally proposed between two of his own ships and the same number of the enemy. The proposition was accepted, and for a time it was thought a fight would take place. The affair passed off, however, and ended in disappointment, particularly to DECATUR, who was far from unwilling for the collision to take place.

About this time, occurred one of those magnanimous acts, with which DECATUR's life is replete. Hiram Thayer, the son of a respectable Massachusetts farmer, was impressed on one of the enemies ships, and made to perform menial service with the enemies of his country. His father proceeded under a passport, granted to DECATUR, to the British squadron, and identified his son. Though the identity was completely satisfactory, and they could not urge that he was kept as a prisoner of war, they retained him in custody. DECATUR promptly interfered, and procured his release. Such occurrences as these, on the part of the British, tended greatly to exasperate the feelings of the Americans and lend bitterness to the animosities prevailing during the war of 1812.

DECATUR, in 1814, was again transferred to the command of his old vessel, the President. At this time, from various movements of the enemy upon the high seas, it was thought they contemplated an attack upon New York, and every effort was made to guard the avenues to that city. For this purpose, DECATUR was sent on an expedition to the Chesapeake Bay, and Mississippi. All this while he was eagerly looking out for some opportunity to distinguish himself. After making this cruise, he again put to sea, determined to try his fortune on a wider sphere of action. In January, 1815, he fell in with a British squadron, some fifty miles east of Long Island. The commander of this squadron was anxious to defeat DECATUR. The latter so managed his vessels, as to baffle his intentions for the present, of attacking him with his combined forces. He now engaged the Endymion,

one of the finest ships in the English service. The action was begun under circumstance disadvantageous to the American vessel. The guns of the Endymion being of heavier caliber, she raked the President at a distance too great for the latter to do any heavy execution. Seeing his men fall around him, without being able to return an effective fire, DECATUR heroically resolved to board her. Quickly calling his men around him, he made known his design, and made the following appeal: "My lads, that ship is coming up with us. As our ship won't sail, we 'll go on board of theirs, every man and boy of us, and carry her into New York. All I ask of you is to follow me. This is a favorite ship of the country. If we allow her to be taken, we shall be deserted by our wives and children. What! let such a ship as this go for nothing. 'Twould break the heart of every pretty girl in New York." This appeal was received amid enthusiastic cheers. Warned by the huzzas of the crew, the Endymion steered off, and prevented the design being put in execution. Both sides now opened a heavy fire. After continuing it for some time, the Endymion, being neary riddled to pieces, was silenced. This victory was somewhat dearly bought, many of his men and some of his most valued officers being killed in the engagement.

DECATUR now hoped to be able to avoid collision with the balance of the squadron, and it being darkened by clouds that had just risen, immediate steps were taken to insure his safety. In this, however, he was doomed to bitter disappointment. The clouds cleared away, and the bright starlight discovered his crippled vessel to the British craft, Pomona, which bearing directly upon her, poured in a tremendous broadside. Joined, soon after, by the Tenedos, they both opened a fire so destructive, that resistance was a mere waste of blood, and DECATUR was compelled to utter that hitherto unspoken word, surrender. The President, notwithstanding the predicted desertion by their "wives and sweethearts in New York," fell into the hands of the enemy. DECATUR was conveyed to Bermuda, whence, after being well received and entertained, he was sent home in a chosen frigate. He was received by his fellow-countrymen with the same marks of esteem and popular favor that were always lavishly bestowed.

Meantime Jackson's cannon had thundered victory at New Orleans, and England, no longer claiming the title of undisputed mistress of the seas, signified a willingness to enter into a treaty

of peace; which was duly concluded by ministers from the two powers. The piratical excursions of the Algerines, upon the seas, greatly to the detriment of our commerce, next demanded the naval service of the United States. After repeated ineffectual attempts to suppress the career of the semi-barbarian sea robbers, without a resort to arms, it was determined to force them into submission. A squadron was immediately fitted, the command of which was given to DECATUR. This was no small testimonial of his former services. He made quick work of his mission. Proceeding to Gibraltar, he learned the proximity of the Algerine fleet, and immediately started in pursuit. Coming up to the admiral's ship, he engaged her, and succeeded in capturing a frigate and brig. Availing himself of the advantages these conquests gave him, he pushed rapidly ahead to the city of Algiers, and dictated terms of peace to the enemy. Thus ended the Algerine war, and with it forever, the system of piracy practiced at that time.

Notwithstanding treaty stipulations, the regencies of Tripoli and Tunis, still perpetrated outrages upon our commerce. Though, without instructions from his government, who were ignorant of their non-compliance with treaty requisitions, DECATUR proceeded on his own responsibility, from his Algerine expedition, to Tunis, and forced the authorities into indemnity. Hastening to Tripoli, the Bashaw was forced into the same arrangement. He now proceeded to Syracuse, thence to Naples and Messina, whence, after a highly interesting correspondence, ventured into in vindication of his country, with the Neapolitan government, he proceeded to New York by way of Gibraltar. On his return, every demonstration of gratitude and admiration was tendered him. He was, soon after, appointed commissioner of the navy, which post he occupied with honor and credit. His public career was now drawing to a close. It had been successful, brilliant, and heroic. Identified with the American navy, his name will not be forgotten, while the colors for which he contended in boyhood, float respected in every port and on every sea. As testimonials of his valued services, he received from the cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia, two of the most elegant and costly sets of silver plate, which were presented in the most flattering manner. Thus honored, respected, and beloved in a country, to the maintenance of whose rights and dignity, he had devoted the prime of his life, he was-

regarded as among the fixed stars, that were to adorn our historical coronet. Here we would willingly lay aside the pen, or draw a vail over that Draconian code of honor, that tore from his country one of whom she was so justly proud. But duty makes it necessary, inasmuch as we have attempted to give his rise and progress to glory's hight, that we should give the manner in which he disappeared from among men.

In the fatal duel with Commodore Barron, he was cut down in the prime of a useful life. In regard to the circumstances that led to the meeting, DECATUR was not wholly exempt from censure. His course on the court of inquiry, instituted upon the conduct of DECATUR, while in command of the Chesapeake, has already been mentioned. Barron, as before stated, was suspended from the service for five years. During the war of 1812, Barron applied for admission into the navy. Against this application, DECATUR was active in his efforts. Actuated, no doubt, by motives patriotic and worthy, he carried out his opinion presented at the court of inquiry, and still asserted that his behavior on the Chesapeake was unsoldierlike, and should debar him from future commission. More than this, he also said to the commodore: "I have entertained, and do still entertain the opinion, that your conduct as officer *since the affair* of the Chesapeake, has been such as ought, forever, to bar your re-admission into the service." Barron had embarked in the merchant service, and in the early part of the war, was absent from the country. It was this to which DECATUR had reference. DECATUR was now informed that a hostile communication from the commodore might be expected: "I am ready to meet it," was the reply. Learning this statement, colored with a high degree of exaggeration, Barron sent the following note: "I have been informed in Norfolk, that you have said you could insult me with impunity, or words to that effect. If you have said so, you will, no doubt, avow it, and I shall expect to hear from you." To this DECATUR replied: "I feel a thorough conviction, that I never could have been guilty of so much egotism as to say, that I could insult you or any other man with impunity." Here, for a time, the matter ended. The old differences were revived. Rumors were afloat, and found busy heralds. Other letters, of no conciliatory nature, passed between the parties. Finally, one of DECATUR's letters was construed into a challenge by Barron, who signified his willingness to accept. Preliminaries were arranged,

Commodore Bainbridge was the second for DECATUR, and Jesse Elliot for Barron. The former declared from the outset, that "he would rather lose his own life, than take that of a fellow-creature," and announced his intention of shooting his antagonist in the hip. The meeting took place at Bladensburg, on the 22d of March, 1820. DECATUR rose early,—soothed the anxieties of his beloved and devoted wife,—prepared his will for signature,—took breakfast with cheerfulness, though not indifference, and repaired to the fatal spot. Barron and Elliot were already there. Bainbridge measured the ground, and won the choice of stands. Placing DECATUR on the lowest ground, he told them that he should say "*Present!* one, two, three," and that they must not fire before the word "one," nor after the word "three." All things were now ready. Barron remarked to DECATUR, as he afterward said, with a view to reconciliation, "that he hoped, on meeting in another world, they would be better friends than they had been in this." "I have never been your enemy, sir," was DECATUR's reply. Yet, there stood Banbridge and Elliot, witnessing weapons of death pointed to the breasts of two fellow-men, one of whom wished to meet as friends in "another world," the other affirming that he was not his "enemy," in this,—without an effort to prevent the fatal shot. In part, the blood spilled on that day is on their own hands. The word was now given; as the second pronounced "TWO," both parties fired simultaneously. But one report was heard, DECATUR's ball took effect in the hip of the commodore, who instantly fell. Barron's ball passed through the abdomen of DECATUR, severing a large blood-vessel, and inflicting a fatal wound. The latter drew himself up erect, pressed his hand to the wound, and fell, saying: "I am mortally wounded, and wish that I had fallen in defense of my country." Bleeding, and suffering intense pain, he was carried to his home. His deepest solicitiude was for his wife, whom he tenderly loved. He begged his friends, who gathered around, to look to his wife, not to him. She was withered to the earth,—overwhelmed with misery on first receiving the intelligence. His will was made out, which he duly signed. He continued to sink rapidly, saying that he did not know that mortals could endure pain so intense. Just after ten o'clock at night, the following mournful notice announced that he was no more: "A hero has fallen; Commodore DECATUR, one of the first officers of our navy,—the pride of his country,—the

gallant, noble-hearted gentleman is no more. He expired a few minutes ago, of a mortal wound, received in the duel this morning. Mourn Columbia! for one of thy brightest stars is set. A son without fear, without reproach, in the fullness of his fame, in the prime of his usefulness, has descended to the tomb. Not only as a hero is he lamented. With those who personally knew him, his civic qualities riveted anew the ties by which his military virtues had bound him to their hearts. He was amongst the foremost of those who have added to the fame of his country; and his premature death is mourned as it ought to be." He was buried next day at four o'clock, with all the honors due to his rank and fame. The President and cabinet, members of the Supreme Court, headed by Chief Justice Marshall, the marine, city authorities, civic and military, proceeded with his corpse to its final resting-place. His remains repose in the grounds of Kalorama, a beautiful site, overlooking the city of Washington and the Potomac River; his name and his deeds will form a part of our proud history, and a record of admiration, while a tinge of glory lingers on our naval flag.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE venerable Socrates once administered to his favorite pupil, the Protean Greek,* a gentle reproof: "I would have you know that the rising, is more brilliant than the setting sun," replied the latter. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was just reaching the meridian of his fame, when his distinguished father, after a life of usefulness and honor to his country, was passing from among men. Never did father have greater cause to glory in a son. Born on the eve of the Revolution, his father, the champion of resistance and independence, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS became imbued with the spirit of freedom and virtue, from his very cradle.

There is so much grandeur and sublimity connected with his name, so much perfectibility and true greatness in the vast outline of his character, that if we linger awhile around the subject, a near approach to which, seems almost sacrilege, we shall surely be pardoned. To draw a true portrait, true to the original,—to sketch his form, lineaments, character, and greatness,—we feel that a more skillful artist is needed. For this, however, time, ever accurate, has been the most faithful engraver. His is not one of those characters, that grows dim with the rust of gathering years, but brightens in beauty, widens in outline, and deepens in influence, as mind becomes elevated and enlightened. Distant generations will number him among the sages,—the Socrates of modern times. Orator, statesman, philosopher, jurist, scholar, civilian, and Christian, he combined the attributes of a great man, and made them subservient to an ambition purely patriotic.

* Alcibiades.

He was the son of John and Abigail Adams, and was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, July 11th, 1767. He was descended from the early puritans, his lineage being traced back to Henry Adams, the founder of the family in this country, who came over from England soon after the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, probably about 1638. The family, from its earliest records, was distinguished for inflexible virtue and sternness of principle. Of the parents of our subject, enough has been said to show that these qualities were a part of his inheritance. His earlier schooling consisted more of the practical than the theoretical,—being more connected with men and stirring scenes, than books and academies of learning. Yet it was that sort of schooling best adapted to develop the remarkable qualities of his mind, and fit him for his high destiny. While his father was engaged in urging the Declaration, before Congress, JOHN QUINCY was at home, being instructed by his excellent mother in the primary branches. When but nine years old, he wrote the following letter to his father, which shows that he had a solid basis to build upon:

"BRAINTREE, *June 2d*, 1777.

DEAR SIR:—

I love to receive letters very well, much better than I love to write them. I make but a poor figure at composition. My head is much too fickle. My thoughts are running after birds' eggs, play, and trifles, till I get vexed with myself. Mamma has a troublesome task to keep me studying. I own I am ashamed of myself. I have but just entered the third volume of Rollin's History, but designed to have got half through it by this time. I am determined this week to be more diligent. Mr. Thaxter is absent at court. I have set myself a stint this week, to read the third volume half out. If I can but keep my resolution, I may, at the end of the week, give a better account of myself. I wish, sir, you would give me in writing, some instructions with regard to the use of my time, and advise me how to proportion my studies and play, and I will keep them by me and endeavor to follow them. With the present determination of growing better,

I am, dear sir, your son,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."*

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* Seward.

In 1778, the elder Adams, as before stated, was appointed Minister to France, whither his son, then in his eleventh year, accompanied him. While embarking on this mission, he dropped a few hasty lines to his wife, to which a postscript was appended, saying: "Johnny sends his duty to his mamma, and his love to his sisters and brothers. HE BEHAVES LIKE A MAN."

While his father was engaged in diplomatic duties, JOHN QUINCY availed himself of all opportunities to acquaint himself with men and things around him. His father thus wrote, in regard to him: "My son has had great opportunity to see this country, but this has unavoidably retarded his education in some things. He has enjoyed perfect health from first to last, and is respected wherever he goes for his vigor and vivacity, both of mind and body; for his constant good behavior and for his rapid progress both in French, as in general knowledge, which for his age is uncommon."

On his return to the United States, John Adams was appointed Minister to Great Britain. His son again accompanied him. Seeing little prospect of a successful mission, he was instructed to proceed on his embassy to Holland. He took JOHN QUINCY with him to that country, and placed him in the universities of Amsterdam and Leyden, where he made considerable proficiency in the various branches taught there. Remaining for some time at these schools, he was, in 1781, then in his fifteenth year, appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, minister to St. Petersburg. He held this post for over a year, discharging its duties with a sagacity and fidelity, worthy a man of mature years. Leaving St. Petersburg alone, he proceeded to Holland, joined his father at the Hague, where he resumed his studies. After having brought his duties in Holland to a close, John Adams was appointed one of the ministers to negotiate a treaty of peace. His son went with him to Paris, and watched with keenest interest the maneuvers of diplomatists, during the conclusion of the treaty. Intimately associated with Franklin and Jefferson, and other great men, with an active, vigorous mind, he was well qualified to improve by the opportunities thrown around him. He studied well the governments of Europe, and the great characters with which he came in contact.

In 1784, he went to London with his father, who was appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace. He remained there

during the years 1784–'85. He carried with him to the metropolis, the same inquiring, investigating mind, and treasured, in these two years, much that was useful and instructive. Her then living orators, whose tones vibrate yet, afforded the highest intellectual banquet for his young soul. Her bards and poets, he saw, through the vista of the by-gone, and listened to their strains, where he could most appreciate them. The fruitions of her Philanthropists and moralists, were fresh and fadeless about him, as he stood upon the very thresholds of their fame.

The great and sublime lessons, thus presented to his capacious mind, were drank in with the enthusiasm of conquest. In the midst of this school of discipline, however, he turned his young eye homeward. There he saw being elaborated, the most magnificent civic structure ever designed by the cunningest political architects. Then his own duties, in connection therewith, loomed perspectively before him, and he resolved to prepare for their discharge. At an age, and a time when the minds of most youths would have been intoxicated with scenes of court life, and the varied displays of the great capital of commerce, he yearned for home, and an opportunity to complete, in a course of rigid discipline, his education. He, therefore, returned home, and in his nineteenth year, entered the University of Cambridge, where he graduated with distinction in 1788.

After completing his college course, he commenced the study of law under Theophilus Parsons, a man of varied attainment and extensive legal lore. Having obtained license, he began the practice in the city of Boston. He passed a dreary and uncomfortable noviciate. Business was dull, and for a time, his prospects were bleak enough. They finally began to brighten, and when he found he was more than balancing expenses by his professional services, he felt great reasons for rejoicing.

But it was not in the forum he was destined first to distinguish himself. His father was treading the path before him, and the country bade him follow, which he obeyed, as by intuition. The close of the American Revolution, was followed by the incoherent bloody throes of the French revolution. Whirling in delirious anarchy for a time, every prospect of success was wrested from her nerveless grasp, and she left bleeding and covered with odium by the unanimous voice of Europe. Her revolution, and its frightful consequences, were ascribed to America, whence, it was

alleged she had caught the spirit of freedom. Her struggle, and the attitude proper to assume in relation to it, by other nations, was a theme of momentous consideration for statesmen and political economists. In this country, it was a question of vital interest. In the wide-spread sympathies existing in her behalf, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, who pondered the matter with the care and caution of a veteran statesman, did not participate. Seeing that the French revolution would be an inevitable failure, not wishing her nationality crushed out by combinations of allied power, and believing that neutral peaceful ground was the true course for his country, he entered into the controversy, and became a leading spirit. He published, in 1791, in the Boston Sentinel, his "Publicola Letters." Their perusal created a profound sensation, both in Europe and America. By some, they were regarded as a triumphant reply to parts of Paine's Rights of Man. Fox spoke of them as "the best things that had been written." The authorship was ascribed to the elder Adams, who was compelled to utter an emphatic disavowal.

He next wrote the letters signed "Marcellus," which were extensively circulated, read, and admired. Of these letters it is sufficient to say that they were read, and commended by Washington himself, who was so struck with the ability evinced by the author, that he made diligent inquiries concerning him. Their tone advocated strongly a strict neutrality toward the parties to the contest. In these letters he thus early laid down two great fundamental principles of his political life, to which he adhered with stern consistency: "Union at home, and independence of all foreign alliances or entanglements,—independence, not only politically, but in manufactures and in commerce."

He had thus brought himself before the country, in an attitude where merit could but elicit respect and consideration. He was ambitious,—not selfishly so,—but ambitious to be of service to his country. His legal prospects not being very bright, he had many misgivings as to his future, and wrote: "I am not satisfied with the manner in which I spend my time. It is calculated to keep me forever fixed in that state of useless and disgraceful insignificancy, which has been my lot for years." He determined, however, to devote himself more energetically to his profession. He was now in his twenty-fifth year, and we shall soon see him

rousing his dauntless spirit, and soaring beyond the sphere of his cotemporaries.

During the prevalence of excitement, incident to the course of Genet, ADAMS wrote a series of letters over the signature of "Columbus," favoring neutrality. Embodying the policy best suited to be carried out by this country, and being in sentiment coincident with the views entertained by the administration, they drew upon the author wide-spread admiration, and in conjunction with his other writings, brought him prominently before the public.

Having already attracted the attention of Washington, whose sagacity and peace-loving nature, were sure to dictate the selection of the wisest and most prudent patriots for official station, ADAMS was appointed, in 1794, Minister to the Hague, and immediately embarked on his embassy. Thus, at an age when most young men are looking with eager anxiety upon their professions, in the light of experiment, we find ADAMS appointed upon a delicate and important foreign mission. Our diplomatic history presents few instances of men so young, being thus honored and confided in. On his arrival at the Hague, where his earlier school days were passed, he found affairs in an unsettled condition, and saw little prospect of doing any service for his country. These circumstances induced serious thoughts, on his part, of returning to the United States. Learning this, Washington sent the following to his father, remonstrating against such a step: "Your son," says he, "must not think of retiring from the path he is now in. His prospects, if he pursues it, are fair; and I shall be much mistaken if, in as short a time as can be expected, he is not found at the head of the diplomatic corps, be the government adminis tered by whomsoever the people may choose."

This flattering prediction, from so distinguished a source, was more than verified. He remained in Holland, studying the interest of his country, and watching with closest scrutiny, the political workings of things throughout Europe. During the performance of his ministerial duties, it became necessary for him to visit London. There he formed the acquaintance of Miss Louisa Catharine Johnston, daughter of Joshua Johnston, of Maryland, who was consular agent at the time, and formerly one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. They soon conceived for each other a true friendship, which warmed into an ardent

attachment. They were married, July 26th, 1797, and lived long together in the full enjoyment of peaceful, domestic happiness.

On the elevation of John Adams to the Presidency, the continuance of his son as minister, became a question of delicate consideration. He wished to perform his whole duty to his country, without subjecting himself to accusations of family preferment. Washington was consulted in regard to the matter, and gave an emphatic opinion, favorable to his continuance: "If," says he, "my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a strong hope that you will not withhold merited promotion from JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, because he is your son. For, without intending to compliment the father or the mother, or to censure any others, I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr. ADAMS is the most valuable public character we have abroad."

He was, soon after, appointed minister to the court of Berlin, where he arrived in 1798. While there, he devoted himself to literary pursuits, during his leisure time, with the freshness and enthusiasm of youth. For the German poets, he conceived great admiration, and for the purpose of perfecting himself in the language, as well as to imbibe the sentiments, made a translation of Wieland's Oberon. ADAMS was one of the closest students of his day, and acquired a fund of general intelligence and scholarly lore, attained by few others. As a literary man, had his life been devoted alone to letters, unfettered by political relationships, he would have distinguished himself, and conferred lasting benefits upon his country. His travels through Silesia, the scenery of which made vivid impression on his mind, were published in Philadelphia, and subsequently translated into several languages, and extensively circulated. He succeeded in concluding a highly advantageous treaty with Prussia, in which he evinced rare diplomatic capacity and energy.

This young ambassador of Freedom, representing our Republic at the courts of Europe, during one of the most momentous periods of the world's history, presents an object of deep interest. All Europe was convulsed, and wily minister, intriguing monarch, and daring warrior, were struggling for dominion on the land and on the sea. Yet ADAMS, youthful as he was, protected our interests with a prudence and sagacity, that placed him where the unerring eye of Washington had foreseen, "at the head of our diplomatic corps."

On the accession of the elder Adams to the Presidency, the affairs of the country, particularly the financial department, were in a perplexing condition. Though he pursued a course of moderation and peace, his administration was not in all respects popular. The passage of the "Alien law, which empowered the President to banish from the United States, any foreigner whom he should consider dangerous to the peace and safety of the country,"—followed by the "Sedition Law, imposing fine and imprisonment for any scandalous, false, and malicious writing against the government of the United States, or either house of Congress or the President,"—rendered the administration unpopular in many sections of the country, which subsequent differences with his party tended to increase. Being beaten for the succession, by Jefferson, when his official term was expiring, he recalled JOHN QUINCY ADAMS to the United States, leaving his successor free to make his own selections, without family considerations.

On his return to the United States, in 1802, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was received with high admiration, and appearances already began to indicate that the distinction of the father would be transcended by that of the son. Too prominently had he placed himself before the country to remain in inactivity. In 1803, then in his thirty-seventh year, he was elected to the United States Senate, from Massachusetts, and took his seat among veteran statesmen, where he was destined to tower in undazzled grandeur, a colossus of the nation.

The Federalists were largely in the majority in his native State, yet his noble patriotism, bursting party shackles, soared above minor considerations, and with vision true, embraced in his views of right, the whole country, and the elevation of his FELLOW-MEN. On one occasion, in the selection of men composing the governor's council, it being customary to yield to the voice of the majority, and consequently select each member from among the Federalists, ADAMS urged the adoption of some means whereby the rights of the minority would be respected, by placing some Anti-Federalists among the number, and cast his vote to that effect. At another time, he was asked: "What are the recognized principles of politics?" "There are *no principles* in politics,—there are recognized *precepts*, but they are very bad ones," was the reply. "But," asked his interrogator, "is not this a good one,"—To seek the greatest good of the greatest number?" "No," he

answered, "that is the worst of all, for it looks specious, while it is ruinous. What shall become of the minority in that case? This is the only principle to seek,—THE GREATEST GOOD TO ALL."*

Among the early duties of the Senate, was action upon the purchase of Louisiana. ADAMS opposed the measure. After its passage, however, he labored zealously in the preparation of a territorial government. The extension of right to trial by jury, in all cases, he urged with great force. It was attempted to levy a tax upon the people of the territory, before population gave them a voice in Congress. "Taxation, without representation," had become ominous to our Republic. ADAMS opposed it sternly, and upon the broad principles of constitutional right.

One of his most important acts, however, in the Senate, as prefiguring the great energies and powerful talents he would display on the great agitating question of slavery, was his effort to establish a law levying duty on the importation of slaves. In the midst of his labors, however, his senatorial career was about ending. England's orders in council, interdicting commercial relations with France, and the Milan decree, prohibiting all commercial interchange with Great Britain or her colonies, provoked the American Embargo. The excitement and commercial distresses, unavoidably growing out of this measure, which may justly be styled among the undesirable necessities of the times, have already been mentioned. Massachusetts was decidedly hostile to it, while petitions and memorials crowded upon the President, praying its repeal. The very party that elected ADAMS, were almost unanimous in their hostility. In this emergency, what was he to do? He took a calm survey of the whole matter. On one side was the party that placed him in power, on the other a President who had beaten his father, and been elevated to office by an opposite party, advocating the enforcement of an act, the creation of which, seemed forced upon us by the appeals of imperiled commerce. After full investigation, he determined, regardless of results, to sustain Jefferson and the Embargo, which he did with manly firmness. He now had heaped upon him every variety of charge of venality and corruption, by the Massachusetts Federalists, and opponents of the Embargo, who affirmed that he was actuated by selfish ambition. Singular ambition, truly! to

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* Quarterly. Seward.

leave the party that placed him in power, then in overwhelming majority in his State, and identify himself with a measure, whose friends were in a dead minority in the same State. "Ambition should be made of sterner stuff." His course being disapproved by his State, and not wishing to represent a constituency whose views were at variance with his own, and still adherent to the great maxim of his life, to make party relationships matters of secondary consideration, ADAMS, in 1808, resigned his seat in the Senate. The presidency of Cambridge being vacant by the death of Willard, the position was flatteringly tendered to him, the acceptance of which, he peremptorily declined. He, shortly after, however, accepted the position of professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in that institution, the duties of which, he discharged to his increased popularity, and the honor of his seat. He held this place until 1809. In March of that year, Madison came to the Presidency of the United States, and ADAMS accepted the appointment of minister to Russia, whither he sailed the ensuing summer. He reached St. Petersburg in the fall of the same year. He was shortly after tendered a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court but did not accept.

While at the Russian court, he wrote his celebrated volume bearing the title of "Letters of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, to his son, on the Bible, and its teachings." They were written to his son, then a school-boy in his native State. No man ever had deeper reverence for the Bible, or made it a more constant companion and monitor. It has been said of him, that he read it through, at least once a year. The sublimity of its truths, and the purity of its maxims, certainly impressed his whole career. Never did man live a more correct exemplification of the true Christian than did he. In religion, as in politics, he eschewed sects and partyism, and looked higher,—to the general diffusion of truth, and harmonious exercise of Christian principles.

He soon acquired great influence at the Russian Court, and did much in producing the proposed mediation of Alexander between his country and the United States, and Great Britain. Hostilities had resulted to the glory of the American arms, and both parties began to see that a protraction of them was neither to the interest of the one, nor advancement of the other. The proposition to mediate was accepted. Clay, Gallatin, Russell, and Bayard, were joined with ADAMS to effect negotiations. The labors of these com-

missioners received the highest enconiums, even from England herself, and resulted in the treaty of Ghent, concluded December 24th, 1814. News of the treaty of peace was received with enthusiastic demonstrations at various places in Europe, while in America, it was the signal for general rejoicing. Having completed their labors at Ghent, ADAMS, in conjunction with Clay and Gallatin, proceeded to London, to negotiate a commercial treaty with Great Britain. ADAMS reached the metropolis on the 25th of May, 1815. This was soon consummated upon advantageous terms to the United States. In all these negotiations, ADAMS displayed rare diplomatic capacity, and showed that he fully understood the politics of all Europe, as well as of his own country. He attained an influence at foreign courts, equalled by few of our foreign ministers. His vast erudition, varied attainments, love of arts and science, and refined taste, made him a welcome guest in the most polite circles, and invested him with marked interest and esteem.

On the accession of James Monroe to the Presidency, he determined to pursue, as far as compatible with the dignity of a nation, a line of policy, moderate and conciliatory; to do this, he desired to draw around him as supporters of his administration, men of firmness, prudence, experience and patriotism. These considerations induced the selection of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS for Secretary of State. Soon as this choice was determined on, the new President thus wrote Jackson: "I shall take a person for the department from the eastward; and Mr. ADAMS, by long service in our diplomatic concerns, appearing to be entitled to the preference, supported by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate." Jackson replied as follows: "I have no hesitancy in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the department of State, that could be made. Mr. ADAMS, in the hour of difficulty, will be an able help-mate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction."

Thus, ADAMS had reached a position of high, responsible duty. He immediately embarked his family, and sailed for home, where he arrived in August, 1817. Public dinners were every where extended to him, and ovations, of which the highest born autocrat might well have been proud. On one of these occasions, in the city of Boston, his venerable father was present, and though over eighty years of age, looked with animated interest on the scene.

ADAMS immediately proceeded to Washington, and entered upon the duties of his office, in the month of September. Monroe reposed unlimited confidence in his Secretary, who discharged his duties in a manner that showed it was not misplaced. Looking alone to our national elevation, and the maintenance of true policy, he labored zealously through Monroe's administration, with an ability and sagacity that the national archives abundantly testify. Early in Monroe's administration, the conduct of Jackson in the Seminole war, and the taking possession of the Spanish post, was a source of much comment and animadversion. The execution of Arbuthnot and Ambristed, who were condemned upon accusations of inciting the Indians to acts of hostility, created the liveliest excitement in England. Castlereagh averred that, the raising of a finger in the British cabinet would have been signal sufficient for a rush to arms.

ADAMS, by his superior skill and vigilance in the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State, did much to avert the evil, of which we were somewhat apprehensive. When Calhoun introduced his resolution of censure upon Jackson, for his conduct in the Seminole war, to the effect, that he should be punished in some form, or reprimanded in some manner, the members of Monroe's Cabinet were unanimously in favor of its passage, except ADAMS, who boldly defended the General, as being clothed with discretionary power. This is another instance where his patriotism showed itself, like a gilded spire towering above every consideration of partisan or sectional feeling.

While occupying the Department in Monroe's Cabinet, the great question of South American independence came up in Congress. With characteristic prudence and caution, ADAMS favored the diffusion of the principles of universal freedom, but was opposed to foreign warlike entanglements. The following letter to Luriottis will best give his views upon this subject:

WASHINGTON, *August 18th*, 1823.

SIR:—

A copy of the letter which you did me the honor of addressing me, on the 20th of February last, has been transmitted to me by the minister of the United States, at London, and has received the deliberate consideration of the President of the United States.

The sentiments with which he has witnessed the struggles of your countrymen for their national emancipation and independence, had been made manifest to the world, in a public message to the Congress of the United States. They are cordially felt by the people of this Union, who, sympathizing with the cause of freedom and independence, wherever its standard is unfurled, behold with peculiar interest the display of Grecian energy in defense of Grecian liberties, and the association of heroic exertions at the present time, with the proudest glories of former ages, in the land of Epaminondas and Philopœmon.

But, while cheering with their best wishes, the cause of the Greeks, the United States are forbidden, by the duties of their situation, from taking part in the war, to which their relation is that of neutrality. At peace, themselves, with all the world, their established policy, and the obligations of the law of nations, preclude them from becoming voluntary auxiliaries to a course which would involve them in war. If, in the progress of events, the Greeks should be enabled to establish and organize themselves as an independent nation, the United States will be among the first to welcome them in that capacity into the general family, to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with them, suited to the mutual interest of the two countries, and to recognize with special satisfaction, their constituted state, in the character of a sister Republic.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, sir; your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ADAMS was warmly enlisted in behalf of abolition of the slave trade. In 1823, a resolution to this effect, passed the House by a heavy majority:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States, be requested to enter upon, prosecute, from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

On the passage of this resolution, ADAMS provided instructions, penning with his own hand those of Rush, then minister to the court of St. James. Steps were immediately taken to carry out

the spirit of the resolution, when the Senate insisted upon the modification of the terms submitted by the action of parties, to which England would not consent, and the whole thing, for the time being, fell through. The popular administration of Monroe, to the success of which ADAMS had largely contributed, closed in the spring of 1825.

So deep a hold had ADAMS taken upon the public, whose rights he had so nobly and triumphantly vindicated, that the eye of the nation was directed toward him, as best fitted for the succession. The Presidential campaign of 1824 was one of intense excitement, characterized in many respects with a virulence and bitterness, hitherto never witnessed on a similar occasion. ADAMS was nominated by the eastern States, Clay by the western; Crawford was regarded as the candidate of the southern, while Jackson's brilliant military fame, and forensic experience, entitled him to eminent consideration throughout the entire Union. After a warmly contested canvass, it resulted as foreseen,—no choice was made by the people. The electoral college numbered two hundred and sixty-one votes. Of these, Jackson received ninety-nine, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. This threw the election into the House, which took place early in February, 1825. It was an occasion of vast interest, and large crowds flocked to the capitol. Daniel Webster and John Randolph, were appointed tellers. The ballots being all counted, Webster arose and said:

"MR. SPEAKER: The tellers of the votes at this table, have proceeded to count the ballots contained in the boxes set before them. The result they find to be, that there are for JOHN QUINCY ADAMS of Massachusetts, thirteen votes; for Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, seven votes; for William H. Crawford of Georgia, four votes." Thus, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was the duly elected President of the United States, for the ensuing four years. John C. Calhoun was chosen Vice-President. On the 4th of March, 1825, the oath of office was administered, and he delivered his inaugural. The ceremony was one of the most imposing ever witnessed at the capitol. It is worthy of remark, that on this occasion, he was dressed in a suit made entirely of home manufacture. His first duty was the selection of his cabinet. In this he was sure to act with that unflinching patriotism and prudence, of which, his life had been a continuous exemplification. For Secretary of

State, he selected Henry Clay of Kentucky;* for Secretary of the Treasury, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of War, James Barbour of Virginia; for Secretary of the Navy, Samuel Southard, and for Attorney-General, William Wirt.

The venerable Lafayette, in the meantime, had visited the United States, and, as the "nation's guest," been the recipient of marked honors and distinction. He visited ADAMS, for whom he entertained the warmest regards. On his departure from the capitol, he fell on ADAMS' neck, and uttered the sorrowing farewell, amid suffused tears, and with a heavy heart. This scene was solemnly impressive. The patriarchal father of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, lived to see his son elected to the Presidential chair, and closed his long, eventful life.

ADAMS, on entering upon the duties of President, early showed that he would neither proscribe men from, nor select them to office, merely in consequence of political opinions entertained. The public good was the darling object of his soul, to promote which, *all* other considerations were made secondary. "It was in my hearing," says one of his cotemporaries, of some distinction, "that to a representation, that a certain important and influential functionary in New York, was using the power of his office adversely to ADAMS' re-election, and that he ought to desist or be removed. ADAMS made this reply: 'That gentleman is one of the best officers in the public service. I have had occasion to know his diligence, exactness, and punctuality. *On public grounds, therefore, there is no cause to remove him.* IF I CAN NOT ADMINISTER THE GOVERNMENT ON THESE PRINCIPLES, I AM CONTENT TO GO BACK TO QUINCY.'"†

On another occasion, he was saluted by one opposed to him in politics, in this wise: "Mr. President, though I differ with you in opinion, I am glad to find you in good health." ADAMS grasped his hand, and said: "Sir, in our happy and free country, we can differ in opinion without being enemies." How like those of Washington, are these admirable sentiments. How illustrative of a character beyond the influence of partizan bitterness, and with feelings of selfishness, not even slightly tinctured.

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* For particulars of the party bickering and personal abuse arising out of this appointment, see Life of Henry Clay.

† King's Eulogy. Seward.

——"Be just, and fear not,
Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's,"—

was truly understood and put in practice by ADAMS in all transac tions, official and private. ADAMS' administration, though fraught with no wars, nor political storms, was one of the most successful that ever blessed the country. Internal improvements were promoted, home manufactures were fostered, and renewed treaties of commerce and alliance were concluded with different European powers. In the language of Colton: "As time advances, the evidences are accumulating on all sides, that the administration of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was one of the most wise, patriotic, pacific, just, and wealth-producing in the history of the country."

On the convention of the Nineteenth Congress, in 1825, party hostility, engendered principally by the friends of the defeated candidates for the Presidency, became manifest. Thomas H. Benton proposed an amendment to the Constitution, accompanied with an able and lengthy report, taking the election of President out of the hands of the electoral college, and leaving it with the people. No action was had upon the proposition. McDuffie, of South Carolina, also proposed an amendment to the Constitution, advocating the selection of electors by districts, and preventing future elections from devolving on the House. In presenting this proposition, McDuffie dwelt with much asperity upon the course pursued on the recent election, and was very bitter in his remarks upon Henry Clay, and the alleged bargain and intrigue. This aroused the ire of the Kentucky members, who were equally severe and pointed in defense of their gallant leader. Quite an exciting scene ensued, in which the lines between the administration men and the opposition, were more closely drawn, and the breach of parties widened. These propositions, as also a resolution, presented by Mason, in regard to executive patronage, amounted to little more than the creation of dissensions, destructive of existent harmony.

It was proposed, during this session, that a general Congress, composed from the different nations, be held at Panama, with a view of closely uniting the several powers, and establishing fraternal relationships. The proposition was favorably received by ADAMS, who sent a confidential message to the House, setting forth the objects sought to be attained, and recommending Richard

Anderson and John Sargent as delegates. A committee was appointed, who, in January, 1826, presented a report against the measure. The Senate refused to accept the report, by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen. They now confirmed the nominations of the President; an appropriation was soon after made to defray the expenses of the commissioners. Thus, notwithstanding the condemnatory report of the committee, which, it was averred, was appointed by Calhoun, on account of each member's known hostility to ADAMS, the administration was triumphantly sustained. Anderson died on his way to Panama. The Congress assembled at the place designated, in June, 1826, and entered into general negotiations of peace and amity. They adjourned, fixing the meeting at Tacubaya, in Mexico, in February, 1827. South America, in the meantime, became greatly agitated, and the selfish designs of Bolivar were manifest. The Congress of Nations never assembled at the time appointed, and the whole matter, from which so many good results had been predicted, fell through.

The Nineteenth Congress seemed imbued, to some extent, with the principles of the President, in regard to internal improvements and home manufactures. Several hundred thousand dollars were appropriated, besides large parcels of public lands, to promote improvements. It was agreed, also, to defray, out of the public treasury, the expense attending a minute investigation, and publication of all the facts relating to the silk culture in the United States.

Jackson being again brought forward for the Presidency, excitements were early engendered, and it became apparent, the opposition would unite harmoniously in a vigorous campaign to secure his election. The very course the most commendable in an executive, pursued by ADAMS, tended to weaken his strength, and deprive him, in many instances, of warm, influential supporters. He adhered tenaciously to the sentiments expressed in his inaugural, that party considerations should not influence him in the smallest degree, in appointments and removals. ADAMS was a STATESMAN, not a mere *politician*, and in administering the government, has, at least, shown the wide, the very wide distinction between the two. By this course, political opponents received patronage, and a consequential increase of influence, which was unsparingly used against the very source whence it emainated.

Congress met again, December 4th, 1826. During this second

session, but few national measures of interest were presented for consideration. Large appropriations were made for internal improvements; measures were taken for the diffusion of learning and the establishment of seminaries; the proposition for a bankrupt law was defeated; commercial intercourse with the British colonies was prohibited, in consequence of discriminating duties; canals were projected, and grants made for their completion; half a million dollars a year was appropriated to the improvement of the navy, limited to six years; additional duties on woolens were considered, etc. With the legislation upon these measures, and a vast amount of deferred business on the table, Congress adjourned.

The Twentieth Congress met, December, 1827. It was soon perceived that the administration had lost a portion of its supporters. Elections had been held in several of the States, amid high political excitements, into which the tariff question,—the proposed additional duties on woolens, entered with special consideration. The opposition succeeded in the election of speaker of the House, and the presiding officer of the Senate being hostile, the President, it was evident, would encounter a formidable array of opponents during the session. As already stated, much interest had been created throughout the country, by the discussion of the tariff question. ADAMS, contrary to general expectation, after touching, in his message, upon other subjects before the public, did not allude to this at all; Rush, however, Secretary of the Treasury, made, early in December, an elaborate report, in which manufactures received great consideration, and protection was warmly urged. General inquiry was now instituted into the manufacturing interests of the country. The committee on manufactures, after a diligent investigation of the subject of near a month, in which much valuable information was elicited, reported in January, and recommended additional duties upon many articles of import. Discussions upon this subject were kept up with considerable animation, until silenced by the adjustment tariff of 1828. This was, in many features, obnoxious to some parts of the south, but continued in force until the compromise tariff of 1832–'33. A bill reductive of duties on wines passed shortly after; another, regulative of the process of the federal courts, for the convenience of the newer States, also passed.

It was at this first session of the Twentieth Congress, that the

presiding officer, John C. Calhoun, came to the conclusion, that his authority did not permit him to preserve order in the Senate. Following out this erroneous idea with characteristic stubborness, it became necessary to pass some special resolution, investing him beyond question, with a prerogative so essential to the preservation of decorum and dignity in the Senate. Such a resolve was proposed. It was soon seen that it would encounter hostility. Many averred that it was an aristocratic privilege, at variance with the principles of republicanism, and dangerously inimical to the freedom of the country. After protracted discussion, the measure passed by a majority of thirty-one to fifteen, and thus the presiding officer of the Senate became convinced that he had a right to *preside* over that body!

This, and some minor legislation closed the deliberations of the session, which adjourned in May. The next session convened December 1st, 1828. The Presidential election took place in the meantime, and resulted in the choice of Andrew Jackson, by a majority of ninety-five, Jackson having received one hundred and seventy three, and ADAMS eighty-three electoral votes.

It now remained for the President and his coadjutors, to finish the work intrusted to their care, in a manner patriotically, as it had been prosecuted. The last session of the Twentieth Congress presented no measures of national legislation of exciting interest. The President, in his last annual message, gave an able review of the condition of the country, and evoked the guidance of the Supreme Will to continue our prosperity. During the session, bills regulative of navigation, giving extension on exports were passed; the constitutionality of appropriations by the general government, for purposes of internal improvement, was thoroughly investigated, discussed, and acceded to,—majorities in both houses pronouncing them constitutional; a million of dollars were appropriated to the Ohio and Chesapeake canal; grants made to the Lake Erie and Miami river canal; to Alabama, for canal and river improvements, large grants were made; a quarter of a million was appropriated to the construction of Delaware bay breakwater; fifteen thousand more was set apart to open the Main military road; provision was made for exploring purposes; the sale of the Missouri salt springs and lead mines was authorized; tolls, toll-gates and roads, were regulated, etc.

This session of Congress was quiet and ordinary. What legis

lation there was, had produced little bitterness, or exciting discussion. The intensity of feeling exhibited during the election, was followed by an apathetic reaction, and the incoming administration, and the course it would be likely to pursue, engrossed more of public attention, than the close of the old. To quote the language of the American Annual Register: "Thus terminated the administration of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; and whatever opinion may be entertained of its policy, and its tendency, it can not be denied that its character was marked and definite; and that it exercised a strong influence upon the interests of the country. The merits and demerits of his policy were positive, and not negative. Certain definite objects were proposed as desirable, and the energies of the government were directed toward their attainment.

"The United States, during this administration, enjoyed uninterrupted peace; and the foreign policy of the government had only in view the maintenance of the dignity of the national character; the extension of its commercial relations, and the successful prosecution of the claims of American citizens upon foreign governments.

"It was, however, in the domestic policy of government that the character of the administration was most strongly displayed. During its continuance in office, new and increased activity was imparted to those powers vested in the federal government for the development of the resources of the country; and the public revenue liberally expended in prosecuting those national measures to which the sanction of Congress had been deliberately given as the settled policy of the government.

"More than one million of dollars had been expended in enlarging and maintaining the lighthouse establishment; half a million in completing the public buildings; two millions in erecting arsenals, barracks, and furnishing the national armories; nearly the same amount had been expended in permanent additions to the naval establishment; upward of three millions had been devoted to fortifying the seacoast; and more than four millions expended in improving the internal communications between different parts of the country, and in procuring information, by scientific surveys, concerning its capacity for further improvement. Indeed, more had been directly effected by the aid of government, in this respect, during Mr. ADAMS' administration, than during the administrations of all his predecessors. Other sums, exceed

ing a million, had been appropriated for objects of a lasting character, and not belonging to the annual expense of the government; making, in the whole, nearly fourteen millions of dollars expended for the permanent benefit of the country, during this administration.

"At the same time, the interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and the debt itself was in a constant course of reduction, having been diminished $30,373,188 during this administration, and leaving due, on the first of January, 1829, $58,362,136. While these sums were devoted to increasing the resources and improving the condition of the country, and in discharging its pecuniary obligations, those claims which were derived from what are termed the imperfect obligations of gratitude and humanity, were not forgotten.

"More than five millions of dollars were appropriated to solace the declining years of the surviving officers of the Revolution; and a million and a half expended, in extinguishing the Indian title, and defraying the expense of the removal, beyond the Mississippi, of such tribes as were unqualified for a residence near civilized communities, and in promoting the civilization of those who, relying on the faith of the United States, preferred to remain on the lands which were the abodes of their fathers.

"In the condition which we have described, in peace with all the world, with an increasing revenue, with a surplus of $5,125,638, in the public treasury, the administration of the government of the United States was surrendered by Mr. ADAMS on the 3d. of March, he having previously left the governmental house, and relinquished the executive power. The next day General Jackson entered upon the administration of the government."*

"The smile with which he threw aside the trappings of power, and the graceful propriety with which he took leave of patronage and place, were truly commendable."

Having seen this great man rising rapidly to distinction, until he had reached the highest point of earthly ambition, it would seem now, that we should go with him to the quietude of private repose. Not so, however. For him a double destiny seemed designed, for which nature and application had eminently qualified him. Before returning again into politics, however, we may

* American Annual Register. Willard.

notice his vast and varied attainments. His fondness for literary pursuits has before been mentioned; in the department of letters, he attained a position that might well excite the envy of the most ardent devotee. Profoundly versed in classic lore, embellished with the polish and refinement of modern letters and associations, his mind naturally bold, vigorous, and discriminating, exhibited evidences of the finished master in every department of learning. At this time he was esteemed one of the most pleasing and instructive conversationalists of his day, and drew men toward him, who came as to a fountain for mental refreshment.

Besides his numerous orations and pamphlets, preserved as finest specimens of style and thought, his Letters on Silesia; Letters on Rhetoric and Oratory; Letters on Freemasonry, and the Jubilee of the Constitution, and various other productions, attest his literary merit. The following sketch, though brief, which we extract from one of his lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory, will convey an idea of ADAMS' style of composition. Speaking of ancient and modern eloquence, he says:

"With the dissolution of Roman liberty, and the decline of Roman taste, the reputation and the excellency of the oratorical art fell alike into decay. Under the despotisms of the Cæsars, the end of Eloquence was perverted from persuasion to panegyric, and all her faculties were soon palsied by the touch of corruption, or enervated by the impotence of servitude. Then succeeded the midnight of the monkish ages, when with the other liberal arts, she slumbered in the profound darkness of the cloister. At the revival of letters in modern Europe, Eloquence, together with her sister muses, awoke and shook the poppies from her brow. But their torpors still tingled in her veins. In the interval, her voice was gone; her favorite languages were extinct; her organs were no longer attuned to harmony, and her hearers could no longer understand her speech. The discordant jargon of feudal anarchy had banished the musical dialects in which she had always delighted. The theaters of her former triumphs were either deserted, or filled with the babblers of sophistry and chicane. She shrunk intuitively from the forum, for the last object she remembered to have seen there, was the head of her darling Cicero planted upon the rostrum. She ascended the tribunals of justice; there she found her child, Persuasion, manacled and pinioned by the letter of the law; there she beheld an image of herself, stam-

mering in barbarous Latin, and staggering under the lumber of a thousand volumes. Her heart fainted within her. She lost all confidence in herself. Together with her irresistible powers, she lost proportionably the consideration of the word until, instead of comprising the whole system of public education, she found herself excluded from the circle of science, and declared an outlaw from the realms of learning. She was not, however, doomed to eternal silence. With the progress of freedom and of liberal science, in various parts of modern Europe, she obtained access to mingle in the deliberations of their parliaments. With labor and dificulty she learned their languages, and lent her aid in giving them form and polish. But she has never recovered the graces of her former beauty, nor the energies of her ancient vigor."

Describing a visit to ADAMS, in 1834, one of his friends has left the following:

"The ex-president was the chief talker. He spoke with infinite ease, drawing upon his vast resources with the certainty of one who has his lecture before him ready written. The whole of his conversation, which he steadily maintained for nearly four hours, was a continued stream of light. Well contented was I to be a listener. His subjects were the architecture of the middle ages; the stained glass of that period; sculpture, embracing monuments particularly. On this subject, his opinion of Mrs. Nightengale's monument, in Westminster Abbey, differs from all others I have seen or heard. He places it above every other in the Abbey, and observed, in relation to it, that the spectator 'saw nothing else.' Milton, Shakespeare, Shenstone, Pope, Byron, and Southey, were in turn remarked upon. He gave Pope a wonderfully high character, and remarked, that one of his chief beauties, was the skill exhibited in varying the cesural pause,—quoting from various parts of his author to illustrate his remarks more fully. He said very little on the politics of the country. He spoke at considerable length of Sheridan and Burke, both of whom he had heard, and could describe with the most graphic effect. He also spoke of Junius; and it is remarkable, that he should place him so far above the rest of his cotemporaries. He spoke of him as a bad man, but maintained, as a writer he had never been equalled. The conversation never flagged for a moment; and on the whole,

I shall remember my visit to Quincy as among the most instructive and pleasant I ever passed."

The foregoing affords some, though far from a complete idea of Adams' literary attainments, and great versatility of talent and genius. Though ardently attached to literature, in the pursuits of which, he designed passing at Quincy the remainder of his days, it soon became clear that a different field was opening to him. In 1830, he was mentioned, in connection with the National Congress, in one of the districts of his native State. Contrary to the expectations, and even the wishes of many of his best friends, he signified a willingness to serve the people in whatsoever sphere they might deem him fitted. He was duly elected, and took his seat at a period of high congressional excitement. Few men on that celebrated floor could measure intellectual strength with him. To use the words of Seward: "He exhibited a fund of knowledge so vast and profound,—a familiarity so perfect with nearly every topic which claimed the attention of Congress,—he could bring forth from his well-replenished store-house of memory, so vast an array of facts, shedding light upon subjects deeply obscure,—displayed such readiness and power in debate, pouring out streams of purest eloquence, or launching forth the most scathing denunciations when he deemed them called for,—that his most bitter opposers, while trembling before his sarcasm, and dreading his assaults, could not but grant him the reward of their highest admiration. Well did he deserve the title conferred upon him by general consent, of the "Old Man Eloquent."

Before his entrance into the halls of Congress, he completed the erection of a monument to the memory of his father, in the town of Quincy, which was lettered with inscriptions appropriate to his illustrious name. He took his seat in Congress, December, 1831. The idea of an ex-president appearing in public life in that capacity, created deep interest throughout the entire Union.

As a test of the confidence reposed in his ability and zeal, he was made chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, at that time of tariff discussions, one of the most delicate and important in the House. The same unblemished character for integrity and spirit that had hitherto been so eminently his, adorned his career in Congress. True to the tenor of his whole political life, he still discarded party and party shackles in the investigation of every

subject of national policy. The same unwearied perseverance in the faithful discharge of duty that had always characterized him, marked his course there. Though among the oldest members, he was first at his post, and the last to leave it, participating in the discussion of all important issues, with the ardor, freshness, and enthusiasm of youth.

He was engaged in his congressional labors, when Madison died, when he was selected to deliver the eulogy of his distinguished predecessor, as he had formerly been to deliver that of Monroe. Both have subsequently been published in a neat volume, and are justly appreciated as among the finest specimens of our national literature, abounding in rich and copious thought, profound knowledge of statesmanship, and refined classical allusions.

When in 1835, the Texan revolution broke out, and men were rushing from the United States to aid in the scheme of severing Texas from Mexico, and money was solicited from the public treasury, for the purpose of consummating the object, ADAMS took grounds of decided hostility to any such steps. When the question of recognizing the independence of Texas came up in 1836, he was equally opposed. His opposition to these measures was owing to his views upon the slavery question, it being evident that in the event of Texas being acknowledged free and independent, and her subsequent annexation, it would be the acquisition of slave territory, and result in the extension of an institution to which his abhorrence was deep-rooted, honest and undisguised. The ulterior objects, as he conceived, of the revolutionists and advocates of independence, were boldly laid before Congress by him, in the discussions that ensued upon the subject. ADAMS was opposed to slavery in all its forms, and felt it his duty to labor to prevent its extension. He, no doubt, would have preferred that the limits of the Union should be confined to its then existent area, than that one acre more of land should ever be added, if that acre were to be pressed by the foot of a slave. Others thought differently. The Texas movement was more successful than its warmest friends anticipated. Whatever results of good may have grown out of the revolution, recognition, and the subsequent war with Mexico, and the consequent territorial acquisition by the United States, no one at the present day will be so bold as to

accuse the venerable ADAMS of acting contrary to convictions of truth, honor, and justice toward his country and mankind.

But what distinguished ADAMS more than anything else in Congress, was his firm, unflinching advocacy of the right of petition, called forth by the desire to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. This subject formed the leading agitation during the session of 1836–'37. Petitions, praying the abolition of slavery in the District, flooded the House from the North and the East, and ADAMS was usually the medium through which they were presented. Southern members became thoroughly aroused, and determined to put a stop to the agitation of the question. A committee, consisting of some of the ablest men in the South, were appointed to take the matter into consideration. They reported several resolutions, among others the following, discountenancing petition in every sense:

"*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent, whatever, to the subject of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action, whatever, shall be had thereon."

On the presentation of this resolution, ADAMS sent the following to the speaker's chair, asking that it might forever remain on the journal for the inspection of posterity:

"I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of the House, and of the rights of my constituents."*

The resolution passed, and would, it was supposed, effectually put an end to further petitions. In this, however, they were mistaken. To a mind like that of ADAMS, difficulties only afforded a stimulant to perseverance. Petitions continued to pour upon the House, and found the same stern advocate in ADAMS, who daily presented them to consideration, demanding action. Abuse and invective poured upon him from all sides, yet he quailed not. The following, from the journal of the day, is but one of such scenes daily transpiring. ADAMS, on the 6th of January, 1837, was presenting a petition from near two hundred ladies:

"Mr. Glasscock objected to its reception. Mr. Parks moved that the preliminary motion, on the reception of the petition,

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* Debates. Seward.

be laid on the table, which was carried. Mr. ADAMS said, that if he had understood the decision of the speaker, in this case, it was not the petition itself which was laid upon the table, but the motion to receive. In order to save the time of the House, he would give notice that he should call up that motion for decision every day, so long as he should be permitted to do so by the House; because he should not consider his duty accomplished so long as the petition was not declined, and so long as the House had not decided that it would not receive it. Mr. Pinckney arose to a question of order, and inquired if there was now any question pending before the House.

The speaker said, he had understood the gentleman from Massachusetts, as merely giving notice of a motion hereafter to be made. In doing so, it certainly would not be in order to enter into debate. Mr. ADAMS said, that so long as freedom of speech was allowed to him as a member of that House, he would call up that question until it should be decided.

"Mr. ADAMS was called to order.

"Mr. ADAMS said he would then have the honor of presenting to the House the petition of two hundred and twenty-eight women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents, and as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading the petition. It was not long, and would not consume much time.

"Mr. Glasscock objected to the reception of the petition.

"Mr. ADAMS proceeded to read, that the petitioners, inhabitants of South Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, 'impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress——'

"Mr. Pinckney rose to a question of order. Had the gentleman from Massachusetts a right, under the rule, to read the petition?

"The speaker said, the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to state the contents of the petition.

"Mr. Pinckney desired the decision of the speaker, as to whether a gentleman had a right to read a petition.

"Mr. ADAMS said he was reading the petition as a part of his speech, and he took this to be one of the privileges of a member of the House. It was a privilege he should take till he should be deprived of it by some positive act.

"The speaker repeated, that ADAMS had a right to state the contents of the petition.

"Mr. ADAMS. At the time my friend from South Carolina—

"The speaker said the gentleman must proceed to state the contents of the petition.

"Mr. ADAMS. I am doing so, sir.

"The Speaker. Not in the opinion of the chair.

"Mr. ADAMS. I was at this point of the petition: 'Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country, over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever.'

"Loud cries of 'Order, order!'

"Mr. ADAMS. 'Do most earnestly petition your honorable body.'

"Mr. Chambers, of Kentucky, arose to a point of order.

"Mr. ADAMS. 'Immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.'

"Mr. Chambers repeated his call to order, and the Speaker directed Mr. ADAMS to take his seat.

"Mr. ADAMS proceeded with great rapidity of enunciation and in a very loud tone of voice: 'AND TO DECLARE EVERY HUMAN BEING FREE WHO SETS FOOT UPON ITS SOIL.'"

In this way, amid the most intense excitement, he read the petition entirely through, nor yielded an inch until the last sentence was pronounced in a clear, bold tone. There is a moral sublimity in thus vindicating his opinions, that certainly can but be admired by all, whether endorsing his views or not.

The scene just recorded, was, soon after, followed by one still more exciting. Among other charges brought against ADAMS, was one to the effect that he was actuated by a false philanthropy, and that he cared nothing more for the rights of the slave than those who said nothing in their behalf. To demonstrate this assertion, a sham petition was concocted, signed by slaves, and forwarded for presentation. ADAMS had read over a hundred, when coming to it, he said to the speaker, (Mr. Polk): "I have in my possession a petition of somewhat an extraordinary character, and I wish to inquire of the chair, if it be in order to present it." The speaker asked the nature of it. "Sir," replied ADAMS, "the petition is signed by eleven slaves, of the town of Fredericksburg, Virginia. It is one of these petitions, which, it has occurred to my mind, is not what it purports to be. It is signed partly by persons who can not write, by making their marks, and partly

by persons whose handwriting would manifest that they have received the education of slaves. The petition declares itself to be from slaves, and I am requested to present it; I will send it to the chair."

The speaker, making some remarks, to the effect that it was a novel case, and required some deliberation, Lewis, of Alabama, fell into a violent rage, and turned upon ADAMS and exclaimed: "By G—d, sir, this is not to be endured any longer."

"Treason! Treason! Expel the old scoundrel; put him out; do not let him disgrace the House any longer,"—shouted some dozen voices. "Get up a resolution to meet the case," said another.

A resolution was immediately prepared, to the effect, that "he be taken to the bar of the House, and censured by the speaker."

Many excited members demanded loudly that ADAMS should be punished. Several suggested that the petition "be taken out and burned." ADAMS, during all this storm, maintained his equanimity. Several resolutions were presented requiring his censure. "Sir," said ADAMS, as he arose in all his native dignity, "it is well known, that from the time I entered this House down to the present day, I have felt it a sacred duty to present any petition, couched in respectful language, from any citizen of the United States, be its object what it may; be the prayer of it that in which I could concur, or that to which I was utterly opposed. It is for the sacred right of PETITION that I have adopted this course. Where is your law which says that the mean, and the low, and the degraded, shall be debarred of the right of petition, if their moral character is not good? Where, in the land of freemen, was the right of petition ever placed on the exclusive basis of morality and virtue? Petition is *supplication*, it is *entreaty*, it is *prayer!* And where is the degree of vice or immorality which shall deprive the citizen of the right to *supplicate* for a boon, or *to pray for mercy?* Where is such a law to be found? It does not belong to the most abject despotism. There is no absolute monarch on earth who is not compelled, by the constitution of his country, to receive the petitions of his people, whoever they may be. The Sultan of Constantinople can not walk the streets and refuse to receive petitions from the meanest and vilest of the land. This is the law even of despotism. And what does your law say?

Does it say that, before presenting a petition you shall look into it and see whether it comes from the virtuous, and the great, and the mighty? No, sir;—it says no such thing. The right of petition belongs to *all*. And so far from refusing to present a petition, because it might come from those low in the estimation of the world, it would be an additional incentive, if such incentive were wanting. But I must admit, that when *color* comes into the question, there may be other considerations. It is possible that this House, which seems to consider it so great a crime to attempt to offer a petition from slaves, may, for aught I know, say that freemen, if not of the *carnation*, shall be deprived of the right of petition in the sense of the House."

In the midst of the excitement, Henry A. Wise was sent for; being informed that the "Union was in danger," he rushed speedily into their deliberations: "What's the matter?" he asked. "Adams has introduced a petition from slaves." "And is that all?" exclaimed Wise. "The gentleman from Massachusetts has presented a petition signed by slaves! Well, what of it? Is anybody harmed by it? Sir, in my opinion, slaves are the very persons who should petition. Mine pray to me, and I listen to them; and shall not the feeble supplicate? Sir, I see no danger; the country, I believe, is safe."

This whole matter finally ended by the passage of some resolutions rejecting the petition. The petition was manufactured, no doubt, to place Adams in an unpleasant predicament; but with that intuitive sagacity he possessed to a remarkable degree, he saw through the design, and determined to make it recoil upon its originators.

Still maintaining his ground upon this subject, and anxious, at least, for a full investigation of the slavery question, under circumstances favorable to the development of truth, Adams, in 1839, presented the following amendment to the Constitution:

"*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled*, two-thirds of both Houses concurring therein, that the following amendments to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the several States of the Union, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of said States, shall become and be a part of the Constitution of the United States:

"1. From, and after the 4th day of July, 1842, there shall be, throughout the United States, no hereditary slavery; but on,

and after that day, every child born within the United States, their territories and jurisdiction, shall be born free.

"2. With the exception of the territory of Florida, there shall, henceforth, never be admitted into this Union any State, the Constitution of which, shall tolerate within the same the existence of slavery.

"3. From, and after the 4th day of July, 1845, there shall be neither slavery nor slave trade at the seat of the government of the United States."

The merits or demerits of these propositions, it is not our province to discuss. According to the generally admitted principle, that slavery, being recognized as comprehending property, under the Constitution of the country, and is essentially a domestic institution, they could not have been adopted, and if they could, would, no doubt, have resulted in influences injurious in the extreme. Though contrary to his anticipations, these propositions did not eventuate in a general discussion of the principles involved, he maintained his position as their avowed advocate, undaunted by the torrent of opposition encountered. His manly heroism, won the profound respect of even his bitterest political opponents, who were first to load him with abuse and vituperation. On every occasion, when the silver tones of his voice rang through the House, members eagerly bent their listening ears to catch the lowest intonation. The high respect he commanded, was shown in the famous New Jersey contested election case, in 1839. The incident has been preserved in a manner so characteristic of the occasion, that we prefer quoting entire. It is as follows:

"On the opening of the Twenty-sixth Congress, in December, 1839, in consequence of a two-fold delegation from New Jersey, the House was unable, for some time, to complete its organization, and presented to the country and the world, the perilous and discreditable aspect of the assembled representatives of the people, unable to form themselves into a a constitutional body. On first assembling, the House has no officers, and the clerk of the preceding session acts, by usage, as chairman of the body, till a speaker is chosen. On this occasion, after reaching the State of New Jersey, the acting clerk declined to proceed in calling the roll, and refused to entertain any of the motions which were made for the purpose of extricating the House from its embarrassment. Many of the ablest and most judicious had addressed the House

in vain, and there was nothing but confusion and discord in prospect.

"The fourth day opened, and still confusion was trinmphant. But the hour of disenthrallment was at hand, and a scene was presented which sent the mind back to those days when Cromwell uttered the exclamation: 'Sir Harry Vane! wo unto you, Sir Harry Vane!' and in an instant dispersed the famous Rump Parliament.

"ADAMS, from the opening of this scene of confusion and anarchy, had maintained a profound silence. He appeared to be engaged, most of the time, in writing. To a common observer, he seemed reckless of every thing around him,—but nothing, not the slightest incident, escaped him. The fourth day of the struggle had now commenced; Hugh Garland, the clerk, was directed to call the roll again.

"He commenced with Maine, as was usual in those days, and was proceeding toward Massachusetts. I turned, and saw that Mr. ADAMS was ready to get the floor at the earliest moment possible.

"His keen eye was rivited on the clerk; his hands clasped the front edge of his desk, where he always placed them to assist him in rising. He looked, in the language of Otway, like the

'——Fowler eager for his prey.'

"'New Jersey,' ejaculated Hugh Garland, 'and the clerk has to repeat that——.'

"Mr. ADAMS sprang to the floor. 'I rise to interrupt the clerk,' was his first remark.

"'Silence! silence!! resounded through the hall; 'hear him, hear him. Hear what he has to say; hear JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,' was the ejaculation on all sides. In an instant the most profound silence reigned throughout the hall,—you might have heard a leaf of paper fall in any part of it, and every eye was riveted on the venerable Nestor of Massachusetts,—the purest statesman, and the noblest of men. He paused for a moment; and giving Garland a

'——————Withering look,'

he proceeded to address the House.

'It was not my intention,' said he, 'to take part in these extraordinary proceedings. I had hoped that this House would succeed in organizing itself; that a speaker and a clerk would be elected, and that the ordinary business of legislation would be progressed

in. This is not the time, or place, to discuss the merits of the conflicting claimants for seats from New Jersey; that subject belongs to the House of Representatives, which, by the Constitution, is made the ultimate arbiter of the qualifications of its members. But what a spectacle we here present! We degrade and disgrace our constituents and the country. We do not, and can not organize; and why? Because the clerk of this House,—the mere clerk, whom we create, and whom we employ, and whose existence depends upon our will, usurps the *throne*, and sets us, the representatives, the vicegerents of the whole American people, at defiance, and holds us in contempt! And what is this clerk of yours? Is he to control the destinies of sixteen millions of freemen? Is he to suspend, by his mere negative, the functions of government, and put an end to this Congress? He refuses to call the roll. It is in your power to compel him to call it, if he will not do it voluntarally.' (Here he was interrupted by a member, who said the clerk would resign rather than submit to coercion.) 'Well, sir, let him resign,' continued Mr. ADAMS, 'and we may possibly discover some way by which we can get along without the aid of his all-powerful talent, learning, and genius. If we can not organize in any other way,—if this clerk of yours will not consent to our discharging the trusts confided to us by our constituents, then let us imitate the example of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, when the colonial governor, Dinwiddie, ordered it to disperse, refused to obey the imperious and insulting mandate, and *like men*——.' Before he could finish the sentence, the House shook with the thunders of applause, loud and prolonged.

Soon as the enthusiasm subsided, ADAMS moved that the clerk call the roll. The same motion had been several times submitted without action or result. "How shall the question be put? Who will put the question?" asked several members. "I intend to put the question myself," exclaimed ADAMS, sternly. The excitement was now subsiding. Rhett, (R. B.,) of South Carolina, sprang upon a desk, and with a commanding wave of the arm, exclaimed: "I move that the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS take the chair of the speaker of this House, and officiate as presiding officer, till the House be organized by the election of its constitutional officers. As many as are agreed to this will say *ay*; those,——." "He had not an opportunity," says the narrator of the scene, "to complete

the sentence,"—'those who are not agreed will say *no*,'—for one universal, deafening *ay* responded to the nomination. Being thus selected to preside over their deliberations, order was soon restored and organization consummated.

"Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, exclaimed to ADAMS: "Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers, I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give, at once, the idea of the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb, this sentence: 'I WILL PUT THE QUESTION.'"

We can not follow the veteran statesman minutely through his congressional career. Space will not permit us to dwell upon each and all the events of this period, that form his fadeless coronet. In every instance he advocated the right of petition with energetic boldness. His acts in this, should not be misconstrued,—by posterity they will not be. The right to petition, he considered sacred and inherent, and he always presented petitions, whether favoring the sentiments of the petitioners or not. No man was more firmly opposed to a dissolution of the Union, than he; yet when a petition from Haverhill, Massachusetts, reached the House, praying such an event, it found in him a ready medium of presentation, and a stern advocate of the principle involved. Upon this, resolutions of censure were drawn up, and advocated with marked ability. In January, 1842, Thomas F. Marshall, then a member of Congress from Kentucky, presented his famous resolutions of censure, the last of which read as follows:

"*Resolved, further.* That the aforesaid JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, for this insult, the first of the kind ever offered to the government, and for the wound which he has permitted to be aimed, through his instrumentality, at the Constitution and existence of his country, the peace, the security and liberty of the people of these States, might well be held to merit expulsion from the national councils; and the House deem it an act of grace and mercy when they only inflict upon him their severest censure, for conduct so utterly unworthy of his past relations to the State, and his present position. This they hereby do for the maintenance of their own purity and dignity; for the rest, they turn him over to his own conscience and the indignation of the *American people.*" These resolutions were urged upon the House with all the force and eloquence for which their author was so justly distinguished. Yet

to his honor, be it said, there was nothing abusive or malicious in his language, closing with the remark: "I am the last man on this earth who would strike wantonly at that venerable head, around which there rally so many associations to intercept, even a merited blow." The resolutions did not pass, though they created intense excitement in the House.

By many, ADAMS, in the fearless discharge of duty, was threatened with violence. Grand-juries, penitentiaries and mobs, were pictured before him. Still unmoved by the tempest, he exclaimed:

"Do the gentlemen from the South think they can frighten me by their threats? If that be their object, let me tell them, sir, *they have mistaken their man.* I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a sacred duty by their violence; nor, sir, by all the grand juries in the universe. I have only done my duty; and I shall do it again under the same circumstances, even though they recur to-morrow." In this bold stand, he was encouraged by his faithful constituents, and others of the New England States.

ADAMS' connection with the Amisted slave case must not be passed by. This case drew the consideration of men from all parts of the Union. A slaver had succeeded in stealing a cargo of slaves from Africa and smuggling them into Cuba. Two Spaniards, Don Jose Ruiz and Don Pedro Montes, purchased a number of the negroes from their piratical captor, and shipped them on board the Amisted for Guanaja. On the voyage the negroes rebelled, and killing the captain and crew, commanded their purchasers to steer direct for Africa, which they agreed to do. Deceiving them, however, they made for the United States, and landed in Connecticut. The Spaniards claimed the negroes, and accused them of piracy and murder, and asked President Van Buren to have them conveyed back to Havana for trial. The negroes' version of the affair won considerable credence, and the matter was taken to the District Court. The verdict of the court was against the Spaniards, and affirmed that the negroes should be taken back to Africa.

Not satisfied with the proceedings, the affair was carried to the Supreme Court. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, then in his seventy-fifth year, undertook the defense of the negroes. It was the first time his voice had been heard there for over a quarter of a century. He entered into the cause with all the energy and power of his

younger years, and showed that his mind was unimpaired, and still well stored with legal knowledge. He succeeded in the case, and the liberation of the negroes.

In 1843, ADAMS made a brief tour through western New York and Canada. All along the route people flocked to see and catch a word from the lips of the "Old Man Eloquent." Public ovations were extended, and every conceivable demonstration of respect. At Pittsfield he was received with the same imposing manifestations that had attended him elsewhere. Replying to the address delivered on the occasion, by Hon. George N. Briggs, and adverting to the stirring times of the Revolution, he said:

"In 1775, the minute men from a hundred towns in the province, were marching at a moment's warning to the scene of opening war. Many of them called at my father's house at Quincy, and received the hospitality of John Adams. All were lodged in the house which the house could contain; others in the barns, and wherever they could find a place. There were then in my father's house *some dozen or two of pewter spoons;* and I well recollect going into the kitchen and seeing some of the men engaged IN RUNNING THOSE SPOONS INTO BULLETS FOR THE USE OF THE TROOPS! "Do you wonder," he added, "that a boy of seven years of age who witnessed this scene should be a patriot?" How his aged heart, tender to every noble emotion, must have swelled as he recurred to the mighty events of his early life.

About this time, also, he was invited to the city of Cincinnati, then assuming her proud position as Queen of the West, to deliver the address at the laying of the corner stone of an astronomical observatory upon Mt. Ida,—or Mt. Adams, as it is now more appropriately called. He accepted, and on his route to that city met the same cordial greetings always extended to him. On his arrival, he was received with the honor and hospitality for which her people are proverbial. On the 9th of November, 1843, he delivered the address, which glowed with the author's characteristic beauties and research.

We now approach the close of this great man's career. For one of his age, his health continued remarkably good. His long life and vigorous health was owing, greatly, to his unexceptionable habits. He had always been strictly temperate,—never indulging in any of the vices of youth. "He took pleasure in athletic amusements, and was exceedingly fond of walking.

During his summer residence in Quincy, he has been known to walk to his son's residence in Boston (seven miles,) before breakfast. While President of the United States, he was, probably, the first man up in Washington, lighted his own fire, and was hard at work in his library, while sleep yet held in its oblivious-ness the great mass of his fellow-citizens. He was an expert swimmer, and was in the constant habit of bathing, whenever circumstances would permit. Not unfrequently the first beams of the morning sun, as they fell on the beautiful Potomac, would find Mr. ADAMS buffeting its waves with all the sportiveness and dexterity of boyhood, while a single attendant watched upon the shore. When in the Presidency, he sometimes made a journey from Washington to Quincy on horseback, as a simple citizen, accompanied only by a servant."

He still continued his public duties, never once thinking of quitting his post. Though over eighty years of age, he continued to represent his constituents in the national Congress. He had, in the summer of 1840, fallen in the House of Representatives, to which the origin of his final disease was ascribed. From this accident, he continued to suffer more or less until November, 1846, when, walking out with a friend in Boston, he was struck with paralysis. He felt its ultimate results, and having kept a diary many years, each entry subsequent to this attack, was made under the head of "Posthumous Memoirs."

Soon as his health would permit he returned to Washington, to enter again upon his duties. Though he continued in Congress, he did not participate in the proceedings of the House to the same extent as formerly. Passing another season at Quincy, in November, 1847, he started, for the last time, to Washington, and again reached his post, at which he was destined to fall.

Sunday evening, February 20th, 1848, was spent in the library with his devoted wife, who read to him Wilberforce's sermon on Time. The next morning he arose early, as usual, wrote his letters, and proceeded to his seat in the House of Representatives. His step seemed rapid and unsteady, while considerable trepidation was evinced in his movements. Motion had been made, giving thanks, and awarding medals to several gallant officers of the Mexican war, for which ADAMS voted in a very emphatic manner. That was his last vote. No more would his voice be heard in the capitol. Soon after, the speaker was putting another

question, when suddenly—— "Stop! stop! Mr. ADAMS!" was uttered in terror-stricken tones. The fallen statesman was soon surrounded by numerous friends, pale, and trembling with anxiety. "What's the matter?" "Has he fainted?" "Is he dead?" were the simultaneous and anxious inquiries. He had, again, been struck with paralysis. The sudden appearance of the plague would have created no greater confusion than prevailed in the House. His wife, being apprized of his condition, was soon by his side. He continued in a state of comparative unconsciousness through the day. At three o'clock, he exclaimed: "I thank the officers——" Here the sentence ended. Immediately after, he said faintly: "THIS IS THE LAST OF EARTH;—I AM CONTENT," which last words of the dying patriarch, fully vindicated his past name,—the "Old Man Eloquent." The two succeeding days he lay in the speaker's room, unconscious of friends, who anxiously came to whisper, "how is he." At seven o'clock on the evening of the 23d of February, 1848, he breathed his last, and a frail tenement, serene in death, was all that remained on earth of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

On the 26th of February his funeral took place in the city of Washington, when his remains were taken to the Congressional burying ground, whence they were, soon after, conveyed to Quincy, and buried with every attestation of grief, and public honor. Among the graves of his fathers, he needs no sculptured inscriptions to perpetuate his name. The legacy of his country, his deeds are history, and will be pondered through distant generations.



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Oliver Cromwell had a mole on his face, that gave to his marked countenance additional sternness of expression. When he sat for his portrait, the artist questioned him as to the mole being omitted on the canvas: "Paint me as I am," exclaimed the statesman, with a vehemence that permitted no further remark. In grand individuality, the subject of the present pages has left the impress of his character on the history of his country, just as he was. Careless of himself, he reached elevated stations without pandering to popular prejudices, and sacrificed place in preference to principle. Ambitious to rank among the first statesmen of his day, he did so without the aid of purchased favor, and threw aside all vestments nature did not intend him to wear. Among all his eminent cotemporaries, no one was more honest in his opinions, nor consistently determined in their maintenance, than John C. Calhoun.

He was the son of Patrick Calhoun, and was born on the 18th day of March, 1782, in the Abbeville District, South Carolina. His father was of Irish descent, his grandfather having come from Ireland to this country in the year 1733. His mother was a native of Virginia, and according to genealogy, the daughter of "a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian." Patrick Calhoun was married in Charlotte County, Virginia, in 1770, to Martha Caldwell, but about the time of Braddock's defeat removed to South Carolina, and founded the "Calhoun's settlements." The Indians were then very troublesome, and the "settlements" were, for a time, abandoned. He was chosen leader of a band of rangers, and

fought bravely against the Indians, until their defeat enabled him to return to the "settlements." Patrick Calhoun was distinguished from most of the pioneers by a love for intelligence, and by a self-acquired education. He had studied the English branches, read a great deal of history, and made himself an excellent surveyor, and man of business generally. He was elected to the provincial Legislature of South Carolina, of which he was a member for thirty years, was a stanch Whig in politics, and opposed to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. His objection was, "that it gave rights to Congress which conflicted with those of the States." Thus, it is seen, that one of the great political principles of his son was, in part, hereditary. He had a proper appreciation of educational advantages, and determined, as far as possible, to confer them upon his children.

Firmness of purpose, and energy of character, were prominent traits of his ancestry, and young CALHOUN very early gave evidences of possessing them to a remarkable degree. In childhood, he was of a quiet, meditative turn of mind, yet possessed of ready perception, and a remarkable faculty of investigating thoroughly whatever subject was presented to him. The struggles and hardships endured by the pioneers of his native State, left a lasting impression on his youthful mind, and doubtless had their influence in the formation of its bold, dauntless character. After receiving instructions from his father and mother in the primary branches, which proved of solid service, he was, in his thirteenth year, placed at the high school of a Mr. Waddell. The death of his father, and discontinuance of the academy, made it necessary that he should reside, for a time, with a brother-in-law. During this brief residence, however, he was not idle. His kinsman had collected a small, but choice library, that afforded him fine opportunities for reading. He seized upon Rollin, the Life of Charles XII of Sweden, and Voltaire, and devoured their contents with eager avidity. His desire for knowledge, whetted rather than diminished by the perusal of these works, he turned to Cook's Voyages, and Locke's Essay on the Understanding. This was the exercise of but little over a year, and though he read rapidly, nothing was passed by without being thoroughly understood. During this time, his application was so intense, "that his eyes became red and swollen, his countenance pallid, and his frame emaciated," so much so, that his mother sent for him to return

home. For the succeeding four years he gave himself to amusements and farm exercises. With his gun or fishing tackle, he would spend days on the stream or in the forest, both of which sports he enjoyed with high relish. These exercises, varied with agricultural duties, developed a fine, athletic frame, and added fresh strength to his mental powers. But these employments were destined to cease. In the summer of 1800, obeying the wishes of his brother James, he returned to the school of Mr. Waddell, and resumed his studies, with a view of preparing himself for the law. Notwithstanding his education had been limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic, in two years he was enabled to enter Yale College, where he graduated with credit, in 1804. His conduct, application, and indications of talent, won the esteem of President Dwight, who bestowed upon him high encomiums. Though the President and most of his associates were Federalists, he adhered with unwavering tenacity to his early avowed Republican principles, and had frequent and animated discussions upon political issues. As ominous of his future career, it may be remarked that, for the theme of his oration when he graduated, he selected "the qualifications necessary to constitute a statesman." The very embodiment of his theme, he was destined to exemplify in forum and Senate, the "necessary qualifications." After graduating, three years were devoted to the study of law and miscellaneous reading, being the greater part of the time under the tuition of Judge Reeve and Mr. Gould, of Litchfield, Connecticut. Returning to South Carolina, he carefully studied the State laws, and obtained license to practice in the courts, in 1807.

About this time, the attack upon the Chesapeake, by the British vessel Leopard, excited the country from one end to the other. The occurrence produced a deep impression on the mind of Calhoun. The citizens held a meeting in his district, at which, according to appointment, he presented a report, of such marked ability, that he was invited to address the next meeting. His speech was considered better than the report, and exhibited so much force, eloquence, and research, that he at once drew upon himself the attention of the people. Soon after, he became a candidate for the State Legislature, and was elected with ease, from a district that had uniformly refused to vote for lawyers for a number of years.

Here begins his long and illustrious political life. The road to

fame was broad before, and though competitors were on the list, he entered it with a purpose and ability that showed he would not

"——Pause till the hight was won."

He took his seat in the Legislature, and was not long in distinguishing himself from his associates. It was about the time Madison received the nomination for the presidency. Fully identified with the Republican party, after Madison had received the nomination, and the candidates for Vice-President were being talked of, he advocated the claims of John Langdon, of New Hampshire, over those of George Clinton, and gave his views of national politics, and the course essential for his party to pursue, in a manner so clear and masterly, that he was considered as among the leaders. Henceforth, legal pursuits were to receive little attention. At the bar, from the reputation he had acquired, there was no room to doubt but he could have attained high distinction; but he had turned his thoughts to politics, to which his life and talents were mainly given. He had great command of language, a sagacity almost intuitive, profound research, unsurpassed presence of mind, energy indomitable, high ambition, and an unflinching nerve. With these requisites he could not fail. So much credit had he gained in the Legislature by his burning words and correct reasoning, that he was looked upon, for higher stations. In 1810, as an avowed advocate of the war of 1812, the expediency of which was then agitating the public mind, he was presented as a candidate for Congress, and elected by an overwhelming majority. He took his seat in that body, November 4th, 1811, at a time when difficulties, incident to the Jay treaty, were rendering administrative duties perplexing in the extreme. Henry Clay was speaker of the House, and being the advocate of hostilities with Great Britain, vindicated his reputation for sagacity and judgment, by placing CALHOUN on the Committee of Foreign Affairs. He engaged with enthusiasm and ardor, in discussing the various political questions of the day, and particularly our affairs with Great Britain.

The committee, of which he was a member, soon after the session commenced, presented resolutions urging immediate preparations for war. His first speech in Congress was made in favor of these resolutions. It was a withering rebuke against the ambitious, grasping policy of Great Britain, an able review of

international relationship, and a triumphant vindication of the course urged by the party favoring a resort to arms. Though his name as a legislator had reached the capitol from his native State, this speech, for its depth, logic, research and eloquence, took the members by surprise. His stand was now taken, and he rose immediately to a position of prominence and influence.

Among such men as Henry Clay and John Randolph, Felix Grundy, William Lowndes, and Josiah Quincy, experienced in legislation, and fine parliamentarians, he at once won respect and consideration. "We hail this young Carolinian," said the leading journalists, who were acquainted with his maiden effort, "as one of the master spirits, who stamp their names upon the age in which they live."

The tone of the war party now became more bold and defiant, and preparations were immediately entered into. Army enlistments and naval equipments were speedily resolved on, and none were more bold or determined in advocating every measure deemed essential to the prosecution of hostilities, than CALHOUN. The restrictive system,—the Embargo, he opposed, upon principles he thought correct and politic. In this he showed that, though generally a friend of the administrative party, he knew no party shackles, when conflicting with his own convictions of right.

In the summer of 1812, with warmth and effect, he supported the declaration of war, and continued a firm advocate to its successful prosecution. Many difficulties grew out of the Embargo, of a serious nature to those exporting commodities abroad, the proceeds accruing therefrom, being interdicted by the non-importation system. Those who had exported, being thus cut off from their proceeds, ordered the foreign consignees to return their commodities. The returns consisted principally in goods, which, under the non-importation act, were subject to forfeiture. The owners petitioned, praying remission of forfeiture. Contrary to the views of many, CALHOUN took sides with the petitioners, and with characteristic independence and zeal, urged the remission, which was finally acquiesced in, the owners consenting to the payment of regular duties. Opposition to the Embargo was becoming strong, and efforts were made to effect its repeal. CALHOUN, though opposed to the whole restrictive system, when the question came finally up, cast his vote for its continuance, believing, that

of two evils,—Embargo, or internal divisions,—the first would be the lesser.

The disasters of Napoleon in the snow-wilds of Russia, changed the face of things materially. Her enemy of giant might subdued on the continent, England could turn her warrior legions, with every resource, against this country. Those opposed to the war, painted, in dark colors, the train of evils incident to its prosecution. When the bill, requiring a loan for the prosecution of the war came up, the peace party arrayed themselves against it with bitter asperity. Speeches were made, able, eloquent, and well digested, against the war, and every movement suggested for its continuance. These events were favorable to CALHOUN. He replied to these arguments in a most clear, lucid, and statesman-like manner. No speech during the session, of these discussions, evinced greater strength, vigor, or force of argument. Commencing back to the fruitful source of so many evils, the "Orders in Council," adopted and enforced by Great Britain, in 1796, he dwelt with matchless power and cogent reasoning, upon the long train of subsequent evils and acts of oppression inflicted upon this county by the aggressive policy of England, in her assertions of the right to impress our seamen and search our vessels, and showed, unquestionably, that her primary design was to maintain undisputed supremacy of the seas, and dictate commercial regulations to the world.

The attack upon the Chesapeake, and other vessels engaged in the commerce of the United States, was adverted to in strong and denunciatory language. The whole speech was, in fact, one of the most masterly and able made on the floor of the House during all the discussions that took place. It closed as follows:—

"This country is left alone to support the rights of neutrals. Perilous is the condition, and arduous the task. We are not intimidated. We stand opposed to British usurpation, and by our spirit and efforts have done all in our power to save the last vestige of neutral rights; yes, our embargoes, non-intercourse, non-importation, and finally war, are all mainly exertions to preserve the rights of this and other nations from the deadly grasp of British maritime policy. But, (say our opponents,) these efforts are lost, and our condition hopeless. If so, it only remains for us to assume the garb of our condition. We must submit,—humbly submit,—crave pardon, and hug our chains. It is not wise to

provoke where we can not resist. But first, let us be well assured of the hopelessness of our state, before we sink into submission. On what do our opponents rest their despondent and slavish belief? On the recent events in Europe? I admit they are great, and well calculated to impose on the imagination. Our enemy never presented a more imposing exterior. But I am admonished by universal experience, that such prosperity is the most precarious of human conditions. From the flood the tide takes its ebb. From the meridian the sun commences its decline. Depend upon it, there is more of sound philosophy than of fiction in the fickleness which poets attribute to fortune. Prosperity has its weakness, adversity its strength. In many respects, our enemy has lost by those very changes which seem so very much in his favor. He can no more claim to be struggling for existence; no more to be fighting the battles of the world in defense of the liberties of mankind. The magic cry of French influence is lost. In this very hall we are not strangers to that sound. Here, even here, the cry of 'French influence,' that baseless fiction, that phantom of faction, now banished, often resounded. I rejoice that the spell is broken by which it was attempted to bind the spirit of this youthful nation. The minority can no longer act under cover, but must come out and defend their opposition on its own intrinsic merit. Our example can scarcely fail to produce its effects on other nations interested in the maintenance of maritime rights. But if, unfortunately, we should be left alone to maintain the contest, and if, which may God forbid, necessity should compel us to yield for the present, yet our generous efforts will not have been lost. A mode of thinking and a tone of sentiment have gone abroad, which must stimulate to future and more successful struggles. What could not be effected with eight millions of people, will be done with twenty. The great cause will never be yielded,—no never, never! Sir, I hear the future audibly announced in the past,—in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, Java, and Macedonian. We, and all nations, are taught a lesson by these victories never to be forgotten. Opinion is power. The charm of British naval invincibility is gone."

Such were the style and character of CALHOUN's extraordinary appeals to the national Congress in favor of carrying on the war with all possible energy and efficiency. Having labored faithfully in representing his district, and done all in his power to elevate

the national dignity, he retired from the halls of Congress, wearing golden honors. He returned to his native State, but was not permitted to stand aloof from political matters. Too well had he convinced his constituents of his capacity to serve them with zeal and efficiency. In 1812, he was re-elected to Congress, and in 1814, also. During these sessions he was a stanch friend of *all* measures adapted to a speedy and successful termination of the war. When the treaty of peace came to be ratified and promulged, he was equally warm in its favor. It was during the discussions growing out of this measure, that he took occasion to give his views upon existent laws in regard to duties and collections. The speech was drawn out by the bill of Forsythe, of Georgia, urging the abrogation of these regulations, and one of the ablest of the session. CALHOUN affirmed that no provision was required with reference to tunnage and duty equalization, inasmuch as the equal rights of citizens was more the matter of dispute than levies and imposts. Forsythe's bill passed, however, and was the subject of considerable legislation in both Houses. It was finally arranged by the passage of an act, providing "a higher duty of tunnage or of imposts, on vessels, and articles imported in vessels of Great Britain, than on vessels, and articles imported in vessels of the United States."

We have, already, had something to say of the depressed state of finances during the war of 1812. The prostration of finance and public credit, created a desire, on the part of many, to renew the old bank charter of 1791; but the well-known hostility of Jefferson and Madison to any such institution, had tended to deter definite action on the subject. During the session of 1813–14, the subject of finance was a leading one in the House. Petitions came in, praying the establishment of a national bank at New York; these were not favorably received by the Committee of Ways and Means, to which they were referred, upon the ground that the creation of such an institution within the area of any of the States was unconstitutional. Though to CALHOUN the subject was new, he turned his attention to it with all the force of his grasping mind. The majority of his party were hostile to the measure, yet he had precedent legislation for his course, and thought the measure demanded by the extraordinary exigencies of the times. To obviate the objections of the Committee of Ways and Means, that the bank could not be constitutionally located within the limits of

the States, he brought in resolutions, on the 4th of February, 1814, urging the establishment of one in the District of Columbia. These were adopted, but in consequence of the refusal of the two Houses to so modify them as to create various branches, no further action was had. Treasury issues were seventeen per cent., and government stock near twice that amount below par. General depression prevailed everywhere. Again, the thoughts of statesmen were turned to a national bank; for the purpose of considering which, efforts were made to appoint a committee: these efforts did not succeed, though CALHOUN voted in favor of such action.

On the re-assembling of Congress, in 1814, the bank, again, became a question of leading interest, and a general plan for its creation at Philadelphia, was proposed by Dallas. Notwithstanding CALHOUN's views were favorable to such an institution, this plan, he regarded as odious in the extreme, and after full investigation, resolved to identify himself with the opposition, and voted accordingly. In November, the general discussion of the subject came up in the House, in a debate upon the bill, authorizing subscriptions to the United States Bank. CALHOUN made a speech of great ability in opposition. His views, as expressed at the time, and which may be found on page 495 of the History of the Bank of the United States, were as follows:

"The capital of the Bank remaining unchanged, at fifty millions, the payment of subscriptions to this capital stock to be made in the proportion of one-tenth in specie (which he afterward varied to six-fifteenths), and the remainder in specie or in treasury notes, to be hereafter issued; subscriptions to be opened monthly in the three last days of each month, beginning with January, 1815, for certain proportions of the stock, until the whole is subscribed; payment to be made at the time of subscribing; the shares to consist of one hundred, instead of five hundred dollars, each; the United States to hold no stock in the Bank, have no agency in its disposal, nor control over its operations, nor right to suspend specie payments. The amount of treasury notes to be subscribed, viz: forty-five millions to be provided for by future acts of Congress, and to be disposed of, in something like the following way, viz: Fifteen millions of the amount to be placed in the hands of agents appointed for the purpose, or in the hands of the present commissioners of the sinking fund, to go into the stock market to convert the treasury notes stock; another sum,

say five millions, to be applied to the redemption of the treasury notes becoming due at the commencement of the ensuing year; the remaining twenty millions, he proposed to throw into circulation as widely as possible. They might be issued in such proportions monthly, as to be absorbed in the subscriptions to the Bank at the end of each month, etc. This operation, he presumed, would raise the value of treasury notes, perhaps, twenty or thirty per cent. above par, being the value of the privilege of taking the Bank stock, and thus afford, at the same time, a bonus and an indirect loan to the government; making unnecessary, any loan by the Bank, until its extended circulation of paper shall enable it to make a loan which shall be advantageous to the United States. The treasury notes so to be issued, to be redeemable, in stock, at six per cent., disposable by the Bank at its pleasure, and without the sanction of government; to whom, neither is the Bank to be compelled to loan any money." This is, in a few words, a fair statement of the project of Mr. CALHOUN, which he supported by a variety of explanations of its operations, etc.; "the notes of the Bank, when in operation, to be received, exclusively, in the payment of all taxes, duties, and debts, to the United States." The operation of this combined, Mr. CALHOUN conceived, would be to afford; "1st, Relief from the immediate pressure on the treasury; 2d, A permanent elevation of public credit; and, 3d, A permanent and safe circulating medium of general credit." The Bank should go into operation, he proposed, in April, 1815.

This plan met with decided hostility, particularly from Forsythe, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Dallas. After being modified, the Bank bill was again submitted, and received a tie vote,—CALHOUN voting affirmatively. It devolved on the speaker now to give the casting vote, which being in the negative, it was lost. This continued to be the question of leading interest till the close of the session, which took place without definite action on the bill. On the assembling of Congress, December, 1815, the subject was again taken up, with strong indications that conflicting opinions would harmonize upon some plan of establishing the institution.

Early in January, 1816, CALHOUN made a report of rare ability, introducing, at the same time, a bill favorable to a national bank, "as the most certain means of restoring to the nation a specie currency." This bill was the subject of continued

discussion, till the 14th of March, when it passed by a vote of eighty ayes to seventy-one nays,—CALHOUN voting in its favor. During all the debates had upon the measure, CALHOUN was one of the most active participants, and made some of the ablest efforts of his life. The bill, having passed and received the sanction of the President, established the Bank charter of 1816, and became the law of the land.

Another question came up, during the session, of considerable national importance. During the war of 1812, a direct tax had been levied to meet the necessities of the times. After peace had been declared, Mr. Lowndes, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, brought in some resolutions, urging a continuance of the direct tax. Feeling that the necessities resulting in its creation, were still, to some extent, existing, CALHOUN supported the resolutions, which finally passed by a fair majority. Next, and intimately connected with the above, came the tariff of 1816, which also received his support and advocacy. CALHOUN's favoring the tariff of 1816, afterward subjected him to censure, and the charge of inconsistency. The duties upon most articles subject to protection, were fixed at twenty per cent. But the imposition of seventy-five per cent., upon iron, and the minimum specified upon goods manufactured of cotton, he admitted, were wrong. CALHOUN contended, in 1816, that Congress had power to impose duties for revenue, and that the commercial prosperity of the country demanded such a course,—so he contended, in 1832. Thus, in the *principle* of imposing duties, his views remained the same. His interest in the tariff question can not excite peculiar surprise. He lived in a State that was essentially productive of the very articles for which she had no home consumption; these articles necessarily sought markets elsewhere. To guard against manufacturing monopoly, and to protect the producer as well as the consumer, was an object of just solicitude.

During this session, CALHOUN, upon one measure, rendered himself unpopular with his constituents. A bill was brought in, doing away with the old system of paying the members of Congress so much per day, and fixing their annual salary at fifteen hundred dollars a year. CALHOUN supported and voted for it. The measure proved unpopular, particularly so in the Abbeville district of South Carolina. On his return, his friends denounced, in strong terms, his course: some, who still stood by him, urged

him not to run again for Congress, while others insisted that he should "apologize for his course." William Butler, availing himself of the current of disfavor, presented himself as a candidate in opposition. CALHOUN called on his old friends to give him, at least, a hearing, and chance to vindicate his course, and appointed days when he would meet and make them speeches. Large crowds convened, and he appeared before them as on former occasions, but not to *apologize:* He boldly defended his vote, and showed so clearly the merits of the Compensation Bill, as it was styled, that, instead of sinking, he rose higher than ever in popular favor. At the election he was returned by a triumphant vote.

As proof of his independence, soon as Congress met, in 1816, a bill was reported repealing the compensation act of the previous session. CALHOUN stood firmly by his previous course, and voted as he had done before. So anxious, however, were the majority to appease the indignation of their constituents, that it was passed, and the compensation act was repealed.

Another source of accusations of inconsistency against CALHOUN, was his course upon the subject of internal improvement; and, indeed, under this head, with more reason than upon the tariff question. CALHOUN, at this time, *did* believe that the power to "levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare," embraced the construction of internal improvements. He, afterward, changed his mind upon the subject. In regard to this, however, it may be said, that he was a comparatively young man, and not fully matured in his views upon all matters of legislation, —also, that there were then, in his judgment, more necessities for such appropriations than subsequently existed. Madison, too, in his message to Congress, after the close of the war, urged the exercise of "all constitutional powers" in the construction of internal improvements: what those constitutional powers were, therefore, became a matter of serious inquiry among our statesmen. The resolution introduced into Congress, recommending the application of the government money, and profits of the national bank, to internal improvement purposes, originated with CALHOUN, and in December, 1816. The resolution passed, and a committee, of which its author was chairman, was appointed to inquire into its expediency. They reported a bill favorable to the measure, which passed the House with little discussion; but not

meeting the views of the President, it was returned, and the appropriations were not made.

With honor and distinction, CALHOUN closed his labors in Congress, on the 17th of March, 1817, and was, the ensuing December, appointed a member of Monroe's cabinet, and began his duties as Secretary of War. His appointment was wholly unsolicited, and strongly opposed by his friends, who urged that Congress was his proper sphere of action. His talents,—the peculiar construction of his deep metaphysical mind,—eminently fitted him for the post, and thinking that he knew himself and his duties better than his friends, he accepted the appointment. Though the labors were new, he went to work with the firmness and judgment of a veteran. Thoroughly acquainting himself with the varied duties and responsibilities of his position, he determined upon remodeling the department. He organized and introduced the Bureau system, which, after encountering violent opposition, was adopted, and has continued in operation, with few changes, ever since. Competent and efficient men of well-known business habits and unblemished characters, were placed at the head of each bureau, with judiciously selected assistants. A wisely-designed and efficient code of rules, for the government of the department, was prepared principally by himself, and enforced. He entered the office when its affairs were in a miserable condition, over "forty millions of dollars of unsettled accounts, many of them of long standing, running back to the very origin of the government, he reduced to less than three millions, which consisted, for the most part, of losses and accounts that never can be settled. He prevented all current accumulation by a prompt and rigid enforcement of accountability; so much so, that he was enabled to report to Congress, in 1823, that of the entire amount of money drawn from the treasury, in 1812, for military service, including pensions, amounting to $4,571,961,94, although it passed through the hands of two hundred and ninety one disbursing officers, there had not been a single defalcation, nor the loss of a single cent to the government. He found the army proper, including the military academy, costing annually, more than four hundred and fifty-one dollars per man, including officers, professors, and cadets, and he left the cost less than two hundred and eighty-seven; or to do more exact justice to his economy, he diminished such parts of the cost per man as were susceptible of reduction by an efficient administration, excluding pay and such

parts as were fixed in moneyed compensation by law, from two hundred and ninety-nine dollars, to one hundred and fifty. All this was effected by wise reforms and not by parsimony (for he was liberal, as many supposed to a fault) in the quality and quantity of the supplies, and not by a fall of prices; for in making the calculation, allowance is made for the fall or rise of prices on every article of supply. The gross saving of the army was one million three hundred thousand dollars annually, in an expenditure which reached four millions when he came into the department. This does not include the other branches of service, the ordnance, the engineer, the Indian bureaus, in all of which, a like rigid economy and accountability were introduced, with similar saving to the government."

These were a part of the services rendered by CALHOUN, accomplished under untoward circumstances and in the face of active opposition. Able reports beside were made from time to time on Indian affairs, and every subject pertaining to his department. The military academy he found in a bad condition, which he revived and left on a proper basis. The organization of the medical department received his solicitude and labors, which have been fraught with happiest results to the country. "In every branch of his duties as the presiding officer, CALHOUN did the State good service; and the influence of his clear mind, his precision, his love of order, his punctuality and integrity, were felt by all his subordinate officers and agents. The improvements which he introduced were not evanescent in their character, nor of temporary duration; but they were designed to be permanent; and the sequel proved them such in reality. His purgation of the Augæan stable was complete. Unsettled accounts were no longer left to accumulate, till the halls echoed and re-echoed with the clamors of the public creditor; the re-organization of the army was as admirable in practice as in theory: the system of fortification which he proposed, maritime as well as frontier, afforded all the protection needed or desired; and the removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi, which he warmly recommended, as experience has demonstrated, was a boon and a blessing to the redmen of the forest.

"The system of financial administration which he first established, is still in operation,—daily bearing witness to the practical talents that first originated it So perfect has it been found, that, not-

withstanding the immense amount of money disbursed by the department since he was at its head, exceeding two hundred millions of dollars, no losses of any importance have happened."

During this time, CALHOUN had little time to devote to the various political questions of the day, yet he was not an inattentive observer of them. He approved of Monroe's course in regard to the Missouri Compromise, but opposed the tariff of 1824, establishing regular rates of duty at thirty per cent. He also differed with President Monroe upon the internal improvement question,—his views having considerably changed on that subject since Madison sent his annual message to Congress, recommending the exercise of all constitutional powers in the premises.

With the close of Monroe's administration, CALHOUN's labors as secretary of war, ceased. In the Presidential canvass of 1824, he supported Jackson, though his own name had been mentioned, in connection with the office, in the most honorable terms. The result of the campaign was the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, and himself to the Vice-Presidency. He entered upon the duties of his office as president of the Senate, on the 4th of March, 1825.

He presided over the Senate with dignity and firmness,—was always first in his seat, and the last to leave it. Often the delicate duty of giving the casting vote devolved upon him, on which occasions he was never absent. His firmness in the performance of duty, is shown by his conduct in 1828. He was again a candidate for Vice-President with Jackson. The tariff bill was before the House. His friends alleging, without grounds, that Adams' friends would contrive that he should give the casting vote upon the measure in the Senate, advised him to absent himself for the time being. They urged him to the step, upon the presumption that the casting vote upon a bill of so much importance, on which the friends of the two candidates were somewhat divided, would weaken the strength of the Republican ticket. This, he refused to do, saying he would never fail to perform such a duty, and would, if necessary, give the casting vote, defeat the bill, and then withdraw his name from the ticket. The bill passed, however, without a tie vote, making this duty unnecessary.

It was in this session of Congress, that he took occasion to declare that the Vice-President had no right to prevent a senator from expressing himself as he liked, though disorder grew out of

it; it was, during the debates on the Panama question, and the bitter party feelings incident to the election of Adams, Randolph had indulged in one of those famous withering philippics against the administration and Henry Clay. The friends of Adams and Clay, affirmed that CALHOUN, as presiding officer, should have called him to order. CALHOUN took the erroneous position, that the Vice-President had no power to call a senator to order. This resulted in the passage of the act, elsewhere mentioned, conferring such directly on the presiding officer. A correspondence, through the press, between Adams, over the signature of "Patrick Henry," and CALHOUN, over the signature of "Onslow," grew out of the affair, in which both parties evinced characteristic ability. CALHOUN was, in the main, opposed to the measures of Adams' administration, and it was alleged by his opponents, that he was controlled by his prejudices in the discharge of his duties; this, however, seems inconsistent with his bold independent character.

CALHOUN, during his term in the vice-presidential chair, studied with intense care, the principles of our government, and modified his views considerably. Every principle was thoroughly analyzed, and its collateral influences understood. He judged that a reduction of duties to the revenue standard was necessary, and was led to consider what remedial agencies could be resorted to, in the event of the opposite course being pursued. To be fully understood upon this and other subjects, he wrote a long address to the people of his native State, in which his views were set forth clearly and distinctly. The reduction of duties, and the rights of the people of the several States, were contended for and elaborated upon.

The issue of this document brings us to the most important period in the life of the great statesman, when Nullification was rife, and the battle between State and federal sovereignty was being fought. The tariff of 1828 established high protective duties, more favorable to the manufacturing, than the producing States. This aroused the people of the South, and resulted, finally, in nullification, while CALHOUN stood upon the broad arena of discussion, the idolized champion of his native State. The session closed. CALHOUN returned home; men of distinction visited him, making inquiries as to what was to be done. He seemed unwilling to hazard the re-election of Jackson by any premature movement, but felt that they should await the result,

and if no indications were visible, favorable to a reduction of duties, then nullification, was the only alternative. Forbearance was deemed the true policy; though five thousand copies of a pamphlet written by CALHOUN, entitled "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest," on the subject of tariff, was circulated by the legislature of that State. Jackson entered upon his second official term, with CALHOUN for Vice-President, with no sign of a reduction of duties. Jackson, feeling that no satisfactory change in the tariff could then be effected, recommended the distribution of the surplus accruing among the several States, to be applied to internal improvements within their respective limits. This, CALHOUN affirmed, was but a premium held out to the advocates of high duties, and denounced it in unmeasured terms. CALHOUN, though looked upon by one section of his party as the candidate for the succession, would not sacrifice his principles, and, instead of endeavoring to avoid the impending rupture between Jackson and himself, precipitated it by his denunciation of the obnoxious tariff, and the remedy proposed by the President. The course he had pursued toward Jackson, during the prosecution of the Seminole war, was another barrier to amicable feelings between them. His casting vote against the nomination of Van Buren, who was also looked upon as a candidate for the succession by a portion of his party, hightened animosities against him. All harmony was now at an end. The Cabinet dissolved in 1831, and CALHOUN was identified with the opposition.

Subsequent to this, he wrote a lengthy letter to Governor Hamilton, dated Fort Hill, August 28th, 1832, in which his views are given with force and clearness. It maintained "the right of a State to defend her reserved powers against the encroachments of the general government," with ability and power surpassed in few American State papers. Speaking of the subject, he says:

"The government with, all its departments, is but the agent of the States, constituted to execute their joint will, as expressed in the Constitution. In using the term agent, I do not intend to derogate, in any degree, from its character as a government. It is as truly and properly a government, as are the State governments themselves. I have applied it, simply because it belongs strictly to the relation between the general government and the States, as, in fact, it does also to that between a State and its own government. Indeed, according to our theory, governments are, in their

nature, but trusts, and those appointed to administer, trustees or agents to execute the trust powers. The sovereignty resides elsewhere,—in the people,—not in the government; and with us *the people*, means *the people of the several States*, originally formed into thirteen distinct and independent communities, and now into twenty-four. Politically speaking, in reference to our own system, there are *no other people*. The general government, as well as those of the States, is but the organ of their power; the latter, that of their respective States, through which are exercised, separately, that portion of power not delegated by the Constitution, and in the exercise of which, each State has a local and peculiar interest; the former, the joint organ of all the States, confederated into one general community, and through which, they jointly delegated powers, in which all have a common interest. Thus viewed, the Constitution of the United States and concurring with the government it created, is truly and strictly the Constitution,—the Constitution of each State, as much so as its own particular Constitution and government, ratified by the same authority, in the same mode, and having, as far as its citizens are concerned, its powers and obligations from the same source, differing only in the aspect under which I am considering the subject in the *plighted faith* of the State to its co-States, and of which, as far as its citizens are considered, the State, in the last resort, is the exclusive judge.

"Such, then, is the relation between the State and general government in whatever light we may consider the Constitution, whether as a compact between the States, or of the nature of the legislative enactment by the first and concurring authority of the States in their high sovereignty. In whatever light it may be viewed, I hold it as necessarily resulting, that in the case of a power disputed between them, the government as the agent, has no right to enforce its construction against the construction of the State as one of the sovereign parties to the Constitution, any more than the State government would have against the people of the State in their sovereign capacity, the relation being the same between them. That such would be the case between agent and principal in the ordinary transactions of life, no one will doubt, nor will it be possible to assign a reason why it is not as applicable to the case of government as to that of individuals. The principle, in fact, springs from the *relation itself*, and *is applicable to it in all its forms and characters*."

Continuing his letter at great length, speaking of nullification and secession he further adds: "There are many who acknowledge the right of a State to secede, but deny its right to nullify; and yet it seems impossible to admit the one without admitting the other. They both presuppose the same structure of the government, that it is a union of the States as forming political communities, the same right on the part of the States as members of the Union, to determine for their citizens the extent of the powers delegated and those reserved, and, of course, to decide whether the Constitution has or has not been violated. The simple difference then between those who admit secession and deny nullification, and those who admit both, is, that one acknowledges that the declaration of a State, pronouncing that the Constitution has been violated, and is therefore null and void, would be obligatory on her citizens, and would arrest all the acts of government within the limits of the State, while they deny that a similar declaration made by the same authority and in the same manner that an act of the government has transcended its powers, and that it is, therefore, null and void, would have any obligation, while the other acknowledges the obligation in both cases. The one admits that the declaration of a State assenting to the Constitution, bound her citizens, and that her declaration can unbind them; but denies that a similar declaration as to the extent she has, in fact, bound them, has any obligatory force on them; while the other gives equal force to the declaration in the several cases. The one denies the obligation, where the object is *to preserve the Union in the only way it can be*, by confining the government formed to execute the trust powers strictly within their limits and to the objects for which they were delegated, though they give *full* force where the object is *to destroy the Union itself;* while the other, in giving equal rights to both, *prefers the one because it preserves*, and *rejects the other because it destroys;* and yet the former is *the union* and the latter the *disunion party!* And all this strange distinction originates, as far as I can judge, in attributing to nullification what exclusively belongs to secession,—the throwing off *the authority of the Union itself.* To nullify the Constitution, if I may be pardoned the solecism, would indeed, be tantamount to disunion, and as applicable to such an act it would be true that a State could not be in and out of the Union at the same time; but the act would be secession. But to apply it to nullification properly

understood, the object of which, instead of resisting or diminishing the powers of the Union to preserve them as they are, neither increased nor diminished thereby the Union itself (for the Union may be as effectually destroyed by increasing as by diminishing its powers,—by consolidation as by disunion itself), would be, I would say, had I not great respect for many who do thus apply it, egregious trifling with a very grave subject.

"I might here finish the task which your request imposed, having, I trust, demonstrated the power of refutation that a State has the right to defend her reserved powers against the encroachments of the 'general government,' and I may add, that the right is in its nature peaceable, consistent with the federal relations of the State, and perfectly efficient whether contested before the courts or attempted to be resisted by force." But, he adds: "There is another aspect of the subject yet untouched," and proceeds to discuss at length, and with great force, the power which the States, as a confederate body, acquired over each other. His remarks upon this branch of the subject are very elaborate, evincing the skillful economist and the profound statesman.

The federal Constitution, CALHOUN looked upon as a compact between the States; that it gave the general government merely the power of agency to execute trusts, the powers of which, the States themselves were to be the judges; that the relation of the general, to the State government was as that of agent to principal among individuals, and that whenever the general government, *as agent*, transcended the powers conferred by the States as *principal*, the States had the right to declare all acts so encroaching upon them null and void. Not very dissimilar was his position from that involved by the famous Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of Jefferson and Madison, called forth by the Alien and Sedition acts. The Virginia resolutions, affirmed "the right of the States to interpose whenever their reserved powers were infringed upon, and to maintain within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." The Kentucky resolutions, drawn by the same hand that nerved itself to pen the Declaration, said, "that in all cases of an abuse of *delegated* powers, the members of the general government being chosen by the people, a change by the people would be the constitutional remedy; but where powers are *assumed* which *have not been delegated*, a *nullification* of the act is the rightful remedy that *every*

State has a natural right in cases not in the compact (*casus non fœderis*), to nullify of their own authority all *assumptions of power* within their limits."

Such were the grounds occupied by the originators of his party, and where CALHOUN planted himself, regardless of consequences, to watch with a keen eye each encroachment made upon the rights of the States on the part of the general government. CALHOUN, it must be borne in mind, was, in the opinion of many, on the eve of receiving a nation's homage, by elevation to the highest office. When we see him thus dashing such honors far and forever from him, we can but admire his boldness and devotion to his State. He loved his State, and stood armed and equipped, with the Constitution for his crescent, upon the watch-towers of her reserved rights, ready to beat back the encroaching strides of the Federal giant. Of this doctrine of States' rights he was the most renowned champion, and stands proudly in history as the representative man among those contending for it.

Upon the subject of excessive duties, of which nullification was the legitimate offspring, he averred that they should be appropriated to the payment of debts and purposes of defense,—that they should be for revenue and not protection. To all the sophistries preached by politicians, that the constitutional clause of "general welfare" granted the power to levy high protective duties, CALHOUN replied that revenue was the sole legitimate object of duties, and that an accumulated surplus was argument sufficient in favor of reduction. The signs of the times, in fact, began to indicate the plausibility of his position. The heavy surplus accumulating in the treasury under the operation of the tariff of 1828, convinced many of those opposed to him, that a reduction of duties was essential to the best interests of the country.

In his annual message to Congress, in December, 1831, Jackson gave notice that the public debt would soon be liquidated, and advised a reduction of the tariff. Congress immediately went to work and passed the tariff of 1832. This measure received the sanction and commanding influence of Henry Clay, and was deemed a satisfactory settlement. Not so, however. CALHOUN and his friends insisted that it was no more than a diminution of duties upon unprotected, and an increase upon protected articles, without present or prospective change favorable to the great principle for which they were contending. The cry of resistance

was raised,—an address was issued to the people of South Carolina, declaring boldly, that nullification was the rightful remedy. The people of that State, save a fractional part calling themselves Unionists, headed by Manning, Drayton, Poinsett, and others, were unanimous in sustaining CALHOUN. The struggle then, in South Carolina, was between the States' rights men and Unionists, —the former being largely in the majority. At the State elections, the States' rights party elected a majority to both Houses. When the legislature met, in October, 1832, they appointed delegates to a general State convention, to be held at Columbia, on the 19th of the ensuing November. The convention met, and passed the ever-memorable Ordinance of Nullification, declaring null and void, acts of the Federal Government, passed 1828 and 1832. This ordinance assumed the high ground, that no appeal could be had at the Supreme Court in regard to it; disputed the power of the government to collect duties within the State; and that any attempt to enforce compliance by the powers of the general government, within the acts referred to, would result in the declaration of an independent government, on the part of South Carolina. Two addresses, in keeping with the spirit of the ordinance, were distributed over the State, after which, the Convention adjourned to meet the ensuing spring. The legislature then passed laws to enforce the ordinance, and placed the State in military preparation to prevent the threatened collection of revenue by force of arms. Thus, matters were verging to a crisis. Jackson now thundered forth his proclamation, avowing his determination to enforce the laws, if it had to be done, at the point of the bayonet, and warning the people of the refractory State against giving countenance to the ordinance. The excitement became intense throughout the Union. Various State legislatures appointed committees, whose reports, in the main, were denunciatory of the proceedings of the Columbia convention, and subsequent acts of the South Carolina State Legislature. In the meantime, the election of Robert Y. Hayne, long a senator from South Carolina, as governor of that State, created a vacancy in the Senate. To fill this, all eyes were turned to CALHOUN. In December, 1832, he was elected to that position. Apprehensions were entertained that he might be arrested when he departed for Washington, as high treason had more than once been hissed upon his ear. Thinking that he was only doing his duty,—of iron will and

sincere purpose,—the odious words moved him not. He entered the Senate, December, 1832, when it was composed of a body of men of which any nation might well be proud. Popularity he had flung away, and in a proud position of independent isolation,—his old friends occupying grounds against him,—threatened with arrest from the President, he could but be an object of universal interest in that august assemblage. He took the oath of office, though some thought he would not, and calmly took his seat.

The great subject soon came up. Very early in the session, CALHOUN arose in a dignified manner, and introduced a resolution, requiring that the South Carolina ordinance, and all documents pertaining thereto, be laid before the House. The President's special message upon the subject was first sent in. This breathed, in every line, bitter denunciation against South Carolina and her entire proceedings, and in the mind of CALHOUN, demanded some notice in the shape of reply. He accordingly arose, and upon the spur of the occasion, delivered one of the most eloquent and effective speeches ever uttered on the floor of the House, in defense of South Carolina, from what he conceived the aspersions of the President. The President's message was referred to the judiciary committee,—Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, chairman. In order to enforce the collection of revenue in South Carolina, the "Force Bill" was now introduced. It extended the revenue-collecting powers of the United States, and gave the President additional authority in the premises. CALHOUN wished to defer the discussion of this bill for the purpose of full and proper investigation of the great principles for which he was contending, and to effect this, brought in the following resolutions, covering the whole ground:

"*Resolved*, That the people of the several States composing these United States, are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate and sovereign community, each binding itself by its own peculiar ratification; and that the union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a union *between the States* ratifying the same.

"*Resolved*, That the people of the several States, thus united by a constitutional compact in forming that instrument, in creating a general government to carry into effect the object for which it was formed, delegated to that government for that purpose, certain definite powers to be exercised jointly, reserving, at the same

time, each State to itself, the residuary mass of powers to be exercised by its own separate government; and that, whenever the general government assumes the exercise of powers not delegated by the compact, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no effect; and that the said government is not made the final judge of the powers delegated to it, since that would make its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all cases of compact among sovereign parties without any common judge, each has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction, as of the mode and measure of redress.

"*Resolved*, That the assertion that the people of these United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now or ever have been united on the principle of the social compact, and as such, are now formed into one nation or people; or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence; or that the people of the several States comprising the Union have not, as members thereof, retained their sovereignty; or that the allegiance of their citizens has been transferred to the general government; or that they have parted with the right of punishing treason through their respective State governments, or that they have not the right of judging in the last resort, as to the extent of the powers reserved, and of consequence, of those delegated, are not only without foundation in truth, but are contrary to the most certain and plain historical facts and the clearest deductions of reason; and that all exercises of power, on the part of the general government, or any of its departments deriving authority from such erroneous assumptions, must, of necessity, be unconstitutional; must tend directly, and inevitably, to subvert the sovereignty of the States, to destroy the federal character of the Union, and to rear on its ruins a consolidated government without constitutional check or limitation, and which must necessarily terminate in the loss of liberty itself."

Calhoun was defeated in his intentions. The course of South Carolina had exasperated the friends of the tariff and the administration. These resolutions, after considerable discussion, were laid upon the table, and the "Force Bill" was urged upon the House. Against this bill, Calhoun made one of the most elaborate speeches of his life, or ever delivered in the Senate of the United States. Very truly, during the speech, did he remark: "As to myself, I clearly foresaw what has since followed. The

road of ambition lay open before me,—I had but to follow the corrupt tendency of the times,—but I chose to tread the rugged path of duty." Again he said, in reply to some remarks of Grundy,—that it (the Force Bill), was a pacific measure.

"It has been said, by the senator from Tennessee, to be a measure of peace! Yes, such peace as the wolf gives to the lamb, —the kite to the dove. Such peace as Russia gives to Poland, or death to its victim. A peace by extinguishing the political existence of the State, by forcing her into an abandonment of the exercise of every power which constitutes her a sovereign community. It is to South Carolina a question of self preservation; and I proclaim it, that should this bill pass, and an attempt be made to enforce it, it will be resisted at every hazard,—even that of death itself. Death is not the greatest calamity; there are other still more terrible to the free and brave,—among them may be placed the loss of liberty and honor. There are thousands of her brave sons, who, if need be, are prepared cheerfully to lay down their lives in defense of the State and the great principle of constitutional liberty for which she is contending. God forbid that this should become necessary! It never can be, unless the government is resolved to bring the question to extremity, when her gallant sons will stand prepared to perform the last duty,—to die nobly."

Such were the burning words he uttered in the ears of a listening Senate, in defense of his "beloved and virtuous State." Take this great speech throughout, and in purity of diction, soundness of logic, dignity and eloquence, it will favorably compare with Burke's great speech on "Conciliation with America." This speech is an honor to the archives of America, as is its author to her statesmen. Calhoun spoke on the 15th of February, after which the discussion became general,—Webster and others actively participating. He was followed by Webster, who entered ably into a review of the principles embodied in Calhoun's resolutions just quoted. Calhoun replied, on the 26th, in a speech, analytical and argumentative, still maintaining and defending his original ground,—that the Union was a compact, and quoting largely from former speeches of Webster in support of it. On this occasion, each was worthy of his foeman. Seldom have two such men met in debate upon a question so all-important. It is related of the sarcastic John Randolph, who witnessed it, that he took a seat near Calhoun, when he commenced his reply, where he could both

hear CALHOUN and see Webster: there was a hat on a desk immediately between him and the latter senator,—Randolph said to some one near: "Take away that hat; I want to see Webster die muscle by muscle."

The Force Bill passed the 28th of February, 1833. The excitement in South Carolina had somewhat abated; the States' rights men resolving to await the adjournment of Congress before enforcing the ordinance, though it was to have gone into effect the first of February. This resolution was opportunely taken by the convention of States' rights men, held at Charleston during the pendency of the Force Bill, to prevent collisions between the Federal and State governments.

Henry Clay now elaborated the adjustment compromise tariff of 1833, establishing the diminishing scale of duties. This operated as a salvo. Being generally acquiesced in, by both parties, it passed the two Houses, and early in March, received the signature of the President, and became the law of the land. All parties were now satisfied. Congress adjourned, and CALHOUN hastened, by the most rapid modes of conveyance, to Columbia, which he reached in time to meet the convention, whose sitting was soon to commence. Some were dissatisfied with the compromise tariff, and denounced it as a temporizing mean of restoring quiet only for the time. CALHOUN, however, insisted that it was the best that could be hoped for, favorable to the interests of the people generally, and urged its acceptance without further agitation. They finally acceded to his counsel, and became reconciled to the compromise tariff. Thus ended South Carolina nullification.

The tariff question and nullification being now settled, politicians looked, with interest, upon CALHOUN, to see what course he would pursue, and whether he would identify himself with a political party. He was Republican, but had opposed the administration,—would h identify himself with the administration party, and labor with his former political friends? This question was soon answered. The vote on the re-charter of the United States Bank, and removal of the deposits by Jackson, elicited the resolutions of censure, presented by Clay, in December, 1833. So far from falling into the support of Jackson, CALHOUN, though no friend to the Bank, joined himself with Clay in trying to effect the passage of these resolutions. The animosity between Jackson and CALHOUN was, therefore, no nigher healed,

than during the contests on nullification. They were, perhaps, in many respects, too much alike to agree. CALHOUN did not look upon the removal of the deposits as necessarily involving the question of bank or no bank,—he opposed the step as a high-handed exercise of executive power, assumed for the purpose of controlling the surplus revenue. Having opposed the administration in this, he next arrayed himself against the reception of Jackson's protest,—that famous manifesto that caused such excitement everywhere.

CALHOUN, at this time, disavowed connection with either of the political parties,—stating explicitly, that he was a States' rights man,—"wanted to be nothing more and would be nothing less." He, most generally, however, voted against the measures of the administration, unless he conceived his principles demanded an opposite course. He now devoted himself to the curtailment of executive power and patronage, and moved the appointment of a committee to consider its expediency. The committee was appointed; he was chosen its chairman. The President, at this time, was recommending the application of the surplus revenue to public works and military defenses, which CALHOUN earnestly opposed. He sustained and voted for the "Deposit Bill," passed June, 1836, regulating the deposits and distributing the surplus among the several States.

CALHOUN's first senatorial term expired in March, 1835, but he was almost unanimously chosen by his native State for a second term. He was strongly opposed to the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States, and during the session of 1835–36, voted against Clay's measure designed for that purpose. During all the animosities prevalent in Congress, incident to the presentation of abolition petitions, CALHOUN was identified with the opposition, and voted against their reception on all occasions,—he also spoke against it, on the floor, with marked ability and force. The Senate concurred in his views and tabled the motion to receive.

Meanwhile, political changes were taking place. Martin Van Buren came to the presidency by popular election. CALHOUN did not take part in the campaign. His State voted for neither of the candidates. Soon after the accession of the new President, the great financial crisis of 1837 began to exhibit its disastrous influences in the prostration of credit, and destruction of business.

Congress was convened by proclamation, September 4th. The banks having suspended specie payments, Van Buren recommended an entire separation from them by the government. CALHOUN concurred with this measure, and came forward to maintain the President's views. On the 3d of October, he made a speech favoring the separation, that evinced a sound judgment, great financial accuracy and a[illegible]aintance.

The crisis of 1837 left us in a deplorable condition. All parties began, not without cause, to seek a remedy. Early in September, Silas Wright brought in a bill favoring separation of government and banks. The bill was proposed to be amended by CALHOUN, so as to prevent moneys due the government being paid in paper currency. This amendment called forth his speech alluded to. Two other projects were formed,—the one to re-incorporate a national bank, the other recommending a system of special deposits among the various State banks, each of which failed,—CALHOUN voting against both.

CALHOUN's disposition to favor the separation of the government from the banks, drew upon him severe attacks from various sources. It led to a debate between himself and Clay, in which the latter did not win many additional laurels. Webster, also, threw down the gauntlet at the feet of the South Carolinian; though he met with a little better success, he could have found a less worthy antagonist.

CALHOUN had now attained a position in the United States Senate among the most eminent, and second to none. During the session of 1837–38, the slavery question arose. CALHOUN, in a series of resolutions, introduced as definitive of the position of the Republican party, gave his views upon that subject. They are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same, the States acted severally as free, independent and sovereign States; and that each for itself and by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with a view to its increased security against all dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political, and social.

"*Resolved*, That in delegating a portion of her powers, to be exercised by the federal government, the States retained severally, the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions

and police, and are alone responsible for them; and that any intermeddling of one or more States or a combination of their citizens with the domestic institntions and police of the others, on any ground, or under any pretext, whatsoever, political, moral, or religious, with a view to their alteration or subversion, is an assumption of superiority not warranted by the Constitution, insulting to the States interfered with; tending to disturb their domestic peace and tranquillity; subversive of the objects for which the Constitution was formed, and by necessary consequence, tending to weaken the Union itself.

"*Resolved*, That this government was instituted and adopted by the several States of this Union as a common agent, in order to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the Constitution for their mutual security and prosperity; and that in fulfillment of this high and sacred trust, this government is bound so to exercise its powers as to give, as far as may be practicable, increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the States that compose the Union; and that it is the solemn duty of the government to resist all attempts by one portion of the Union to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions, instead of strengthening and upholding them, as it is in duty bound to do.

"*Resolved*, That domestic slavery as it exists in the southern and western States of this Union, composes an important part of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an essential element in the distribution of its powers among the States; and that no change of opinion or feeling, on the part of the other States of the Union, in relation to it, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with a view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States respectively, on entering into the Constitutional compact which formed the Union, and as such, is a manifest breach of faith and a violation of the most solemn obligations, moral, and religious.

"*Resolved*, That the intermeddling of any State or States, or their citizens, to abolish slavery in this District or any of the territories on the ground or under the pretext that it is immoral or

sinful, or the passage of any act or measure of Congress with that view, would be a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slave-holding States.

"*Resolved*, That the union of these States rests on an equality of rights and advantages among its members; and that whatever destroys that equality tends to destroy the Union itself; and that it is the solemn duty of all, and more especially of this body, which represents the States in their corporate capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate between the States in extending the benefits of the government to the several portions of the Union; and that to refuse to extend to the southern and western States any advantage which would tend to strengthen or render them more secure, or increase their limits or population by the annexation of new territory or States, on the assumption, or under the pretext that the institution of slavery as it exists among them, is immoral, or sinful, or otherwise obnoxious, would be contrary to that equality of rights and advantages which the Constitution was intended to secure alike to all the members of the Union, and would, in effect, disfranchise the slave-holding States, withholding them from the advantages, while it subjected them to the burdens of the government."

Such were his views upon this vexed question, which were maintained in a general, though desultory debate at the time of their introduction. The resolutions passed, except the last one,—the speedy admission of Florida, and the contemplated acquisition of Texas, it was said, prevented the reception of the last,—it having direct bearing upon these territories. CALHOUN was emphatically a pro-slavery man, opposed to interference with the institution by national legislation in any shape or form. He expressed it as his opinion, that "in no other condition, or in any age, had the negro race ever attained so high an elevation in morals, intelligence, or civilization."

"Slavery," he was accustomed to say, "existed in some form or other in all countries; and he was disposed to doubt the assertion in the Declaration, that 'all men are born free and equal.'" He considered the colored population as "constituting an inferior race, and that slavery was not a degradation, but had the direct tendency to improve their moral, social, and intellectual condition. The situation of the slaves was an enviable one in comparison with that of free negroes at the north, or with that of the operatives in

the manufactories of Great Britain." "Of what value," he asked, "except relatively, were political rights, where he saw thousands of voters in the northern States in the service of powerful monopolies, or employed on public works, fairly driven to the polls with ballots in their hands. The negro slave," he contended, "felt his inferiority, and regarded his position as a proper and natural one. The two races in the southern States were almost equal in number, they could not live on terms of equality. It may, in truth, be assumed as a maxim," he said, "that two races differing so greatly, and in so many respects, can not possibly exist together in the same country where their numbers are so nearly equal, without one being subject to the other. Experience has proved that the existing relation in which the one is subjected to the other in the slave-holding States, is consistent with the peace and safety of both, with great improvement to the inferior; while the same experience proves that the abolition of slavery would, if it did not destroy the inferior by conflicts to which it would lead, reduce it to the extremes of vice and wretchedness. In this view of the subject, it may be asserted, that what is called slavery, is in reality, a political institution essential to the peace, safety, and prosperity of those of the Union in which it exists." With these views honestly entertained, he could have no political affinities with those who decried the institution as a violation of the laws of God and man,—directly contrary to the spirit of the Declaration and the Constitution.

During the session of 1839–40, he was an active member, and never failed to participate influentially in all the important discussions of the day. He opposed the assumption of the State debts, the leading features of the bankrupt bill, and in a speech of great vigor and eloquence, called forth by the seizure of the Enterprize, in the spring of 1840,—maintained that ships engaged in a lawful trade or traffic, "were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the country to which her flag belonged."*

Meantime, a political revolution was taking place. Another presidential election was approaching. In 1840, CALHOUN warmly supported Van Buren. Harrison and Tyler, however, were elected, and by immense popular majorities. The death of Harrison, immediately after his inauguration, changed the political com-

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* Jenkins.

plexion of things materially. Congress convened at the remarkable called session of May, 1841,—CALHOUN again appearing as Senator from his native State, having been re-elected for another term. The Whig party leaders went into the Twenty-seventh Congress with hopes of carrying their favorite measures,—the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands,—a national bank, and a high protective tariff. Of these measures this is not the proper place to speak,—Clay was the "stirrer of the storm," and to our sketch of that great leader, the reader is referred. CALHOUN opposed these measures. The bill, incorporating a national bank passed, he voting negatively,—it was vetoed by Tyler, as was another bill of the same import, though brought forward in a different shape. The Bankrupt bill was again agitated CALHOUN again opposing it. Tyler was abused for an alleged unwarrantable exercise of the veto power. His cabinet was broken up and Congress adjourned.

The regular session of 1841–42, opened with a bitter party spirit directed chiefly against Tyler,—it was one of universal excitement. The attacks upon the President, by Clay, were able, vehement, and relentless. CALHOUN took up the gauntlet in defense of the administration and his executive privilege,—the veto. His speech, on this occasion, was pronounced by the administration men as a triumphant vindication of Tyler from the charges of his assailants. The most important act of this session was the passage of the tariff of 1842,—establishing average duties at near forty per cent. It barely escaped defeat, receiving only one vote majority in each House. CALHOUN made an able speech against this tariff, denouncing it as "a bill of abominations, etc."

In the spring of 1843, CALHOUN resigned his seat in the Senate and returned to his home, where he remained until February, 1844. Polk, in the meantime, had been elected President, and the annexation of Texas was the leading feature in national politics,—a measure to which CALHOUN was a warm friend. On the 28th of February, 1844, Upshur, Secretary of State, was killed by the melancholy accident on the Princeton. Tyler's term was just expiring, and CALHOUN was tendered the position of the State department. After some hesitation he accepted, and entered upon its duties. Polk came to the Presidency, March 4th, 1845, the avowed friend of annexation,—his views according with those of CALHOUN upon the subject. As Secretary of State, the latter,

early the ensuing April, had the pleasure of signing an annexation treaty. Soon after the accession of Polk, CALHOUN was tendered the mission to England, which, in view of the Oregon boundary difficulties was then one of importance. Opposing any and all steps, tending to produce a rupture between the two countries, he averred that Washington was the place where peace was to be preserved, and declined acceptance.

Huger, who succeeded him in the Senate, now resigned his seat, and CALHOUN, by the unanimous will of the people of his State, was elected to fill his unexpired term. He again took his seat in that body, his frame a little worn and infirm, but his intellect clear and unclouded.

In 1845, he attended as a delegate from South Carolina, a south-western convention at Memphis, and was chosen president. The object of the meeting was to devise the best means of bringing out the full resources of the West and South-West. A memorial was prepared, which he presented to Congress in the summer of 1846. On the subject of internal improvements, he thought that the powers of Congress were restricted by the clause in the Constitution,—"to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States," and discarded the more latitudinous construction given to powers conferred by the much talked of clause,—"common defense and general welfare." He cordially, therefore, approved of the course of President Polk in his veto of the River and Harbor bill of 1846. The re-establishment of the independent treasury of the same session, also met his warm approval.

The Oregon question had been settled. The tariff of 1846 passed, and other important measures in which he had taken part, and CALHOUN would have gladly laid aside his senatorial robe and returned to Fort Hill. But the war with Mexico, in the estimation of his friends, made his stay at the capital almost imperative. He was again elected senator in 1846. The acquisition of territory, incident to the treaty of peace with Mexico, involved the nation in a delirium of political excitement never before witnessed. The wisest statesmen,—CALHOUN among the number,—had foreseen that the subject of slavery, in all its aspects, would be involved by the adjustment of territorial governments, and application for admission into the Union. He voted for ratification of the treaty, and nerved himself for the coming struggle. When the contest for the balance of power opened, and North

and South became fairly arrayed, CALHOUN was found where he always was, resisting to the death every effort to rule slavery from the newly-acquired territory. During the stormy period prior to the compromise of 1850, he labored with the zeal and enthusiasm of youth, favoring the interests of his beloved South.

Taylor succeeded to the Presidency in 1849, at a critical juncture. Naturally of an apprehensive temperament, CALHOUN looked upon the pending storm with gloomy foreboding. He was now sixty-eight years of age, the greater part of which, he had spent in active political life. He was failing in strength, yet day after day, would go to that scene of excitement,—the Senate chamber. Feeling, at length, that his remaining time was brief, and wishing to raise once more a warning voice against infringement of the constitutional rights of the south, he went to his room and prepared his last great speech. Though unable to deliver it himself, it was read to eager listeners by his colleague, Judge Butler, March 4th, 1850. It is long, elaborate, and among the ablest productions emanating from the American mind. He warns his country against the danger of undue slavery agitation, and paints, in fearful colors, the results, if the warning be unheeded. From this time he grew more feeble, and life's lamp began to flicker and grow dim. Like Adams, he died at his post. On the 13th of March, 1850, he appeared, for the last time, in the Hall he had so long graced with the brightest ornaments that adorn the brow of manhood. Slavery was the all-absorbing topic,—agitation the order of the day. His positions had been assailed by several Senators. His eye immediately flashed with all its former fire, and he arose to speak, for the last time, a second Chatham, in an assemblage more august than the English House of Lords. The effort overcame him. He was compelled to leave the Hall,—he went to his room,—went there to die. Notwithstanding his physical organism was fast sinking, his mind was undimmed, and he could not be kept from writing, thinking, and conversing. His life thus ebbed gently away. His son, Dr. John B. Calhoun, was with him, and watched his decline with filial fondness. On the 30th of March, speedy dissolution became clearly apparent. Stimulants were administered, and he continued to talk upon the slavery question until the evening. Near midnight his respiration became difficult. Soon after, he faintly called his son, saying: "John come to me." He then [illegible] him to feel his pulse, which

was almost gone. About five in the morning of the 31st, his son asked him if he was comfortable,—"I AM PERFECTLY COMFORTABLE," was the reply. These were the last words of JOHN C. CALHOUN. He grew weaker till a little after six, when the pulseless arm, moveless eye, and marble brow, showed the great statesman was no more.

He has been described as the "cast-iron man, who looked as though he had never been born." "In person, he was tall and slender, and his frame appeared to become more and more attenuated till he died. His features were harsh and angular in their outlines, presenting a combination of the Greek and the Roman. A serene and almost stony calm pervaded them when in repose, but when enlivened in conversation or debate, their play was remarkable,—the lights were brought out into bolder relief, and the shadow thrown into deeper shade. His countenance, when at rest, indicated abstraction, or a pre-occupied air, and a stranger on approaching him, could scarcely avoid an emotion of fear; yet, he could not utter a word, before the fire of genius flashed from his eye and illumed his expressive features. His individuality was stamped upon his acute and intelligent face, and the lines of character and thought were strongly and clearly defined. His forehead was broad, tolerably high and compact, denoting the mass of brain behind it. Until he had passed the grand climacteric, he wore his hair short and brushed back, so that it stood erect on the top of his head, like bristles on the angry boar, or 'quills upon the fretful porcupine,' but toward the close of his life he suffered it to grow long, and fall over his temples. But his eyes were his most striking feature, they were dark-blue, large, and brilliant; in repose, glowing with a steady light; in action, fairly emitting flashes of fire."

Of his mental attributes, it is needless to speak. The death of one so justly honored, created a profound sensation through the country. Henry Clay is said to have approached the coffin, and after contemplating for some time, said: "I was his senior in years,—but in nothing else."

His funeral took place on the 2d of April, at the capitol, when his remains were conveyed to Charleston. They were deposited in the St. Philip's Church cemetery, Charleston, whence they were designed for final interment at Columbia, the State capital.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, the son of Raymond and Sarah Perry, was born in Newport, R. I., on the 20th of August, 1785. He was early destined for the naval service,—his ancestors having been for several generations, more or less engaged in the perils of a seafaring life. His father's relatives were originally from Devonshire, England, having emigrated to America at an early period of its settlement; his mother was of Irish birth, though of Scotch extraction.

Young PERRY, in his childhood, gave no signs of future distinction. Though he was kept at school in various places, his early education amounted to but little. In the summer of 1798, his father received a naval captaincy on one of the vessels destined for service against the French. In 1799, Captain Perry received the command of the General Greene, a thirty-two gun frigate, and sailed for the West Indies. On this voyage young PERRY accompanied his father, having already determined to devote his life to naval pursuits. He attained the rank of midshipman in April, 1799. The General Greene was directed to sail for Havana, but the yellow fever breaking out soon after, she was forced to return to Newport, which she reached in July. Her captain was next engaged in circumnavigating the Island of St. Domingo, against the piratical crafts of the notorious Rigaud. Several of these were discovered under the protection of some batteries, and sharp cannonading was immediately opened by Captain Perry, which would have resulted in the capture of the crafts, had not a French vessel of heavy caliber arrived just in time to compel him to lift



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

his anchor. After participating in the capture of Jaquemel, the General Greene was given to the command of Commodore Talbot, and was soon again at anchorage at Newport.

Peace succeeding soon after, Captain Perry was dismissed from the service, and the General Greene laid up at Washington. OLIVER retained his midshipman's warrant, and was continued in the service. He was now left with little to do but prosecute his studies, which he did with enthusiasm until the year 1802, when he was appointed to the Adams, a twenty-eight gun ship, commanded by Captain Campbell, destined for the Mediterranean service, and which sailed from Newport, June 10th, 1802. She joined the Chesapeake in the middle of the ensuing month at Gibraltar, whence she was sent to Malaga with an American convoy. Returning to Gibraltar, she passed the winter there, watching the Tripolines. During this time, cruising among the straits, often under perilous circumstances, excellent opportunities were afforded young PERRY for studying the principles of navigation, and qualifying himself for the scenes that were to open before his ambitious eye. To show how he had won the esteem of his commander, he was, on his seventeenth birth-day, promoted to the post, and intrusted with the duties of acting lieutenant; an instance of rare occurrence in the history of the navy. Soon after, the Adams was again sent on an expedition of convoy. Being compelled to pass many spots intimately associated with naval history, Lieutenant PERRY was careful to avail himself of every opportunity to acquire solid and useful information. After a brief appearance with other vessels before Tripoli, the Adams, in the spring of 1803, again sailed for Gibraltar. Several of the vessels now returned home, and in the ensuing November, PERRY found himself again in his native land. He had been cruising now for eighteen months, during which time he had seen much, and added greatly to his qualifications as an officer and a seaman. For the period of nearly a year, he was now again inactive, and consequently did not participate in the Tripoline war. He bent himself, however with, intense application, to maritime studies, anxious, when opportunity offered, to reflect credit upon his profession. In the summer of 1804, he received orders to join the Constellation, under his old commander, Captain Campbell. She sailed for Tripoli, and arrived there just as operations were being brought to a close. The death of Somers making vacant the

first lieutenancy on board the schooner Nautilus, PERRY was transferred to that position. In his twenty-first year, and with six years' naval experience, he now found himself in a position that would test his capacities of seamanship. He is said to have exercised his commission on board the Nautilus with credit to himself and the discretion of one far beyond his years. He remained in this position until the fall of 1805, when he was transferred, as lieutenant, to the Constitution, Commodore Rodgers. The next year he went in the same capacity on board the Essex, in which he returned home in October, 1806. He had now completly mastered his profession, and was justly regarded among the rising men of the navy. After being for some time engaged in the unpleasant, and trifling business of preparing gun-boats for the service, he was, in April, 1809, placed in command of the Revenge, a schooner of fourteen guns. This was the first command he ever had, and his selection to it without consideration of seniority, was no ordinary compliment to his capacities and fitness. He was engaged, for some time, cruising along the coast, to protect American merchant vessels; after which, he put in at Washington for repairs. Thence he sailed southward, and soon after, had the good fortune to seize an American vessel which had been put under English colors and detained in Spanish waters near Amelia Island. Notwithstanding the presence, in the vicinity, of two English cruisers, PERRY took possession of the vessel, which he bore off in safety. On his way to sea, he was met by an English sloop of war, the captain of which, requested him to stop and come on board. PERRY replied by giving orders to his men to prepare for battle, and refused to quit his vessel. The British captain, however, did not press his demand, and avoided an action. In 1810, the Revenge returned to Newport, and was, shortly after, wrecked on Watch Hill Reef, though most of her valuables were saved through the exertions of her brave commander. PERRY was now temporarily deprived of first command.

In May, 1811, he was married to Elizabeth Mason, of Rhode Island, to whom he had been warmly attached for a number of years. Soon after this event, he was appointed commander, and took charge of a number of gun-boats at Newport, when war with England was declared in 1812.

Always disliking the gun-boat service, and anxious to be actively engaged during the coming naval struggle, he asked

permission to be transferred to the Lake service. This was granted, and he made immediate preparations to depart for the theater of his fame. His first destination, under Commodore Chauncey, was Sackett's Harbor, which he reached with his commander on the 3d of March, 1813. On the 27th of the same month, PERRY was dispatched to Lake Erie, to the port of Presque Isle or Erie, with instructions to have a good force upon its waters. He entered upon duties of an extended range with alacrity and the highest hopes of success. By great diligence he overcame the difficulties incident to the preparation and equipment of suitable vessels. Scarcely were these services accomplished, when he learned that the British designed a descent upon Fort George. Knowing that the utmost diligence was requisite, our young commander, on receiving the intelligence, jumped into a small oar-boat, and made the passage from Erie to Buffalo, during a dark night, in the brief time of twenty-four hours. He then descended the Niagara, running the risk of being fired upon by the enemy's batteries, and reached the American ship Madison in safety. Commodore Chauncey received him with great cordiality, and preparations were immediately made for descending the river. The descent was made, the troops landed, and overcame the enemy, who attempted to oppose them, and the command of the Niagara was secured. To these results none more largely contributed than PERRY, nor exhibited more coolness and hardihood. His next duty was to get some vessels lying at Black Rock up the river, beyond the enemy's positions, preparatory to concentrating all their force on Lake Erie at a single point. These duties were successfully performed. Having accomplished this, about the middle of June he sailed from Buffalo for Erie. By great exertions and skillful maneuvering, he succeeded in collecting all the vessels together, which enabled him better to dispute the asserted supremacy of the enemy on the Lake. To maintain authority on the Lake was a matter of primary and vital importance with both parties to the contest. The activity of PERRY in bringing together, almost creating, in fact, sufficient forces to effect this, can not receive too high meed of commendation. PERRY was so situated that in putting out to the Lake, it was necessary to pass the enemy under command of Captain Barclay, and cross a bar, near by, which presented dangers equally formidable. In the midst of this perplexity, the enemy temporarily

left their position. Perry immediately went to work, and after immense labor, passed the bar in time to prevent annoyance from the enemy, who returned just as the last vessel made the passage over. Being now on the Lake, and soon after reinforced by Elliott and some seamen from the lower squadron, he was anxious to bring on an engagement, and immediately set sail in search of the British. He came to anchorage at Put-In bay, near Malden, a favorable point for watching the enemy. Here, a violent sickness broke out among the crew, and PERRY, with three medical officers of the squadron were among the most severely afflicted. By September, however, he had recovered sufficiently to maneuver for an action. His efforts proving abortive, he returned to Put-In bay, where he arrived on the 6th of September. He supposed the British would aim to push their vessels past Long Point, and resolved in such case to give battle. On the 9th, a consultation of his officers was held, in which it was resolved, the ensuing day, to attack the enemy at their anchorage, in case of failure on their part to offer battle. PERRY's force consisted of nine vessels and fifty-four guns. Of these vessels PERRY commanded the Lawrence in person, and Elliott the Niagara.

The British armament consisted of seven vessels and sixty-three guns; of these, Barclay was, in person, in command of the Detroit. On the morning of the 10th of September, though the wind was unfavorable, PERRY determined to give battle, and made preparations accordingly. Wishing to engage, in person, the British commander, he changed his original plan of action, and so arranged his vessels as to bring the Lawrence immediately alongside the Detroit. This is another instance of his high chivalric spirit. His commands were promptly obeyed, and he soon found himself in battle trim. The enemy stood out in gallant style, awaiting the approach of the American vessels. PERRY immediately brought the Lawrence in position to bear upon the Detroit,—the Niagara and Caledonia coming forward at the same time. When more than a mile distant, a twenty-four pound shot came whizzing over the water from the Detroit, and announced readiness for the contest. PERRY hoisted his signal for the different commanders to engage as soon as possible, according to previous orders. His last order to his other vessels was now issued,—for them to close upon and engage the enemy with all possible dispatch. As they approached, a preconcerted, though rather ineffec-

tive fire opened from the enemy, which was returned from the long guns of the Americans. About twelve o'clock, M., the action became general. The Lawrence not being so heavy a craft as the Detroit, began to suffer considerably from the fire of the latter, and PERRY edged away a little. The Niagara, Caledonia, Scorpion, and Ariel, now closing in, opened upon the enemy the fire from their long guns, telling with good effect, and much to the relief of the Lawrence, which being ahead, had hitherto been the main object of the British fire. PERRY's order of battle was, that the fire of each of his vessels should be directed against a certain vessel of the enemy. This showed his sagacity in naval engagements; for not being able to mingle with his men in the various vessels as generals can with land armies, each subordinate officer knew, beforehand, precisely what he had to do. In accordance with these orders, the Niagara engaged the Queen Charlotte, and the Caledonia the Hunter,—the Lawrence, Ariel, and Scorpion, engaged the Detroit, Chippewa, and the other vessels astern of the British line. The guns of the British were superior and of heavier caliber than those of the Americans,—this circumstance, and the fact of the Lawrence having got so far ahead of her supporters, accounts for the suffering of that vessel in the early part of the action. The bursting of one of the Ariel's guns, rendered the disparity still more apparent. The carronades of the Lawrence were useless until she was close to the foe, while, it will be remembered, that Barclay hurled a twenty-four pound shot at her from his vessel when over a mile off. The greater part of this distance, therefore, had to be accomplished under the fire of the Detroit, without being able to return it with any telling effect. That the Lawrence should suffer materially under such circumstances was inevitable. The wind calmed down, leaving the Lawrence, for a time, nearly motionless, and exposed to the long guns of her adversary. Had the wind permitted the Lawrence to bear immediately upon her antagonist, and the other vessels thus enabled to keep their assigned positions, this suffering of his vessel would unquestionably have been avoided, and the victory made more easy. Just as the Niagara was engaging, with effect, the Queen Charlotte, the latter vessel shifted her position, and falling leeward of the Detroit, opened her fire also upon the Lawrence. If this strange maneuver increased the perplexity of the Lawrence, it also did that of the Detroit, leaving the Niagara free to engage

her. The Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, at this movement, directed their fires against the Lawrence, which was literally enveloped in smoke and quivering under the effects of the combined attack. It seems, indeed, that it was the determination of the British commander to destroy the Lawrence, regardless of the presence of the other vessels. The smaller American crafts, gun-boats, came astern of the enemy and opened fire upon them. The Niagara, contrary to battle order, though the movement seemed necessary, passed the Caledonia and hastened to the protection of the Lawrence, which, by this time, was so riddled with shot, as to render her almost useless in the action. As she approached sufficiently near, her guns opened upon the enemy effectually. At the same time the Caledonia, according to instructions, was engaging the Hunter, while the gun-boats astern were giving a sweeping fire that did good execution.

These movements took up considerable time, and by the time they were completed, the Lawrence was little more than a wreck,—she was nearly dismantled, her guns were silenced and her decks strewn with dead and wounded. The wind arose at this juncture, and several important changes in position took place on both sides. It was evidently Barclay's aim to bring his vessels round to bear a broadside on the Americans, but the Detroit had also suffered severely during the action and was not easily managed. The Niagara now passed the Lawrence, making ahead of the enemy's line, while the Caledonia passed inside still nearer. At this moment, finding his own vessel no longer fit for use, PERRY took his flag, and with a young brother leaped into a boat and pulled for the Niagara, by this time some distance ahead, which he reached when a few hundred yards windward of the enemy. Taking command of the Niagara, PERRY directed Elliott to go in the boat and bring the gun-boats forward. PERRY now prepared for close action, and after having waited a few moments for the other vessels to get in readiness, he bore directly upon the enemy. Barclay, still intent on getting so arranged as to pour broadsides into his adversary, endeavored to wear, as the Niagara passed him. His ships were in too bad plight, and in the attempt he was run foul of by the Queen Charlotte. The Niagara now came up and sent a close and destructive fire into the two vessels while they were entangled and obstructing each other's movements. Elliott coming up opposite with the gun-boats, and the Caledonia engaging, at the same time,

the raking cross-fire was tremendous; and unable to stand such a storm of shot, the British vessels soon struck their colors. The Detroit, Queen Charlotte, Lady Prevost, and Hunter, hauled down their colors about the same time, while the Little Belt and Chippewa, not being so exposed, hoisted sail and tried to escape. The Trippe and Scorpion gave chase, and coming up with them in a short time, they were also forced to surrender. The only vessel belonging to PERRY that struck her colors was the Lawrence, which occurred soon after he quitted her for the Niagara. The victory was complete, and with it departed, forever, the last vestige of naval supremacy that lingered on the flag of England as it floated over the Lakes. PERRY well understood what was at stake, and though confident of victory, to provide against misfortune or accident, all his public letters and documents were thrown overboard, previous to engaging in action, and his private letters,—billets of affection from his wife,—were read and torn to pieces. He truthfully remarked before the battle began, that it was the most important day of his life. Throughout the action, PERRY gave evidences of the highest moral courage, heroism, and fortitude. During all the slaughter on board the Lawrence, he showed no signs of fear or discouragement. For the engagement, all the circumstances taken into account, both parties were about equally matched. The heavier guns and better health of the British being, perhaps, the main advantage. PERRY, making the attack, perhaps, threw the chances somewhat in favor of the enemy.

With this victory, he identified himself with the heroes of the country, and his name, from comparative obscurity, became at once a synonym of merit the world over. It was a day long to be remembered, and its annual return is yet celebrated at Put-In bay, with every demonstration of pride and joy. Not satisfied, however, in his laudable thirst for fame, soon after this victory, he assisted in the capture of Detroit City, when he joined the land army of Harrison, and fought with spirit, at Moravian Town. After the surrender of the British, in conjunction with Harrison, he issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, specifying terms of submission and release,—the first time, it is said, a naval officer had ever performed similar duty.*

He now gave up his command and returned to more familiar

* Cooper's Naval Biography.

parts of the country. He was everywhere received with laudatory demonstrations, and became the object of observation and regard. He was liberally rewarded by Congress for his gallant achievement on the Lake. After spending some time at Newport, he was, in August, 1814, placed in command of the Java, a forty-four gun ship built at Baltimore. This vessel was unable to put to sea, being too closely watched by the enemy in the bay, and PERRY seems not to have been again engaged in active service until peace was concluded.

In the spring of 1815, he was again attached to the Java, in which he sailed for the Mediterranean the ensuing winter. We next find him, in conjunction with Commodore Shaw, preparing to operate against the piratical Algerines; but a speedy settlement of these difficulties prevented opportunities of further distinction. While on this cruise, PERRY became irritated at one of his subordinate officers, whom he struck in his own cabin. Sensible, afterward, of his wrong, he made an apology, which not being accepted, unpleasant controversies grew out of the matter, which resulted in both parties being subjected to a reprimand. Nor did it end here,—a hostile meeting resulted. PERRY met the marine, whose wounded honor dictated his course, with the determination, expressed in a letter to Decatur not to fire. "I can not," says he, "return his fire, as the meeting on my part, will be entirely an atonement for the violated rules of service."

This was immediately followed by another difficulty of an equally unpleasant nature. At the battle of Lake Erie, PERRY, in his official report, had highly eulogized the conduct of Captain Elliott. Afterward, a controversy arose among the officers engaged in the battle; PERRY was charged with striking the colors of the Lawrence and going on board the Niagara in a state of utter despondency, while Elliott was charged with unofficer-like conduct at the commencement of the action. A court of inquiry was subsequently instituted by the English upon the conduct of Barclay on the occasion. An English newspaper commenting upon the proceedings, made some remarks, highly disparaging to Captain Elliott, giving them color, by intimating that PERRY would corroborate the charges. Elliott immediately wrote PERRY, demanding explanations of certain certificates reflecting upon him. The latter replied in terms of bitter asperity, preferring the same charges from which Elliott wished to exonerate himself. Elliott now

raged beyond measure, sent PERRY a challenge, which the latter declined, assigning as his reasons, that he intended bringing formal charges against the latter that would preclude the possibility of an honorable meeting. Here the matter ended,—awaiting the action of the proper tribunals. PERRY was now in a bad position. He had eulogized the conduct of Elliott in strong terms,—then preferred charges against him equally strong. His only excuse,—and a very poor one,—was, that at the time he praised him, he was ignorant of the many existent causes of censure. PERRY, in this matter, appeared to have acted from personal pique,—his pride was wounded at the idea of losing his own ship and taking command of his subordinate's, the Niagara, and no doubt, feared that too much credit for the victory would be attached to the latter. Not exempt from the infirmities incident to ambition and human nature, he seems to have acted wholly from personal motives. Well deserved as his laurels were on that eventful day, they gained no additional freshness by his course in this matter. It forms a leaf in his gallant history we read with regret, and would be glad to omit altogether.

It was July, 1819, before he was again in active service. He had built a residence and settled his family in Newport, when in July of that year, in the capacity of commodore (a title which he had only borne through courtesy since the battle on Lake Erie), he took command of the John Adams and sailed for Barbadoes, the object of his services being the protection of the equatorial trade. Proceeding to the mouth of Orinoco River, he took command of the schooner Nonesuch, and sent the Adams to Trinidad. He then proceeded to Angostura, where he anchored on the 26th. His business with the Venezuelans was partly diplomatic,—which he consummated and took his departure. The yellow fever had made its appearance in the meantime, crippled his crew for service, and carried off several seamen. By the 17th of August, a large portion of the crew were suffering with the malady, about one-fourth of those who became afflicted, dying. On the morning of that day, PERRY took his gun, and in a boat went along the margin of the river in search of game. In the evening a damp, disagreeable wind arose, and the schooner was forced to anchor on a bar at the mouth of the river. PERRY arose next morning cold and benumbed, the water, owing to the high wind, having wet him with spray during his sleep. His chilly

sensations were of short continuance, and succeeded by lancinating pains in the head and a burning skin. *Hero of Lake Erie was a victim of yellow fever.* He was bled until he fainted from the effect of the depletion. His skin cooled, and breathing became easier,—but the worst symptoms soon returned. He now knew there was no hope of recovery, and except a desire to see his family, bore up under the disease with great fortitude. Before he reached his vessel, the John Adams, at Trinidad, he gave signs of the vomit,—infallible precursor of death. He now sank rapidly. A boat from the Adams approached the schooner, of whom, PERRY inquired the condition of his crew. He then prepared to make his will, but his strength was too far gone. He suffered intensely until toward evening, when his spirit fled for other spheres. Thus died Commodore OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, on the 23d of August, 1819, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. His remains were deposited at Trinidad with suitable naval and military honors, but were subsequently removed to Newport, where they were finally deposited to rest in peace among the friends of his earlier years. Lake Erie will remain the chart of his deeds, till the pennant of commerce and industry shall cease to float on her bosom.



S. S. PRENTISS.

S. S. PRENTISS.

If eloquence consists in the power of moving men's souls,—then the subject now to be considered was most truly eloquent. On all occasions, when circumstances required him to address an audience, he came glowing up to his theme, "in sublime, godlike action" and literally

"——Wreaked himself in expression."

The idea of the great poet:

"——Where fancy weary grew in other men,
His, fresh as morning rose,—"

in reference to his oratory, may well be applied to Seargent S. Prentiss. He was the son of William Prentiss, a respectable shipmaster, and was born on the 30th of September, 1808, in Portland, Maine. His father was a true representative of the early New Englanders; the family emigrating from England to Massachusetts in 1614. A few years after the birth of Seargent, the prostration of commerce, incident to the Embargo policy, drove his father to Gorham, where he engaged in farming. Prentiss, in his youth, was very lame, and confined, for the most part, to the house. He listened with delight to stories of adventures related by his father and a Captain Lewis, both of whom had passed through scenes of thrilling interest. These narratives made a vivid impression on his mind. He also drank in the instructions of his excellent mother, whom he loved almost to idolatry with affectionate eagerness. The book, it seems, with which he first became fascinated, was that inimitable allegory,—Bunyan's Pil-

grim's Progress. It is related of him, that he knew by heart, every "step Christian traveled from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City."

PRENTISS, at this age, was remarkable for his personal beauty, sprightliness, and affectionate disposition. As he grew older, his health improved and he became less lame. At the age of ten years, he commenced going to school in the vicinity of Gorham—being drawn to and from the school-house by his brother in a small vehicle provided for the purpose. Thus, for some time, the future orator might have been seen pulled along an obscure country road with his cane and crutch, in a baby-wagon, to the spot where his mind was commencing its wonderful development. A little time after, with the aid of a single cane, he employed his leisure time shooting squirrels in the forest, or catching fish from "Jordon's brook." For these sports, his fondness amounted to a perfect passion. He did not seem to relish manual labor, and though the other boys were accustomed to work on the farm, he had no notion of trying his skill in that direction. His lameness had caused him to be the subject of indulgent solicitude, and had already induced, in his parents, different plans for him than that of working on a farm. He early determined upon going to college, and, notwithstanding his aversion to labor, told his parents that if no other way presented, he would "learn the shoemaker's trade," and work his way through by that means.

He continued at the academy for some time, preparing for a higher institution. While there, he greatly increased his acquaintance with books, and became very fond of general literature. He conceived a high passion for Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, which he read and re-read with great interest. During this preparatory course, he was quick, perceptive, and studious. He was a great favorite with the other boys,—though, in his intercourse with them, he would often indulge in some sarcastic witticism, the effect of which would soon be healed by a lively, good-humored remark. It was customary for the boys to give weekly declamations. PRENTISS was very averse to this exercise, and generally managed to avoid it. His teacher resolving to forbear with him no longer, would take no further excuse. PRENTISS arose, but instead of reciting the usual declamation, delivered an original burlesque that convulsed the school with laughter,—the teacher being the most appreciative participant.

In 1824, he passed examination, and entered the junior class of Bowdoin College. He seemed partly indifferent as to the position he occupied in his classes, but did a vast amount of general reading and study. His manners were graceful, easy, and scholar-like. In his intercourse with friends, all were charmed and delighted. In 1826, he lost his father, and seemed to rouse himself to preparation for the future. At college, he joined a party of six students, whose object was to meet in each other's rooms for extemporaneous discussion. In this way, his oratorical powers were first developed. In metaphysical studies, he excelled, and mastered difficulties by an ordinary reading, that would require, with most persons, the time and patience of a mathematical problem. An investigation, of his speeches, indeed, would do away with the erroneous idea entertained by some, that he was no more than a fascinating declaimer of gorgeous imagery dealing in trope and figure. Many of his speeches are solid, profound, and logical. So rapidly did he read and *comprehend*, that it was a common remark among his friends, that "PRENTISS read two pages at the same time,—the one with his right eye and the other with his left."

After graduating, he commenced reading law under the tuition of Hon. Josiah Pierce, of Gorham. His miscellaneous reading was also quite extensive at this time,—the writings of Walter Scott he admired particularly, and committed large portions of his poetry to memory.

Having prepared himself for the law, like many young men of that day, he resolved upon going West, to try his fortunes among the people of the new and growing States. He left home in August, 1827. He passed through New York, lingered awhile at Niagara, went through Buffalo, Cincinnati, Louisville, and finally reached Natchez, Mississippi, in November, 1827. He soon procured a situation as a private instructor in one of the most respectable families of the State. It was the family of Widow Shields, a lady of true Christian piety living some twelve miles from the city. This situation was very agreeable, and afforded good opportunities for pursuing his course of law reading,—she having an excellent law library, formerly belonging to her husband, who had been judge of the Supreme Court. His letters to his relations and friends, at this time, breathed the sincerest devotion and most exalted moral tone. He remained in

Natchez and its vicinity, until 1831, when he resolved to go to Vicksburg and engage in his profession. During his stay in and around the city, he had studied well, both law and general reading, he had also made many friends, and formed some of the strongest attachments of his life.

There was something in the appearance of the limping young lawyer, that drew men toward him on his first appearance in Vicksburg, whose curiosity soon gave way to unbounded admiration. PRENTISS was now thrown into a society, in many respects, different from that existing anywhere else,—composed of settlers in quest of fortune, each of whom had to stand or fall on his own merits. Dueling, profanity, gambling, and drinking, prevailed all over the country. With a nature, ardent, impetuous, and generous, to a fault, it is not strange that PRENTISS should, to some extent, participate in the scenes around him, particularly when he was far from those whose love would have raised a warning voice.

In 1833, he became involved in a difficulty with General Henry S. Foote, of Mississippi, which resulted in a duel. The meeting took place on the 5th of October. PRENTISS did not wish to shoot his antagonist, but as he raised his pistol, the ball took effect in his shoulder, leaving a slight flesh wound,—he escaped himself without harm. A subsequent meeting took place, when Foote was again wounded, leaving PRENTISS unhurt. These were his only duels,—the parties afterward became warm friends. The melancholy consequences upon him, of such a state of society as then prevailed in Mississippi need not be told. By 1834, PRENTISS was in the full tide of success,—literally immersed in business. His name went abroad over the States, his praises were everywhere heard, and circles of admiring friends gathered around him. Fortune showered her favors upon him, and his star was rapidly taking its place among the first in the legal constellation. His practice extended from the city to the far interior of the State,—often requiring long horseback rides. Many pleasing reminiscences have been preserved by his brethern of the bar, of these rides, and the talk, wit, humor, and jokes, incident to them. To some of these as related in his memoirs we will give place.

As they rode leisurely along through the gorgeous scenery of the south, to attend distant courts, his soul would fire up with the poetic inspiration of his nature. Stanza after stanza of Byron and other favorite authors, would fall profusely from his lips. He

could repeat poetry suited to his nature, in a way that perfectly fascinated all who listened to him,—then changing into a humorous strain, all in company would burst forth in hearty laughter. Sometimes too, though seldom, and only for a short time, he would sink into momentary fits of melancholy; these alway passed, and left his face calm as day. Illustrative of his humor and wit, an anecdote is related that took place at one of the courts in his circuits. "On one occasion," says the narrator, "he was opposed, before Judge Scott, by George C——. In the course of the trial, an altercation took place which resulted in blows. The Judge immediately fined both of the combatants, and ordered them to be imprisoned twenty-four hours in the county jail. Mr. C——, attempted by excuses, to get off, but PRENTISS (who, by the way, had been knocked down), arose quite alertly, and acknowledging to the court the justness of the sentence, added with significant drollery, that before it was carried into execution, he had one request to make. The court granted permission with twinkling eye and ill-concealed mirth.

"'May it please your honor,' said PRENTISS, 'I have nothing to say against the sentence just pronounced. I have been guilty of unintentional disrespect to the court, as well as great want of self-respect. But,—but (and here he affected a degree of *naïveté* and sincerity, that, for a moment, deceived every one), I *hope* your honor will not disgrace me by putting me in the same cell with George C——!' The attorneys and bystanders were, of course, convulsed with laughter, and the Judge himself, could only restrain his risibles long enough to order the sheriff to adjourn the court. Both were conducted to their respective cells. On that night, all the members of the bar and many citizens, repaired to PRENTISS' cell, where they spent the night in partaking of a sumptuous supper, and enjoying the exhaustless humor of their captive guest. On the next day, a multitude guarded him from prison to the court-house, and in the bold flights of the liberated eagle, every one soon forgot his temporary captivity."

In 1834, the mournful intelligence of the death of Lafayette was received in this country. The different States joined in testimonials of grief and respect for the hero whose decease revived so many proud memories. PRENTISS was selected to deliver an oration, which he did in August, at the State capital. It is one of the finest and most glowing tributes in the whole

range of eulogy. It closed as follows: "He has departed from among us, but he has again become the companion of Washington. He has but left the friends of his old age, to associate with the friends of his youth. Peace be to his ashes; calm and quiet may they rest upon some vine-clad hill of his own beloved land; and it shall be called the Mount Vernon of France. And let no cunning sculpture, no monumental marble deface with its mock dignity, the patriot's grave; but rather let the unpruned vine and the wild-flower, and the free song of the uncaged bird,—all that speaks of freedom and peace be gathered round it. Lafayette needs no mausoleum. His fame is mingled with a nation's history. His epitaph is engraved on the hearts of men."

He now took a brief trip home. He went by sea to New York, where being joined by his sister, he proceeded directly to Gorham, where he arrived in July, 1835. After an absence of eight years, he was at the home of his youth, where every scene was graven deeply on his heart. His visit was delightful, and, no doubt, the happiest episode in his life. Again he fished in the old brook, again shot squirrels in the forest, and seemed a boy. To his mother and sisters he was the same tender, affectionate SEARGENT, he was nine years before. Much of his time was devoted to beautifying the old homestead, and much with old friends and neighbors; though, by far, his dearest hours were passed within the home circle. Business soon called him away, and September found him again in Vicksburg. This brings us to a new era in the great orator's life. Soon after his return, he was elected to the State Legislature, and began his political career. He had, until within a short time, paid little attention to politics; but it was impossible for him to stand aloof from the political questions of the times. He conceived for Henry Clay the affection of a son, and a corresponding hatred to Jackson, against whom, he was particularly severe in his speeches and conversation. Many amusing incidents resulted from his conversations in regard to "Old Hickory." We will give one to the point:

"I just met PRENTISS," says the writer, "at a Circuit Court for County of ——, then a newly settled and border county. The accommodations at our log-cabin hotel were none of the best; and PRENTISS was playfully and wittily discoursing of their character to the lawyers who had gathered around him. Attracted, by peals of laughter, the host,—a man of giant proportions, and

herculean strength,—approached in the rear of PRENTISS, and without his knowledge. He listened to the exquisite humor of PRENTISS as long as he could bear it,—then suddenly and abruptly confronting him,—'Mr. PRENTISS,' he exclaimed with an oath, 'if you don't like my house, sir, you can leave it,—there is another tavern in town, sir.' 'That other tavern is just the place I don't care to go to,' quickly replied PRENTISS, '*for it is worse than yours by far.*' The other tavern keeper was at daggers' points with our host, and this was the very best reply he could have made to avoid a knock down. This was proved by the event, for the grim and angry features of the giant Boniface soon relaxed with a forgiving and satisfied smile; and PRENTISS was always after this a great pet with him."

"Soon afterward," continues the same writer, "I witnessed another display of his self-possession and readiness under trying circumstances. He was making one of his first stump speeches,—perhaps the very first in the then backwoods county of Holmes. It was a powerful invective against Jackson for his removal of the members of his first cabinet. While he was summing up the excuses the Democratic party alleged for the act, he was suddenly confronted by a fellow holding up a large flag, with the words: 'Hurrah for Jackson,' inscribed with large letters. The man advanced slowly toward the speaker, whose eye no sooner caught the pennant than he exclaimed without the slightest perturbation: 'In short, fellow citizens, you have now before you the sum and substance of all the arguments of the party,—'*Hurrah for Jackson!*' The effect was electrical, and the poor man slunk away trailing his banner after him."

On the meeting of the Legislature, PRENTISS was appointed chairman of the Judiciary Committee,—one of importance and delicacy. Few questions were discussed that presented an opportunity for the display of his wonderful powers during the session. He spoke often, and with fluency and effect; he was also active and diligent as a legislator, always at his post, and watchful of the rights of his constituents. He delivered two speeches during the session, that are said to have been of marked force and eloquence,—they were upon the resolutions, allowing the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company to extend their charter through the State of Mississippi, urging also, the location of the

Road east of Pearl River, thereby making, as he said, "another Mississippi."

His legislative duties were not congenial, as plainly seen in his letters at the time. After the adjournment of the first session, he thus wrote his youngest sister: "Of all the occupations I have ever tried, I am decidedly of opinion that making laws is the most obnoxious to comfort and happiness. I am sick of it; and if the people would permit it, would resign forthwith: but as my constituents seem perfectly satisfied with my services, I suppose I shall have to hold on another year,—the term for which I was elected," etc.

During the summer of 1836, he took a trip to Kentucky, and was delighted with the exhibitions of hospitality for which that State is so proverbial. He visited Ashland, and deepened the already existent attachment between Clay and himself.

He now enjoyed a universally conceded high reputation, and a very extensive acquaintance. His numerous and long horse-back rides through the country, attending the courts, introduced him to the sturdy yeomenry of the south. While his rapid and frequent steamboat trips made his name familiar as that of the noble river along which he glided. The grand old river, the luxuriant foliage, suggestive of the glorious and beautiful, to PRENTISS' glowing imagination, afforded delightful sources for soul contemplation and poetic thought.

PRENTISS, after his return from Kentucky, devoted himself to business and correspondence, until the Legislature met, January, 1837. The session before, had established ten new counties, representatives from which, presented their credentials as entitled to seats. A resolution was immediately brought forward setting their claims aside, and declaring their election void. It came up for discussion. PRENTISS opposed it with his usual animation and eloquence. After a hard struggle, however, the resolution passed. The speech of PRENTISS, on this occasion, was among the ablest he delivered in the Legislature; being a rigid analysis of the States' Constitutional rights, and a bold dash at the usurpational powers that aimed to set them at naught. Soon after this, he resigned his seat, and was never again a member of the State Legislature.

PRENTISS was now (1837), in the prime of his manhood. His literary attainments were vast and varied, his scholarship ripe, and

his legal and political character fully matured. His conversational powers had ripened into ease, grace, and a charming simplicity that won the hearts of all. In his conversations, history, law, politics, his boyhood, human character, were all themes upon which he glowed with enthusiasm, and enchained eager listeners. Nothing could be more affectionate and artless than his correspondence to his mother and sisters at this time: "Tell Anna" (his sister), says he, "that the first things I intend to buy when I get home, are a *pony* and a *piano*. My best love to all." Again he says: "Many a time since I have wandered forth into the world, have I been tired and sick with the cold selfishness of those around me, and ready in perfect contempt, to quit all further business with them; but the thought of home and the loved ones there, has warmed my benumbed feelings and encouraged me to renewed efforts by the reflection that there were, though afar off, those whose happiness was, in some degree, at least, connected with mine."

In the summer of 1837, he again went North, reaching Portland about the first of July. During this visit, and while engaged in the sportive vocation of his boyhood,—catching trout from "Jordon's brook," he received notice from Mississippi, that he was nominated as a candidate for Congress. This induced his speedy return. Before returning, however, he delivered, by request, a Fourth of July oration, before a Whig gathering, that abounded with all the eloquence of the gifted orator, and sparkled with gems of the inspired poet.

The middle of August found him again in Vicksburg. He immediately entered upon the canvass for Congress, with ardor and enthusiasm. The main features of the day were the unexampled financial distress, and the National Bank question. PRENTISS issued an address to the people of his district, in which he gave his views on the bank question, as follows: "If I am elected as your representative, I shall vote for the immediate establishment of a National Bank:

"1st, For the purpose of furnishing the government with a competent fiscal agent; 2d, Because it will furnish a currency of equal and uniform value throughout the Union; 3d, Because it will restore the exchanges of the country, and redeem the community from the immense sacrifices which are now made in the transmission of funds from one State to another; 4th, Because it

will keep in check the State banks, repress undue, and inordinate issues of local paper, and by that means, in all likelihood, prevent a recurrence to the desperate remedy of a suspension of specie payments." He further adds: "I never heard an objection to the old United States Bank, that can not be obviated in chartering a new one, except the constitutional objection. I know that as honest politicians as are in the country, have denied the constitutional power of Congress upon this subject. I have myself, however, always entertained a different opinion, and believe Congress has, under the present Constitution, power to charter a bank. I would, however, out of respect for those who differ from me, be glad to see the Constitution so amended as to leave no doubt on the point."

Such were his views upon the leading feature of national politics, and the one that entered most immediately and largely into the canvass. With these views, he commenced stumping the district,—among a people of heterogeneous political doctrines, derived from the States whence they had emigrated, Clay Whigs, Jackson Democrats, Calhoun and Webster men.

He opened the canvass at Natchez,—the first theater of his fame,—where bloomed his first southern laurels. His speech was characteristically eloquent,—a withering rebuke of the party in power, and a fearful portraiture of the difficulties into which the country had been brought. Other speeches of eqnal ability and force followed during the canvass, which was throughout, one of the most active ever made in the State. The returns showed the election of PRENTISS by a large majority. He reached Washington,—to use his own quotation,—"the city of magnificent distances," in December, 1837. Among the members of that Congress, were the venerable John Quincy Adams, the patriotic Fillmore, the eloquent Corwin, the rising Polk, the energetic and talented Wise,—men endowed with varied and profound abilities,—and justly renowned in the annals of the country. The seats of PRENTISS and his colleague, Word, were contested in the House, and a resolution introduced, rejecting their credentials. The facts in regard to the matter were these: Van Buren had called a special session of Congress. Governor Lynch, of Mississippi, had called a special election in July, for the election of members to fill the delegation till the *regular election* in November. At this July election, Claiborne and Gholson were elected, and got

their credentials. At the *regular* November election, PRENTISS and Word were elected and got theirs. When they arrived at Washington, the seats of the latter were contested by Claiborne and Gholson, by virtue of the prior July election. PRENTISS and Word were Whigs, the other gentlemen Democrats,—and parties being very nicely balanced in the House at the time, the contest was very exciting, and created unusual interest.

PRENTISS entered upon the defense of his own and colleague's seats, upon constitutional grounds, in a three days' speech. His fame, as an orator, was not unknown in Washington, and the hall and lobbies of the house were filled to overflowing with intensely interested spectators. Grave senators, indeed, from the other wing of the Capitol, crowded to hear him. The speech was considered one of the most masterly displays of rhetoric and reasoning, ever exhibited in the House. Webster laconically remarked,—"nobody could equal it." Clay listened with delight, and Fillmore and others bestowed upon it their highest encomiums. That single speech made for him a reputation at Washington, as a speaker and parliamentarian, attained by few, in years of political life.

After the arguments had been made on both sides, the final resolution came up:

"*Resolved*, That S. S. PRENTISS and Thomas J. Word, are not entitled to a seat in the Twenty-fifth Congress." A scene of confusion, and cries of "order! order!" ensued. It resulted in a tie vote,—one hundred and seventeen for the resolution, and one hundred and seventeen against it. It devolved on the speaker, James K. Polk, to give the casting vote. He voted in the affirmative, and thus the contest was ended. PRENTISS and Word were defeated, and had nothing to do but to return home. A resolution passed, soon after, allowing PRENTISS and his colleague their mileage,—they would not accept it, however. So admirable was the impression made by PRENTISS, upon his political friends, during his brief stay at the capital, that they extended to him the honor of a public dinner before his departure, at which, Webster made a powerful and effective Union speech.

On his return to Mississippi, he issued a circular to the people of the State, denouncing the action of Congress, in depriving their delegates, in Congress, of seats, and appealing to them to vindicate their rights.

At several points, on his route home, public dinners were ten-

dered him, which he was compelled to decline. He was received at Vicksburg amid the boom of cannon, the peal of bells, and escorted to his home by an enthusiastic torch-light procession. Never was man more idolized among his home people than PRENTISS.

For the next Congress, PRENTISS and Word were again enthusiastically put forward as candidates. The canvass opened, on the part of PRENTISS, in gallant style, at Vicksburg and Natchez. At the latter place, his speech was one of the most powerful in the annals of stump oratory. Crowds of all classes gathered around him. The speech had the happiest effect. One old Jackson Democrat went into ecstasies,—ripped his coat open behind, threw it at his feet, and cried out: "Well, they may call me a turn-coat if they please,—but I won't be that,—I shall just BACK out of my coat, and vote for S. S. PRENTISS and T. J. Word.

The result of the canvass was his election by a good majority. He left Vicksburg for Washington city in May. When he reached the Capitol, and the oath of office was about being administered, he said to the speaker, Mr. Polk, that: "Candor compelled him to inform the House, on behalf of himself and colleague, that they did not claim their seats by virtue of the recent election, that they looked upon the recent election as unconstitutional, and wholly invalid." He further said, that "his colleague and himself could not conscientiously take the oath under any other election than that of November, and that upon their consciences, they should take their oaths and seats by virtue of that election alone. A high sense of duty, both to himself and the House, called upon him for this avowal, that if any wished to make objection they might have the opportunity for so doing."

No objection was made,—they were sworn in, and took their seats by virtue of the same credentials that had been rejected but a short time previous. In regard to his congressional honors, he was wholly indifferent,—"Here I am, at last," he writes his sister, "a member of Congress, and no man, I imagine, ever labored as hard for the poor privilege of having M. C., at one end of his name, and Hon. at the other. The bauble seems scarcely worth the wearing, notwithstanding, I fought so fiercely for it."

For a time, he took little part in congressional proceedings. The main feature of discussion was the sub-treasury bill, against which, the Whigs were arrayed. In this scheme, after a long

contest, the administration suffered defeat. The speech of PRENTISS, in opposition, was considered among the ablest of the session.

Before adjournment, a bill was brought forward, making the executive the custodian of the public funds, and prohibiting "the reception of notes under the denomination of twenty dollars, or those of any bank which issued notes of a denomination less than five." PRENTISS opposed this in a sarcastic impromptu speech, that was full of pith, and created general laughter.

In 1838, he again visited his friends in Portland,—there he met warm solicitations to attend the Webster festival about to be given at old Faneuil Hall. The dinner came off,—glorious occasion! In that old Mecca of human liberty, hallowed by the mightiest memories that ever roused a nation, great men met to honor the "Defender of the Constitution;" Webster, Everett, Lawrence, Ellsworth, and Lincoln, were there. After several orators of veteran fame had spoken, the following toast called the southern eagle to the stand:

"*Mississippi, and her distinguished representative in Congress:* we welcome him most cordially to this Hall, consecrated to the cause of our country and independence. He has fought a good fight and deserves and will receive the gratitude and admiration of his country."

PRENTISS arose and responded in a speech of eloquence and patriotism. The spirit of the place seemed hovering over him, and imbuing into his soul the holiest inspiration. Speaking of the country and its Constitution, he said: "And let it never be forgotten that these institutions are ours in trust; we hold them for a thousand generations yet to emerge from the stream of time. They are sacred heir-looms confided to our keeping by those who are to come after us,—and if we allow them to be impaired or sullied while passing through our hands, we are guilty of a double crime; we are traitors alike to our fathers and our posterity. * * * We are one body, and where one member suffers all the rest must suffer with it; or one member prospers all the rest rejoice with it; and I hold it a high duty of those citizens who come from distant parts of our wide Union, to assure their fellow-citizens of the perfect sympathy and unanimity of feeling which pervades the entire people of this Confederacy;—yes, we are one people for weal or for woe. When I can not come from Mississippi and call the men of Boston my fellow-citizens, my kindred

my brethren, I desire no longer to be myself a citizen of the Republic;—yes (amid enthusiastic cheers) we are all embarked on one bottom; and whether we sink or swim, we will swim or we will sink TOGETHER!" As he reached this point, handkerchiefs waved, hands clapped, and shouts rang through the hall. Amid cries of "go on! go on! don't stop," etc., PRENTISS gave the following toast, and closed his remarks,—the house literally trembling with thunders of applause:

"*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts*,—Foremost among the States in the formation of this Republic,—second to none in the ability, integrity, and patriotism, which she has always contributed to sustain it." This speech, though PRENTISS was not satisfied with it, received the highest eulogiums. Everett asked Webster if he had ever heard any thing like it: "Never," replied the statesman, "except from PRENTISS himself."

He was now beset on all sides to accept public dinners and deliver addresses. In New York, the people were pressing in their invitations, begging him to accept the hospitalities of the city, and address the people. This, and similar requests, he declined. In New York, an incident occurred, illustrative of PRENTISS' nature to an eminent degree. Walking down Broadway with a friend, he was thus addressed: "PRENTISS, this is a long and lofty stride you have taken. Don't you feel a little giddy at your sudden elevation?" "No," he answered, "I have known for years what I know now,—that I could accomplish what I have accomplished. I could not for the opportunity, but was content to live and die unheard; but opportunity came and I seized it. As to having my head turned by this excess of praise, I am really sickened by it; and to avoid it, intend to proceed from this point to Mississippi by sea." "Were you composed and self-possessed when you rose to your feet, for the first time, in Congress?" he was asked. "Entirely so,—as much so as if I had been beginning a speech before old Squire ——, of Vicksburg." "Your style is more figurative than it used to be," continued his friend, "and some say you do not reason now as well as you declaim." "They are mistaken, I think. The truth is, the natural bent of my mind is to dry and pure ratiocination; but finding early that mankind, from a petit jury to the highest deliberative assembly, are more influenced by illustration than by argument, I have cultivated my imagination in aid of my understanding." This, it was

affirmed by his friend, was the longest conversation he ever knew PRENTISS to engage in concerning himself.

The intention of going to New Orleans by water was carried out. The curiosity to see him everywhere, and the flocking of people around him at all points, made a trip by land annoying in the extreme. It is said, at that time, the first questions asked an individual returning from Washington was, had he seen S. S PRENTISS,—had he heard him speak, etc.

On his arrival at New Orleans, he was received with every manifestation of public regard. Remaining there but a brief period, he hastened on to Vicksburg, where he was warmly welcomed.

The assembling of Congress, December, 1838, found PRENTISS at his post. Among his first labors, was the delivery of his speech on Defalcations. The speech abounds with beautiful figure and apt illustration, but was not regarded, in depth and profundity, equal to many of his efforts. He was very bitter against Jackson, and the whole administration party. After pointing to the defalcations, and suggesting remedies to put a stop to them, he exclaimed: "Sir, I have given you but two or three instances of defalcation; would time permit, I could give you a hundred. Like the fair Sultana of the oriental legends, I could go on for a thousand and one nights; and even as in those Eastern stories, so in the chronicles of the office-holders, the tale would ever be of heaps of gold, massive nuggets, uncounted riches. Why, sir, Aladdin's lamp was nothing to it,—they seem to possess the identical cap of Fortunatus; some wish for fifty thousand dollars, some for one hundred thousand, and some for a million; and behold, it lies in glittering heaps before them. Not even

> "The gorgeous East, with richest hand,
> Showers on her kings barbaric, pearl and gold"

in such lavish abundance, as does this administration upon its followers. Pizarro held not forth more dazzling lures to his robber band, when he led them to the conquest of the Children of the Sun."

Again, he said: "Give us the right sort of a committee,—one that will go throught the department as Van Tromp swept through the British channel, with a broom at the mast head, and something, perhaps, may be done."

Again: "This administration was conceived in sin, and

brought forth in iniquity; it has not belied its parentage. It is essentially and radically corrupt. In the language of an English historian, describing the reign of Henry the VIIIth, it has attained as near to *perfect depravity* as the infirmities of human nature would permit. Just before an election, it will talk of reform, and deprecate with holy horror, the consequences of its own misdeeds; but no sooner is its object accomplished, than it returns to its policy like a dog to his vomit. I have no hope of reform in the party in power; my only hope is, that the people, convinced of their hypocrisy and wickedness, will hurl them from the high places they have so long disgraced. That a consummation so devoutly to be wished for may be obtained, let us unite in exhibiting to the country their true principles; let us fasten upon them the responsibilities of their actions. In this patriotic work, I trust I shall find with me my honorable friend from South Carolina, who sits near me (Mr. Pickens); often has he led the fierce assault against these very corruptions. 'Has his hand waxed weak or his heart waxed cold, that his war-cry has yet not tingled in our ears? Surely the horn of Roland will sound again; surely in this his favorite battle he will strike one more blow for Christendom, before he renounces the cross and assumes the turban.' Sir, I see by his flashing eye, his soul is with us; the spirit of the past is rising before him; he recollects that many moons have not waxed nor waned since this very party who now claim him as an ally, crouched and howled like an exorcised demon, beneath the magic of his burning words. Let him come out from among them,—he and his friends,—for they are not of them; eagles mate not with kites and carrion crows."

With a withering anathema against the President, he closed as follows: "Let the present executive be re-elected,—let him continue to be guided by the counsels of Mephistophiles and Asmodeus, the two familiars who are ever at his elbow,—those lords, the one of *letters*, the other of *lies*,—and it will not be long that this mighty Hall will echo to the voice of an American representative. This Capitol will have no other uses than to attract the curiosity of the passing traveler, who in melancholy idleness will stop to inscribe upon one of these massive pillars: 'Here was a Republic.'

This was followed by an off-hand speech upon the navy, that struck all who heard it as being exceedingly brilliant and perti-

nent. Several pronounced him "the most naturally gifted orator they had ever heard."

It was, during this session of Congress, that his fatal habits fastened themselves upon him with relentless hold. Generous and good-natured, courted by the most refined and the most reckless, and without the remotest conception of the value of money, he fell into habits of gaming and drinking. These causes, no doubt, operated to give him a distaste for politics. He went to Washington with the finest prospects ever open to the eye of aspiring genius. He left there with a reputation wide as the country. But reckless and indifferent of consequences, his private affairs became embarrassed, and he gradually became disgusted with men and things around him, and began to exhibit evidences of care and disappointment. Another thing tended to produce this result,—his lameness. Keenly sensitive, and possessing for the opposite sex the highest appreciation, he seldom mingled in their society. Deprive man of the holy influences of female society, and you rob him at once of the noblest incentive to exalted virtue. PRENTISS was prevailed on, by Mr. Wise, on one occasion, to receive an introduction to some ladies, and was urged to join in a dance; his sensibility got the better of him and he retired almost abruptly, and was shortly after found in his room in a state of melancholy, bordering upon wretchedness.

Wise has furnished several interesting reminiscences of PRENTISS: "The first I knew of him," says he, was in the Mississippi contested election. Word, his colleague, was a modest, amiable, and very sensible man, who without reserve, acknowledged his superiority. When I spoke to Word about the need of study and preparation, on PRENTISS' part, for the approaching debate, his eye twinkled with mirth. 'Let him alone! Never do you mind! Wait and hear him!' That was all the return I got for my apprehension. Well, I did wait to see; it was all that I was allowed to do. The day, at length, arrived. PRENTISS' turn came. He threw himself on the arena at a single bound; but not in the least like a harlequin. He stepped no stranger on the boards of high debate,—he raised the hand high to Heaven and trod a giant step! Never did I see the *gaudia certaminis* so beam, and shine, and glow from mortal face. I never shall forget the feelings he inspired and the triumph he won. But there's the speech, or, at least, a fragment of it surviving him. There's the figure

of the *star* and *stripe*; go, read it,—read it, now that his eye is dim and his muscles cease to move the action to the word; then imagine what it was as his tongue spoke, his eye looked it, his hand gesticulated its thought."

The reference to the *star* and *stripe*, here made by the narrator, will be found at the close of his speech on the Mississippi contested election, which concluded as follows:

"Sir, you may think it an easy and a trifling matter to deprive Mississippi of her elective franchise; for she is young, and may not, perchance, have the power to resist; but I am much mistaken in the character of her chivalrous citizens, if you do not find that she not only understands her rights, but has both the will and the power to vindicate them. You may yet find, to your sorrow, that you have grasped a scorpion, where you thought you were only crushing a worm. This House would as soon put its head in a lion's mouth, as take the course which is threatened, toward the elder and more powerful States. And how happens it, that representatives of the States which have always been the readiest in the assertion of their own rights, should now be most zealous in trampling upon the rights of Mississippi? What has she done, that she should be selected as a victim? No State is or has ever been more ardently attached to the Union; and if she is placed beyond its pale, it will be your fault, and not her own. Sir, if you consummate this usurpation, you degrade the State of Mississippi: and if she submits, never again can she wear the lofty look of conscious independence. Burning shame will set its seal upon her brow; and when her proud sons travel in other lands, they will blush at the history of her dishonor, as it falls from the sneering lip of the stranger. Sir, place her not in that terrible and trying position, in which her love for this glorious Union will be found at war with her own honor, and the paramount obligation which binds her to transmit to the next generation, untarnished and undiminished, her portion of that rich legacy of the Revolution, which was bought with blood, and which should never be parted with for a price less than what it cost. Is there a State in this Union that would part with it; that would submit to have her representative chosen by this House, and forced upon her against her will? Come! what says the Bay State,—time-honored *Massachusetts?* From the cradle in which young Liberty was first rocked, even from old Faneuil Hall, comes forth her ready

answer, and, before it dies away, again it is repeated from Bunker Hill: 'It was for this very right of representation our fathers fought the battles of the Revolution, and ere we will surrender this dear-bought right, those battles shall again become dread realities.' Would Kentucky submit? Ask her, Mr. Speaker, and her *mammoth cavern* will find a voice to thunder in your ear her stern response: 'No; sooner than submit to such an outrage, our soil shall be re-baptized with a new claim to the proud but melancholy title of *dark and bloody ground*.' And what says Virginia, with her high device,—her '*sic semper tyrannis*,' the loftiest motto that ever blazed upon a warrior's shield or a nation's arms? How would she brook such usurpation? What says the mother of States and State-right doctrine; she who has placed *instruction* as a guardian over *representation*; what says she to the proposition that this House can make representatives, and force them upon a State in violation of its choice and will? And there is South Carolina, the Harry Percy of the Union? On which side, in this great controversy, does she couch her lance and draw her blade? I trust, upon the side of her sister State; upon the side, too, of the constitutional rights of all the States; and let her lend the full strength of her good right arm to the blow, when she strikes in so righteous a quarrel.

"Upon all the States I do most solemnly call, for that justice to another, which they would expect for themselves. Let this cup pass from Mississippi. Compel her not to drink its bitter ingredients, lest, some day, even-handed justice should 'commend the poisoned chalice' to your lips. Rescind that resolution, which presses like a foul incubus upon the Constitution. You sit here, twenty-five sovereign States, in judgment upon the most sacred right of a sister State; and which is to a State what chastity is to a woman, or honor to a man. Should you decide against her, you tear from her brow the richest jewel which sparkles there, and forever bow her head in shame and dishonor. But, if your determination is taken; if the blow must fall; if the violated Constitution must bleed; I have but one request, on her behalf, to make. When you decide that she can not choose her own representation, at that self-same moment blot from the spangled banner of this *Union* the bright *star* that glitters to the name of *Mississippi*, but leave the *stripe* behind, a fit emblem of her degradation."

We give place to another reminiscence of Mr. Wise: "He, Richard H. Menefee and myself, were specially invited, after the adjournment of Congress in the summer of 1838, to address a mass-meeting at Havre de Grace, Maryland. In steamers crowded, and with flags streaming, we left Baltimore and reached the stand in the morning. We waited hours and hours, and the cry was 'still they come.' It was a gathering of the substantial population from far and near,—of fathers, sons, and daughters,—husbands and wives, and a fairer, more respectable, or a more patriotic assembly of the people I never witnessed. It was near the middle of July, and the day sultry to wilting. I was sick and overcome by the heat,—so relaxed, in fact, that I could not make a tolerable apology for not attempting a speech. Menefee followed, and was not himself either. PRENTISS was shouted for, and came up,—as he always did, nothing affecting *him*,—like a courser in perfect keeping. His *physique* was wonderful in that respect; his digestion was good, his body sound, and he could bear every extreme variation of temperature and habit. He was never out of sorts, and at once lighted up this scene. Said he: 'Fellow-Citizens,—by the Father of Waters, at New Orleans, I have said, Fellow-Citizens,—on the banks of the beautiful Ohio, I have said, Fellow-Citizens,—here I say, Fellow-Citizens,—and a thousand miles beyond this, North, thanks be to God! I can still say, *Fellow-Citizens!*' Thus, in a single sentence, he saluted his audience, and drew every man, woman, and child, near to him,—made himself dear to them, and by a word, covered the continent,—by a line mapped the United States from the Gulf to the Lakes,—by a greeting warm from the heart, beaming from the countenance, depicted the whole country, its progress, development, grandeur, glory, and Union. Every hat was whirled in the air, every handkerchief was waved, the welkin rang with applause,—the multitude heaved up to the stand,—stood on tiptoe, and shouted, cheer after cheer, as if wild with joy and mad with excitement. Never for one moment did he relax his grasp upon that mass of human passions. He rose higher and higher,—went up and up,—on, on, far, far away, like the flight of the carrier-pigeon. It was the music of sweet sounds, and anon it was the roar of the elements. Figures bubbled up and poured themselves forth like springs in gushing fountains, which murmur and leap awhile amid mountain-rocks, then run smooth and clear through green and flowery valleys,

until, at length, swollen into mighty rivers, they roll onward to the ocean. The human reeds bowed and waved before the blast, or lifted their heads and basked in his sunshine." Such is the graphic description of the effect of his oratory upon popular assemblages.

On his return south from the seat of government, he was detained in Kentucky as counsel for Judge Wilkinson, indicted for murder before the State tribunals.

The trial, in pamphlet form, which lies before us, contains the entire proceedings,—to that the reader is referred.

The spring of 1839 found him again in Vicksburg, with a determined purpose to have no more to do with politics. With spirits elastic, bounding, and free as an uncaged bird, he turned his back upon political strifes and turmoils, resolved to spend his life in legal and private pursuits. He was, soon after, however, solicited with almost unexampled unanimity by the Whigs of his State, to become a candidate for the Senate of the United States. This desire was not confined, indeed, to the State. John J. Crittenden and others, who knew his merit, and valuable accession to the Whig strength his election would give, wrote kind and urgent letters, insisting upon his compliance with the wishes of the people. He conned the whole matter, and though contrary to his wishes, he yielded a reluctant assent, more because he felt it his duty, than through any ambitious desire. His acceptance was hailed with enthusiastic joy, and he entered the canvass with characteristic energy, though "his heart was not in the work." He was everywhere treated with an admiration amounting to idolatry. His competitor was Robert J. Walker, a name long linked with the financial operations of the government. PRENTISS was beaten,—the popular vote was claimed to be in his favor, but Walker was elected by Democratic preponderance in the Legislature. PRENTISS was not in the least mortified at the result. His profession required his time,—his private affairs, immediate and personal supervision. He entered the contest through a sense of duty,—he was beaten, but very indifferent about the matter.

The campaign of 1840 opened under very favorable auspices to the Whig cause. Harrison, Tippecanoe, Log-Cabin, and Hard Cider, rang from one end of the Union to the other. Political speakers on each side were active and untiring in their labors to secure the success of their respective candidates. PRENTISS, in

the summer of that year, made a tour through the northern States, and addressed large assemblies at various points His trip was a triumphal ovation,—crowds flocked to hear him, and invitations to speak poured upon him at every stopping-place. At Portland, he made one of the happiest political efforts of his life. At various places, he met and electrified the people with his eloquence and reasoning.

Early in the fall he reached Vicksburg, and resumed his profession. He was married, March 3d, 1842, to Mary Jane Williams of Natchez; immediately after which, he went, in company with his wife and sister, to Washington city.

After his return home, he was honored with an agreeable and highly interesting visit from Henry Clay, who was his guest for a short time, during his return from the south-west. A pleasing correspondence was afterward had between the two,—each feeling an affectionate interest in the other.

During the years 1840 to '43, the Repudiation question raged with much intensity in Mississippi. The Union Bank of that State was established in 1837, with a capital of fifteen millions five hundred thousand dollars. To raise this sum, a large amount of State bonds were issued and signed by the governor, for the redemption of which, the faith of the State stood pledged. Notwithstanding this, however, strong efforts were made to get rid of the payment of these bonds, and a bill was forced through the Legislature to that effect. It was defeated in the Senate, greatly to the joy of right thinking men. Their joy was of short duration. McNutt, Governor of the State, issued his proclamation, repudiating the bonds, declaring they would not, and could not be paid by the State. Indignation and shame prevailed among all good citizens of the State. PRENTISS, with his high sense of honor and deep State pride, went into the contest, arrayed against the position of the governor. An indignation meeting was held in Adams county. PRENTISS was present, and made a cutting speech against the governor and his proclamation. His speeches, on this subject, during the time it agitated the State and the country, evinced, it has been thought by his friends, more profound research and eloquence in their delivery, than any others of his life. This question was long one of interest before the country, and was discussed, on all occasions, by PRENTISS, with accustomed ability; it was not finally settled till the summer of 1853, when the High

Court of Errors and Appeals affirmed the decree of the Superior Court of Chancery, declaring that the State was morally and legally bound to redeem the Union Bank bonds

PRENTISS' marriage exerted most happy influences. His home was his soul's paradise, and the heart long sealed to happiness, bloomed with flowers of purest affection. He devoted himself to his profession with unremitting diligence,—threw open the doors of his home, and entertained visitors and friends in a manner most winning and agreeable.

On the 22d of February, 1844, he addressed a Whig mass meeting at New Orleans, with so much power and beauty, that he was compelled, by the unanimous voice of those who heard him, to deliver a second address, which he did in the Arcade, to one of the largest assemblages ever enchained by the eloquence of man. Henry Clay was then in the city. The convention, *en masse*, proceeded to the St. Charles Hotel to pay him their homage. The crowd swelled till the streets were one dense mass of human beings. At an obscure window above, sat PRENTISS, gazing on the scene. Loud shouts were raised for Clay. The veteran statesman appeared, and returned his thanks. Cries of "PRENTISS! PRENTISS!" now rent the air. He appeared amid cries of "speech! speech!" He raised his hand, and lifting himself to full hight, exclaimed: "Fellow-Citizens, when the eagle is soaring in the sky, the owls and the bats retire to their holes." Shout after shout followed the remark, and before silence was restored, he escaped from the crowd.

He soon again went North, and was the object of the same attention and enthusiastic welcome. He made, during his trip, many political and other addresses, which always drew large and delighted audiences. When the presidential campaign of 1844 opened, PRENTISS entered the contest with the greatest ardor and enthusiasm. Aside from political preferences, which were strong, and fortified by experience and investigation, he was endeared to Clay by the closest ties of personal friendship. He made many speeches, eloquent and able,—the subject-matter of which, embraced a close and severe investigation of the political condition of the country, and the imperative demands of its interests, advocating Clay's elevation to the presidency.

On his return to New Orleans, compliant to urgent solicitation, he delivered an address on the Fine Arts. The subject was con

genial,—his audience large: he acquitted himself of his task to the delight of all. Politics were now raging high. The Whigs were in fine hopes,—cheered by signs of victory from all sides. Conventions, barbecues, and club meetings, were being held all over the Union. PRENTISS was overwhelmed with invitations from all sections, to deliver addresses. He visited Nashville, Tennessee, and was received with unbounded cordiality; returning, he spoke to immense throngs at Jackson, Vicksburg, and Natchez. Few men made greater exertions, or through purer motives, to secure the election of Clay, than did PRENTISS; nor was the wide-spread disappointment at his defeat to any one more agonizing. He was almost overwhelmed at the result, and like many others, felt less confidence in the judgment of the American people.

In one of his speeches, he thus defined his views upon the tariff: "I assert," he says, "and trust, before I have finished, to be able to prove that a tariff, for the purpose of raising revenue, but carefully and skillfully discriminating in the articles upon which the duty is laid, and the amount of duty for the protection of American manufactures, while it is a cardinal Whig doctrine, is essential to the true policy of our great Union." His argument to sustain this idea, is elaborate and full of profound thought upon that feature of our national policy.

This brings us to a melancholy era in the life of S. S. PRENTISS. He had invested his all in the Vicksburg commons, and spent the proceeds of his profession in decorating and beautifying the same. He had purchased the property years before, it being originally designed by Mr. Vick, for the city site, and designated for that purpose. After PRENTISS had improved it at enormous expense, Vick's heirs brought suit. The case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, and was finally decided against him. Thus his all was snatched from him, and he, to use his own expression, "left floundering like a fish in a net," embarrassed with old debts.

Yet, he was not cast down. Having faith that his profession would yield him a competency anywhere, and considering that New Orleans was a better theater for the display of his talents than Vicksburg, he resolved upon going to that city. Nothing could have pained the people of Mississippi more than this announcement. Public dinners were given him at various places previous to his departure, and every indication manifested of the regret it occasioned.

On settling at New Orleans, he withdrew entirely from party politics, and gave himself up to business, which flowed rapidly in upon him. On the 22d of December, 1846, he delivered an address before the New England Society, that was stamped with the patent of his genius in every sentence. His home memories crowded upon him, and seemed to breathe an inspiration into his soul. It closed thus: "Glorious New England! thou art still true to thy ancient fame, and worthy of thy ancestral honors. We, thy children, have assembled in this far-distant land to celebrate thy birth-day. A thousand fond associations throng upon us, roused by the spirit of the hour. On thy pleasant valleys, rest like sweet dews of morning, the gentle recollections of our early life; around thy hills and mountains, cling like gathering mists, the mighty memories of the Revolution; and far away, in the horizon of thy past, gleam like thine own Northern Lights, the awful virtues of our Pilgrim sires. But, while we devote this day to the remembrance of our native land, we forget not that in which our happy lot is cast. We exult in the reflection, that though we count by thousands, the miles which separate us from our birth-place, still our country is the same. We are no exiles, meeting upon the banks of a foreign river, to swell its waters with our home-sick tears. Here floats the same banner which rustled over our boyish heads, except that its mighty folds are wider and its glittering stars increased in number.

"The sons of New England are found in every State of the broad Republic. In the East and South, and the unbounded West, their blood mingles freely with every kindred current. We have but changed our chamber in the paternal mansion; in all its rooms we are at home, and all who inhabit it are brothers. To us the Union has but one domestic hearth; its household gods are all the same. Upon us, then, peculiarly devolves the duty of feeding the fires upon that kindly hearth; of guarding with pious care, these sacred household gods. We can not do with less than the whole Union; to us it admits of no division. In the veins of our children flows Northern and Southern blood; how shall it be separated; who shall put asunder the best affections of the human heart,—the noblest instincts of our nature? We love the land of our adoption, so do we that of our birth; let us ever be true to both, and always exert ourselves in maintaining the unity of our country, the integrity of the Republic.

"Accursed, then, be the hand put forth to sever the golden cord of Union; thrice accursed the traitorous lips, whether of Northern fanatic or Southern demagogue, which shall propose its severance. But no! the Union can not be dissolved: its fortunes are too brilliant to be marred; its destinies too powerful to be resisted. Here will be their greatest triumph,—their most mighty development. And when a century hence, this Crescent City shall have filled her golden horns; when within her broad-armed port, shall be gathered the products of the industry of a hundred millions of freemen; when galleries of art and halls of learn- shall have made classic this mart of trade; then may the sons of the Pilgrim, still wandering from the bleak hills of the North, stand upon the banks of the Great River and exclaim with mingled pride and wonder: Lo! this is our country: when did the world ever witness so rich and magnificent a City,—so great and glorious a Republic!" Few extracts sparkle with richer gems than the above. His next public address was in behalf of the starving people of Ireland, delivered in 1847. Though delivered upon the spur of the occasion, and in a State of depressed spirits, caused by the momentary expectation of intelligence of his sister's death,—it is an outburst of eloquence and sympathy, rarely equaled: "Go home," said he to the assembly, "and look at your family, smiling in rosy health, and then think of the pale, famine-pinched cheeks of the poor children of Ireland; and I know you will give according to your store, even as a bountiful Providence has given to you,—not grudgingly, but with an open hand, for the quality of benevolence, like that of mercy,

> '———Is not stained,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from Heaven,
> Upon the place beneath; it is thrice blessed,
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.'"

It may here be remarked, that it was very difficult to report the speeches of PRENTISS correctly, his illustrations were so easy and rapid, that it was difficult to follow him, and then,—as several expert reporters affirmed, they were, despite themselves, sometimes, so carried away, as to lose sight of the mechanical operation of reporting. He again delivered a public address to the volunteers of the Mexican war, as they returned through New Orleans. This speech was a fine specimen of popular oratory, and replete with patriotic sentiments.

An affair, by no means pleasant to PRENTISS, occurred in 1848. He became involved in a quarrel with Henry Clay Erwin, grandson to Henry Clay. In one of his cases at court, he used some very harsh terms toward Erwin's father, and added that he held himself responsible for what he said. The offensive remarks, finding their way into the public prints, met the eye of young Erwin, who was then in Kentucky. He hastened to New Orleans, and sent PRENTISS a peremptory challenge, leaving no alternative but to fight or decline. His challenge was accepted. The matter was finally referred to friends of each party, who said that the objectionable reflections upon Erwin's father were beyond the range of PRENTISS' case, and should be withdrawn. This was acceded to, on the part of PRENTISS' friends, and there the matter ended. It was believed, that under other circumstances, PRENTISS would have permitted no retraction, and that he would not fight a grandson of Henry Clay if he could honorably avoid it.

Notwithstanding his decided intention of standing aloof from politics, when the campaign of 1848 opened, PRENTISS re-entered the arena of discussion. He addressed a vast meeting of the Whig party at New Orleans, assembled for the purpose of appointing delegates to the national convention. Though Clay was his preference, as he was with a large portion of his countrymen for the presidency, he spoke in terms of high eulogy of Taylor, who had been much talked of in connection with the presidential office. He was appointed as one of the delegates, and Clay wrote him a friendly letter, urging his attendance. Business prevented him from going. When the convention met at Philadelphia, and nominated Taylor, he entered the canvass with the earnestness of former times, as the advocate of the ticket. His exertions, indeed, broke down his health,—prostrated him on a sick bed, and it was thought, hastened his death. The election of Taylor caused him much gratification, and he looked to the coming administration for great results.

His efforts in the campaign closed, and forever, his connection with political matters. In fact, he was destined soon to cease participating in all earthly affairs. During the prevalence of cholera in New Orleans, in 1848, he had a severe attack of a similar character, that came near proving fatal. In the summer of 1849, he made, with his family, his last visit North. They reached Newburyport in August. A great change had taken

place in his personal appearance since he was last there. His face was marked with lines of care; he was pale and somewhat emaciated,—the portals of the tomb were evidently not far distant.

He visited Boston,—had the pleasure of meeting Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, from each of whom, he received the most kind greetings. He drove along the margin of, and fished in, the old Merrimac, and visited Martha's Vineyard,—all the scenery about him tended to awaken recollections of the past, and it was evident that he still cherished New England with filial fondness. He returned to New Orleans in October, in rather feeble health. By 1850, he was very much enfeebled. His "fiery soul" battled heroically with "the frail tenement" that was fast giving way. Never did he labor at his profession more assiduously than during that gloomy winter. Though sinking all the time, he worked diligently, and nursed the fond hope that returning spring would bring health,—spring came, but not health to the invalid.

He delivered a warm and glowing eulogy on Calhoun, the news of whose death reached New Orleans about this time. He was also selected to deliver the annual address before the Story Law Association of Harvard College, which severe indisposition compelled him to decline. He now began to fail rapidly. His wife and children, contrary to the wishes of the former, repaired to Longwood, whither he was soon to follow and close his earthly pilgrimage. He still worked on in the office, and despite his friends' expostulations, averred that he would improve. Even then, when death was upon him, he prepared a highly important case, in a manner, not excelled by the ablest jurist and advocate. In June, 1850, he suddenly became worse, and was forced to take his bed. But suddenly exclaiming to his friends: "*I must work;* why, good sirs, a man can not lie in his bed and make his living." He was, soon after, in the Federal Court, where he made an argument of some two hours' length. On its close, he fainted. He was taken to the hotel, where he soon fainted again. A short time after this, he appeared, for the last time, in court. It was on the occasion of Lopez's examination. His genius shone with its original luster, and bound listening hearers with the same fascinating spell.

He continued to sink, and finally consented to give up all ideas of business, and manifested much anxiety to set out for home. He

reached Longwood about the 20th of June. Near the close of the month, he became delirious, in which State he remained, except at intervals, until his death. He grew weaker until the 1st of July,—when the pulse ceased, the breast heaved, and,—"MARY," quivered from the pale lips,—the orator was no more. He was buried the ensuing Thursday at Longwood, where he still sleeps beside the Father of Waters. It is needless to dwell on the causes that threw a melancholy tinge over his declining years.

PRENTISS was, by nature, eminently endowed with qualities to adorn the walks of public and private life. "Every trait of his noble nature was in excess; his very virtues leaned to faults, and his faults themselves to virtue. The like of him I never shall see again, so compounded was he of all sorts of contradiction, without a single element in him to disgust,—without one characteristic which did not attract and charm. His public exhibitions were all splendid and glorious. He did any thing he attempted magnificently well; and yet, as I knew him, he could hardly be called a man of business. He was a natural spendthrift, and yet despised debt and dependence. He was heedless of all consequences, and yet of the soundest judgment in council, and discretion in movement. He was almost the only man I ever saw, whom I never heard utter a scandal, and he had the least charity of any man I ever saw for all kinds of baseness or meanness. He was continually, without ceasing, quoting classic lore and not the least of a pedant. He was brave to fool-hardiness, and wouldn't hurt Uncle Toby's fly. His domestic affections were truly tender and beautiful. He almost adored his mother. All his knowledge of the Bible, especially, and all the good and grace that was developed in him, he attributed to the teachings at her knee. He was most eloquent when her *morale* was the subject of discourse. May I, my dear sir, inquire, as Joseph inquired of his brethren for his father,—is that lady *'still alive?'* He loved you all with exceeding love and devotion.*"

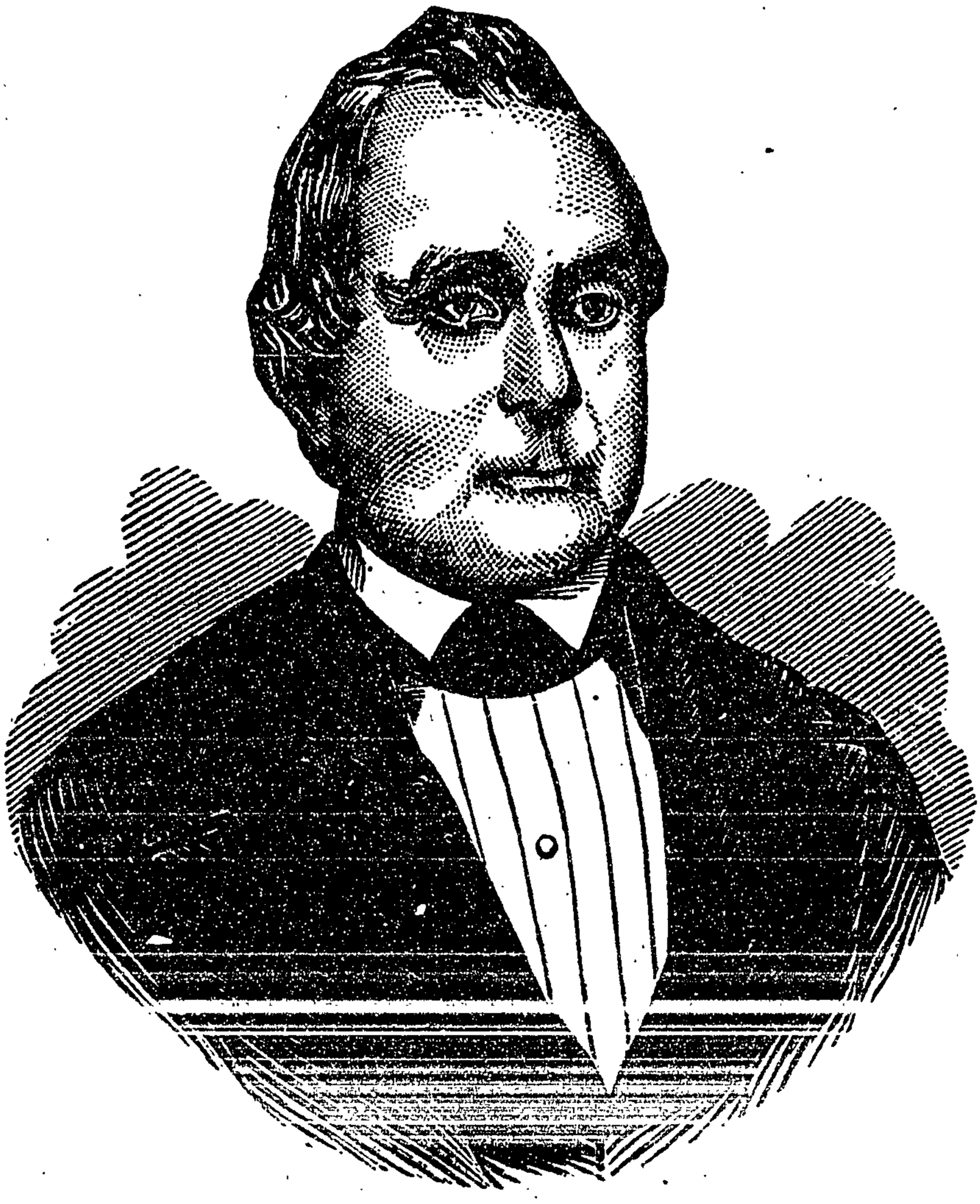
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* Extract from a letter of Henry A. Wise, to a brother of S. S. PRENTISS.

SILAS WRIGHT.

SILAS WRIGHT was a statesman in a true sense of the term,—a profound thinker, a keen observer of events, energetic, firm, consistent, and thoroughly practical. His influence upon the political destinies of this country was not confined to the State in which he lived;—among the prominent leaders of a powerful party, his sound judgment and unwavering fidelity, marked him as a national man. Throughout the country, he was regarded as such, and the choice of many for the presidency, a post which he was, perhaps, only prevented from reaching by his lamented death. Like many of our great men, he sprang from humble, but respectable origin.

His ancestors came from England and settled in Massachusetts, where Samuel Wright, the first of the stock, of whom mention is made, died in 1665. From him descended Silas Wright, the elder. He was a tanner and shoemaker by trade, and never received an education. He was industrious, and possessed a strong practical mind. By close application to business and economy, he got a start in the world, married, and settled in the town of Amherst, Massachusetts. Here SILAS WRIGHT,—the future statesman was born, May 24th 1795. Soon after the birth of SILAS, his father removed to Vermont and settled on a farm; his youth, therefore, was passed amid the scenes of rural life. He worked with his father during the summer, and attended school during the winter months, until he was fourteen years old, when exhibiting a desire for books, he was placed in the Academy of Middlebury. He afterward entered college. His studentship was marked by a close application to his lessons, correct habits, and



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quickness of perception,—combining with these an excellent memory, he was sure to make good progress. To assist in defraying his college expenses, he resorted to teaching, which he practiced successfully.

While at college, the war of 1812 broke out, and party politics raged fiercely. He early adopted the principles of the Republican party, and more than once showed his zeal and earnestness in discussion with the other students upon the questions of the day.

He graduated with honor, in 1815, and immediately commenced reading law with Henry C. Martendale, in the State of New York. With this gentleman and Mr. Skinner, he completed his legal studies. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of New York, in 1819, and at once opened a career of brilliancy and usefulness. His first duty was to seek out a location that promised fair for the exercise of industry and talent. He traveled on horseback, through a portion of western New York, and finally settled at Canton, St. Lawrence County, the county seat of which was Ogdensburg. This place continued to be his home through life. Though but a small village, and the population of the county mostly farmers, he soon had plenty to do, and rose to professional respectability. One fact connected with the commencement of his career should deeply impress the mind of every young attorney,—he determined to live strictly a virtuous life, exert every energy, and be patient of results. From this determination he never departed. It was said of him also, that "his law was all common sense;" and he always gave plain sensible reasons for his opinions on any subject. Through indomitable perseverance, strict integrity, good sense, and fine manners, though without the aid of superior oratorical powers, in two years he reached the hight of his profession, and was acknowledged the best lawyer in that part of the country. In his habits, which were every way unexceptionable, he was purely natural and unaffected. He mingled with the old and young with familiarity and ease,—engaged in the conversations of the former and the sports of the latter. His friendships were strong, ardent, and from the heart.

He entered the field of politics, attached to the interest of Mr. Van Buren;—political parties in New York, were designated as Clintonians and Bucktails,—he belonging to the latter. This placed him with the minority in his county, where he maintained his views fearlessly and with zeal. In 1821, he received the office

of Surrogate, and shortly after, that of Justice of the Peace. He was also chosen town Clerk and School Inspector, the same year, and afterward made Post-master. The duties of these stations were discharged with fidelity and promptness. He also figured in military matters,—being Captain of a company, Major of a regiment, and finally Brigadier-General. So bright, however, became his civic fame, that the application of either of these titles would sound oddly enough. The Clintonians, in 1821, by opposing the call for a convention to revise the Constitution, placed the Bucktails in the majority. This resulted in the partial amalgamation of the two factions; they assembled in convention, and nominated SILAS WRIGHT as candidate for the State Senate. He was elected over his competitor, Moore, by a large majority, and took his seat as senator, in 1824. The most important subject then before the Legislature, was the electoral question. The opponents of Crawford, who was a candidate for the presidency, were endeavoring to procure the passage of a law, transferring the power of choosing electors from the State Legislature, and giving it directly to the people. As a friend of Crawford, though not opposed to the principle involved in the proposed change, WRIGHT thought it unwise for New York to pursue that course, unless the other States would do likewise. The bill, after being modified so as to require a majority of votes, passed the Assembly, but was lost in the Senate,—WRIGHT making himself conspicuous in the discussion. After much debate and wrangling, in which no definite result was arrived at, motion was made that the whole question be postponed, which was done by a majority of seventeen,—WRIGHT being one of the number. The "seventeen" were the recipient of much abuse, of which WRIGHT came in for a large share. Governor Yates convened the Legislature, in extra session, September 1824. The subject of choosing electors again came up. WRIGHT favored the plan of making choice by the people, but affirmed that the time for action had not arrived. This subject was finally settled by an act, passed in 1826, providing for the choice of electors by districts. As a partisan, WRIGHT acquiesced in the decisions of his party to an eminent degree, when such submission exacted the sacrifice of no great principle. When candidates came to be nominated for governor, he favored the continuance of Yates,—his party differed with him, and nominated Young, to whom he gave hearty and cordial support. Many

instances, illustrative of this trait in his character, could be given were it necessary.

He established no ephemeral reputation in the Senate. So much prudence, wisdom, and sagacity, had he displayed, and so strongly had he endeared himself to the people, that they began to look to a wider sphere of usefulness for him. In 1826, he was nominated by the Republicans of St. Lawrence, Oswego, Jefferson, and Lewis Counties, as their candidate for Congress. The canvass was a vigorous one. Many obstacles were to be overcome;—the prejudice against the old "seventeen," of which he was one, still existed. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the opposition, however, he was elected by over five hundred majority. March the 4th, 1829, he resigned his position in the State Senate, to enter upon his labors as a member of Congress. He had been made chairman of the committee on canals, and before his resignation, brought in an able report, which enlarged upon the financial policy of the State generally. As a financier, he possessed great ability. New canals were being projected, and he took the ground worthy the consideration of all legislators, that the State should incur no more indebtedness, till existent liabilities were liquidated.

Though favoring the paper currency, if sustained by a legitimate specie basis, he was generally opposed to banks, and an indiscriminate banking system.

In December, 1827, he took his seat in Congress, where he was warmly welcomed as a valuable accession to the strength of the Republican party, and placed on the committee on manufactures. The tariff was the question of most absorbing interest. It was a contest between the wool growers and hemp raisers;—the manufactures, and iron interests,—each insisting that the acts of 1825, and 1826, favored the one at the expense of the other. A high protective tariff was, in many sections, loudly called for. WRIGHT went to work to investigate, and act upon the subject. He moved that a committee be appointed to inquire into the profits of manufacturers. The motion prevailed. He took an active part in forming the tariff of 1828, to which he gave his support in several able speeches, and finally voted for it, when it became a law. He afterward, however admitted, that its requirements demanded exorbitant rates of duty, and that he had been guilty of "a great error."

In 1828, he supported Jackson for the presidency, Van Buren

for governor of New York, and was himself re-elected to Congress. While a member of the Twentieth Congress, resolutions were brought in, recommending the repeal of the tariff of 1828, which he strongly opposed. Resolutions were also brought forward in regard to the propriety of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. He voted for these. He was, no doubt, in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, but opposed the attempts to the exercise of such power in the slave-holding States, contrary to the wishes of the people.

While a member of Congress, he was elected Comptroller of the State of New York. He obtained leave of absence to attend to its duties, which he did with ability and faithfulness. He filled this office in a manner that reflected credit upon his State and himself. In 1832, he recommended a direct tax to supply the general fund deficiency. The Legislature differed with him on the subject, and found relief by negotiating short loans. Some years after, his views on this subject were carried out. He was again elected Comptroller in 1842. His election to the United States Senate, soon after, compelled him to resign this office. He was now at the goal of his ambition; and worthy of being there. He took his seat in that body, the 14th of January, 1833. This was an important moment,—a crisis in the life of the rising statesman;—it was an important time, too, in the history of the country. He had been elevated to one of the most respectable stations allotted to man. High hopes were entertained of him,—great expectations created in regard to his course,—the former must not be blasted nor the latter disappointed. He was there, too, in a new field, to drive his lance and draw his blade with veterans of experience and ability. Among this array of talent and statesmanship, however, he did not mean to dash like a Mameluke, nor flounder like a wounded steed, struck down in the charge. With steady nerve, firm will, cool and deliberative energy, he made sure approaches, and forced from all the admission that his was a mind of no "common might." When Nullification was raging in the South, and Calhoun argued, in words, each of which, to common minds was a page, the principle of State sovereignty, Wright opposed it, and stood firmly by Jackson and the proclamation. He also sustained the Force Bill, against which, the analytical South Carolinian, poured such a torrent of invective. He, afterward, favored the compromise adjustment, by which the

excitement was allayed. Some features of these measures he regarded objectionable, but sacrificed, as all true men should, a portion of personal preference for public good, believing that the mandate of imperative necessity demanded immediate reconciliation of the conflicting interests. In September, 1833, WRIGHT was married to Clarissa Moody, the daughter of one of his first acquaintances and friends in the County of St. Lawrence. This union resulted in no offspring.

When Congress convened, the subject of the removal of the deposits was agitating the legislative halls, and the country. WRIGHT stood by the administration, sustaining Jackson, against Clay's resolutions of censure. Possessing the entire confidence of his party and great financial ability, and being on the committee of agriculture and finance, he was bold and efficient in the stand he took. He presented, in person, the New York resolutions sustaining the administration, and took the occasion to give his views upon the subject in a clear and forcible speech, of which, the following extract will give some idea:

"But, Mr. President, while I highly approve of the open and manly ground taken by the senator from Massachusetts, I differ with him *toto cælo* as to the remedy he proposes. There is no inducement which can prevail on me to vote for a re-charter of the Bank of the United States. I would oppose this bank upon the ground of its flagrant violations of the high trust confided to it; but my objections are of a deeper and graver character. I go against this bank, and against any and every bank to be incorporated by Congress, whether to be located at Philadelphia, or New York, or anywhere else within the twenty-four independent States which compose this confederacy, upon the broad ground which admits not of compromise, that Congress has not the power, by the Constitution, to incorporate such a bank.

"I may be over-sanguine, Mr. President, but I do most firmly believe that, in addition to the valuable services already rendered to his country by the President of the United States, he is, under Providence, destined still to render her a greater than all, by being mainly instrumental in restoring the Constitution of the country to what it was intended to be by those who formed it, and to what it was understood to be by the people who adopted it; in relieving that sacred instrument from those constructive and implied additions, under which Congress have claimed the right to

place beyond the reach of the people, and without responsibility, a moneyed power, not merely dangerous to public liberty, but of a character so formidable as to set itself in open array against, and to attempt to overrule the government of the country. I believe the high destiny is yet in store for that venerable man, of disproving the exalted compliment long since paid him by the great apostle of republicanism, 'that he had already filled the measure of his country's glory,' and that he is yet to accomplish, what neither Thomas Jefferson nor his illustrious successors could accomplish, by adding to the proof which he has so largely contributed to afford, that his country is invincible by arms, the consolatory fact that there is, at least, one spot upon earth where written constitutions are rigidly regarded, I know sir, that this work, which the President has undertaken, and upon the success of which he has, with his usual moral courage, staked the hard-earned fruits of a glorious life, is full of difficulty. I know well that it will put the fortitude and patriotism of his countrymen to the severest test; but I am happy also to know that he has, in this instance, as heretofore, put himself upon the fortitude and patriotism of a people who have never yet failed him, or any man who was himself faithful to his country in hours of peril." * * *

"I have thus responded, and I hope the senator from Massachusetts will allow, fully, to so much of his appeal. I will go on, sir, and cover the whole ground. He has asked, if you will neither re-charter the present bank nor establish a new one, what will you do? As an individual, sir, and speaking for myself only, I say I will sustain the executive branch of the government, by all the legal means in my power, in the efforts now making to substitute the State banks instead of the Bank of the United States, as the fiscal agent of the government. I believe they are fully competent to the object. I am wholly unmoved by the alarms which have been sounded, either as to their insecurity, or influence, or any other danger to be apprehended from their employment. I hope the steps so far taken in furtherance of this object, well warranted by the Constitution and laws of the land, and I believe that the honor and best interests of the country, imperiously require that they should be fully sustained by the people, and by their representatives here."

On the 20th of March, 1834, leave was asked to introduce a resolution, re-chartering the United States Bank for a limited

period. WRIGHT took grounds against it, in a speech, powerful and argumentative,—so much so, that Clay and Webster bestowed upon it the highest praises. Averring, in regard to Clay's resolutions of censure, that it was beyond the power of the Senate to "condemn the President unheard," he made a speech, from which the following is an extract:

"But we are still called upon to vote for this resolution; and who, Mr. President, is it upon whom the sentence of the Senate is thus to be passed without a trial? The officer, sir, is none other than the chief executive officer of the Government,—the President of the United States; he whom the people elected to that high station, by their free suffrages, against the popularity and power of a competitor holding the office, and wielding its patronage,—a patronage now represented to be so immense and irresistible and dangerous;—and wielding it too with the aid of skillful and experienced advisers. It is no other than that President, who after four years of official trial before the people, was re-elected against another competitor, selected from among the distinguished of his countrymen, for his superior hold upon the popular feeling of the country, too, by a vote more decisive than any which had ever before marked the result of a long and severe political contest. Such, Mr. President, is the officer,—I had like to have said,—upon his trial. No, sir, it is not so,—who is not to be allowed a trial; but who is about to receive the condemnatory sentence of the Senate unheard.

"Who, sir, is the man, the citizen of our republic, upon whom we are about to pronounce our high censure? Is it Andrew Jackson? Is it that Andrew Jackson, who, in his boyhood, was found in the blood-stained fields of the Revolution? Who came out from that struggle the last living member of his family? Who, when the sound to arms again called our citizens around the flag of our country, posted himself upon the defenseless frontiers of the South and West, and bared his own bosom to the tomahawks and scalping-knives, sharpened for the blood of unprotected women and children? Who turned back from the city of the West, the confident advance of a ruthless, and until then, unsubdued enemy, and closed the second war against American liberty in a blaze of glory, which time will not extinguish? Who, when peace was restored to his beloved country, turned his spear into a pruning hook, and retired to his Hermitage, until the spontaneous voice of

his fellow-citizens called him forth to receive their highest honors, and to become guardian of their sacred trust? Is this the man who is to be condemned without a trial? Who is not entitled to the privilege allowed him by the Constitution of his country? Sir, this surely should not be so. For the very act which saved a city from pillage and destruction, and the soil of his country from the tread of an invading enemy, this individual was accused of a violation of the Constitution and laws of his country. For the very act which entitled him to the proud appellation of 'the great captain of the age,' he was convicted and condemned as a criminal. But, Mr. President, he was not then denied a trial. Then he was permitted to face his accusers, to hear the charges preferred against him, to offer his defense, and to be present at his sentence. In gratitude for these privileges of a freeman, he stayed back with his own arm the advancing wave of popular indignation, while he bowed his whited locks to the sentence of the law, and paid the penalty imposed upon him for having saved and honored his country.

"Grant to him, I beseech you, Mr. President; I beseech the Senate, grant to that old man the privilege of a trial now. Condemn him not unheard, and without the pretense of a constitutional accusation. His rivalships are ended. He asks no more of worldly honors. 'He has done the State some service.' Age has crept upon him now, and he approaches the grave. Let him enjoy, during the short remainder of his stay upon earth, the right secured to him by the Constitution he has so often and so gallantly defended, if indeed, he be criminal, let his conviction precede his sentence."

Like the above, all his speeches, though they flashed with no brilliant sparks of oratory and flowery illustrations, evinced the soundest practical knowledge, deep research, and profound logic. During the session of 1834–'35, he was kept on the most important senatorial committees, and was one of the most working men in that body. He supported Jackson on all questions of national policy, vindicating his course through the agitations with France, and opposing the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, and defending his financial views with manly firmness.

He attended the National Democratic Convention in the spring of 1835, that nominated Van Buren as the successor of Jackson. In the canvass, he gave him his warm support,—was gratified at

his election, and supported his administration with the same zeal and ability he had that of his great predecessor. The suspension of specie payments by the banks, and the consequent financial depression of 1837, induced grave attention to methods of pubiic relief. WRIGHT recommended the independent treasury, and the reception of nothing for public dues, except constitutionally recognized currency. He also wrote some pointed and vigorous articles for the press, under the captions of "Probable continuance of the suspension of specie payments by the banks," and "the duties and responsibilities imposed upon the national government by the suspension of specie payments by the State banks." These articles created considerable sensation, and indicated pretty clearly the ultimate course of the new President. His style as a writer was bold, lucid, terse, and masculine. His views were well matured, and if in speaking or writing he condensed them into a convincing, clear shape, he paid little attention to the selection of words by which the result was attained.

He was re-elected to the Senate in 1837, and at the extra September session, reported the independent treasury bill. It failed in the lower House. At the regular session, he brought in another bill, embracing more fully the details than the former, and containing the specie clause. Of this, the following extract is a brief history:

"The one previously introduced had constituted each officer a receiver; but this proposed the appointment of persons to be charged with the special duty of keeping and paying out the public funds. This provision was intended to obviate the objection which had been raised, that the administration was desirous of establishing an army of office-holders, who would have the means of the government at their disposal. Severe penalties were also prescribed, for neglect of duty, or breach of trust; and every precaution taken to provide against losses. The opponents of the measure were free to admit that, waiving the principle upon which the bill was founded, nothing could be better calculated to carry into effect the object had in view. Mr. WRIGHT made several able speeches while this question was agitated in Congress; but that delivered on the 31st of January, 1838, probably exceeded them all. In his speech on that occasion, he reviewed the whole subject of the collection, keeping, and disbursements of the public revenue. He avowed it as his firm and

settled conviction, that the State banks could not be relied upon as the fiscal agents of the government; for the reason that as State institutions, Congress would be unable to exercise that control over them which was absolutely requisite. He also declared that there could be no middle ground,—that a system based on the principles of the bill before the Senate must be established, or they would be compelled to resort to a national bank. The bill reported by Mr. WRIGHT was discussed for a long time in the Senate, and on the 24th of March the specie clause was stricken out,—yeas thirty-one, nays fourteen. Several of the democratic senators voted for the motion, in obedience to the instructions of their State Legislatures. Mr. WRIGHT, with Mr. Benton and Mr. Calhoun, resisted it to the end. On the 26th the bill passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five. Like its predecessor, this bill was laid upon the table in the House,—yeas one hundred and six, nays ninety-eight,—the Whigs and Conservatives voting for the motion. At the next session, in 1838–'39, Mr. WRIGHT again brought forward the independent treasury project, without the specie clause, in the hope of securing a favorable vote, as some law on the subject was deemed necessary; but it was a third time defeated. The elections for members of the Twenty-sixth Congress, however, terminated in the choice of a reliable majority for the administration, in the House of Representatives; and soon after the commencement of its first session, Mr. WRIGHT brought forward a bill establishing the system which he had so earnestly advocated since the extra session in 1837. The specie clause was added, with his vote, and in that shape it passed the Senate. On the 1st of July, 1840, a final vote was taken in the House, which resulted in its passage,—yeas one hundred and twenty-four, nays one hundred and seven. The law thus enacted was known, by its title, as 'An act to provide for the collection, safe-keeping, transfer and disbursement, of the public revenue.'."*

Such was his course in regard to this subject, which, for a time, proved one of considerable importance. Upon the question of slavery, engendering at the time bitter animosities, in consequence of the abolition petitions pouring in upon Congress, he occupied about the same position that Clay did,—opposing all agitation, as dangerous to the harmonious union of the States, and the liberties

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* Life of SILAS WRIGHT, p. 152.

of the people. His personal preferences were favorable to the Wilmot Proviso, preventing the extension of slavery in a territory where it did not exist,—but were equally opposed to agitation and interference when it was recognized as a State institution. "If," said he in a patriotic oration delivered at Canton, N. Y., July 4th, 1839, "there be those among us who, misled by a mistaken sympathy or by sudden excitement upon any subject, are forgetting their obligations to the whole country, to the Constitution and the Union, let us use every effort of persuasion and example to awaken them to a sense of their dangerous error. If these, who, for the sake of private interest, personal ambition, or momentary political success, are willing to experiment upon the public passions, to treat lightly their constitutional obligations, to foster sectional jealousies, and raise up geographical distinctions within the Union; let the absence of our countenance and support convince such, that the personal gratification of public services of any living man, are not objects of sufficient magnitude to be gained at the expense of harmony of the country, the peace of Union, or a single letter in the list of our constitutional duties."

He continued, in the main, an ardent supporter of Van Buren's administration. His favor of specie currency, and opposition to compensation for French spoliation, marked him particularly in the Senate. One of his ablest speeches was made in 1838, upon the necessity of specie currency. He favored the recognition of the independence of Texas, but opposed the ratification of Calhoun's treaty of Annexation, upon the ground, that no formal treaty had been made adjustive of the claims of Mexico, and of apprehended war with that power, in the event of its consummation. The election of Harrison, in 1840, placed him in opposition to all administrative measures. Revenue distribution among the States, and the National Bank he opposed decidedly, and with ability. He supported the tariff of 1842, though it did not conform in every particular to his views upon the subject.

On the death of Harrison, and the accession of Tyler to the presidency, he stood somewhat aloof from party cliques at Washington. The President's vetoes of the various bank measures, elaborated by Clay and his co-operators, met his sanction, though he did not wish to be understood as identified with the administration. In 1843, he was again elected to the Senate without opposition. In 1844, the National Convention again met to

nominate presidential candidates. At this meeting, WRIGHT's disinterested devotion to his party shone most conspicuously. He went to the convention the warm friend of Van Buren. That gentleman, like himself, opposed the speedy annexation of Texas,—preferring first amicable settlement of boundary with Mexico. Polk favoring the immediate measure, was nominated over Van Buren. WRIGHT then received the unanimous nomination for the vice-presidency. He would not, however, swerve from his principles for a kingdom. He declined peremptorily, and Dallas was put on the ticket. Notwithstanding this, he gave active and efficient support to his party, and saw it carried triumphantly into power, over the strongest opposition in the Union.

In the fall of 1844, he was nominated by the State Democratic Convention as a candidate for governor of New York. The Whig candidate was Millard Fillmore,—one of the purest men, and most deservedly popular statesman, of which, this or any country can boast. The canvass was one of the most active and exciting ever made in the Empire State. It possessed additional interest in view of the presidential election,—it being pretty well understood that the votes of New York would decide the election of Henry Clay. No man but SILAS WRIGHT could have carried that State against Fillmore. He was elected by near ten thousand majority,—and by his powerful exertions and commanding influence, in the opinion of many, secured the election of James K. Polk.

On his accession to the executive chair, he found some counties in the eastern part of the State disturbed by the anti-rent excitement. In allaying this he was prompt and efficient. The Anti-renters, in several counties, disguised as Indians, perpetrated the grossest outrages. The military was ordered out, and many arrests made. Several were tried, convicted, and sentenced. In many instances the sentence was changed from death to life imprisonment,—though he always refused to pardon such offenders against the majesty of law and the tranquillity of society. The people of New York were, at this time, split into factions,—Conservatives, Radicals, and Anti-renters. WRIGHT had not the political tact to reconcile them. The Radicals demanded a convention to incorporate the act of 1842 into the Constitution as a part of the fundamental law. WRIGHT, in his message, discountenanced the movement, which gave additional strength to the Conservative

party. The latter finally agreed to unite with the Radicals, favoring a convention, requiring submission of each amendment to the people. WRIGHT agreed with them thus far,—but persisting in occupying a middle or neutral ground upon these measures, he lost favor with both parties, and finally, by degrees, became identified with the Radicals. The subsequent act, doing away with the distress privilege of proprietor upon renter, measurably put a stop to anti-rent excitements, and left the parties aforementioned to contend between themselves.

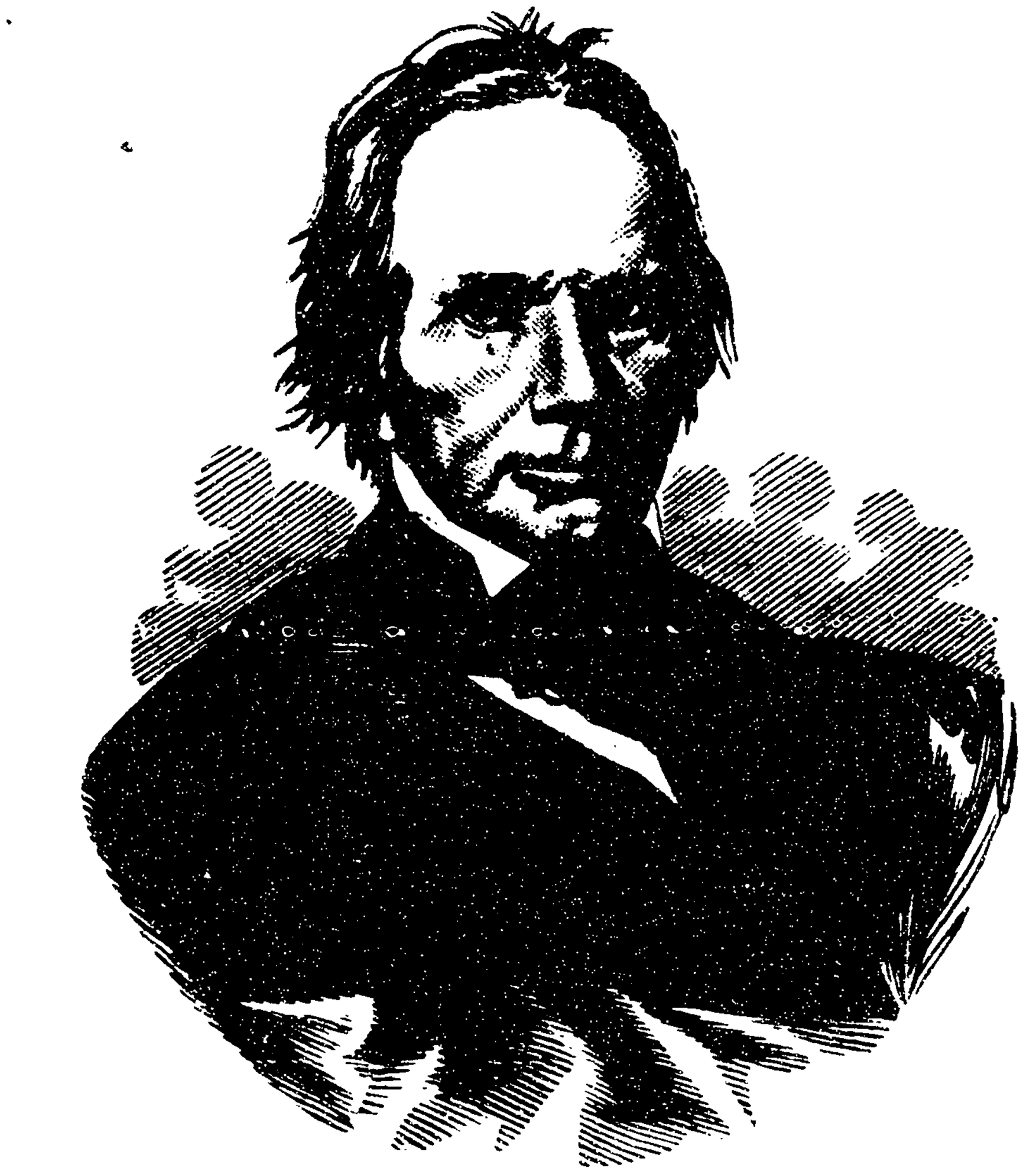
In the fall of 1846, he was nominated for re-election, against John Young. The course of his preceding administration, elicited the complaints of the Conservatives, while the old Anti-renters were loud in their denunciation, because he had refused to pardon offenders of that class. He was beaten by a majority of over eleven thousand. This closed his political life. His fame, however, had gone abroad in the land, and he was regarded as one of the most reliable and able men of his party. In many States he was nominated for the presidency,—and Democratic journals placed his name at the head of editorial columns. He was not destined, however, for the post assigned him by his appreciative countrymen.

On his return to his farm, he engaged in agricultural labors. These were principally clearing parts of his farm and harvesting, His exertions accelerated a heart disease to which he was predisposed, of which he died on the 27th day of August, 1847, in the 53d year of his age.

"In person, Mr. WRIGHT was large and muscular, hale and vigorous. His stature was about five feet and nine or ten inches. His complexion was florid; his hair a light brown; and his eyes of a bluish gray. Constant exercise in early youth had developed his form, and rendered him hearty and robust. He was somewhat inclined to corpulency in latter years, but not by any means what could be called gross. He was aware of the plethoric tendency of his constitution, and for that reason, probably, devoted more of his leisure time to manual labor than he otherwise would have done. He dressed quite plainly, and was simple in all his habits. He usually enjoyed excellent health; except in the fall of 1834, he was never known to be seriously ill, until the fatal attack that terminated his existence.

"In his domestic relations, he was every thing that could be

desired,—a tender and affectionate husband,—a faithful and devoted friend. He had no children. As has been beautifully said of Washington and Jackson,—'Providence denied him these, that he might the better serve his country;' or, as he himself expressed it, 'that he might be a father to the children of his friends.' His manners were affable, and his address pleasing and agreeable. He never forgot the dignity of his position or of his character; but he always had a kind word and a cheerful smile to greet those who visited him. As a citizen, he was generous and public-spirited, and the influence of his example was upon the side of morality and good order. Says one who knew him intimately for many years: 'In his social intercourse, I never heard him utter an unchaste word, or an immoral sentiment. Whenever he returned from his public positions, to the place of his residence, he returned to the simple, frugal, and industrious habits of a New England farmer, and to the kind and neighborly offices which so eminently distinguished the early rural population of our pilgrim fathers."



HENRY CLAY.

HENRY CLAY.

Had the rude follower of Brennus, who thought the Roman fathers a congregation of the gods, stepped into the American Senate, in 1849–'50, he would not have laid his robber hand upon the sage Nestor there;—or had a valued gift, similar to the one sent to Greece, labeled to the wisest of her seven wise men, found its way to that august chamber, directed to the greatest of the body, with unanimous consent it would have been handed to the venerable Henry Clay.

So much has been said and written about him,—so firm and lasting is the grasp he has taken upon the American heart,—so linked with the pages of our political history his name,—and so intimately connected with the progress of the country are his deeds, that his memory needs neither biography nor sculpture. Every department of the confederate building has received the polish of his genius,—on every hearthstone of the Union his name is familiar.

It seems almost useless to say that he was born in Hanover County, Virginia,—equally so to say that the event took place on on the 12th of April, 1777, and that he was known as the "mill boy of the Slashes." Well known, however, as are these facts, their repetition is necessary to the completeness of our sketch of the man. Of his ancestry but little information has been obtained;—he descended from good old English stock, on both sides. His father was a clergyman, and a man of exemplary piety and firmness of will. His mother was an excellent woman, and took a lively and affectionate interest in her children.

His first schooling was under Peter Deacon, who taught "reading, writing, and arithmetic" in the Slashes, in a small cabin, built of unhewn logs, covered with clapboards held down by weight poles, with a dirt floor. Such was the place where the great expounder of national law learned to read, write, and cipher. Like most school-boys of poor parents, living in the country, HENRY was occasionally sent to the mill. Thus, again, the future statesman, who like a giant controlled the reins of a great government, was frequently seen bestride a meal bag, guiding his horse by a rope-bridle to Mrs. Darricott's mill,—hence the "mill boy of the Slashes," the battle-cry of 1844.

After the death of HENRY's father, which happened when he was a small boy, his mother was married to Captain Henry Watkins. This gentleman proved a kind step-father, and felt particular interest in young HENRY, in whom, no doubt, he had already detected sparks of genius. In his fifteenth year, HENRY was placed in the drug-store of Richard Denny, where he remained for some time. Here the sagacious diplomatist, and unrivaled orator, who was

> "The applause of Senates to command,
> The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
> To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
> And read his history in a nation's eyes,—"

was engaged, mortar in hand, mixing physics and filling prescriptions. He did not stay long, however, at this business;—through the agency of his step-father, he procured a situation as desk clerk in the office of Peter Tinsley, clerk of the High Chancery Court. The duties of this position were varied and somewhat onerous, but met a faithful discharge at the hands of the young clerk. He had not been there long, when the quick eye of Chancellor Wythe (a name that should be inscribed in diamond letters), saw in the youth the dawnings of intellect. The Chancellor was induced to take him to his office as copyist and amanuensis. He thus reaped the advantages of intercourse with that profound jurist for a period of four years. The Chancellor, being satisfied that his young scribe possessed a mind of no common mould, persuaded him to study law, and offered his instruction and the use of his books. The offer was eagerly accepted. In this way, writing for his benefactor and reading during leisure hours, he progressed rapidly, in both the theoretical and practical knowledge of the profession;—it was, in fact, a position just suited to his mind

He was also thrown immediately into the best society, and familiar intercourse with the first men of Richmond. Here commences, in reality, the rising fortunes of HENRY CLAY. Instructive indeed, it is, to watch his rise and progress from the dirt floor school-house in the Slashes, to the highest positions among the great.

"First seedling, hid in the grass,
Then twig, then sapling, and as century rolls
Slow after century, then a giant bulk
Of girth enormous.—"

During this four years' connection with Chancellor Wythe, he had still, when required, attended to the duties of clerk for Tinsley,—these labors were now to cease. Still enjoying the counsel and intercourse of the Chancellor, he entered the office of Attorney-General Robert Brooke, where he remained one year, intensely devoted to his studies. At the expiration of that time, he obtained a license, and was admitted to the bar. During this time, a debating society was formed in Richmoud, composed of the most promising young men of the place. This was the first body of which he ever assumed the leadership,—a position he was destined to assume toward all bodies of men with which he became identified.

In 1792, his mother and step-father removed to Kentucky, and settled in the County of Woodford, thirteen miles from Lexington, where they continued to reside until her death, which took place in 1827. Having obtained his license, and fixed upon himself correct habits and manners, CLAY, in 1797, went to Lexington, Kentucky, for the purpose of practicing his profession. He left behind him an enviable reputation, and carried with him talent and a store of legal knowledge, which were to make him, forever, the pride of his adopted State. The impression he had made in Virginia was never effaced. At a fourth of July celebration in that State, in 1843, when the country was full of his praises, and his name on every lip, an aged companion of the statesman gave the following toast: "HENRY CLAY:—He and I were born close to the Slashes of old Hanover. He worked barefooted, and so did I; he went to the mill, and so did I; he was good to his mamma, and so was I. I know him like a book, and love him like a brother."* This spontaneous gush of feeling, showed that half a

* Colton.

century had not effaced the recollections of his boyhood in his native State.

Clay, at this time, was in that delicate position incident to all young professional men without means. Every thing depended upon a correct start. He had selected a theater for his untried abilities, where veteran competition was to be encountered, and settled at a place, one of the most refined and aristocratic in the West. The Lexington bar presented an array of talent and influence, rarely excelled, or even equaled. He had no means with which to purchase favor,—no influential friends to rush him into public notice, no ancestral honors to lift his humble name. Nor did he need them. He was most happily constituted to win the favor of true-hearted Kentuckians. He had modesty and sensibility enough to prevent undue intrusions upon public notice, and nerve enough to rely upon the rewards of industry and merit. When he first reached Lexington, therefore, he did not, with his slender stock of pecuniary ammunition, rent an office, and hang out his "shingle," blazoned with "Henry Clay, Counsellor and Attorney at Law," nor did he, as many do, seek to tack himself as partner to some influential lawyer, with a view of being *towed* into successful practice. He quietly resumed his books, read and re-read, until the fundamental principles of law were permanently fixed in his mind; then taking up the statutes of the State, he thoroughly mastered them. By this course, and cultivating with ease and propriety, the acquaintance of the best citizens, he drew a high degree of popular attention, and established a studious and even character. Many a young lawyer has ruined his prospects, by being too eager to push himself forward,—by trying to soar before his wings are fledged. Fair talents, proper habits, and strict application, with a little patience, will insure success, and place the legal candidate in a position where, instead of seeking opportunities, business will seek him. Clay well understood this.

It is worthy of remark, that modesty has been an attribute of our greatest men in the outset of their career. The anecdote of Washington, that he was so overcome when the House of Burgesses was bestowing a compliment upon him, that he could not speak a syllable is well known. So is that of Chief Justice Kenyon, who had made several forensic failures, and was about making another, till he seemed to feel his wife and children pull-

ing his coat-skirts asking bread, when he made a powerful speech, and rose at once to success. Other instances might be mentioned, but with these as illustrative of CLAY's modesty, we have the widely-known incident, attending his first appearance in debate at Lexington. He had been in the city some time, poring incessantly over his books, dreaming of decisions, judges and jury-boxes, without participating, to any extent, in what was going on about him. Doubtless, too, he had taken many a walk through the fine old forests around the place, where, thinking how to apply what he had read, he had more than once uttered to himself the exclamation: "Gentlemen of the jury!" Be this as it may, some time passed after he joined the debating society, before he ventured to take part. On one occasion, after the speakers had got through, and the decision was about to be called for, he was heard to say that he thought the question was not exhausted. The decision was withheld, and cries of CLAY! CLAY!" were raised from all parts of the room. He rose,—but so constant had his mind been kept upon his books, and so often had he thought on courts of justice, that as he rose, he became quite embarrassed; the subject flitted from him, and instead of addressing himself to the chairman, he exclaimed: "Gentlemen of the *jury*!" This was rather an awkward start in his new sphere, and his confusion increased. Recovering, however, he ventured another attempt,—but the same "*gentlemen of the* JURY" again fell upon the ears of the society. This was no improvement upon the first, and the case looked a little desperate. But suddenly rising in his native majesty, as he always did from depression, he straightened his commanding form to full hight, and with a majestic sweep of his hand, entered into the discussion with all the ease and dignity of a practiced orator. The society was struck with his clear voice, his grace, dignity, and command of words. He kept them spell-bound, while he discussed the whole subject with fervor, eloquence, and power. Few thought when *he* closed the subject was not exhausted. He was now a made man. At one bound, he had stepped from his room and books upon the public arena, fully prepared to maintain his position. He was, too, among a people exactly suited to his nature,—a people ardent, generous, and easily stirred by the impetuous flow of his eloquence. The time, too, was propitious. The Alien and Sedition laws, elsewhere spoken of, were creating intense indignation. Nowhere was it more intense than in

Kentucky and Virginia. The resolutions of Jefferson and Madison, introduced into the Legislatures of those States, are well remembered. The speakers of Kentucky were called out by the people,—the citizens of Fayette County leading the van. A large meeting was called in the county,—CLAY was present; to him the laws were peculiarly obnoxious. An experienced leader spoke to the assemblage, when loud and vehement calls were made for CLAY. Divested of the timidity that had congealed the fountain of his soul, he responded. He poured a torrent of denunciation against the laws, such as had never before been heard. Unrestricted liberty, and the rights guaranteed by the Declaration, were impressed upon his hearers in a manner so forcible and impressive, that they were worked into a perfect frenzy. He closed amid enthusiastic shouts and cheers. The influence of CLAY and his friends were scarcely sufficient to procure a hearing for the speakers on the other side, who wished to address the people. They gave away to unbounded raptures,—pressed around the orator of the day, almost in a delirium of joy. The "great commoner" as they styled him, thenceforth knew no competition in the County of Fayette.

Previous to this, it is perfectly clear that CLAY was entirely unconscious of his own powers. He tells, in a speech made in 1842, what his feelings were when he first presented himself in Lexington. "I remember," he says, "how comfortable I thought I should be if I could make one hundred pounds, Virginia money, per year, and with what delight I received my first fifteen shillings' fee." He also mentioned the solicitude occasioned by fears of not being able to pay his "weekly board." But success came in full tide upon him, and he was soon overwhelmed with business. Men of influence, wealth, and standing, gathered around him, and gave him their confidence. He laid hold of the popular mind, too, which he ever controlled almost at will. Having thus established himself in a lucrative practice, he determined upon the enjoyments of domestic life. In the spring of 1799, then in his twenty-third year, he married Lucretia Hart, daughter of Colonel Hart, a gentleman of wealth, influence, and well known in that part of the State. The lady selected for his bosom companion through life, was of fine and happy temperament. The family cares devolving upon her, were attended to with cheerfulness and devotion. Devoted as a wife, patient as a mother, and kind to the domestics,

she did much to relieve the anxieties of her husband, through a long and active political life. Though a venerable woman, she still lives, esteemed and respected, at Ashland. Go there, and like a plain Kentucky lady, she will give you a kind reception,—show the books CLAY used to read, point out his library, various portraits and interesting relics owned by the departed sage; and among others a glass goblet used by General Washington, allusion to which is made in one of CLAY's speeches in the Senate. The issue of this union was eleven children,—six daughters and five sons. The daughters are all dead. Four of the sons survive and live in and around Lexington. Theodore, the eldest, is (it is said, in consequence of accidental injury, sustained in early boyhood), the inmate of an asylum. Thomas H. Clay is a prosperous and energetic farmer. Henry Clay, jr., graduated at West Point,—went to Mexico, and fell in the battle of Buena Vista. James B. Clay, practiced law for a time, and is now (1858) the representative in Congress of the Ashland District. John M. Clay, occupies a portion of the Ashland farm, and devotes his time to agriculture.

As the great statesman of whom we are speaking, occupied so wide a space in the public eye, and exerted such a powerful influence in the national councils, it may be well to give here some idea of the man, and the means by which he attained this eminence. As a son, we have seen he reverenced his mother,—a name that thrice quivered on his lips in the dying hour,—and rendered her the homage of his heart. As a husband and parent, he showed the same devotion. His love for his children was unsurpassed. Receiving intelligence of the death of a lovely daughter, while at Washington, he fainted away, and kept his room for several days;—"the strong man was cut down." When he resumed his public duties, he was so overcome with emotion, that he was forced to pause and give vent to his feelings.

As a private citizen, he bound himself to the people with "bands of steel." His friendships were warm, pure, and lasting. He drew men toward him as by a charm. His affection for his friends amounted to fondness. At Ghent, he threw his arms around Lafayette, who was sad at the thought of parting, saying: "What is the matter my friend? you seem unhappy," and burst into tears. He once volunteered his services to defend a poor

Irishman, who had been lynched,—brought suit, and got a verdict with heavy damages,—imperiling himself for one who needed aid. With this generous, noble nature, when success crowned his labors, Ashland was the place of happy greetings, and social intercourse. In regard to his moral nature, he had a deep reverence for the Deity and all his works. In all the relations of life, he was guided by a high moral principle. For the sublime truths of Revelation, he had unbounded respect, and tried to shape his course by the golden rule. In a speech in Congress, favoring a resolution recommending a national fast, he said: "I am a member of no religious sect. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and I trust that I shall be. I have, and always have had a profound regard for Christianity,—the religion of my fathers, and for its rights, its usages, and its observances," etc. On another occasion, he said: "I feel that it is our first duty to express our obligations to a kind and bountiful Providence, for copious refreshing showers with which he has blessed our land, of which it stood much in need. For one, I offer to him my humble and dutiful thanks." He always attended divine service, and took a lively interest in spreading religious views. Pointing to the Bible, just after his defeat in 1844, he said to some friends: "Gentlemen, I know nothing but that book, that can reconcile us to such events." Significant enough of this moral tone pervading his nature, is the fact, that he was made a life member of Bible, Sabbath, and Missionary Associations, in different parts of the country.

In person, "CLAY was tall, being six feet one inch in light; not stout, but the opposite; had long arms, and a small hand; always erect in standing, walking, or talking; in debate, still more erect; had a well shaped head, and dauntless profile; and uncommonly large mouth, upper lip commanding, nose prominent, spare visage, and blue eyes,—electrical when kindled; forehead high, sloping backward in a curvilinear line that bespoke the man; hair naturally light, and slow to put on the frosts of age; withal, displaying a well formed person and imposing aspect, which, it is supposed, an amateur or connoisseur in human shape and countenance, would not be likely to find much fault with."

He was of a strong, fiery, sanguine temperament; and had not sound judgment and a deep sense of moral obligations, arrested its exhibitions, he would have been a terror indeed. He several times gave way to it during his life. On one occasion, he attacked

his opponent for Congress, John Pope, in the streets of Lexington, greatly to the annoyance of the citizens: on another, he gave his opposing counsel an indignant blow in the court-house, and was felled to the floor in return. These demonstrations, however, always caused regret, soon as the occasions passed.

As a public speaker, CLAY possessed all the powers of controlling the souls of men. In an assembly, he towered more like an unmeasured and rugged mountain, than a symmetrical, polished column. His commanding form overawed, while the fascination of his manner, ruled like a spell. He could express the various passions on his countenance to a greater extent than, perhaps, any man living. In speaking, when thoroughly aroused, with the persuasive potency of enchantment, he would draw men to him,—then suddenly and impressively erecting himself, he would hurl his thunderbolts among them with destructive effect. Confident of the correctness of his opinions, and the means employed to enforce them upon the minds of other men, he threw himself into debate without thinking of aught but victory. His very look would overcome most men, and when accompanied with word and gesture, none could withstand it. His powers of ridicule were great, but it was while vindicating himself or his opinions that he showed his power and superiority. When defending Charles Wickliffe, in Lexington, tried for killing Benning, the editor of the Gazette. his powers of ridicule were made effective. John M'Calla had written some letters to the Gazette, over the signature of Dentatus, reflecting severely upon Wickliffe's father. Young Wickliffe went to the editor and demanded the author. Benning requested time to confer with Dentatus, which was granted. At the next interview, Benning was armed, and withheld the name of his anonymous correspondent. An altercation ensued, in which Wickliffe drew a pistol and shot Benning dead. On the day of trial, CLAY was adverting to the subject, and finally came to the correspondent, who was present. After asking in an indescribably ludicrous manner several times,—"Who is Dentatus?" he finally crouched himself down as dwarfish as that individual himself, and bringing his hands together, said in a contemptuous whisper: "*Why gentlemen, it is nobody but little Johnny M'Calla.*" Little Johnny left the room as soon as possible, to the infinite mirth of the spectators, and greatly to the relief of a young man who had written something disparaging to

Wickliffe's father, and who thought that, perhaps, "Who is Dentatus," referred to himself. CLAY gained his case and secured Wickliffe's acquittal. Soon after he became a member of the Kentucky Legislature, the removal of the capitol from Frankfort was proposed,—CLAY was in favor of it, and in his remarks upon the measure, compared Frankfort to an inverted hat,—and then to Nature's penitentiary, pointing, as he said penitentiary to a crowd of ragged loungers in the galleries as specimens of the convicts, who, in their hurried scamper out to avoid the notice drawn toward them, cut a figure ludicrous enough. Some time after, in a speech made in that city, he turned the hat, and gave the place and its citizens a merited compliment. At another time, in the United States Senate, he was adverting to a disposition prevalent among the people of Texas. Senator Rusk took exceptions, and interrupting him in his speech, said the feeling alluded to only prevailed among office-seekers. "O ho! that's it, is it? I fear Texas is not the only State where a majority of the citizens are office seekers," rejoined CLAY, and proceeded with his speech. But to convey an idea of the sublime character of the man, we must turn to those passages of his life where his opinions were assailed or his motives impugned. It was then he would rise in all his manhood and grandeur, and hurl defiance in the teeth of his "calumniators" that sent them cowering into complete nothingness. On such occasions, he would throw himself back, and with uplifted hand and flashing eye, and that inimitable sweep of the arm, strike terror and dismay to the hearts of his foes, and fire his friends with a revenge that was almost madness. Then suddenly the storm would subside,—the cloud pass from his brow, which would become calm as the evening sky,—his eye would beam with a soft genial light,—his muscles would relax, while with modulated voice and graceful ease, he would melt his hearers into tears, and cast a charm all about him;—no mortal ever had such control over other men, for the time being. Passage after passage from his speeches might be culled, showing his various powers. In Colton's works, an extract is furnished, illustrating his control over audiences. In 1840, he was assailed bitterly by political enemies, about Lexington. He published a notice that he would speak to his fellow-citizens on a certain day. Immense crowds flocked to hear him. He rose among his old friends in the public square, and thus began his speech:

"Fellow-Citizens: I am now an *old man*,—*quite* an old man," [here he leaned forward, showing that he *was* an old man]. 'But," [straightening himself erect again], "yet it will be found that I am not too old *to vindicate my principles*, TO STAND BY MY FRIENDS, OR TO DEFEND MYSELF." The commanding form, piercing eye, and rising emphasis of his voice spoke the truth of his assertion. "It so happens," he continued, "that I have again located myself, in the practice of my profession, in an office within a few rods of the one which I occupied when, more than forty years ago, I first came among you an orphan and a stranger, and your fathers took me by the hand and made me what I am." [He here pointed first to his new office, then to his old, and as he said, "your father's took me by the hand and made me what I am," his hearers wept profusely, and felt ready to die for him]. "I feel like an old stag which has been long coursed by the hunters and the hounds, through brakes and briers, and over distant plains, and has, at last, returned to his ancient lair to lay himself down and die. And yet the vile curs of party are barking at my heels, and the bloodhounds of personal malignity are aiming at my throat. I SCORN AND DEFY THEM AS I EVER DID." Before he reached the last sentence, his audience was weeping tears of sympathy —but when he lifted himself to full hight, and swept his arm to the heavens, looking more like something supernatural than man, as he said with his deep defiant voice: "I SCORN AND DEFY THEM AS I EVER DID," their tears ceased. With compressed lips, and clenched fists, they would have fought to the death for the "*old man.*" Such was the effect produced by the mere exordium to a speech of some hours' length, in which he so clearly "vindicated his principles, and defended his friends and himself," that the gentleman who was expected to reply, wisely concluded to retire. Numerous instances, where this indefinable majesty and control were exhibited, are at hand. He, at one time, treated Aaron Burr with marked civility, and had consented to engage in his defense, when he was first arrested for trial at Frankfort, Kentucky. After Burr's final arrest and arraignment at Richmond, CLAY was in New York, at a public dinner. He had every reason to suppose Burr had deceived him. Burr saw the statesman walking through the halls, and purposely throwing himself in his way, extended his hand. CLAY suddenly drew himself to full hight, put his hand under his vest, and bestowed

upon the ex-politician a withering look that sent him from his presence.

At another time, in the Senate of the United States, the confirmation of Edward Everett to an important post came up. It was opposed by some member from the South, upon the ground that Everett was a Northern man. The member went on for some time, in a speech of sectional bitterness, and finally wound up by saying: "I tell you, sir, if this House persists in confirming these nominations, regardless of the claims of the South, the Union will be dissolved." CLAY sprang to his feet. Discarding sectional strifes, and elevating his form and voice, he replied: "Sir, I tell you, if this House refuse to confirm the nomination for any such reasons as assigned by the honorable senator,—the Union is ALREADY dissolved." The power and force conveyed by his manner, look, and posture, as he said "ALREADY dissolved," were indescribable. These were times when the powers of his mighty soul would swell like the ocean,—terrible, overwhelming, resistless. But there were times when, with all imaginable ease, he would indulge in every-day pleasantries, and render himself familiar, and his presence delightful to all. Quick at repartee, of ready wit, and an excellent judge of men, he knew exactly how to adapt himself to his company and the occasion.

He once had a client who was not very good for his debts. The opposing counsel was questioning a witness on the stand in regard to the matter. The witness did not wish to injure a neighbor, and was forced to reply: "He *is slow*." He was farther pressed, but again answered, "he is *slow*,—'and *sure*,'" added CLAY, to which the witness said, "Yes, sir." His point was thus established. Madame de Staël told him in Paris, after the treaty of peace, that the British talked, during the war, of sending the Duke of Wellington to lead their forces in America. "I am very sorry, Madam, they did not send his Grace," said CLAY. Much surprised, she asked: "And why, sir." "Because, Madam, if he had beaten us, we should have been in the condition of all Europe, without disgrace; but, if we had been so fortunate as to beat the Duke, we would have added greatly to the renown of our arms."

On the delivery of his first speech in the Senate, upon internal improvements, an older senator took exceptions, and occasion to recommend to him modesty corresponding with his years. In his

reply, CLAY applied, most happily, the following lines to his friend:

"Thus, have I seen a magpie in the street,
A chattering bird we often meet,
With head awry, and cunning eye,
Peep knowingly into a marrow-bone."

The senator was so stung by this retort, that he never repeated his advice.

Of the expunging resolutions, he thus spoke: "It runs, *whereas*, *and*, *whereas*, *and*, *whereas*, *and*, *whereas*, and so forth, into a formidable array of nine several *whereases*. One who should have the courage to begin to read them, unaware of what was to be their termination, would think, that at the end of such a tremendous display he must find the devil. It is like a kite or a comet, except that the order of nature is inverted, and the tail, instead of being behind, is before the body to which it is appended." During the hostile feelings between him and Calhoun, the latter made rather an indelicate reference to the old bargain and corruption charge of 1825, and remarked that he (CLAY) was "flat on his back" by the compromise [illegible] CLAY arose and promptly rejoined: "The senator says I was 'flat on my back,' and that he was my master. Sir, I would not own *him* (pointing his finger directly at Calhoun) for my SLAVE."

Speaking at another time of the views of those favoring Calhoun's land bill, he referred to the old adage, that charity should begin at home, and said that, "according to the doctrine of the opponents of distribution, it neither *begins nor ends at home*. Speaking again of Calhoun's system of free trade, he said: "He still clings to his free trade doctrine, though it has proved so ruinous to his own State, and to southern interests as well as to northern;—to that free trade which has depressed the price of cotton to a point below what it has ever brought since the close of the last war. In spite of all the boastings of experience, as well in his own as in all other nations, still he deafens us with the cry of '*free trade*.' Really, the case of the honorable gentleman is without any parallel that I know or even heard of, unless it be that which we find in the immortal work of Le Sage. Gil Blas was engaged in medical practice with the far-famed Dr. Sangrado; and after having gone as far as his conscience and his feelings could at all endure, he came at last to the Doctor, and said to him: 'Sir, your system won't do; I have been bleeding

and administering warm water, with unflinching resolution, and the consequence is,—and I must tell you frankly, all our patients,—nobles, gentlemen, bourgeois, men, women, and children,—all, all are dying! I propose to change the system.' 'What,' said the astonished Sangrado, 'change our system? Change our system? Why, sir, do you not know that I have written a BOOK and that I must preserve my CONSISTENCY? Yes; and sooner than change my system or write another book to prove it false, let nobles, gentlemen, bourgeois, men, women, and children, and ALL, go to ——. I will not say where.' The honorable senator seems to act on the self-same plan. Instead of recommending hot water and bleeding, he recommends *free trade*; and though he sees, from year to year, that his prescriptions are killing all his patients, he spurns the idea of changing his system, because he must preserve his CONSISTENCY."

CLAY was once besieged in his office by a crowd of ladies, with SCISSORS in hand, for locks of his hair. He submitted to the shaving with grace and dignity, and finally said: "Ladies, leave a *little*, or I shall be forced to get a *wig*."

His electioneering campaigns were replete with incident and anecdote. His course, in regard to the compensation bill, introduced the previous Congress, was not approved by some of his constituents. When he was soliciting their votes for re-election, the subject frequently came up. He met with an old friend, a hunter, who took exceptions to his course. "Have you a good rifle, my friend," he asked. "Yes." "Did it ever flash?" "It did, once." "And did you throw it away?" "No; I picked flint, tried it again, and it was true." "Have I ever flashed but this once you complain of?" "No." "And will you throw me away?" "No, no,"—seizing CLAY's hand with great warmth, "I will pick the flint and try it again." As he proceeded, he met another old friend, who had his gun in hand. CLAY asked for his vote. "Are you a good shot?" asked the hunter. "Try me, and see," replied CLAY. "Very well; here 's Old Bess (the name of the gun), try her once." CLAY was not accustomed to rifle shooting, but he took "Old Bess," and accidently hit the mark. The hunter insisted upon his shooting again,—he declined, saying: "Beat that, and I will." No farther trial was made, and CLAY secured his vote.

When Van Buren received the presidential nomination, in 1835,

he said, in accepting, he was the "honored *instrument*, selected by the friends of the administration," etc. "Honored *instrument!*" exclaimed CLAY, "that word, according to the most approved definition, means *tool*. He was then the honored TOOL of the friends of the administration."

It is well known that CLAY and Calhoun labored together against Jackson's administration, and that they afterward separated. Speaking of this unity and opposition, CLAY said: "We united, if indeed there were any alliance in the case, to restrain the enormous expansion of executive power,—to rebuke usurpation; to drive the Goths and Vandals from the capitol; to expel Brennus and his horde from Rome, who, when he threw his sword into the scale to augment the ransom demanded from the mistress of the world, showed his preference for *gold*,—that he was a *hard money chieftain*. It was by the much more valuable metal, *iron*, that he was driven from her gates.

"The odious contest in which we were so long engaged, was about to terminate in a glorious victory. At this critical juncture the Senator left us. He left us for the very purpose of preventing the success of the common cause. He took up his musket, knapsack, and shot-pouch, and joined the other party. He went horse, foot, and *dragoon*, and he himself composed the whole corps. He went as his puissant, most distinguished ally, commenced with his expunging resolution '*solitary and alone.*'"

CLAY, as a reasoner, was clear and convincing. The most intricate threads of a knotty case were easily drawn out, and made electric wires for the conveyance of his thoughts, while his hearers were carried through the most abstruse subjects, without being wearied or manifesting the least impatience. His language was always plain and *powerful*,—never too highly wrought nor degenerating into commonplace expression. His voice was melodious, under perfect control, and of powerful compass and volume,—capable of embracing and rousing every passion. When speaking, absorbed in his theme, he was unconscious of what was going on around him, and of his own positions, while he looked eloquence, spoke it, and acted it.

Reader: we have now endeavored to give you an introduction, so to speak, to HENRY CLAY,—one of the most remarkable men of his own or any age. Let it not be supposed, however, because we have been a little minute in giving his characteristics, that

all the great measures he originated or was connected with, can be explored in detail; such an undertaking would, of itself, require the pages of an extended octavo. Hoping to give the most important events of his political life, we now resume. We left him practicing law in the city of Lexington. Of his profession, as of every thing else he took hold of, he quickly rose to the first rank. His judgment of human nature,—quick insight into the springs of the human heart,—his force of character, and readiness in unraveling the most complicated case of law, and his resistless eloquence made him sought after in difficult cases, and gave him control of the practice. He once defended two individuals, in Kentucky, arraigned for murder, where the proof was incontestably clear against them; yet he managed to procure a verdict of homicide, afterward an arrest of judgment, and finally acquittal.

In a similar case, he contrived to produce a disagreement of the jury. At the succeeding trial, he put in the plea, that a man could not be tried twice for the same offense; the court refused to entertain so singular a plea. CLAY got up, took his books and papers, and left the court-house in a most majestic manner. The court was overawed,—could not stand an influence so ponderous against it, and sent for CLAY to return, telling him he should have his own way;—he did so, and gained the case. As a lawyer, in both civil and criminal practice, he had no superior in the country. It is said, that not one of all the men he defended upon criminal indictments was ever convicted.

But, private life and pursuits were not to form his high destiny. His country early demanded him, and called him to her service. He was unexpectedly to himself, and without efforts to that end, brought forward as a candidate for the State Legislature, and elected over weighty opposition, by a triumphant majority. He soon took a stand in that body, that showed his ability for leadership. His fascinating eloquence and influence swept down all competitors, and left him undisputed master. His career, up to this time, though brief, was brilliant, and of service to his constituents. He had exhibited capacities as a debater, and parliamentarian, that marked him for a higher sphere. In 1806, he was elected to the United States Senate, to fill the unexpired term of General Adair, resigned. He took his seat in that body, wholly unpracticed in its deliberations, among men of mature age and

listinction. Though not obtrusive, he was determined not to be dle. His first speech was made upon the construction of the Potomac Bridge, in which many of his ideas of internal improvement were, for the first time, heard in that hall. The speech was able, and fully vindicated the powers and reputation of the young senator. During his short term of service at this session, he made many friends, and created high expectations. When Congress adjourned, he returned to the State Legislature. When that body met, he was chosen speaker. In 1808, he was not urged to the speakership, his friends being determined to pit him against Humphrey Marshall. The discussions between them were bitter, and sometimes violent. As significant of CLAY's views of home industry, he brought in a bill, requiring the members to dress themselves in domestic goods. This resulted in the affair with Humphrey Marshall, who made some severe remarks upon the bill. CLAY sent him a challenge, which being accepted, the parties met, and after shooting at each other a few times, both were slightly wounded, when they were taken from the field by the interposition of friends.

The deep-rooted prejudices and antipathy to England, existing at this time, were evinced clearly by the effort made at this session of the Legislature, to suppress all reference by the State courts to English laws and decisions. This piece of intolerance roused the just indignation of CLAY. Alone, he fought the movement at every turn, and finally succeeded in preventing its success.

CLAY was just lifting himself to national gaze. He was now to leave the halls of State for those of national legislation. He was permanently to transfer his talents from Frankfort to Washington City, where, for forty years, he was to be the magnet of traction,—the Richard Cœur de Lion of legislation. The following portraiture, drawn of him at the time he left the Legislature, will afford a good idea of the general impression he had made upon the public mind:

"He appears," says the writer alluded to, "to have been the pervading spirit of the whole body. He never came to the debates without the knowledge necessary to the perfect elucidation of his subject, and he always had the power of making his knowledge so practical, and lighting it up so brightly with the fire of eloquence, and the living soul of intellect, that, without resorting to the arts of insidiousness, he could generally control the move-

ments of the Legislature at will. His mind was not an undue influence; it was simply ascendency of mind over mind. The bills, which originated with him, instead of being characterized by the eccentricities and ambitious innovations which are too often visible in the course of young men of genius, suddenly elevated to power and influence, were remarkable only for their plain common sense, and their tendency to advance the general interests of the State. Though he carried his plans into effect by the aid of the magical incantations of the orator, he always conceived them with the coolness and discretion of a philosopher. No subject was so great as to baffle his powers,—none so minute as to elude them. He could handle the telescope and the microscope with equal skill. In him, the haughty demagogues of the Legislature found an antagonist who never failed to foil them in their bold projects, and the intriguers of lower degree were baffled with equal certainty, whenever they attempted to get any petty measure through the House for their own personal gratification, or that of their friends. The people, therefore, justly regarded him as emphatically their own."

At the session of 1809–'10, CLAY was again sent to the United States Senate. He had been there but a short time, before it became apparent that his was one of the guiding minds that was to shape the policy of the nation. Ever the champion of home manufactures, he early took occasion to advocate his American system. A bill came up, requiring from American citizens preference for articles manufactured at home, to those imported from other markets. The speech of CLAY was an utterance of his views upon the protective system,—a subject which he studied more profoundly, perhaps, than any other American statesman. The bill was introduced, more particularly, for the purpose of instructing the Secretary of the Navy to purchase cordage, sail-cloth, and hemp, of American product and preparation. An amendment was proposed in the bill, specifying directly these articles. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, proposed to strike out the amendment. Feeling that the subject of domestic manufactures was in the range of legitimate debate, and that the time had come for the people to rouse themselves to its investigation, CLAY arose and gave his sentiments,—sentiments to which he adhered with marked faithfulness. The following extract will give an idea of the speech:

"In including the advantages of domestic manufactures, it never entered the head, I presume, of any one, to change the habits of the nation from an agricultural to a manufacturing community. No one, I am persuaded, ever thought of converting the plowshare and the sickle into the spindle and the shuttle. And yet this is the delusive and erroneous view too often taken of the subject. The opponents of the manufacturing system transport themselves to the establishments of Manchester and Birmingham, and, dwelling on the indigence, vice, and wretchedness prevailing there, by pushing it to an *extreme*, argue that its introduction into this country will necessarily be attended by the same mischievous and dreadful consequences. But what is the fact? That England is the manufacturer of a great part of the world; and that even there the numbers thus employed bear an inconsiderable proportion to the whole mass of population. Were we to become the manufacturers of other nations, effects of the same kind might result. But if we *limit* our efforts by our own wants, the evils apprehended would be found to be chimerical. The invention and improvement of machinery, for which the present age is so remarkable, dispensing, in a great degree, with manual labor; and the employment of those persons, who, if we were engaged in the pursuit of agriculture alone, would be either unproductive, or exposed to indolence and immorality; will enable us to supply our wants without withdrawing our attention from agriculture,—the first and greatest source of national wealth and happiness. A judicious American farmer, in the household way, manufactures whatever is requisite for his family. He squanders but little in the gewgaws of Europe. He presents in epitome, what the nation ought to be *in extenso*. Their manufactories should bear the same proportion, and effect the same object in relation to the whole community, which parts of his household employed in domestic manufacturing, bear to the whole family. It is certainly desirable, that the exports of the country should continue to be the surplus production of tillage, and not become those of manufacturing establishments. But it is important to diminish our imports; to furnish ourselves with clothing made by our own industry; and to cease to be dependent for the very coats we wear, upon a foreign and perhaps inimical country. The nation that imports its clothing from abroad, is but little less dependent than if it imported its bread.

"The fallacious course of reasoning urged against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and servitude produced by those of England, would equally indicate the propriety of abandoning agriculture itself. Were you to cast your eyes upon the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of feudal vassalage, you might thence draw numerous arguments, of the kind under consideration, against the pursuits of the husbandman! What would become of commerce, the favorite theme of some gentlemen, if assailed with this sort of weapons? The fraud, perjury, cupidity and corruption, with which it is unhappily too often attended, would at once produce its overthrow. In short, sir, take the black side of the picture, and every human occupation will be found pregnant with fatal objections.

"The opposition to manufacturing institutions, recalls to my recollection the case of a gentleman of whom I have heard. He had been in the habit of supplying his table from a neighboring cook and confectioner's shop, and proposed to his wife a reform in this particular. She revolted at the idea. The sight of a scullion was dreadful, and her delicate nerves could not bear the clattering of kitchen furniture. The gentleman persisted in his design; his table was thenceforth cheaper and better supplied, and his neighbor, the confectioner, lost one of his best customers. In like manner dame Commerce will oppose domestic manufactures. She is a flirting, flippant, noisy jade, and if we are governed by her fantasies, we will never put off the muslins of India and the cloths of Europe. But I trust that the yeomenry of the country, the true and genuine landlords of this tenement called the United States, disregarding her freaks, will persevere in reform until the whole national family is furnished by itself with the clothing necessary for its own use.

"It is a subject no less of curiosity than of interest, to trace the prejudices in favor of foreign fabrics. In our colonial condition, we were in a complete state of dependence on the parent country, as it respected manufactures, as well as commerce. For many years after the war, such was the partiality for her productions, in this country, that a gentleman's head could not withstand the influence of solar heat, unless covered with a London hat; his feet could not bear the pebbles, or frost, unless protected by London shoes; and the comfort or ornament of his person was only consulted when his coat was cut out by the shears of a tailor 'just

from London.' At length, however, the wonderful *discovery* has been made, that it is not absolutely beyond the reach of American skill and ingenuity to provide these articles, combining with equal elegance greater durability. And I entertain no doubt, that, in a short time, the no less important fact will be developed, that the domestic manufactories of the United States, fostered by government, and aided by household exertions, are fully competent to supply us with, at least, every necessary article of clothing. I therefore, sir, *for one* (to use the fashionable cant of the day), am in favor of encouraging them, not to the extent to which they are carried in England, but to such an extent as will redeem us entirely from all dependence on foreign countries. There is a pleasure—a pride (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity the who can not feel the sentiment), in being clad in the productions of our own families. Others may prefer the cloths of Leeds and of London, but give me those of Humphrysville."

The old charter of the United States Bank, established in 1791, would expire in 1811. The subject of its re-charter came up at the session of 1810–'11. CLAY then believed that its re-charter was beyond the powers of the Constitution, and made a powerful and logical speech in opposition. This speech caused no little sensation, particularly when, afterward, CLAY stood prominently forward as the leading advocate of a re-charter. He took occasion subsequently to say, that "During a long public life, the only great question on which I have ever changed my opinion, is that of the Bank of the United States. By the reasons assigned for the change of my opinion, I am ready to abide in the judgment of the present generation and of posterity." These reasons were given to the public in June 1816. The first was, "he was instructed to oppose the renewal of the old charter by the Legislature of the State." The second was, "he believed the corporation had, during a portion of the period of its existence, abused its powers, and sought to subserve the views of a political party. His third was, "that as the power to create a corporation, such as was proposed to be continued, was not specifically granted in the Constitution, and did not appear to him to be necessary to carry into effect any of the powers which were specifically granted, Congress was not authorized to continue the Bank." Acting under these convictions, he argued in opposition, at length, and with great force;—his influence and vote contributed largely to defeat

the bill. In 1816, he was the avowed and most potent advocate of a re-charter, and said, in regard to his course in the Senate in 1811: "I would *then* have voted for a renewal, had I foreseen what *now* exists." The power of his speech, in 1811, in opposition, is shown by an incident that occurred in 1816. CLAY made an elaborate speech in favor of renewal, and entered in detail upon the advantages accruing to the country by such a step. One of the ablest men of the opposition was pitted against him. He arose and read for his reply CLAY's own speech of 1811, from beginning to end, and took his seat. CLAY, however, beat himself and carried his point. Speaking of this change of opinion, CLAY says:

"I never, but once, changed my opinion on any great measure of national policy, or any great principle of construction of the National Constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the Federal Constitution, which had been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison, in his memorable report to the Virginia Legislature, and to them, as I understood them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the Senate of the United States, to re-charter the first bank of the United States, thirty years ago, I opposed the re-charter, upon convictions which I honestly entertained. The experience of the war which shortly followed, the condition into which the currency of the country was thrown without a bank, and, I may now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a speech in Lexington (that which I have made in the House of Representatives of the United States not having been reported), my reasons for that change, and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged, now and hereafter, by their validity."

CLAY's senatorial term expired in 1811. On his return home, he was elected to the Congress of the United States. On his first entrance into that body, he was elected speaker, almost by acclamation,—an honor never before conferred on a member who appeared, for the first time, in the House. He was elected to the position, too, at a stormy period of Congressional deliberation. The war of 1812 was agitating the public mind. The causes which led to that event have already been alluded to. To rouse the conciliatory spirit of Madison to vigorous resistance to

aggressions of England, required the firmness and persuasive eloquence of Clay, and the potent arguments of Calhonn. During the spring of 1811, twenty-seven American vessels had been captured as prizes by the British, because they did not see fit to comply with the "orders in council," originated by the Berlin decree. Because at war with themselves, England, by her "orders," and France by her "decrees," thought proper to fetter American commerce, and prostrate our maritime trade. The depredations committed upon the seas, and against our seamen, roused the energies of CLAY, who sounded the bugle-note of war. Opposition to a resort to arms was strong in the House, and nothing contributed more than his stirring appeals to overcome it. In support of Madison's occupancy of the territory to the line of the Perdido, in the winter of 1810, he said:

"Sir, is the time never to arrive, when we can manage our own affairs without the fear of insulting his Britannic majesty? Is the rod of British power to be forever suspended over our heads? Does Congress put an embargo to shelter our rightful commerce against the piratical depredations committed upon it on the ocean? We are immediately warned of the indignation of offended England. Is a law of non-intercourse proposed? the whole navy of the haughty mistress of the seas is made to thunder in our ears. Does the President refuse to continue a correspondence with their minister, who violates the decorum belonging to his diplomatic character, by giving and deliberately repeating an affront to the whole nation? We are instantly menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea, or attempt their maintenance by land,—whithersoever we turn ourselves, this phantom pursues us. Already has it had too much influence on the councils of the nation. It contributed to the repeal of the Embargo,—that dishonorable repeal which has so much tarnished the character of our government. Mr. President, I have before said on this floor, and now take occasion to remark, that I most sincerely desire peace and amity with England; that I even prefer an adjustment of all differences with her, before one with any other nation. But if she persists in a denial of justice to us, or if she avails herself of the occupation of West Florida to commence war upon us, I trust and hope that all hearts will unite in a bold and vigorous vindication of our rights."

In December, 1811, a bill was introduced providing an additional force of twenty-five thousand men; some were opposed to it,—others wished to reduce it to fifteen thousand. CLAY left the speaker's chair, and animated the House in a most eloquent appeal in favor of the bill without reduction: "The difference between those who were for fifteen thousand and those who were for twenty-five thousand men, appeared to him to resolve itself in the question merely of a short, or a protracted war; a war of vigor or a war of languor and imbecility. If a competent force be raised, the war on the continent will speedily be terminated." He was aware that it might still rage on the ocean. But where the nation could act with unquestionable success, he was in favor of a display of energy correspondent to the feeling and spirit of the country. * * * * He begged gentlemen to consider the immense extent of the United States; our vast maritime frontier, vulnerable in almost all its parts to predatory incursions, and he was persuaded they would see that a regular force of twenty-five thousand men was not much too great, during a period of war, if all designs of invading the provinces of the enemy were abandoned." He had given his voice for war, and was in favor of its vigorous prosecution, by calling into action all reasonable resources.

The army bill passed. Immediate measures were now taken to increase the navy; CLAY came to the support of a bill for that purpose, with all his ardor, sincerity, and unbending firmness. It also passed. In all these movements preliminary to hostilities, he was the leading spirit. After war was finally declared, disasters attended the American arms, and afforded the opponents of the war plausible pretexts for abusing CLAY, who had acted so prominent a part in bringing it about. "We are told," said he, in reply to those who alleged that the measure was premature, "by gentlemen in the opposition, that government has not done all that was incumbent on it to do, to avoid just complaint on the part of Great Britain; that, in particular, the certificates of protection, authorized by the act of 1796, are fraudulently used. Sir, government has done too much in granting those paper protections. I can never think of them without being shocked. They resemble the passes which the master grants to his negro slave,—'Let the bearer, Mungo, pass and re-pass without molestation.' What do they imply? That Great Britain has a right to

seize all who are not provided with them. From their very nature, they are liable to abuse on both sides. If Great Britain desires a mark by which she can know her own subjects, let her give them an ear-mark. The colors that float from the mast-head should be the credentials of our seamen. There is no safety to us, and the gentlemen have shown it, but in the rule, that all who sail under the flag (not being enemies), should be protected by the flag. It is impossible that this country ever should abandon the gallant tars, who have won for us such splendid trophies. Let me suppose that the genius of Columbia should visit one of them in his oppressor's prison, and attempt to reconcile him to his forlorn and wretched condition. She would say to him in the language of the gentlemen on the other side: 'Great Britain intends you no harm; she did not mean to impress you, but one of her own subjects; having taken you by mistake, I will remonstrate and try to prevail upon her by peaceable means to release you; but I can not, my son, fight for you.' If he did not consider this mere mockery, the poor tar would address her judgment, and say: 'You owe me my country's protection; I owe you, in return, obedience. I am no British subject; I am a native of old Massachusetts, where lived my aged father, my wife, my children; I have faithfully discharged my duty; will you refuse to do yours? Appealing to her passions, he would continue: 'I lost this eye in fighting under Truxton with the Insurgent; I got this scar before Tripoli; I broke this leg on board the Constitution, when the Guerrière struck.' If she remained still unmoved, he would break out in the accents of mingled distress and despair:

> 'Hard, hard is my fate! once I freedom enjoyed,
> Was as happy as happy could be;
> Oh how hard is my fate, how galling these chains!'

I will not imagine the dreadful catastrophe to which he would be driven, by an abandonment of him to his oppressor. It will not be, it can not be, that his country will refuse him protection."

Again he said, with vehemence, on another occasion: "An honorable peace is attainable only by an efficient war. My plan would be to call out the efficient resources of the country,—give them a judicious direction,—prosecute the war with the utmost vigor,—strike wherever we can reach the enemy, at sea or on land, and negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining

to wait for danger, meets it half way. Haughty as she is, we once triumphed over her, and if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail, let us fail like men, lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for free trade and SAILORS' RIGHTS." Thus, throughout the whole struggle, did he infuse vigor and spirit into the Legislature and the people, by his burning words and dauntless energy.

Junius defined "a clear, unblemished character, as comprehending, not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to, injury," and adds farther, that "whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety." Such a character had HENRY CLAY. Ever conciliatory and desirous of peace, his haughty soul spurned, with contempt and pride, submission to insult and injury,—individual or national. This very character was clearly exhibited through the whole contest. Exemplifying in his own language: "That patriotism that, catching its inspiration from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser groveling personal interests and feeling, animates and points to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself," as his idea of public virtue,—he felt the dignity of his country demanded resistance to injuries sustained by Great Britain. Actuated by this feeling, he gave his voice for war, and with him there were no quaking terrors, no failing energies. The result was a triumphant vindication of national dignity,—new lustre to our flag, and an honorable peace.

When hostilities were about to cease, CLAY was selected as one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. We have seen him as a citizen, as a lawyer, a legislator, a statesman,—now we are to see him as the diplomatist. In conjunction with Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, Jonathan Russell, and John Quincy Adams, CLAY met the British ministers, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, and William Adams, at Ghent. Several nice points of adjustment presented themselves. CLAY, as commissioner, evinced the rarest diplomatic skill and sagacity. After a conference of several days a treaty was consummated. The British relinquished the right of search and impressment, the navigation of the Mississippi, all jurisdiction over our Indian tribes, and

continued the privilege to us of the fisheries. Thus, every point for which we contended, and which met with such contemptuous consideration from Lord Castlereagh, before war was declared, had been procured. The peace of Ghent left America internally and externally, in a better condition that she had ever been. While at Ghent, CLAY heard of the capture of Washington. Though wishing to go to England, his manly pride deterred him. Soon after the news of the victory of New Orleans was received, "Now," said he, "I can go to England without mortification." He was received in England with the respect and consideration due to his fame and merit.

During his absence, which was protracted till 1815, he was re-elected to Congress with great enthusiasm. On his re-appearance there, he was again chosen speaker, and boldly announced his determination to defend the treaty of peace, which he did with ability and effect. We had triumphed against the arms of a nation, exultant over the powers of subjugated Europe, raised our national honor, vindicated our flag, and procured an honorable peace.

In this condition of our national affairs abroad, CLAY re-entered the House of Representatives, at the session of 1815–'16. The war had drained our finances, and developed the necessity of a national bank. Madison, in his message, recommended that measure to Congress. The subject was referred to a committee, of which Calhoun was chairman. On the 8th of January, they reported favourably. Unlike the far-famed Sangrado, CLAY was not so anxious to preserve his consistency as to overlook the welfare of the country. Notwithstanding his arguments against the Bank, in 1811, he now came forward with all his strength and influence in favor of it. Mature investigation, and the changes that had taken place, convinced him of its great necessity. He was therefore for it, regardless of the charges he knew would be brought against him. During the entire pendency of the question, he gave it hearty support. From the introduction of the report to the final charter of the Bank, in 1816, he was its conceded champion. Significant of his weight and powers is the fact, that when he was against the measure, in 1811, it was defeated, and that when advocating it in 1816, it was carried through. It was immediately after this, he voted for the Compensation bill, which created such dissatisfaction, that he was forced to canvass his dis-

trict to secure his re-election. He was returned, however, without difficulty.

At the next session, the subject of South American independence came up in the House. Clay, with all his patriotism, came forward in behalf of that people. His powerful appeals were perfectly irresistible. They were published in other languages, and read amid the clash of arms at the head of republican patriots in distant climes, to cheer them on. Merited truly, was the eloquent tribute of Alexander McClung: "Wherever abroad freedom found a votary,—that votary met in him a champion. When Greece, the classic land of Greece,—the fountain of refinement,—the birthplace of eloquence, and poetry, and liberty,—when Greece awoke from the long slumber of ages, and beat back the fading Crescent to its native East; when Macedon at last called to mind the feats of her conquering boy, and the Spartan again struck in for the land which had bred him, in Henry Clay's voice, the words of cheering rolled over the blue waters from the far West, as the greeting of the New World to the Old. When Mexico and our sister republics from the extreme South, shook off the rotted yoke of the fallen Spaniard, and Freedom's face for one brief moment, gleamed under the pale light of the Southern Cross, it was he who spoke out again to cheer and to rouse its champions. The regenerated Greek, the dusky Mexican, the Peruvian mountaineer,—all who would strike one blow for liberty, found in him a friend and an advocate. His words of cheering swept over the plains of Marathon, and came ringing back from the peaks of the Andes." The independence of the South American States, after protracted consideration of the subject, was finally recognized by our government.

But strongly as he enlisted in their cause, at the first indication of a misdirected ambition on the part of Bolivar, he wrote him, deprecating it in terms as emphatic as he had formerly expressed in behalf of the patriot.

Of all men, Clay most hated tyranny and self-ambition,—yet he was, in one sense, himself a tyrant, and eminently ambitious;—there was, however, nothing little in either. His ambition was of the highest cast. He wished the whole human race elevated, and his own country foremost. He wished to see America blessed with the best measures, and earnestly labored to be recognized as leading the van in their origination and adoption. His tyranny was

not of the Nero or Domitian cast; he did not desire to hold the rod over an empire. His jurisdiction was the proud realm of mind,—there he reigned and ruled with the will of a despot.

CLAY had exhibited so many and varied capacities of diplomacy at the treaty of Ghent, that on his return to the United States, Madison offered him the post of Minister to Russia. This he declined. He soon after advocated the appropriation of the bonus of the United States Bank to internal improvement purposes. A bill to that effect passed the House, but was vetoed by Madison upon constitutional grounds the day before he went out of office. Monroe, his successor, it was known, would take the same grounds. CLAY opposed the views of both,—believing that the clause in the Constitution, giving Congress the power to *establish* post roads, gave also that to *construct*, and that the power was implied in several grants of the instrument; he discussed the subject, at length, and with ability, March 13th, 1818. His speech was delivered upon the pendency of a resolution, declaring Congress had the power to construct military and post roads, and canals, which passed by a majority of fifteen votes. From this session also, dates the political hostilities between himself and Jackson. When Calhoun introduced his resolutions, censuring Jackson for the occupancy of the Spanish posts, and the execution of Ambristed and Arbuthnot, CLAY earnestly advocated their passage. "To you, Mr. Chairman," said he, "belongs the high privilege of transmitting, unimparied to posterity, the fair character and liberty of our country. Do you expect to execute this high trust, by trampling, or suffering to be trampled down, law, justice, the Constitution, and the rights of the people?—by exhibiting examples of inhumanity, and cruelty, and ambition? When the minions of despotism heard, in Europe, of the seizure of Pensacola, how they did chuckle, and chide the admirers of our institutions, tauntingly pointing to the demonstration of a spirit of injustice and aggrandizement, made by our country in the midst of an amicable negotiation. Behold, said they, the conduct of those who are constantly reproaching kings. You saw how those admirers were astounded and hung their heads. You saw, too, when that illustrious man, who presides over us, adopted his pacific, moderate and just course, how they once more lifted up their heads, with exultation and delight beaming on their countenances. And you saw how those minions, themselves, were finally com-

pelled to unite in the general praises bestowed upon our government. Beware how you forfeit this exalted character. Beware how you give a fatal sanction, in the infant period of our Republic, scarcely yet two score years old, to military insubordination. Remember that Greece had her Alexander, Rome her Cæsar, England her Cromwell, France her Bonaparte, and that if we would escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors."

Jackson never forgave him for his course in regard to the matter. When he went to Washington, he refused all intercourse and correspondence with him. Their political enmity continued through life, sometimes with a warmth and intensity not fully justifiable by the facts in the case, and almost inconsistent with their great abilities and relations with the government. That they never could agree, is readily obvious,—they differed so essentially upon every principle to be carried out for the benefit of the nation, that no unity of action could possibly have been expected. But that they should have been personally hostile, endeavoring to prostrate each other and impugning the motives of each, is a source of regret.

Clay now must be noticed as a pacificator. In 1818, the great question of slavery restriction, agitated by the application of Missouri for admission into the Union as a State, came up in Congress. The slavery question now became one of serious moment. As a part of the bill relating to Missouri, the following resolution was offered:

"*Resolved*,—That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted. And that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."

This was voted down. No farther action was had till the next session of Congress, when Missouri again knocked at the door. After several resolutions were brought forward, it was moved that a committee be appointed to report a bill prohibiting the farther introduction of slavery west of the Mississippi. After considerable discussion caused by this resolution, the following was agreed upon, which operated to restore harmony:

"*Resolved*,—That all the territory ceded by France to the

United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude, not included within the limits contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be hereby forever prohibited. *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully re-claimed and conveyed to the persons claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This was followed by the adoption of a State constitution by Missouri, in 1820, specifying that measures should be taken, on the part of the general government, to prevent the settlement of free negroes in that State. By this time, the whole country was excited upon the subject of restriction. The Senate favored the constitution adopted by Missouri, containing the free negro clause, but the House did not. In their opinion, the rights of the non-resident citizen was infringed upon. The whole matter assumed a national aspect, and was regarded as a test of the strength and feelings of the anti and pro-slavery tendencies of the two sections of the Union. Missouri being a part of the territory ceded by France, was not included in the settlement of the question,—slavery or no slavery, by the ordinance of 1787. Her destiny, therefore, decided that of all the newly acquired territory; hence the great interest and national excitement engendered by the controversy.

CLAY, who had labored faithfully to adjust all difficulties, was, in the meantime, forced to return to Lexington, by the embarrassed condition of his private affairs. In January, 1821, he resumed his legislative duties at Washington. The eyes of Congress were turned to him at once. Again he went heroically to work. Early in February, chiefly through his agency, a committee of thirteen was appointed with himself for chairman. Things were now in a more systematic condition. They brought forward the following resolution:

"*Resolved*,—That the State of Missouri be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, upon the *fundamental condition*, that the said State shall never pass any law preventing any description of persons from coming to and settling in said State, who now are, or may

hereafter become citizens of any one of the States of this Union; and *provided also*, that the Legislature of the said State, by a solemn act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an accurate copy of the said act, upon the receipt thereof, the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of said State into the Union, with the exercise of any right or power which can now be constitutionally exercised by any of the original States."

Upon this resolution, CLAY is said to have made some of the most remarkable speeches of his life. It is a source of regret they were not preserved. The resolution, however, was rejected. While the excitement was increasing, caused by the discussion as to whether the Missouri vote should be considered in the election of President, CLAY, not discouraged by the failure of the resolution, was devising means to settle the controversy. He finally presented another resolution, as follows:

"*Resolved*,—That a committee be appointed, on the part of the House, jointly with such committee as may be appointed, on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and to the House respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original States; and for the due execution of the laws within Missouri; and if not, whether any other and what provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made by law."

This was adopted. The committee consisted of twenty-three on the part of the House, CLAY laboring indefatigably to secure the appointment of such as he knew were favorable to conciliation. On conference with a similar committee from the Senate, the whole matter was adjusted by the adoption of a report similar to the resolution drawn up by the committee of thirteen. It passed, ayes eighty-seven, nays eighty-one. Thus quiet was restored to the country, and CLAY, from his active participancy in the measure, stood prominently forward as the great pacificator.

In 1824, CLAY, inopportunely doubtless, permitted his friends to bring his name before the nation as a candidate for the presidency. Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, were his competitors. No

election being made by the people, it went into the House. The responsibility of choosing between Jackson and Adams devolved upon CLAY. He voted for Adams, and was immediately assailed with relentless virulence by his political opponents. The bargain and corruption charge was then aimed to be fastened upon him, with a view to blacken his high character. This charge originated in the following card, published in the Columbian Observer:

"WASHINGTON, *January* 25, 1825.

"DEAR SIR: I take up my pen to inform you of one of the most disgraceful transactions that ever covered with infamy the republican ranks. Would you believe, that men, professing democracy, could be found base enough, to lay the ax at the very root of the tree of liberty! Yet, strange as it is, it is not less true. To give you a full history of this transaction would far exceed the limits of a letter. I shall, therefore, at once proceed to give you a brief account of such a BARGAIN, as can only be equalled by the famous *Burr conspiracy of* 1801. For some time past, the friends of CLAY have hinted, that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who pay best. Overtures were said to have been made, by the friends of Adams, to the friends of CLAY, offering him the appointment of Secretary of State, for his aid to elect Adams. And the friends of CLAY gave the information to the friends of Jackson, and hinted, that if the friends of Jackson would offer the same price, they would close with them. But none of the friends of Jackson would descend to such mean barter and sale. It was not believed by any of the friends of Jackson, that this contract would be ratified by the members from the States which voted for CLAY. I was of opinion, when I first heard of this transaction, that men, professing any honorable principles, could not, nor would not, be transferred, like the planter does his negro, or the farmer does his team of horses. No alarm was excited. We believed the Republic was safe. The nation having delivered Jackson into the hands of Congress, backed by a large majority of their votes, there was on my mind no doubt, that Congress would respond to the will of the nation, by electing the individual they had declared to be their choice. Contrary to this expectation, it is now ascertained to a certainty, that HENRY CLAY has transferred his interest to John Quincy Adams. As a con-

sideration for his abandonment of duty to his constituents, it is said and believed, should this unholy coalition prevail, CLAY is to be appointed Secretary of State. I have no fear on my mind. I am clearly of opinion, we shall defeat every combination. The force of public opinion must prevail, or there is an end of liberty."

This card, though purporting to be written by a member of Congress, appeared without the name of the author. The acceptance of the post in Adams' Cabinet, as Secretary of State, gave, in the minds of the prejudiced, additional coloring to the charge. CLAY's consenting to run for the presidency at all, in 1824, and his acceptance of the post of Secretary of State, under Adams, though no one can question his motives, were evidenty two political blunders of his life. The Observer containing the card above, was handed to CLAY while at the breakfast table. He immediately published the following indignant reply:

A CARD.

I have seen, without any other emotion than that of ineffable contempt, the abuse which has been poured upon me, by a scurrilous paper issued in this city, and by other kindred prints and persons, in regard to the presidential election. The editor of one of these prints, ushered forth in Philadelphia, called the '*Columbian Observer*,' for which I do not subscribe, and which I have never ordered, has had the impudence to transmit to me the vile paper of the 28th instant. In that number is inserted a letter, purporting to have been written from this city, on the 25th instant, by a member of the House of Representatives, belonging to the Pennsylvania delegation. I believe it to be a forgery; but if it be genuine, I pronounce the member, whoever he may be, a base and infamous calumniator, a dastard, and liar; and if he dare unvail himself, and avow his name, I will hold him responsible, as I here admit myself to be, to all the laws which govern and regulate men of honor.

H. CLAY.

31st *January*, 1825.

The above drew the following from George Kremer, avowing the authorship of the charge:

"ANOTHER CARD."

"George Kremer, of the House of Representatives, tenders his respects to the Honorable 'H. CLAY,' and informs him, that, by reference to the editor of the '*Columbian Observer*,' he may ascertain the name of the writer of a letter of the 25th ult., which, it seems, has afforded so much concern to 'H. CLAY.' In the meantime, George Kremer holds himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements, which are contained in that letter, to the extent that they concern the course and conduct of 'H. CLAY.' Being a representative of the people, he will not fear to 'cry aloud and spare not,' when their rights and privileges are at stake."

Notwithstanding the somewhat arrogant tone of this card, it is quite clear that Kremer was, after all, a dupe,—a tool in the hands of men banded together for the purpose of sullying CLAY's fair fame. Messrs Brent, Little, and Digges, all testified to the fact, that Kremer said in emphatic terms, in their presence, that he never *intended* to charge CLAY with corruption,—that he would be the last man to do so,—that his card had been differently construed from what it was designed, etc.

On reading Kremer's avowal, CLAY at once decided upon his course. Feeling that it would make him "ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of his constituents" to hold the author to personal accountability, he resolved to appeal to the House. With the dignity of true manhood and conscious innocence, he vacated the speaker's chair, and after adverting to the attempts against his character, said: "Standing in the relations of the House, which both the member from Pennsylvania and himself did, it appeared to him, that here was the proper place to institute the inquiry, in order that, if guilty, HERE the proper punishment might be applied; and if innocent, HERE his character and conduct might be vindicated. He anxiously hoped, therefore, that the House would be pleased to order an investigation to be made into the truth of the charges. Emanating from *such* a source as they did, this was the *only* notice which he could take of them. If the House should think proper to raise a committee, he trusted that some other than the ordinary mode pursued by the practice and rules of the House, would be adopted to appoint the committee."

On motion, the matter was referred to an investigating committee. The matter now assumed a bad aspect for poor Kremer. He said, however, that: "If upon investigation being instituted, it should appear that he had not sufficient reason to justify the statements he had made, he should receive the marked reprobation which had been suggested by the speaker. Let it fall where it might, he was willing to meet the inquiry and abide the result."

The investigation was had,—he did receive the reprobation,—and the result did fall where it should. CLAY received full acquittal at the bar of public opinion, and there is not now a sane man of honor in the broad land who would, or could believe a charge so gross and malicious against him.

The committee to which Kremer's charge was referred, consisted of seven members,—each of whom was CLAY's political opponent. They immediately called on Kremer. Instead of carrying out his promise "to cry aloud and spare not," various subterfuges,—"the jurisdiction of the House,"—"*his* duty to his constituents,"—"the inequality of the speaker of the House, and a member, on the floor," etc,—were resorted to. Instead of meeting the committee fairly and squarely, a labored document was prepared and submitted to them, containing not the slightest substantiation, while Kremer remained in "profound silence," and still profounder insignificance.

The entrance of CLAY upon his duties as Secretary of State, gave fresh impulse for a time to the charges by his enemies, who fancied they could be urged with more plausibility. Speaking afterward of his acceptance of the post, CLAY used the following language:

"I will take this occasion," said he in his speech, upon his retirement to private life, "to say, that I am, and have been long satisfied, that it would have been wiser and more politic in me, to have declined accepting the office of Secretary of State, in 1825. Not that my motives were not as pure and patriotic, as ever carried any man into public office. Not that the calumny, which was applied to the fact, was not as gross and unfounded as any that was ever propagated. Not that valued friends and highly esteemed opponents did not unite, in urging my acceptance of the office. Not that the administration of Mr. Adams will not, I sincerely believe, advantageously compare with that of any of his predecessors, in economy, purity, prudence and wisdom. Not

that Mr. Adams was himself wanting, in any of those high qualifications, and upright patriotic intentions, which were suited to the office. But my error, in accepting the office, arose out of my underrating the power of detraction and ignorance, and abiding, with too sure a confidence, in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives."

For years, the matter afforded fruitful source of bitter attack from his enemies. It was revived in 1844, and reiterated through the Union during that presidential campaign. Jackson himself affirmed, that the overture spoken of in Kremer's card was made, and asserts that, "Before HE would reach the presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, he would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. CLAY and himself with them." From all the evidences at hand, on both sides, it is safe to say that if any such an overture was made, CLAY was ignorant of the fact, and that James Buchanan was the bearer of it.

After agitating the public mind with high intensity, for some time, the excitement occasioned by the corruption charge somewhat subsided. Another presidential election, however, began to approach, and Jackson being again a candidate, it was renewed with the same spirit of bitterness. The following anonymous letter, purporting to have been from Nashville, Tennessee, and fresh from the Hermitage, appeared in the Fayetteville Observer, South Carolina, in March, 1827:

"NASHVILLE, *March* 8th, 1827.

"I have just returned from General Jackson's. I found a crowd of company with him. Seven Virginians were of the number. He gave me a good, friendly reception, and urged me to stay some days longer with him. He told me this morning, *before all his company*, in reply to a question I put to him concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the presidency, that Mr. CLAY's *friends* made a proposition to *his* friends, that if they would promise *for him* [General Jackson] *not* to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Mr. CLAY and his friends would, *in one hour*, make *him* [Jackson] the president. He [General Jackson] most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromit himself; and unless most openly and fairly made the president by Congress, he would never receive it. He declared, that he said to them, he would see the whole earth sink under them, before he would *bargain* or intrigue for it."

The authorship of this letter was traced to Carter Beverly, who being thus brought prominently forward in the controversy, applied by letter to Jackson for substantiation, which the General in his reply did not fail to furnish, though he said the conversation was never designed for the "public journals." Speaking of this emanation from a circle of select friends gathered at the home of Jackson, CLAY said:

"During the dispensation of the hospitalities of the Hermitage, in the midst of a mixed company of individuals, from various States, he permits himself to make certain statements, respecting my friends and me, which, if true, would forever dishonor and degrade us. The words are hardly passed from his mouth, before they are committed to paper, by one of his guests, and transmitted, in form of a letter, to another State, when they are published in a newspaper, and thence circulated through the Union. And now he pretends that these statements were made, without any calculation that they were to be thrown into the 'public journals.' Does he reprove the indiscretion of this guest, who had violated the sanctity of a conversation at the hospitable board? Far from it. The public is incredulous. It can not be, General Jackson would be so wanting in delicacy and decorum. The guest appeals to him for the confirmation of the published statements, and the General promptly addresses him a letter, 'in which he unequivocally confirms' (says Mr. Carter Beverly), 'all I have said, regarding the overture made to him, pending the last presidential election before Congress; and he *asserts a great deal more than he ever told me.*'"

The following letter from Carter Beverly, written in 1842, does justice to CLAY, and is a virtual disavowal, on his part, of any belief of the charges against the statesman contained in his Fayetteville correspondence, as detailed in conversation at the Hermitage:

"FREDERICKSBURG, VA., *April* 2d, 1842.

"DEAR SIR:—On my arrival here yesterday I received your reply to my letter of February last, from Middlesex, and feel glad to find that the communication I then made to you was well received, and kindly acknowledged.

"It is assuredly a matter of high satisfaction to me to believe, that I discharged the obligation which feeling and duty dictated, in doing the justice I designed, of effacing the indignity cast upon

you by the unfortunate, and to me unhappy Fayetteville letter, that was, and has been so much the subject of injury to you, in the public mind. It is now, I trust, put entirely to rest in the minds of all honorable and candid men, of whatever political persuasion; for surely none can, or will henceforward presume to countenance the miserable slander that went forth in that communication to the public against you. The entire revocation of it given by me ought to overwhelm the author of it with utter shame and mortification; and if I had any right to say, were I in his situation, it would be my province, as it should be an incumbent duty on me, to make every atonement possible for such an unfounded, unprovoked attack upon your integrity and public fame.

"Believing that your letter to me, and this my reply, are calculated to benefit you in the public mind, I have sent both to 'The Richmond Whig' and 'Independent' for publication.

"I reiterate expressions of health and happiness to you, and remain yours, etc."

HENRY CLAY lived to triumph over the wily machinations of his foes, and place himself above the reproaches of slander and detraction; to see monuments to his memory erected along the waysides of the nation,—himself first of all his cotemporaries in the hearts of the people. The charge of corruption has long since been silenced, and henceforth let him who dare revive it, be branded as the calumniator of a mighty statesman, whose every motive, during his entire political life, was pure and patriotic.

That CLAY should have preferred voting for Adams or Crawford, to Jackson, under any and all circumstances, was quite natural,—and his elevation to a prominent place in the cabinet, in the event of the defeat of the Democratic candidate, was equally so. CLAY, when he entered upon the discharge of his cabinet duties was anxious for the success of the Panama convention, noticed before, designed for the purpose of promoting international fraternity, and thought the time had come for its assemblage. The President favored the project, and labored with him. John Randolph was opposed, and in reply to one of CLAY's speeches, denounced him as a blackleg. This led to a duel between them, for particulars of which, reference is made to the sketch of John Randolph.

We now pass to other events. In 1824, when the bill recommending a high protective tariff was introduced, CLAY came forward as its sternest advocate. Thoroughly imbued with the idea of protection to home industry, and with a full knowledge of all the branches of that great national topic, he was prepared to compete with the wormest of the opposition. The result of his labors and those of his competitors, was the passage of the tariff of 1824. It was followed by the rebellions exhibitions of South Carolina, and was the initiatory step to nullification on her part; the issue of which, was the prompt interposition of Jackson, who prepared to enforce the laws, and who would, it was seriously apprehended, arrest Calhoun and Hayne, and bombard Charleston. Again the country was rent by dissensions, and patriots made stirring appeals for conciliation. John Randolph, old and feeble, lifted in and out of his carriage, made speeches through the country: "Gentlemen," said he, on one occasion in impressive warning, "I am filled with the most gloomy apprehensions for the fate of the Union. I can not express to you how deeply I am penetrated with a sense of the danger which at this moment threatens its existence. If Madison filled the executive chair, he might be bullied into some compromise. If Monroe was in power, he might be coaxed into some adjustment of this difficulty. But Jackson is obstinate and fond of fight. I fear matters must come to an open rupture. If so, the Union is gone!" But after a long pause, he added: "There is one man, and one man only, who can save this Union; that man is HENRY CLAY. I know he has the power. I believe he will be found to have the patriotism and firmness equal to the occasion." This prediction was verified. The tariff of 1824, and the legislation on the subject of 1828, left everything unsettled. CLAY retiring from the Cabinet, had returned to Ashland. Not long inactive, the Legislature of Kentucky again sent him to the Senate. He reached the Capitol very opportunely, and in January 1831, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines and silks, and that those ought to be reduced; and that the committee on finance be instructed to report a bill accordingly."

The substance of this resolution was embodied in a bill adopted

in July following. · Soon after, followed the before-mentioned excitements, in South Carolina,—her ordinance and inflammatory meetings. Verging to a civil war, CLAY again stepped forward as pacificator, and elaborated the compromise tariff of 1833. During the discussion of this measure, Randolph, by request, was carried to the Senate. When CLAY began his speech, he exclaimed: "Help me up! help me up! I came here to hear that voice."

The compromise tariff embraced the following:

"The first principle was, that there should be a fixed rate of ad valorem duty, and discriminations below it.

"Second, that the excess of duty beyond twenty per centum, should, by a gradual process, commencing on the 31st of December, 1833, be reduced, so that by the 30th of June, 1842, it should be brought down to twenty per centum.

"Third, that after that day, *such duties should be laid* for the purpose of raising *such* revenue as might be necessary for an economical administration of the government; consequently excluding all resort to internal taxation, or to the proceeds of the public lands; for, cotemporaneously with the pendency of the act, a bill was pending for the distribution of these proceeds.

"Fourth, that after the 30th of June, 1842, all duties should be paid, in ready money, to the exclusion of all credits.

"Fifth, that after the same day, the assessment of the value of all imports should be made at home and not abroad.

"Sixth, that after the same day, a list of articles specified and enumerated in the act, should be admitted free of duty, for the benefit of the manufacturing interests."

Such was the compromise tariff. It was not designed, however, as might seem, at first glance, to prohibit forever, the imposition of higher duties than twenty per cent. True, it was thought, that twenty per cent., might be sufficient, with a rigid economy, to furnish revenue. A threatened excess of revenue, produced the clause, freeing altogether certain articles from duty. These were silks, wines, and some others, coming under the head of luxuries. After much labor and solicitude the measure passed both Houses, and became a law in March, 1833. Nullification died away, and quiet was again restored to the country.

Meantime another presidential election had taken place. Several States had long signified a preference for CLAY for the presidency, while in Kentucky, he was the standing choice of the people. In

1831, he was again brought forward against Jackson. The old charge of corruption was resuscitated and industriously circulated against him. He had not then outlived the vile slander, and was beaten by an immense majority. The accession of Jackson to the presidency, opened a new era in the political history of the country. Among the first measures, was the veto of the bill re-chartering the United States Bank; this was followed by a veto of the bill providing for the distribution of the public lands among the States. Thus, two of CLAY's favorite measures were quashed by a dash of the executive pen, against the will of majorities of both Houses of the people's representatives. Soon after, the subject of removing the deposits came up. Notwithstanding the passage of resolutions in Congress, to the effect, that the deposits were safe in the custody of the United States Bank, he determined to have them removed. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, not feeling justified in performing the work, was in no amicable mood displaced, and Roger B. Taney was appointed in his stead. Obeying the instructions of the President, he had the deposits removed. The Secretary, after removing the deposits, made a report to Congress, assigning reasons for his course,—a reiteration of those contained in Jackson's message, hoping to establish conviction that he was right. He failed signally. CLAY, on the 26th of December, 1833, offered in the Senate, the following resolutions of censure:

"*Resolved*,—That by dismissing the late Secretary of the Treasury, because he would not, contrary to his own sense of his duty, remove the money of the United States, on deposit with the Bank of the United States and its branches, in conformity with the President's opinion, and by appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done, the President has assumed the exercise of a power over the treasury of the United States, not granted to him by the Constitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"*Resolved*,—That the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the removal of the money of the United States, deposited in the Bank of the United States, and its branches, communicated to Congress on the 3d of December, 1833, are unsatisfactory and insufficient."

These resolutions were moved with characteristic firmness and intrepidity. They were followed by long and heated appeals and

discussions. Embodied in the following resolution, they finally passed by a vote of twenty-six to twenty, March 28th, 1834:

"*Resolved*,—That the President, in the late executive proceedings, in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

Removal of the deposits was succeeded by general depression and unexampled financial distresses. The rapid decline of property and prostration of business were felt throughout the Union. The halls of Congress were flooded with petitions from all quarters, couched in painful terms, praying relief. CLAY, fully roused to his giant proportions, led the fight against the administration. His appeals were eloquent, warm, and glowing from the heart.

"In twenty-four hours," said he to vice-President Van Buren, "the executive branch could adopt a measure which would afford an efficacious and substantial remedy, and re-establish confidence. And those who, in this chamber, support the administration, could not render a better service than to repair to the executive mansion, and, placing before the chief magistrate the naked and undisguised truth, prevail upon him to retrace his steps and abandon his fatal experiment. No one, sir, can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. You can, if you will, induce him to change his course. To you, then, sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the President, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him, without exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone, by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that *his* experiment is operating on the nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal in an exhausted receiver, and that it must expire in agony, if he does not pause, give it free and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the people to be revived and restored.

"Tell him that in a single city more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of upward of fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Tell him of the alarming decline in the value of all

property; of the depreciation of all the products of industry; of the stagnation in every branch of business, and of the close of numerous manufacturing establishments, which, a few short months ago, were in active and flourishing operation. Depict to him, if you can find language to portray, the heart-rending wretchedness of thousands of the working-classes cast out of employment. Tell him of the tears of helpless widows, no longer able to earn their bread; and of unclad and unfed orphans, who have been driven by his policy, out of the busy pursuits in which, but yesterday, they were gaining an honest livelihood.

"Say to him, that if firmness be honorable, when guided by truth and justice, it is intimately allied to another quality of the most pernicious tendency, in the prosecution of an erroneous system. Tell him how much more true glory is to be won by retracing false steps, than by blindly rushing on until his country is overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. Tell him of the ardent attachment, the unbounded devotion, the enthusiastic gratitude toward him, so often signally manifested by the American people, and that they deserve, at his hands, better treatment. Tell him to guard himself against the possibility of an odious comparison, with that worst of the Roman emperors, who, contemplating with indifference the conflagration of the mistress of the world, regaled himself during the terrific scene, in the throng of his dancing courtiers.

"If you desire to secure for yourself the reputation of a public benefactor, describe to him truly the universal distress already produced, and the certain ruin which must ensue from perseverance in his measures. Tell him he has been abused, deceived, betrayed, by the wicked counsels of unprincipled men around him. Inform him that all efforts in Congress, to alleviate or terminate the public distress, are paralyzed and likely to prove totally unavailing, from his influence upon a large portion of the members who are unwilling to withdraw their support, or to take a course repugnant to his wishes and feelings. Tell him that, in his bosom alone, under actual circumstances, does the power abide to relieve the country; and that, unless he opens it to conviction, and corrects the errors of his administration, no human imagination can conceive, and no human tongue can express the awful consequences which may follow. Entreat him to pause and to reflect, that there is a point beyond which human endurance can

not go; and let him not drive this brave, generous and patriotic people to madness and despair."

Such was the language used by the noble orator in behalf of the people. His earnest fervor and impassioned appeals showed that he was patriotic,—actuated by no motives of personal strife, nor urged on by the lash of disappointed ambition.

The conflict between himself and the President having begun, was carried on without abatement, and formed the main feature of legislative deliberation during the period of the bank excitement. The acknowledged champions and leaders of the two opposing parties, each unbending in his own opinions, of indomitable courage and unflinching will, and differing widely in their views of national policy, whenever they came in contact,—which was often,—a fierce struggle ensued. Though CLAY ruled undisputed master in Congress, the executive prerogative gave his antagonist the advantage, of which he availed himself on every occasion. In 1834, in addition to other subjects, the French spoliations came up for legislative consideration. By the treaty of 1831, the sum of twenty-five millions of francs was stipulated to be paid to the United States by France, for injuries sustained by our commerce during the late wars between France and England. Jackson, in consequence of the agreement not being complied with according to the treaty stipulations, was in favor of reprisals upon the French. CLAY was, at that time, chairman of the committee of foreign affairs, and fearing that such a course would bring about an open and immediate rupture, offered a resolution to the effect, "that it was inexpedient at this time to pass any law vesting in the President authority for making reprisals upon French property, in the contingency of provision not being made for paying the United States the indemnity stipulated by the treaty of 1831, during the existing session in the French Chambers." Thus, with the courage of a Horatio Cocles, standing alone at the bridge to beat back the menial legions of Porsenna, he stood upon his cherished principles, resisting executive encroachment, till nothing but the wrecks of his life labors remained. Though he was beaten by the power of prerogative, his labors were not barren of good results. Just such a man as CLAY was needed to hold in check the impulsive will and energetic action of the President.

The curtailment of national expenses, the arrest of a headlong

march to national bankruptcy, and the maintenance of a conservative, yet high national ground were to him objects of primary consideration. As a statesman and party leader, his life was one ceaseless round of conflict. Never perhaps in the history of the world was any one man engaged in so many hard struggles for political ascendency without loss to his fame or his principles.

His resolution of censure on Jackson, though they passed by good majorities, were not done with. In February, 1835, the friends of the administration having increased in number, Thomas H. Benton brought in a resolution, expunging the one of March 28th, 18[illegible], censuring the President for removing the deposits. It was voted down by a heavy majority. But the energetic Jacksonian was not discouraged, and urged it upon the Senate from time to time, until 1837. CLAY battled against it. "What patriotic purpose," he exclaims, "is to be accomplished by this expunging resolution? Can you make that not to be which has been? Can you eradicate from memory and from history the fact, that in March, 1834, a majority of the Senate of the United States passed the resolution which excites your enmity? Is it your vain and wicked object to arrogate to yourselves that power of annihilating the past, which has been denied to Omnipotence itself? Do you intend to thrust your hands into our hearts, and to pluck out the deeply-rooted convictions which are there? or is it your design merely to stigmatize us? You can not agitate us.

'Ne'er yet did base dishonor blur our name.'

Standing securely upon our conscious rectitude, and bearing aloft the shield of the Constitution of our country, your puny efforts are impotent, and we defy all your power. Put the majority of 1834 in one scale, and that by which this expunging resolution is to be carried in the other, and let truth and justice, in heaven above and on the earth below, and liberty and patriotism decide the preponderance.

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging? Is it to appease the wrath, and to heal the wounded pride of the chief magistrate? If he be really the hero that his friends represent him, he must despise all mean condescensions, all grovelling sycophancy, all self-degradation and self-abasement. He would reject with scorn and contempt, as unworthy of his fame, your black scratches, and your baby lines in the fair records of his country. Black lines! Black lines! Sir, I hope the

Secretary of the Senate will preserve the pen with which he may inscribe them, and present it to that Senator of the majority whom he may select, as a proud trophy, to be transmitted to his descendants. And hereafter, when we shall lose the forms of our free institutions,—all that now remain to us,—some future American monarch, in gratitude to those by whose means he has been enabled, upon the ruins of civil liberty, to erect a throne, and to commemorate especially this expunging resolution, may institute a new order of knighthood, and confer on it the appropriate name of the 'knight of the black lines.'

"But why should I detain the Senate, or needlessly waste my breath in fruitless exertions? The decree has gone forth. It is one of urgency, too. The deed is to be done; that foul deed, like the blood-stained hands of the guilty Macbeth, all ocean's waters will never wash out. Proceed, then, to the noble work which lies before you, and like other skillful executioners, do it quickly. And when you have perpetrated it, go home to the people and tell them what glorious honors you have achieved for our common country. Tell them that you have extinguished one of the brightest and purest lights that ever burned at the altar of civil liberty. Tell them that you have silenced one of the noblest batteries that ever thundered in defense of the Constitution, and bravely spiked the cannon. Tell them that, henceforward, no matter what daring or outrageous act any President may perform, you have forever hermetically sealed the mouth of the Senate. Tell them that he may fearlessly assume what power he pleases; snatch from its lawful custody the public purse, command a military detachment to enter the halls of the Capitol, overawe Congress, trample down the Constitution, and raze every bulwark of freedom; but that the Senate must stand mute, in silent submission, and not dare to raise its opposing voice. That it must wait until a House of Representatives, humbled and subdued like itself, and a majority of it composed of the partisans of the President, shall prefer articles of impeachment. Tell them finally, that you have restored the glorious doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and if the people do not pour out their indignation and imprecations, I have yet to learn the character of American freemen."

In spite of such appeals and his persistent opposition, the expunging resolution passed the Senate on the 19th of January, by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen.

After the passage of the expunging resolution, and during the presidency of Van Buren, the sub-treasury measure was recommended by the executive,—providing that the only currency receivable for government dues should be gold and silver. Again CLAY threw himself forward in opposition. He resisted this scheme at every inch of its progress through the Senate, until its final passage in July, 1840.

Although many measures of public policy that CLAY urged as essential to the welfare of the nation, did not meet with success, there was no drooping of energies, no depression of spirits or fading of hope. Proudly conscious of the correctness of his opinions, and reposing unlimited faith in the intelligence of his countrymen, he still resolved to fight on in anticipation of ultimate victory. A change of rulers was soon to take place, and he felt that what he conceived a yoke of oppression would grind the people into rebellion. His expectations were not altogether vain. Signs of the times began clearly to indicate that Jackson and Van Buren were closing their political careers. In the uprising of the people was seen the coming of a different day. Bright hopes were formed by the Whig party; a realization of which, as will be seen, was only prevented by the apostasy of Tyler from ripening into maturity.

At the national convention which met at Harrisburg, in 1840, Harrison and Tyler were nominated as candidates for President and vice-President. This was the period when the Whig party should have brought CLAY forward as their standard-bearer. Feeling, however, that the military fame of Harrison would best insure success, the just claims of CLAY were thrown aside. Notwithstanding his disappointment in the action of his party, CLAY gallantly and patriotically gave his support to the ticket. The campaign was an exciting one. The exploits of the hero of Tippecanoe were rang over the land. The result was Harrison's election by an overwhelming popular majority. Believing the condition of the nation demanded immediate action, the President called an extra session of Congress, which met early in May, 1841. The death of the President put an end to the high hopes entertained of his administration by the Whigs. On that event, Tyler succeeded to the Presidency. His first step was to issue an address to the people of the United States, in which he said: "I shall promptly give my sanction to any constitutional measure,

which, originating in Congress, shall have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium, *so essentially* necessary to give confidence in all the transactions of life, to secure *to industry its just and accurate reward, and to re-establish the public prosperity.* In deciding upon the adoption of any such measure to the end proposed, *as well as its conformity to the Constitution,* I shall resort to *the fathers of the great Republican school* for advice and instruction, to be drawn from their sage views of our system of government, and the light of their ever *glorious example.*"

Upon the inauguration of the new administration, the party in power commenced efforts to bring about a change of national policy. The abolishment of the sub-treasury, and the enactment of a bankrupt law designed to relieve the distresses of the country, were among the first measures adopted at the extra session. In both of these, CLAY acted a prominent part. Believing, as they had a right to do, from the election and subsequent declarations in the address just referred to, that Tyler would carry out the views of the Whig party, a bill establishing a national bank was adopted. The bill passed both Houses, and CLAY at last seemed about arriving at a point when his cherished measures would be adopted by the American people. Not so, however. Much to the surprise of all, the bill was returned with the President's veto. CLAY's voice was again heard in remonstrance against this exercise of executive power. Referring to that part of Tyler's address, just quoted, he said:

"To this clause in the address of the President, I believe but one interpretation was given throughout the whole country, by friend and foe, by Whig and Democrat, and by the presses of both parties. It was, by every man with whom I conversed on the subject at the time of its appearance, or of whom I have since inquired, construed to mean that the President intended to occupy the Madison ground, and to regard the question of the power to establish a national bank as immovably settled. And I think I may confidently appeal to the Senate and to the country, to sustain the fact, that this was the cotemporaneous and unanimous judgment of the public. Reverting back to the period of the promulgation of the address, could any other construction have been given to its language? What is it? 'I shall *promptly* give my sanction to any constitutional measures, which, *originating in*

Congress,' shall have certain defined objects in view." The continuation of his speech was a searching review of the reasons assigned, and denunciation of Tyler for his veto of the bill. "But what further shall we do?" he asked. "Never, since I have enjoyed the honor of participating in the public councils of the nation, a period of nearly thirty-five years, have I met Congress under more happy or more favorable auspices. Never have I seen a House of Representatives animated by more patriotic dispositions; more united, more determined, more business-like. Not even that House which declared war in 1812, nor that which, in 1815–'16, laid broad and deep foundations of national prosperity, in adequate provisions for a sound currency, by the establishment of a bank of the United States, for the payment of the national debt, and for the protection of American industry. This House has solved the problem of the competency of a large deliberative body to transact the public business. If happily there had existed a concurrence of opinion and cordial co-operation between the different departments of the government, and all the members of the party, we should have carried every measure contemplated at the extra session, which the people had a right to expect from our pledges, and should have been, by this time, at our respective homes. We are disappointed in one, and an important one, of that series of measures; but shall we therefore despair? Shall we abandon ourselves to unworthy feelings and sentiments? Shall we allow ourselves to be transported by rash and intemperate passions and counsels? Shall we adjourn, and go home in disgust? No! No! No! A higher, nobler, and more patriotic career lies before us. Let us here, at the east end of Pennsylvania avenue, do our duty, our whole duty, and nothing short of our duty, toward our common country. We have repealed the sub-treasury. We have passed a bankrupt law,—a beneficent measure of substantial and extensive relief. Let us now pass the bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, the revenue bill, and the bill for the benefit of the oppressed people of this District. Let us do all, let us do everything we can for the public good. If we are finally disappointed in our hopes of giving to the country a bank, which will once more supply it with a sound currency, still let us go home and tell our constituents, that we did all we could under actual circumstances, and that, if we did not carry every measure for their relief, it was

only because to do so was impossible. If nothing can be done at this extra session, to put upon a more stable and satisfactory basis the currency and exchanges of the country, let us hope that hereafter some way will be found to accomplish that most desirable object, either by an amendment of the Constitution, limiting and qualifying the enormous executive power, and especially the veto, or by increased majorities in the two Houses of Congress, competent to the passage of wise and salutary laws, the President's objections notwithstanding.

"This seems to me to be the course now incumbent upon us to pursue; and by conforming to it, whatever may be the result of laudable endeavors, now in progress or in contemplation in relation to a new attempt to establish a bank, we shall go home bearing no self-reproaches for neglected or abandoned duty."

Tyler seemed to make it his especial business to veto the very measures forming the issue of the previous campaign, and for the promotion of which, he was elevated to his position. Every member of his Cabinet resigned, except Webster, who was prevented from doing so by important foreign negotiations. A member of Congress from Kentucky, defined the administration as "a parenthesis in the history of the country, enclosed between black lines or brackets, which should be pronounced in a low tone of voice, and might be left out altogether without injuring the sense." Clayton said, "that corruption and Tyler, and Tyler and corruption would stick together as long as Cataline and treason."

The exercise of executive prerogative by Tyler and his immediate predecessors, induced the belief, on the mind of CLAY, of a necessity of its restriction. He favored the limitation of the presidential office to one term, and a provision prohibiting the appointment of members of either House of Congress to office,—also the selection of the Secretary of the Treasury by Congress.

Again he had been disappointed in the hopes formed in 1841. During the labors of the Twenty-seventh Congress, CLAY had put forth his strongest efforts,—rallying friends to the support of measures doomed to overthrow by the will of the President.

Soon after, CLAY resigned his seat in the Senate. Before that event, however, he made another effort in behalf of protection. The time limited for the compromise tariff of 1833, was soon to expire, and the subject again came up for discussion. The result was the adoption of the tariff of 1841, in which he took an influential part.

His services in procuring its passage closed, for the present, his senatorial labors. Having mingled in the political strifes and conflicts of his country during the most stormy periods of its history, he felt anxious to enjoy the quiet and seclusion of Ashland. It may not be out of place here, to give his views at the time, upon some of the leading features of national policy. They are partly embraced in some resolutions submitted to Congress, more with a view of subsequent consideration and benefit, than present passage. The first resolution said:

"That it is the duty of the general government for conducting its administration, to provide an adequate revenue within the year, to meet the current expenses of the year; and that any expedient, either by loan or treasury notes, to supply, in time of peace, a deficiency of revenue, especially during successive years, is unwise, and must lead to pernicious consequences."

The second resolution says: "That such an adequate revenue can not be obtained by duties on foreign imports, without adopting a higher rate than twenty per centum, as provided for in the compromise act, which, at the time of its passage, was supposed and assumed as a rate that would supply a sufficient revenue for an economical administration of the government."

The third resolution asserted: "That the rate of duties on foreign imports, ought to be augmented beyond the rate of twenty per cent., so as to produce a net revenue of twenty-six millions of dollars,—twenty-two for the ordinary expenses of the government, two for the payment of the existent debt, and two millions as a reserved fund for contingencies."

The fourth resolution affirmed: "That in the adjustment of a tariff to raise an amount of twenty-six millions of revenue, the principles of the compromise should generally be adhered to; and that especially a maximum rate of ad valorem should be established, from which there ought to be as little departure as possible."

The fifth having reference to the public lands, in connection with the subject of revenue, said: "That the provision in the act of the extra session for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, requiring the operation of that act to be suspended in the contingency of a higher rate of duty than twenty per centum, ought to be repealed."

This resolution also affirmed: "That it is the duty of government, at all times, but more especially in a season such as now

exists, of general embarrassment and pecuniary distress, to abolish all useless institutions and officers, to curtail all unnecessary expenses, and to practice rigid economy."

The seventh resolution declared: "That the contingent expenses of the two Houses of Congress, ought to be greatly reduced; and the mileage of members of Congress ought to be regulated and more clearly defined."

The eighth resolution said: "That the expenses of the judicial department have, of late years, been greatly increased, and ought to be diminished." Of the same tenor the ninth suggested: "That the diplomatic relations of the United States with foreign powers, have been unnecessarily extended during the last twelve years, and ought to be reduced."

The tenth resolution declared: "That the franking privilege ought to be further restricted, the abusive uses of it restrained and punished, the postage on letters reduced, the mode of estimating distances more clearly defined and prescribed, and a small addition to postage made on books, pamphlets and packages, transmitted by the mail, to be graduated and increased according to their respective weights."

The eleventh and last resolution of the series recommended, retrenchment of government expenses, and the abolition of all superfluous offices, to keep up which, required the funds of the nation.

On the 21st of March, 1852, he resigned his seat in the United States Senate, and closed, forever, as he thought, one of the most brilliant and active careers ever exhibited in that body. He delivered his valedictory with deep feeling, and amid profound silence. It closed as follows:

"In retiring, as I am about to do, forever, from the Senate, suffer me to express my heartfelt wishes that all the great and patriotic objects of the wise framers of our Constitution may be fulfilled; that the high destiny designed for it may be fully answered; and that its deliberations, now and hereafter, may eventuate in securing the prosperity of our beloved country, in maintaining its rights and honor abroad, and upholding its interests at home. I retire, I know, at a period of infinite distress and embarrassment. I wish I could take my leave of you under more favorable auspices; but, without meaning, at this time, to say whether on any or on whom reproaches for the sad con-

dition of the country should fall, I appeal to the Senate and to the world to bear testimony to my earnest and continued exertions to avert it, and to the truth that no blame can justly attach to me.

"May the most precious blessings of heaven rest upon the whole Senate and each member of it, and may the labors of every one redound to the benefit of the nation and the advancement of his own fame and renown. And when you shall retire to the bosom of your constituents, may you receive that most cheering and gratifying of human rewards,—their cordial greeting of 'well done, good and faithful servant.'

"And now, Mr. President, and senators, I bid you all a long, a lasting, and a friendly farewell."

John J. Crittenden, his successor, being duly qualified, took his seat. The Senate then very appropriately adjourned,—no dis position prevailing to attend to business. Even CLAY's bitterest opponents were overcome and gave way to their emotions. Calhoun, it is said, walked across the hall and extended his hand: he and CLAY were both so deeply affected that not a word was spoken

He now retired to his home and was received into the midst of his old friends with enthusiasm, and demonstrations of affection and gratitude. A barbecue was given him in the county, at which thousands gathered to do him homage. He remained at Ashland, enjoying the quiet and repose so much needed, until again called by the voice of the nation to her councils. The Baltimore Whig convention, which met to select a candidate for the Presidency in 1844, unanimously made choice of HENRY CLAY,—Theodore Frelinghuysen was placed on the ticket for vice-President. His nomination was received with every conceivable demonstration of joy. The canvass opened vigorously and enthusiastically. The leading issue was the annexation of Texas,—his opponent, James K. Polk, being understood as the advocate of that measure. It became a question of great moment. CLAY wrote his celebrated Raleigh letter, taking grounds against annexation. To this, mainly may be ascribed his defeat; his position on the subject is fairly regarded as his fourth, last, and greatest political mistake;—a large portion of the people of the country preferring the possession of the vast territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande, and stretching from the Gulf to the Pacific, to the exercise of individual choice between the candidates. CLAY was beaten in the canvass. Which of the two

parties was the more surprised at the result, would be difficult to determine. Bitter disappointment and gloom prevailed throughout the country when the result became known. Nowhere was it more clearly manifest than in Kentucky. Proud of her adopted son, she had long wished to see the first honors of a nation he had served so faithfully, deck his brow. The State electors deposited their votes at Frankfort, and repaired to Ashland, to give him regrets. Mr. Underwood, afterward his firm and patriotic colleague, as head of the delegation, delivered a brief address on the occasion.

Mr. Clay, with evident emotion replied as follows: "I will not affect indifference to the personal concern I had in the political contest just determined; but unless I am greatly self-deceived, the principal attraction to me of the office of President of the United States, arose out of the cherished hope that I might be an humble instrument in the hands of Providence to accomplish public good. I desired to see the former purity of the General Government restored, and to see dangers and evils which I sincerely believed encompassed it, averted and remedied. I was anxious that the policy of the country, especially in the great department of domestic labor and industry, should be fixed and stable, and that all might know how to regulate and accommodate their conduct. And, fully convinced of the wisdom of the public measures, which you have enumerated, I hope to witness and to contribute to their adoption and establishment."

The accession of Polk to the presidency, and the almost simultaneous annexation of Texas was succeeded by the war with Mexico, which resulted in the triumph of our arms. The treaty of Gaudelupe Hidalgo brought us in possession of an immense area of territory. General Taylor came out of the contest one of the most renowned of his countrymen. Though he had never voted, or even engaged in any way in political pursuits, he attracted the eyes of the people as fitted to succeed Polk to the presidency. Notwithstanding Clay's long and able services and just claims upon his party, he was sacrificed to the hero of Buena Vista. Taylor was elected, in 1848, over his competitor, Lewis Cass, and by a heavy majority. The inauguration of his official term was followed by one of the most stormy and perilous periods of legislation recorded in our political history. Clay was again called to the Senate by the legislative voice of his State. Thereal-

aged and infirm, and thrice rejected by his country, he buried all personal considerations. It was enough for him to know that the nation's peace was imperiled. As he entered, for the last time, the scene of his proudest triumphs,—"Broken with the storms of state, wounded and scathed in many a fiery conflict, that aged, worn, and decayed body, in such mournful contrast with the never-dying strength of his giant spirit, he seemed a proud and sacred, though a crumbling monument of past glory." He went there, too, to fight his last battle, when the country most needed his services. California had adopted an anti-slavery constitution, and demanded admission into the Union under its provisions. The Texas boundary question afforded cause of additional excitement. The assumption of the State debts by the Federal government was earnestly demanded. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was called for by the North. Provision for the recovery of fugitives from labor was demanded by the South. The question of slavery or no slavery in the newly acquired territories, and the fierce struggle for the balance of power between the two sections of the Union, incident to the adjustment of the matter, created just cause of alarm. Such was the complicated state of national affairs when CLAY re-entered the Senate. Again his undimmed eye flashed over the scene. Again his erect, though weakened form, threw about him all its wonted charms, while his fervid eloquence bore down all opposition. He brought forward his measures of compromise, and amidst the angry sectional animosities at work in the Capitol, thus urged upon the Senate their adoption.

"Mr. President," he said, after reading and commenting upon the resolutions which he had drawn up, "you have before you the whole series of resolutions, the whole scheme of arrangement and accommodation of these distracting questions, which I have to offer, after having bestowed on these subjects the most anxious, intensely anxious, consideration ever since I have been in this body. How far it may prove acceptable to both or either of the parties on these great questions, it is not for me to say. I think it ought to be acceptable to both. There is no sacrifice of any principle, proposed in any of them, by either party. The plan is founded upon mutual forbearance, originating in a spirit of reconciliation and concession; not of principles, but of matters of feeling. At the North, sir, I know that from feeling, by many at least cher-

ished as being dictated by considerations of humanity and philanthropy, there exists a sentiment adverse to the institution of slavery.

"Sir, I might, I think,—although I believe this project contains about an equal amount of concession and forbearance on both sides,—have asked from the free States of the North a more liberal and extensive concession than should be asked from the slave States. And why, sir? With you, gentlemen, Senators of the free States, what is it? An abstraction, a sentiment,—a sentiment, if you please, of humanity and philanthropy,—a noble sentiment, when directed rightly, with no sinister or party purposes; an atrocious sentiment,—a detestable sentiment,—or rather the abuse of it,—when directed to the accomplishment of unworthy purposes. I said that I might ask from you larger and more expansive concessions than from the slave States. And why? You are numerically more powerful than the slave States. Not that there is any difference,—for upon that subject I can not go along with the ardent expression of feeling by some of my friends coming from the same class of States from which I come,—not that there is any difference in valor, in prowess, in noble and patriotic daring, whenever it is required for the safety and salvation of the country, between the people of one class of States and those of the other. You are, in point of numbers, however, greater; and greatness and magnanimity should ever be allied.

"But there are other reasons why concession upon such a subject as this should be more liberal, more expansive, coming from the free, than from the slave States. It is, as I remarked, a sentiment, a sentiment of humanity and philanthropy on your side. Ay, sir, and when a sentiment of that kind is honestly and earnestly cherished, with a disposition to make sacrifices to enforce it, it is a noble and a beautiful sentiment; but, sir, when the sacrifice is not to be made by those who cherish that sentiment and inculcate it, but by another people, in whose situation it is impossible, from their position, to sympathize and to share all and every thing that belongs to them, I must say to you, Senators from the free States, it is a totally different question. On your side it is a sentiment without sacrifice, a sentiment without danger, a sentiment without hazard, without peril, without loss. But how is it on the other side, to which, as I have said, a greater amount of concession ought to be made in any scheme of compromise?

"In the first place, sir, there is a vast and incalculable amount of property to be sacrificed, and to be sacrificed, not by your sharing in the common burdens, but exclusive of you. And this is not all. The social intercourse, habit, safety, property, life, everything is at hazard, in a greater or less degree, in the slave States.

"Sir, look at the storm which is now raging before you, beating in all its rage pitilessly on your family. They are in the South. But where are your families, where are your people, Senators from the free States? They are safely housed, enjoying all the blessings of domestic comfort, peace and quiet, in the bosoms of their own families.

"Behold, Mr. President, that dwelling-house now wrapped in flames. Listen, sir, to the rafters and beams which fall in succession, amid the crash; and the flames ascending higher and higher as they tumble down. Behold those women and children who are flying from the calamitous scence, and with their shrieks and lamentations imploring the aid of high Heaven. Whose house is that? Whose wives and children are they? Yours in the free States? No. You are looking on in safety and security, while the conflagration which I have described is raging in the slave States, and produced, not intentionally, by you, but produced from the inevitable tendency of the measures which you have adopted, and which others have carried far beyond what you have wished.

"In the one scale, then, we behold sentiment, sentiment, sentiment alone; in the other, property, the social fabric, life, and all that makes life desirable and happy."

Notwithstanding his earnest appeals, all ideas of compromise was ignored by many, and adjustment seemed almost hopeless. Turning to the opposition, he said:

"There are persons who are very wise in their own esteem, and who will reject all compromises; but that is no reason why a compromise should not be attempted. I go for honorable compromise, when occasions call for it. Life itself is but a compromise, until the Great Destroyer finally triumphs. All legislation, all goverment, all society is formed upon the principle of mutual concession, politeness, comity, courtesy; upon these every thing is based. I bow to you to-day, because you bow to me. You are respectful to me, because I am respectful to you. Compromise is peculiarly appropriate between the members of a

republic as of a common family. Compromises have this recommendation, that if you concede anything, you have something conceded to you in return. Treaties are compromises made with foreign powers, which is not a case like this. Here, if you concede anything, it is to your own brethren,—to your own family. Let him who elevates himself above humanity, above its weaknesses, its infirmities, its wants, its necessities, say, if he pleases, I never will compromise; but let no one who is not above the frailties of our common nature, disdain compromises."

Doubtless, CLAY's personal feelings were opposed to slavery, but he was ever opposed to agitation, and regarded slavery as entirely a domestic institution that should be regulated by the States themselves. In a speech in the Senate, in 1839, he uttered the following sentiments:

The subject of "domestic slavery, happily the sole remaining cause which is likely to disturb our harmony, continues to exist. It was this, which created the greatest obstacle, and the most anxious solicitude, in the deliberations of the convention that adopted the general Constitution. And it is this subject that has ever been regarded with the deepest anxiety by all who are sincerely desirous of the permanency of our Union. The father of his country, in his last affecting and solemn appeal to his fellow-citizens, deprecated, as a most calamitous event, the geographical divisions which it might produce. The convention wisely left to the several States the power over the institution of slavery, as a power not necessary to the plan of union which it devised, and as one with which the general government could not be invested, without planting the seeds of certain destruction. There let it remain undisturbed by any unhallowed hand."

Month after month passed by, each day bringing with its dawn fresh causes of apprehension. Every effort at compromise was denounced by the extremists of the North as too much concession to the South, while the South affirmed that it was too much concession to the North,—each being more anxious to get the ascendency than to settle the difficulty. Bell, of Tennessee, finally introduced some new resolutions. As a basis of compromise, these and the resolutions of CLAY were referred to a committee of thirteen, of which he was chairman. The bills brought in by this indefatigable committee, met violent opposition, and again all efforts seemed hopeless.

President Taylor, in the meantime died, and was succeded by the vice-President, Millard Fillmore. Not discouraged by repeated failures, CLAY fought on "with the fire of his prime." The result was the adoption of the compromise of 1850. Each measure for which the venerable statesman had contended was adopted in separate bills, and formed for him his last, noblest, and proudest triumph. Territorial government was established for Utah,—California was admitted as a free State. The Texas boundary was settled,—the fugitive slave law secured, and the slave trade abolished in the District of Columbia. Thus, after the wildest commotion throughout the country, distracting it from one end to the other, he was enabled to see quiet restored, and prevailing over the Union. He needed now no presidential honors to fill the measure of his fame,—they would not have added a laurel to his brow.

His long and exhaustive efforts during this period accelerated his departure from among men. After peace had been restored, he remained awhile at Washington. Worn down with the fatigue and stormy labors of half a century, he lingered around his country's Capitol, like a grand old patriarch,—the type of a by-gone age. He visited Newport, and took a trip to New Orleans and the Island of Cuba, after which he returned to Ashland. Remaining for some time at his old home, amid those whose fathers took him by the hand, he departed again for Washington, never more to behold his mansion. He reached the Capitol, but only once went to the Senate. Through the winter of 1851–'52, he was confined to his sick chamber, and sunk rapidly. Yet, in that death chamber, the voice that had thrilled the nation was again raised for his country. Kossuth, the eloquent and distinguished Hungarian, had been received in this country with unbounded respect, and every demonstration of esteem. He was invited to the Capitol. Appealing to a people enthusiastic and easily stirred upon the subject of human liberty, he hoped to enlist America in the cause of Hungary. On reaching the Capitol, he obtained an interview with CLAY, who was fast approaching the grave; so enfeebled that he had to be assisted to rise, as he received the Magyar chief. During this interview, he addressed to Kossuth the following patriotic, and truly American sentiments:

"By the policy to which we have adhered since the days of Washington, we have prospered beyond precedent,—we have

done more for the cause of liberty in the world than arms could effect. We have showed to other nations the way to greatness and happiness; and, if we but continue united as one people, and persevere in the policy which our experience has so clearly and triumphantly vindicated, we may in another quarter of a century furnish an example which the reason of the world can not resist. But if we should involve ourselves in the tangled web of European politics, in a war in which we could effect nothing, and if in that struggle Hungary should go down, and we should go down with her, where, then, would be the last hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world? Far better is it for ourselves, for Hungary, and for the cause of liberty, that, adhering to our wise, pacific system, and avoiding the distant wars of Europe, we should keep our lamp burning brightly on this western shore as a light to all nations, than to hazard its utter extinction amid the ruins of fallen or falling republics in Europe."

Never more was that voice raised in behalf of his beloved country. His health continued to give way. Just previous to his death, he remarked to the Hon. John C. Breckinridge: "I am not afraid to die, sir. I have hope, faith, and some confidence. I do not think any man can be entirely certain in regard to his future state, but I have an abiding trust in the merits and mediation of our Saviour." In this frame of mind he lingered until the 29th of June, 1852, when, seeming to commune with the object of his earliest solicitude at his old Hanover home, he exclaimed: "*My mother! my mother! my mother!*" and expired without a groan. Not since the death of Washington, was there witnessed such exhibitions of national sorrow as followed the event. Everywhere was he mourned as a nation's loss. With a congressional escort, his remains were conveyed to Ashland, and after solemn and appropriate funeral obsequies, were deposited in the Lexington Cemetery. There, in the language of his eulogist, "Let him rest amid the tokens of the freedom he so much loved. Let him sleep on, where the whistling of the tameless winds,—the ceaseless roll of the murmuring waters,—the chirping of the wild bird,—and all which speaks of liberty, may chant his eternal lullaby. Peace be with thy soul, HENRY CLAY! May the earth lie light upon thee, and the undying laurel of glory grow green over thy grave."

JOHN RANDOLPH.

FEW persons have fully understood the combination of talent, genius, learning, and eccentricity, embodied in the character of this singular man. A victim through life to the stings of a keen sensibility, he was unsparing in the infliction of severest sarcasms upon others; a statesman, scholar and wit, he cared little for either distinction, and while all his own motives were pure, he was ever mistrustful of those about him. Loving his country with the fervor of disinterested patriotism, and always acting as he thought would best contribute to its prosperity, he was ever in the minority. Generous, firm and ardent in his friendships, he looked not for generosity in men, nor cared a whit for their esteem and good will. Yet, in the legislative history of the nation, he was a prominent figure, and took a lasting hold upon the public mind. Living a fretful life, in continual fear of insanity or death, he reached an age far beyond the average, and died retaining the confidence of the people.

JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke, the youngest son of John and Frances Randolph, was born, June 2d, 1773, at Cawson's, near the junction of the Appomatox and James River, in the State of Virginia. In his third year his father died, and he was left to the care of a widowed mother. In early childhood his characteristics were manifest,—in a physical frame, delicate in the extreme, burned a soul, fiery and passionate, that almost consumed him. Before he was four years old, he would faint away in paroxysms of passion, and could with difficulty be restored. He admitted, in manhood, that, "but for a spice of the devil in his temper,"



JOHN RANDOLPH.

he might have been "consigned to the distaff or the needle," on account of his delicacy. His mother was a religious woman, possessing great beauty and a strong intellect. He was devoted to her, and would hang on her neck and listen to her instructions. "When I could first remember," said he to a friend, years afterward, "I slept in the same bed with my widowed mother;—each night before putting me to bed, I repeated, on my knees before her, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed,—each morning kneeling in the bed, I put up my little hands in prayer in the same form. Years have since passed away: I have been a sceptic, a professed scoffer, glorying in my infidelity, and vain of the ingenuity with which I could defend it. Prayer never crossed my mind, but in scorn. I am now conscious that the lessons above mentioned, taught me by my dear, revered mother, are of more value to me than all that I have learned from preceptors and compeers. On Sunday I said my catechism, a great part of which, at the distance of thirty-five years, I can yet repeat." His mother's solicitude was not entirely confined to the formation of his moral character. She conceived high hopes of him, and by often telling him that she wished him some day to "be as great a speaker as Jerman Baker or Edmund Randolph," gave his mind the proper bent at the right time.

She was married a second time, before JOHN reached his sixth year, to Mr. Tucker. He undertook, in person, the education of her children at Matoax, the family seat. JOHN was delicate, and of course indulged. He had no fondness for rough out-door sports, and generally took his recreations within doors. He studied his lessons more through choice than coercion. He liked to read, and would often hide away in a dusty old closet, and read some cumberous, musty volume, with the solemnity and earnestness of a profound antiquarian. Voltaire's Charles the XIIth of Sweden, the History of Rome, Arabian Nights, Shakspeare, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Plutarch, Pope and Thompson, were all perused before he reached his twelfth year. The boy was laying his own foundation, and laying it well. His reading was desultory, and could not have been otherwise. "I have," said he in after years, "been all my life the creature of impulse, the sport of chance, the victim of my own uncontrolled and uncontrollable sensations; of a poetic temperament, I admire and pity all who possess this temperament." He had a perfect passion

for Shakspeare, and a large share of dramatic talent. Thus matters passed at Matoax till Arnold's invasion of Virginia, in 1781. Hearing of his approach, Mr. Tucker and family fled for safety to Wintopoke, and found hospitality in the house of Benjamin Ward, jr. Here, young RANDOLPH saw, for the first time, in the person of Ward's little daughter, the being destined to freeze the more genial currents of his soul, and cast a shade of melancholy over his whole life. Leaving Wintopoke, Mr. Tucker joined the army, while his wife, with the children, proceeded to their estate on the Appomatox. Riding over these vast possessions with JOHN behind her, she pointed to them and said: "JOHNNY; all this land belongs to you and your brother Theodorick; it is your father's inheritance. When you get to be a man you must not sell your land; it is the first step to ruin for a boy to part with his father's home; be sure to keep your land, and your land will keep you." This injunction made a deep impression on his mind,—he adhered steadily to it. It may here be remarked that RANDOLPH never liked the doing away with the old primogeniture system, and the enactment of the law of descents, through the agency of Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton. "The old families of Virginia," said he, "will form connections with low people, and sink into the mass of overseers' sons and daughters; and this is the legitimate and inevitable conclusion to which Mr. Jefferson and his levelling system has brought us." With no descendants himself, he could not contemplate the idea of having his father's estate cut up into parcels.

In January, 1782, RANDOLPH and his brothers were sent to Orange County to school, where they remained till the ensuing autumn. Thence they went to Williamsburg to the grammar school of the same preceptor, Walker Maury. Here, for over a year, young RANDOLPH devoted himself to the study of the dead languages and mathematics, in each of which he made considerable progress. The plays of Plautus and Terence* were frequently acted in Latin by the boys as a species of mental recreation. On these occasions, on account of his girlish appearance, he assumed a female character, which was always well sustained. Speaking of him at this time, one of his companions remarked, that "he was the most beautiful boy I ever beheld." Of all his

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* See Peters' "Poets and Poetry of the Ancients."

associates, he conceived the warmest attachment to L. W. Tazewell. The esteem was reciprocal, and they continued through life the most devoted friends. In the spring of 1784, he accompanied his parents to Bermuda, on a visit to Mr. Tucker's relations. Returning home he passed his time among his books and friends, till 1787, when we find him a student at Princeton College. He remained there only a few months,—long enough to see "the prize of elocution borne off by mouthers and ranters; to "despise the awards and the umpires from the bottom of his heart," and to become convinced that "nowhere was there such foul play as among professors and school teachers," and to imbibe "a contempt for college honors." He said he was put in "a wretched, noisy grammar school, for Dr. Witherspoon's emolument," and that he "was ten times a better scholar than the master of it."

His beloved and accomplished mother died, January 18th, 1788 This event caused him to quit Princeton. Never was a parent more bitterly mourned. "I am," he exclaimed, "a fatalist. I am all but friendless. Only one human being ever knew me. *She* only, knew me." He often visited the graves of his parents, and wept like a friendless boy. In June of the same year he entered Columbia College, New York. Here he mastered the Eaton Grammar and continued the study of the classics. Speaking of his professor, Cochran, he said: "We read Demosthenes together, and I used to cry with indignation at the success of Philip's arts and arms over the liberties of Greece." Soon after, he was deprived of his teacher's assistance, which he noted as one among the "great misfortunes" of his life. He lamented that he did not accomplish more at the time. He always affirmed that he was an ignorant man,—"a very ignorant man, sir," being a frequent expression with him.

RANDOLPH's early proclivities were toward politics, and he received his first lessons in a practical school of experience. He attended the sitting of the first Congress under the new Constitution. In daily contact with such men as Lee, Bland, White, Madison, and Mason, he listened to their deliberations with the earnestness and intent of a political leader. He sided with Mason,—the father of States' rights, in his views. Years afterward, he said in a speech: "I was at Federal hall; I saw Washington, but could not hear him take the oath to support the Federal Constitution. The Constitution was in its chrysalis state.

I saw what Washington did not see; but two other men in Virginia saw it,—George Mason and Patrick Henry,—*the poison under its wings.*" To a mind like his, quick, active, and practical, such a school was eminently advantageous. Many of the prominent men of the State were his near blood relations; they sat together around the same hearth, and eat from the same table. 'Twere not strange, then, that he should have early imbibed the political notions of George Mason and Patrick Henry. To all their conversations and discussions, he gave an attentive ear. He was, too, on terms of familiar intercourse with Jefferson, who was also a kinsman. Few young men ever enjoyed advantages so rare, or influences so powerful and lasting.

An event now took place which, no doubt, influenced him in no small degree in the outset of his brilliant career. When the people were roused upon the subject of French liberty, Edmund Burke, England's great parliamentarian, wrote his famous "Reflections on the Revolution in France." It provoked, as a reply, the celebrated "Rights of Man," from the keen pen of Thomas Paine. Here was a tilt between an ardent enthusiast and a profound statesman. The people divided, and inclined either to the doctrines of Burke or Paine, according to their peculiar views. Those infected with the "*French Evil*," as it was termed, adhering to Paine,—the opposition to Burke. RANDOLPH, notwithstanding adverse influences, had the resolution to study Burke's "Reflections" with mature care, and adopted their lofty sentiments. He saw, on investigation, that they were the offspring of wisdom and experience, and as such, prized them. His subsequent independent and political course, stern patriotism, and the jealous eye with which he watched the rights of property,—frequently, too, exhibiting a veneration for Old England, showed that, to some extent, at least, in forming his ideas, Burke was his political Gamaliel. He afterward differed widely with Jefferson, who, in choosing a national friend between England and France, preferred the latter. RANDOLPH always contended that we should prefer England.

He was in Philadelphia at this time, where he remained among the finest society in the country, occasionally taking a trip to Virginia, till the spring of 1794. He would, during this time, give himself up to fun and frolic with his congenial and refined associates. On such occasions, his wit would make him the center of

attraction. In the spring of 1796, he visited his old fellow-students, Bryan and Rutledge, in Georgia and South Carolina. He returned in July. His brother Richard died during his absence, and cast additional gloom over his feelings. He never fully recovered from this bereavement, and felt in his own expressive words: "*I am alone,—all alone.*" Years afterward, near his brother's birth-day, he thus wrote Mr. Henry St. George Tucker:

"DEAR HENRY:—

Our poor brother Richard was born in 1770. He would have been fifty-six years old on the ninth of this month. I can no more.

J. R. of R.

He now assumed the duties of the head of the family at Bazarre, their place of residence. He was in possession of his own and brother's estates, which were encumbered by a heavy British debt. He became the most miserable of men. The stings of hidden grief lacerated his sensitive heart, and made him the victim of terrible forebodings. He would frequently, in the dead of night, saddle his horse and ride with loaded pistols over his farm. Giving himself up to his lonely broodings, he would exclaim with the Indian warrior: "Not a drop of Logan's blood,—father's blood,—except St. George;—the most bereaved and pitiable of the step-sons of Nature!" Then again he walked the floor for whole nights, exclaiming: "*Macbeth hath murdered sleep!* Macbeth hath murdered sleep!" How mournful to contemplate such passages as these in the life of such a man. Could the "red-leaved volume of his heart" have been opened, what a ruin of cherished hopes might have been discovered,—what torturing memories seen clinging to its desolate chambers, echoing to voices of the past. But that was a sacred sanctuary,—we have no right to intrude upon the guests that dwelt there,—sorrow and despondency. Though he read considerably at this time, when interrogated as to what he had been doing, his reply was "*nothing sir, nothing.*" In the summer of 1798, in company with a friend, he went on foot to the mountains, to visit a friend and relative; he walked the entire journey and returned in good health and spirits.

His return from this pedestrian tour began a new career for the young Virginian. In 1799, he was announced as a candidate for Congress, in the afterward celebrated Charlotte District of his

native State. "Our friend, JOHN RANDOLPH," said an acquaintance at the time, in a letter, "offers for Congress, and will probably be elected. He is a brilliant and noble young man. He will be an object of admiration and terror to the enemies of liberty." He began his political life the advocate of the doctrine of States' rights, and was determined to wage relentless war against every attempt upon them. He drew his sword, and laying aside the scabbard, resolved not to give nor take quarter. His competitor for a seat in Congress was Powhatan Bolling. The March court, at Charlotte Court-House, in the spring of 1799, was a memorable day among the people. Patrick Henry, the gifted orator, crumbling with age and infirmity, was to address them for the last time,—the great luminary was about to set behind the horizon of time. Young RANDOLPH was to reply,—just rising in morning splendor, he was to light up the gloom caused by the setting of the revolutionary orb.

Henry appeared in an attitude differing somewhat from former associations, the advocate of consolidation, the defender of the Alien and Sedition laws. RANDOLPH, as the advocate of States' rights, hurled burning anathemas against the encroachments of federal power. None knew anything of the young speaker, save as little JACK RANDOLPH,—a pale faced, beardless boy,—a reckless, eccentric youth, dashing through the neighborhood on wild horses. When they met, the crowd gathered around, saying: "And is that the man who is candidate for Congress?" "Is he going to speak against old Pat?" "Why, he's nothing but a boy,—he's got no beard." "Old Pat will eat him up bodily."

Bolling, his opponent, was on hand, erect and proud, ready for the contest. Everything was now prepared for the discussion. This was the occasion when Henry said "he was but a poor worm of the dust, fleeting and unsubstantial as the shadow of a cloud that flies over your fields and is remembered no more." James Adams arose, and cried out: "Oh yes! Oh yes!! Colonel Henry will now address the people from the stand for the last time, and at the risk of his life." As the old orator was lifted to the stand, he said: "Why, Jimmy, you have made a better speech for me than I can make for myself." In a few minutes an immense throng had assembled. "Speak out father," said Adams, "and let us hear how it is." He then proceeded with a lengthy and eloquent address, and sank down at its close completely overcome.

It was RANDOLPH's turn to reply. His speech was searching, bold and defiant. He soon convinced his hearers "that old Pat would *not* eat him up bodily." An orator of the first stamp was standing before them. They gathered nearer as his graceful gestures, pure diction, and burning expressions thrilled their nerves. Henry himself was captivated. Turning to a friend after RANDOLPH had closed, he said: "I haven't seen the little dog since he *was* at school,—he was a great atheist then." He then took RANDOLPH by the hand and said: "Young man! you call me father; then, my son, I have somewhat to say unto thee,—*keep justice, keep truth*, and you will learn to think differently."

Henry was, at the earnest solicitation of Washington himself, the Federal candidate for the State Legislature. RANDOLPH was the Republican candidate for Congress. After his Charlotte speech, he soon became the idol of the people. He and Henry were both elected by great majorities. He took his seat in Congress at a time when the two political parties of the nation were assuming their distinctive organizations. His first participation in the action of the House was called out by a motion on the Republican side to repeal the act of July 1798, "to augment the army of the United States." RANDOLPH favored it, and took the ground that, "standing or mercenary armies were inconsistent with the spirit of our Constitution, or the genius of a free people;"—he also denounced such soldiers idly in government employ as "*ragamuffins*," and a public nuisance. The motion was lost by a vote of sixty to thirty-nine,—showing a federal majority of twenty-one in the House.

It is not to be presumed that a new member of RANDOLPH's years could attain distinction immediately upon his entrance into Congress. He took no prominent part in the various measures coming before that body during the session. His leisure hours were occupied by desultory reading and correspondence. The old friendship between himself and George Bryan still existed. Bryan wrote him, in 1800, intimating the details of an unfortunate love affair, and asking his company to Europe. RANDOLPH replied, signifying his willingness to go, saying: "*I, too, am wretched*; misery is not your exclusive charter. I have, for some month's meditated a temporary relinquishment of my country." "*I, too, am wretched!*"—what a volume of meaning is here conveyed. Light is not fully thrown upon the cause of his wretchedness, yet

there is no room to question that it grew out of a love, deep and quenchless as memory. He did not go to Europe for the present. His friend went, and left him at home to brood on his sorrows. Some letters he received at this time, from his erratic friend, Thompson, gives a little insight to circumstances surrounding him. "In our lives, my brother," said he, "we have seen two fine women, Mrs. Judith Randolph, and Miss M——a W——d: (meaning the Miss Ward before alluded to), never extend your list; never trust your eyes or your ears, for they stand alone." He also speaks in the letter of rumors afloat to his prejudice: "When you communicate with M——a, as probably you have already done, she will declare herself unaffected by this tale, which has disturbed your peace." He further beseeches him "not to let the affair make too deep an impression upon his mind," etc. This deep passion of love, forever burning at his heart no doubt was the cause of many of RANDOLPH's eccentricities, and most of his soothless sorrows. He said himself: "ONE I loved better than my own soul or the God that created it. My apathy is not natural bnt superinduced. There *was* a volcano under my ice, but it is burnt out and a face of desolation has come on, not to be rectified in ages, could my life be prolonged to a patriarchal longevity. The necessity of loving *and being loved* was never felt by the imaginary beings of Rousseau and Byron's creation, more imperiously than by myself. My heart was offered up with a devotion that knew no reserve. Long an object of proscription and treachery, I have, at last, (more mortifying to the pride of man), become one of utter indifference." This is the key to a life of melancholy. The lady whom he "loved better than his own soul or the God that created it," while he was a member of Congress, united her fortunes in marriage to those of another. It was the severest trial that had befallen him since his mother's death. He knew their union was impossible, but had foolishly indulged the hope of a lasting Platonic attachment. After her marriage, his love changed to worship, and all through life, in fits of passion and nervous slumbers, her name would tremble on his lips reverentially as a whispered prayer. Well might his biographer* say: "There was a tragedy in the life of this man, more thrilling than romance." Brief allusion has been made to this matter as necessary to a correct appreciation of many incidents connected with his after life.

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* Garland.

During the struggle that ensued in the House between Jefferson and Burr, for the presidency, RANDOLPH contented himself with his vote,—participating to no great extent. On the success of Jefferson, and the assemblage of the first Congress under his administration, he was made chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, the duties of which, by resolution, were "to take into consideration all such reports of the treasury department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue and expenditures, and to report from time to time their opinion thereon." These duties, it will be seen, were quite onerous and of a complicated nature. The chairman of the committee embracing so wide a range of investigation, was one of the most responsible positions in Congress. Besides the relationship existing between the President and himself, they were on terms of the closest intimacy. His first duty was the introduction of a proposition, "that a committee be appointed, to inquire whether any and what alterations can be made in the judiciary department of the United States," and another, concerning the expediency of reducing government expenses. He was made chairman of the select committee to which they were referred. He next brought in a resolution relating to our exports to the Mediterranean, and engaged with lively interest in the discussions arising upon the apportionment bill. He also advocated the reduction of the military establishment, and urged the appointment of a public printer,—the latter object was secured, and has ever since been an appendage to congressional proceedings. In the spring of 1802, he brought in a bill establishing a sinking fund of over seven millions of dollars, drawn from duties on tunnage and merchandise, to be placed in the hands of commissioners, for the payment of the public debt.

At the next session of Congress, commencing in December 1802, the purchase of Louisiana and the navigation of the Mississippi came up. Contrary to treaty provisions with Spain, the governor of New Orleans, Don Morales, had, by proclamation, excluded our vessels from its port; it was also understood that Louisiana had been ceded to France. These matters were made the subject of a special message from President Jefferson to Congress. Mr. Griswold moved that all the facts connected with them be laid before Congress. The consideration of the

message was, on motion of RANDOLPH, laid before a committee for deliberation with closed doors. On the motion of the same party, Griswold's proposition was referred to the committee of the whole, on the state of the Union. RANDOLPH having drawn up a resolution connected with the subject, remarked, that it should be presented in secret session. He was stoutly opposed, but finally succeeded in having the galleries cleared. He then read the following resolution:

"*Resolved*,—That this House receive, with great sensibility, the information of a disposition in certain officers of the Spanish government at New Orleans, to obstruct the navigation of the Mississippi, as secured by the most solemn treaty stipulations. That, adhering to the humane and wise policy which ought ever to characterize a free people, and by which the United States have always professed to be governed; willing, at the same time, to ascribe this breach of compact to the misconduct of certain individuals rather than to a want of good faith in his Catholic Majesty, and relying with perfect confidence on the vigilance and wisdom of the executive, they will await the issue of such measures as that department of the government shall have pursued for asserting the rights and vindicating the injuries of the United States; holding it to be their duty, at the same time, to express their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries and the rights of navigation and commerce through the river Mississippi, as established by existing treaties."

Following this resolution, the purchase of Louisiana occupied the attention of Congress. Already had negotiations been opened with a view to that object. RANDOLPH sided with Jefferson and gave his able assistance until the measure was consummated by treaty. As chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he was prepared to give effective aid. The congressional sessions of 1804–'05 formed the working period of RANDOLPH's life. As a member of the financial and several other committees, he was active, vigilant and untiring in his efforts. "He was abstemious in his habits, unceasing in his labors, unremitting in his attentions to public duties." He drew upon himself the consideration of his countrymen and rose rapidly to popular favor. A measure upon which he entered with great zeal and spirit was the Yazoo speculation.

The State of Georgia, by legislative action, in 1795, conveyed

to some companies *forty millions* acres of land for about a *half million* of dollars. The people of the State with just indignation refused to endorse the act. Investigation was had of the whole matter. It was discovered that every member, save one, who voted for the act was interested in the speculation. The press denounced the transaction as a public swindle, and the people demanded its immediate repeal. At the next election of representatives politics were entirely discarded. Yazoo and Anti-Yazoo formed the issue. The opposers of the act elected a large majority to the legislature. When they assembled, their first labors were to repeal the odious act of the previous session, which was done almost unanimously. It was during RANDOLPH's visit to Georgia, already noted, that this event took place. He felt with the people, and denounced the act in unmeasured terms. Its repeal did not settle the matter.

Parties in other States had bought up the claims of the old companies, and by such title contended that they were the legal owners of the land in question. Meeting bitter opposition from the people of Georgia, they petitioned Congress for payment,—the government, in the meantime, having become the purchaser of the land from the State. RANDOLPH occupied his seat in the House when the petition was presented, and felt all his former indignation revived when the subject came up for consideration. On the 25th of January, 1805, Mr. Dana presented a resolution providing for the appointment of commissioners to adjust the difficulty by some sort of compromise. RANDOLPH took the occasion to denounce the whole scheme. His speech was able and severe. He vindicated the rights of the people against corruptive legislation, during all the discussions arising from the transaction, with enthusiasm and effect.

During the session of the Ninth Congress, after Monroe's appointment as Minister to Spain, and while our affairs were so complicated with France and that nation, Jefferson sent in a special message urging the importance of "pressing a settlement" of difficulties, and indicating the necessity of making an appropriation for the purpose. The message was deliberated upon in secret session. The debates upon it were warm and animated. RANDOLPH, it is said, made the ablest speech of his life. He was chairman of the select committee to which the message was referred, and immediately conferred with Jefferson upon the sub-

ject. Learning, as he said, for the first time, that two millions of dollars were required to purchase Florida, he told the President plainly he would never agree to it. He felt that it would be derogatory to our national character, to make the appropriation after the failure of negotiations.

Meantime he was called to Baltimore; before his departure he had an interview with Madison, then Secretary of State. Our relations with France and Spain formed the theme of conversation. Madison, who had just read Monroe's despatch, said "that France would not permit Spain to adjust her differences with us; that France wanted money, *and that we must give it to her or have a Spanish and French war.*" RANDOLPH was highly indignant,—turning a withering look upon the Secretary, he said: "Good morning sir! I see I am not calculated for a politician," and abruptly left his presence. He returned to his post in December. The committee met, and the old subject, the purchase of Florida, came up. RANDOLPH declared himself against any and all appropriations for that purpose, expressing extreme disgust at the whole proceedings from first to last. Early in January 1806, he made a report to the House, expressive of the indignation felt at the treatment extended to our government by the officials at Madrid, in refusing to ratify positive agreements, affirming that sufficient cause existed to justify a declaration of war,—urging the speedy liquidation of the national debt, and recommending the collection of sufficient forces to protect our isolated frontier in case of any military demonstration on the part of Spain. The report was not adopted. Another proposition was submitted, having reference to the acquisition of Florida. Seeing that an appropriation would be made, RANDOLPH moved that it be confined to that sole and specific purpose. Though, at first agreed to, on the final passage of the bill, the appropriation was left indefinite,—to be applied to any "extraordinary expenses" which contingencies might create. RANDOLPH also moved that the amount to be paid for the territory be limited; this motion was lost. His course in regard to this matter subjected him to bitter aspersions. He was accused of taking grounds against the administration,—of trying to produce disorder in the ranks of the party, etc. So much, indeed, was he abused, that he finally called for the publication of the secret journal of the whole proceedings. It was published, but the

suppression of some important portions, prevented the degree of light anticipated.

Before the session closed, an unpleasant, though not a serious difficulty was originated between JOHN RANDOLPH and his relative in the House, Thos. Mann Randolph. Mr. Findly, an Eastern member, delivered a lengthy speech, made up principally of violent abuse of RANDOLPH. When he closed, the latter arose and said, "he had hoped, however we might have differed in opinion on the various subjects discussed at this session, we should, on the eve of separation, have forgiven and forgotten any asperities and political animosities that had occurred during the session; and that we should have parted like men and friends; he had hoped that the harmony of the House would not have been disturbed, in the last moments of the session, either by those who had been habitual declaimers, or by those who had *kept the noiseless tenor* of their way; that contumely and personal hatred would have been banished from these walls, and that we should, at least, have separated in good humor." Noble sentiments, and creditable both to the head and heart of the speaker. Thos. Mann Randolph construed them into an allusion to himself. Upon what grounds he was justified in making the following inappropriate, not to say foolish remarks, we can not discover: "Mr. Speaker," said he, "I rise to reply to the gentleman from Virginia; I will not pretend to vie with him in point of talent or of eloquence; in these he is far, very far my superior. This is not the first time that the gentleman has availed himself of the sanction and the presence of this assembly to apply his personal allusions to me, and to make use of language and conduct here which he would not do out of the House.

"But, sir, I will tell that gentleman, that however he may be my superior in talents and eloquence, in patriotism I am his superior; yes, sir, his superior. Last year, sir, that gentleman commenced florist, and dealt in flowers and gardening. I saw him with his spade, and pitchfork, and rake, and manure, cultivating his flower garden. This, sir, was on the *Yazoo question*; and then I perceived the gentleman launch forth to sea, without compass or rudder, and masts broken, his sails tattered and torn, and his vessel in a leaky condition, and when I saw that, sir, I thought it high time to quit him and look out for the land. The gentle-

man can talk and boast of the arguments of lead and powder and steel; with these arguments, sir, I am as expert as himself and as willing to make use of them."

RANDOLPH, through a friend, demanded an apology, or a meeting. T. M. Randolph said, if JOHN RANDOLPH would disavow having intended his remarks for him, he would make reparation. Feeling that no grounds, whatever, existed for personal construction of his remarks,and as he expressed it, that he "had been long enough a target for every worthless scoundrel" in the House to aim his shafts at, RANDOLPH had no disavowals to make. He demanded an immediate apology or meeting. T. M. Randolph's friend was selected and preliminaries were about being entered into. RANDOLPH took a seat in a remote part of the room, resolved to await the issue. Things began to look a little serious in the view of the challenged party. He finally rose from his seat, and disavowed any intention of wounding his kinsman's feelings, and expressed deep regret for what he had said. This public apology was conveyed to RANDOLPH, who being satisfied with it, the matter ended.

After the close of the session RANDOLPH retired, for a time, to Bazarre, where he gave himself up to gloomy feelings and fearful apprehensions. He had lost considerable public favor by his course in Congress. The friends of the administration alleged that he had been working against it, and brought all their influences to bear in sustaining their allegation. He went back to Washington, however, at the re-assemblage of Congress, determined to act with the Republican party. The most prominent measure occupying attention this session was the alleged conspiracy of Aaron Burr. After investigation of the matter, RANDOLPH presented the following resolution:

"*Resolved*,—That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby requested to lay before the House any information in possession of the executive, except such as he may deem it best for the public welfare not to disclose, touching any illegal combination of private individuals against the peace and safety of the Union, or any military expedition planned by such individuals against the territories of any power in amity with the United States; together with the measures which the executive has pursued or proposes to take for suppressing the same."

The resolution passed with but few dissenting votes. He was

very active in his endeavors to discover all the facts in regard to the matter, and to do justice to all parties. He attended Burr's trial at Richmond, where, during the time it was in progress, he formed many valuable friends. It has been related of him, that Wirt was there at the time, hunting up the facts for his book,—the Life of Patrick Henry. Speaking of it to some friends, Tazewell told him he should, by all means, talk with JOHN RANDOLPH, and added, that he knew more about Henry than any living man. Wirt said he was unacquainted with him. Tazewell promised to bring about an interview, but said it would not do to give a formal introduction,—"This is Mr. Wirt, sir, who is desirous of obtaining from you some materials for his Life of Henry. In that case RANDOLPH would not open his lips." He promised, however, that they should meet. Shortly after, Wirt received an invitation to visit his room; on arriving there, he found RANDOLPH and other gentlemen seated around. They had not conversed long, when Wirt adroitly mentioned the name of Patrick Henry. RANDOLPH seemed inspired in a moment. Glowing with this theme, he gave a complete and perfect description of the orator, frequently rising to his feet, and giving his very gesticulations. Wirt was delighted. After the party separated, he sent RANDOLPH a polite note, thanking him for his picture of Henry,—telling him of his engagement, and requesting that he would put it down on paper. RANDOLPH now saw through the whole trick; he hastened over to Tazewell, and in no very amiable mood, demanded what cause he had for making an "exhibition" of him. Tazewell passed it off pleasantly, but RANDOLPH, ever after, studiously avoided mentioning the name of his old friend Patrick Henry, when Wirt was near.

This brings us to that part of the life of JOHN RANDOLPH, during which the troubles with England began to indicate the war of 1812. In regard to the measures of these times, he occupied rather a singular position. Claiming to be a Republican, he opposed the Embargo, and other executive measures, and conceived a dislike to Madison, exceeded only by his contempt for the elder Adams. He denounced the Embargo as a greater "Illiad of woes to this country than was the wrath of Achilles to Greece." He was opposed to the elevation of Madison to the presidency, while he favored Monroe. His objection to Madison had existed from the adoption of the Constitution. Many other eminent men in Virginia favored Monroe in the beginning of the canvass, but

being convinced that he would get no support out of the State, and fearing the influence of De Witt Clinton, the most formidable opponent of Madison, they came to the support of the latter. RANDOLPH stood firm, and the election of Madison left him almost alone,—he would have preferred anything to the charge of political apostacy. Many of his old friends who he thought would stand by him to the last deserted him,—won over by the trappings of power.

The accession of Madison, and the intrepidity of Clay and other leading spirits in Congress, hurried on the war with Great Britain. RANDOLPH was opposed to hostilities, and labored earnestly to avert them. He was evidently patriotic in his intentions, and deeply impressed with the importance of the subject. In reply to the arguments of the war party, he made some powerful and able speeches. On one occasion he rose and said:

"I am so impressed with the importance of the subject, and the solemnity of the occasion, that I can not be silent. Sir, we are now in conclave; the eyes of the surrounding world are not upon us; we are shut up here from the light of heaven, but the eye of God is upon us. He knows the spirit of our minds. Shall we deliberate upon this subject with the spirit of sobriety and candor, or that spirit which has too often characterized our discussions upon occasions like the present? We ought to realize that we are in the presence of that God who knows our thoughts and motives, and to whom we must hereafter render an account for the deeds done in the body. I hope, sir, the spirit of party, and every improper passion, will be exorcised; that our hearts may be as pure and clean as falls to the lot of human nature.

"I will appeal to the sobriety and reflection of the House, and ask what *new* cause of war for the last twelve months? What new cause of Embargo within that period? The affair of the Chesapeake is settled,—no new principle interpolated in the laws of nations. I suppose every man of candor and sober reflection will ask, why we did not go to war twelve months ago? Or, will it be said we ought to make up by our promptness now, for our slowness then? It is not generally wise to dive into futurity, but it is wise to profit by experiences, although it may be unpleasant. I feel much concerned to have the bill on the table for one hour."

The Federal party, through some of their representatives, assumed a tone still more deprecatory. Josiah Quincy of Massa-

chusetts, openly avowed that he had sent dispatches to eastern merchants, that their vessels might leave port before the Embargo should take effect. "We did it," he said, "to escape into the jaws of the British Lion and of the French Tiger, which are places of repose, of joy, and delight, when compared with the grasp and fang of this hyena Embargo." "Look now upon the river below Alexandria, and you will see the sailors towing down their vessels, as from a pestilence, against wind and tide, anxious to escape from a country which would destroy instead of preserving them. I object to it, because it is no sufficient preparation; because it is not a progress toward honorable war, but a subterfuge from the question. If we must perish, let us perish by any hand except our own."

These unavailing appeals were continued till the last of May, 1812. On that day, RANDOLPH made a speech upon our general relations with England and France. After speaking for some time, he was called to order, upon the grounds that he was indulging in too wide a range of remarks without the submission of a motion to the House. He then offered the following proposition: "*That under present circumstances it is inexpedient to resort to war with Great Britain.*" But we had endured too many indignities from that power to remain longer quiet. The House had decided the matter, and almost unanimously refused even to *consider* the proposition. Deprived of the opportnnity of making his speech in the House, RANDOLPH now appealed to his constituents, through an elaborate circular, denouncing the declaration of war, and the course of Congress in not entertaining his proposition, thereby excluding him from the discussion of one of the most important subjects that ever agitated the nation. "I consider war with England, under existing circumstances," said he, "as comporting neither with the interests nor the honor of the American people; but as an idolatrous sacrifice of both on the altar of *French* rapacity, perfidy and ambition." Bitter and unrelenting was his opposition till the formal declaration, of the 18th of June, 1812.

He now stood in antagonism with the administration, both Houses of Congress and the great mass of the American people. He had endeavored to stem the most popular national current. The consequence was, he was borne down the stream, and for a time almost overwhelmed. He was assailed bitterly from all

sides. In 1813, he presented himself for re-election. His competitor was John W. Eppes. So violent were the feelings against RANDOLPH, that in Buckingham county he was threatened with personal violence. He conducted the canvass with vigor and firmness. On the day of his appointment in Buckingham, his old friends advised him not to speak. "You do not know me," said he, "or you would give me no such advice." Soon as it was known he would speak, an immense throng gathered around. Some, no doubt, came to see the exhibitions of violence, as many were in the crowd meditating its perpetration. RANDOLPH slowly rose and ominously pointing his long finger at the most lowering part of the crowd, said: "I understand that I am to be insulted to-day if I attempt to address the people,—that a mob is prepared to lay their rude hands upon me, and drag me from these hustings for daring to exercise the rights of a freeman. My Bible," he continued with deep emphasis, his keen eye steadily upon them, "teaches me that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, but that fear of man is the consummation of folly." These few words and the manner in which they were spoken, threw a spell over his hearers. He went on with the discussion at length, and no one dared interrupt him. He put forth the strongest efforts, and in his speech, towered above himself. But so strong was public opinion against him, in spite of all his exertions he was beaten and driven into retirement.

Soon after his defeat, his residence, Bazarre, with his large library, was destroyed by fire, and he removed to Roanoke, an estate with which his name will ever be identified. Here, in solitude and employed in correspondence, he passed his time for a considerable period. His sensibility upon the subject of his family pride was keen and morbid. He was a fair type of the true English aristocrat. He did not prize wealth and extensive domains so much for their intrinsic value, as for their descent through a long line of honored ancestry. He cherished his fathers' memory, the old Randolph stock, and the hereditary estates, with deep fondness, and always denounced the abrogation of the law of descents. This led to a rupture between him and his step-father which could never be reconciled. They were talking upon the old law of descents, and RANDOLPH was relating the causes of its alteration. Mr. Tucker said: "Why, JACK, you ought not to be against that law, for you know if you were to die without issue

you would wish your half-brothers to have your estate." All the fires of Ætna kindled at once in his bosom: "I'll be d—d, sir, if I *do* know it," he replied with high excitement. From that moment friendly relations that had existed for thirty years ceased forever. Selfishness, he thought, was manifest in the remark of his step-father. He, in fact, talked with lawyers about bringing him to a final and formal settlement as guardian, and instituting a rigid investigation into the manner in which the trust had been executed. Though dissuaded from this, he resisted all attempts at reconciliation,—refusing to correspond or converse upon the subject himself. His two nephews, St. George and Tudor, were the only desendants, and heirs to the entire possessions. St. George, soon after the rupture with his father, in consequence of an unfortunate attachment, became a hopeless maniac. Tudor was now RANDOLPH's only hope for the preservation of the ancient line; his feelings were gloomy enough.

In 1814, an invasion of Virginia was threatened by the British, and much alarm prevailed. Washington city fell into the hands of the enemy and the national archives were destroyed. RANDOLPH hastened to the field determined to fight for his native home. The enemy turned their attention to Baltimore, however, and RANDOLPH returned to Richmond. Tudor, at this time, was taken dangerously ill, which induced him to hurry to Morrisania, New York, where he then was. Remaining there a short time, he went to Philadelphia, whence, after a brief sojourn with valued friends, he returned to Richmond. His nephew, meantime, continued to grow worse, which caused much pain and anxiety.

When he returned to Richmond, his old friends literally forced him to become a candidate for Congress. Many who opposed him in the last election were warm in their protestations of love and esteem. He finally became a candidate against his old opponent, Mr. Eppes, and was elected by a triumphant majority. Thus he was again returned to Congress, the scene of his most splendid exhibitions of intellectual prowess. The measures incident to hostilities with Great Britain, operated at this time with great severity upon the commercial interests of the New England States. The allegation that they would endeavor to occupy, henceforth, the position of neutral parties to the contest, or affect a final separation from the other States, formed cause of serious apprehension. RANDOLPH was urged to use his efforts against it; he

was assured that his voice would have great weight in New England. Though he did not personally appear among the homes of the descendants of the pilgrims, he addressed the people a lengthy letter, breathing the most fervid patriotism, and urging them to united maintenance of the national honor. "What is your object," said he, "PEACE? Can this peace be obtained on any terms, while England sees a prospect of disuniting that confederacy which has already given so deep a blow to her maritime pride, and threatens, at no distant day, to dispute with her the empire of the ocean? The wound which our gallant tars have inflicted on her tenderest point has maddened her to rage. Cursed as we are with a weak and wretched administration, she can no longer despise us. Already she begins to hate us; and she seeks to glut a revenge as impotent as it is rancorous, by inroads that would have disgraced the buccaneers, and bulletins, that would only not disgrace the sovereign of Elba. She already is compelled to confess in her heart what her lips deny, that if English bull dogs and game cocks degenerate in our soil, English MEN do not;—and should, (which God forbid), our brethren of the East, withdraw from this contest for all that is precious to man, we will maintain it, so long as our proud and insulting foe shall refuse to accede to equitable terms of peace. The government will then pass into proper hands,—the talent of the country will be called forth, and the schemes of moon-struck philosophers and their disciples pass away, and 'leave not a track behind.'" The address is continued at some length, in earnest and eloquent exhortations to harmonious action, and closing with allusions to Washington and his native Virginia.

RANDOLPH, who had been a skeptic and a scoffer, about this time, turned his thoughts to religious matters. He studied the Scriptures with diligence, and in a proper spirit. He thus concludes a letter to his old friend, Key: "Implicitly will I throw myself upon his, (the Lord's) mercy: 'Not my will but thine be done. Lord be merciful to me a sinner. Help, Lord, or I perish.' And now my friend, if after these glimpses of light I shall shut mine eyes and harden my heart, which now is as melted wax; if I should be enticed back to the herd, and lose all recollection of my wounds, how much deeper my guilt than his whose heart has never been touched by the sense of his perishing, undone condition. This has rushed upon my mind when I have thought of

partaking of the Lord's supper. After binding myself to the sacred rite, should passion overcome me, should I be induced to forget in some unhappy hour that holy obligation,—I shudder to think of it. There are two ways only, which I am of opinion, that I may be serviceable to mankind. One of these is teaching children, and I have some thoughts of establishing a school. Then again, it comes into my head that I am borne away by a transient enthusiasm, or that I may be reduced to the condition of some unhappy fanatics, who mistake the perversion of their intellects for the conversion of their hearts. Pray for me." Whether his conversion was ever genuine we leave others to decide; there was certainly true penitence expressed. He now evidently needed the consoling influences of Divine favor. His surviving nephew, "*his last hope*," Tudor Randolph, went abroad for his health. He reached Cheltenham, England, in the spring of 1815, where he soon after died. The mournful news of his death filled his uncle's cup of wretchedness. He was now, indeed, like Logan,—*all alone*, and for a time gave himself up to sorrow and grief. Yet he could not entirely forget the political affairs of his country. Though, he said, he was sick of politics, and was determined to wash his hands of them as soon as possible, he continued an active member of Congress, through the bank charter excitement of 1816. He sternly opposed the bank bill in all its forms and amendments, as unconstitutional and inexpedient. After the close of this eventful session, he returned to the solitude of his home, where he remained for some time entirely alone.

During the session of 1816–'17 his health became very bad, and his temper peevish and fretful. Mr. Roane, a member from the same State, relates the following incident of him: "I remember," said he, "that one morning Mr. Lewis came into the House of Representatives, and addressed Mr. Tyler and myself, who were the youngest members from Virginia, and said we must go to Georgetown to Mr. RANDOLPH. We asked him for what; he said that Mr. RANDOLPH had told him that he was determined not to be buried as Beau Dawson had been, at the public expense, and he had selected us young bloods to come to him and take charge of his funeral. We went over immediately. When we entered Mr. RANDOLPH's apartment he was in his morning gown. He rose and shook us by the hand. On our inquiries after his health, he said: 'Dying! dying! dying! in a dreadful state!' He inquired

what was going on in Congress. We told him that the galleries were filling with people of the District, and that there was considerable discussion upon the re-chartering of the batch of banks in the District. He then broke off and commenced upon another subject, and pronounced a glowing eulogium upon the character and talents of Patrick Henry. After sitting some time and nothing being said on the business on which we had been sent to him, we rose and took our leave. When we got to the door, I said: 'I wish, Mr. RANDOLPH, you could be in the House to-day.' He shook his head. 'Dying, sir, dying!' When we got back to the House of Representatives, Mr. Lewis came in and asked how we found Mr. RANDOLPH. We laughed and said as well as usual,—that we had spent a very pleasant morning with him, and had been much amused by his conversation. Scarcely a moment after, Mr. Lewis exclaimed: 'There he is!' and there, to be sure, he was. He had entered by another door, having arrived at the Capitol almost as soon as we did. In a few moments he arose and commenced a speech, the first sentence of which I can repeat verbatim: 'Mr. Speaker,' said he, 'this is Shrove Tuesday. Many a gallant cock has died in the pit on this day, and I have come to die in the pit also.' He then went on with his speech, and after a short time turned and addressed the crowd of 'hungry expectants,' as he called them,—tellers, clerks, and porters, in the gallery."

RANDOLPH left Washington about the time of Monroe's inauguration. On the road to Fredericksburg, he came up with the stage in which was Mr. Roane and other members of Congress. "How are you, Mr. RANDOLPH," asked Roane? "Dying, sir, dying!" was the reply. He then dashed ahead, replying to all inquiries in regard to his health along the road: "Dying, sir, dying!" In fact, he was nearer dying than his friends thought. His health was very bad, and his thoughts of death were not wholly without cause.

The above is but one of the numerous incidents illustrating the eccentricities of JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke. It is related of him that he was once at a horse race, that took place between Eclipse and Sir Henry,—two celebrated horses. Betting was freely indulged in. After the horses started, Sir Henry took the lead considerably. "I'll bet two to one on Sir Henry," exclaimed RANDOLPH. "I'll take that bet," said a bystander. A moment after Eclipse dashed far ahead of Sir Henry. "I didn't speak to you, sir," instantly said RANDOLPH to the man who had taken his bet

On another occasion he was traveling with his favorite boy, John. He spent the night at a country inn. On leaving next morning, the landlord asked: "Which way are you going, Mr. RANDOLPH." "I don't owe you a cent, sir, and I'm going which way I d—d please," was the reply. Immediately beyond the inn the rode forked, and not knowing which branch led to his destination, he told John to ask the landlord. The latter hallooed out at the top of his voice, saying: "Tell Mr. RANDOLPH he don't owe me a cent, and *he can take which road he d—d pleases.*"

He once offended a young man of no merit or distinction, who afterward sought every opportunity to quarrel with him. He sent RANDOLPH a challenge, to which he paid no attention. Finally, determined to bring matters to a crisis, the fellow went to Richmond, expressly to offer what he supposed a personal insult. After looking about for some time, he saw the object of his search walking on the street. This, he thought, a favorable opportunity. Straitening himself up to a degree of considerable importance, he threw himself in RANDOLPH's way. They each walked strait ahead until they almost came in collision,—when the young man said: "I never give the road to d—d dogs, sir." "I always *do*," exclaimed RANDOLPH, as he politely bowed himself out of the way of his crest-fallen dignity.

He stepped into the bank at Richmond, just after the death of Decat..r, to write a check. Mr. Anderson, the cashier, handed him a pen and ink. He looked at the ink and seeing it was black, said: "Give me red ink; I now go for blood." He then filled the check, and asked Anderson to write his name on it, which he refused to do. He then took the pen himself, and wrote: "JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke, his ⋈ mark," and sent the check to pay an account.

While contemplating a trip to Europe, he accosted Anderson in Richmond, and told him his physicians advised the voyage. He then asked Anderson if there was a good ship in James River, in which he could get passage. Anderson told him there was not, and advised him to embark at New York. "Do you think," he replied, "I would give my money to those who are ready to make my negroes cut my throat?—if I can not go to England from a southern port I will not go at all." Anderson then told him there was a vessel in the river. RANDOLPH asked the name of it. "The Henry Clay," was his reply. He threw his arms up and ex-

claimed: "HENRY CLAY! no sir, I will! never step on the planks of a ship of *that* name."

These exhibitions sometimes led his friends to think he labored under a species of insanity,—and he, no doubt, suffered at time from fits of mental aberration. The following upon the subject is from one* whose judgment and opinions are eminently entitled to weight and influence:

"It is not just to judge such a man by ordinary rules, nor by detached and separate incidents in his life. To comprehend him, he must be judged as a whole,—physically and mentally,—and under many aspects, and for his entire life. He was never well,—a chronic victim of ill health from the cradle to the grave. A letter from his most intimate and valued friend, Mr. Macon, written to me after his death, expressed the belief that he had never enjoyed during his life one day of perfect health,—such as well people enjoy. Such life-long suffering must have its effect on the temper and on the mind; and it had on his,—bringing the temper often to the querulous mood, and the state of his mind sometimes to the question of insanity; a question which became judicial after his death, when the validity of his will came to be contested. I had my opinion on the point, and gave it responsibly, in a deposition duly taken, to be read on the trial of the will; and in which a belief in his insanity, at several specified periods, was fully expressed,—with the reasons for the opinior. I had good opportunities of forming an opinion, living in the same house with him several years, having his confidence, and seeing him at all hours of the day and night. It also on several occasions became my duty to study the question, with a view to govern my own conduct under critical circumstances. Twice he applied to me to carry challenges for him. It would have been inhuman to have gone out with a man not in his right mind, and critical to one's self, as any accident on the ground might seriously compromise the second. My opinion was fixed, of occasional temporary aberration of mind; and during such periods he would do and say strange things,—but always in his own way,—not only method, but genius in his fantasies: nothing to bespeak a bad heart, but only exaltation and excitement. The most brilliant talk that I ever heard from him came forth on such occasions,—a flow

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* Thomas H. Benton.

r hours (at one time seven hours), of copious wit and classic lusion,—a perfect scattering of the diamonds of the mind. I eard a friend remark on one of these occasions, "he has wasted ıtellectual jewelry enough here this evening to equip many peakers for great orations." I once sounded him on the delicate oint of his own opinion of himself:—of course when he was in perfectly natural state, and when he had said something to ermit an approach to such a subject. It was during his last isit to Washington, two winters before he died. It was in my oom, in the gloom of the evening light, as the day was going out nd the lamps not lit,—no one present but ourselves,—he reclining ou a sofa, silent and thoughtful, speaking but seldom, and I nly in reply, I heard him repeat, as if to himself, those lines from ohnson, (which in fact I had often heard from him before), on 'Senlity and Imbecility,' which show us life under its most melancholy orm.

'In life's last scenes what prodigies surprise,
Fear of the brave, and follies of the wise!
From Malborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,
And Swift expires, a driveller and a show."

"When he had thus repeated these lines, which he did with deep feeling, and in slow and measured cadence, I deemed it excusable to make a remark of a kind which I had never ventured on before; and said: Mr. RANDOLPH I have several times heard you repeat these lines, as if they could have an application to yourself, while no person can have less reason to fear the fate of Swift. I said this to sound him, and to see what he thought of himself. His answer was: 'I have lived in dread of insanity.' That answer was the opening of a sealed book,—revealed to me the source of much mental agony that I had seen him undergo. I did deem him in danger of the fate of Swift, and from the same cause as judged by his latest and greatest biographer, Sir Walter Scott."

It has been stated that he had turned his attention to religious contemplations. In 1818, he felt assurances that his sins had been forgiven. "Congratulate me, dear Frank," said he to his friend, Mr. Key, "wish me joy you need not; give it you can not. I am at last reconciled to my God, and have assurances of his pardon, through faith in Christ, against which the very gates of hell can not prevail. Fear has been driven out by perfect love. I *now know* that *you know* how I feel; and within a month, for the first time, I understood your feelings and character, and that of every

real Christian. Love to Mrs. Key and your brood. I am not now afraid of being 'righteous overmuch,' or of 'Methodistical notions.'"

He continued a member of Congress through the debate on the Missouri question, in which he participated to a great extent. Upon no subject had his mind ever been aroused to such intensity of feeling. He could scarcely sleep or eat. He was opposed to the compromise by which the matter was settled, and took great umbrage at Clay for the prominent part he took in the action. More than once they came to open rupture. He went to Clay and insisted that before acquiescence in it, southern members should resign their seats, go home and tell their constituents of the south, the confederacy was at an end. Absolutely necessary as that measure was, RANDOLPH opposed it at every stage, and always affirmed that it was smuggled through the House unconstitutionally.

Persons could not well have differed more radically in their views of the proper way to settle this important national question than RANDOLPH and Clay. They frequently came in contact, RANDOLPH indulging toward his potent adversary remarks of the most satirical severity. He describes a scene between them in the following characteristic manner:

"The anniversary of Washington's birth-day (says he, in a letter to Dr. Brockenbrough, February 22d, 1820) will be a memorable day in the history of my life, if indeed any history shall be attached to it. Yesterday, I spoke four hours and a half to as attentive an audience as ever listened to a public speaker. Every eye was riveted upon me, save one, and that was sedulously and affectedly turned away. The ears, however were drinking up the words as those of the royal dame imbibed 'the juice of cursed heberon,' though not, like his, unconscious of the leprous distillment; as I could plainly perceive by the play of the muscles of the face, and the coming and going of the color, and the petty agitation of the whole man, like the affected fidget and flirt of the fan whereby a veteran coquette endeavors to hide her chagrin from the spectators of her mortification.

"This person was no other than Mr. Speaker himself, the only man in the House to whose attention I had a right. He left the chair, called *Cobb* to it, paced the lobby at the back of it in great agitation, resumed, read MSS., newspapers, printed documents on the table (i. e. affected to read them), beckoned the attendants,

took snuff, looked at his shoe-buckles, at his ruffles, toward the other side of the House,—everywhere but at me. I had mentioned to him as delicately as I could, that being unable to catch his eye, I had been obliged (against my will, and what I thought the rule of order and decorum in debate) to look elsewhere for support. This *apology* I expected would call him to a sense of what was due to himself and his station, as well as to me; but it had no effect. At last, when you might have heard a pin drop upon the carpet, he beckoned one of the attendants and began whispering to the lad (I believe to fetch a snuff-box). 'Fooled to the top of my bent,' I 'checked in mid volley,' and said: 'The rules of this House, sir, require, and properly require, every member when he speaks to address himself respectfully to Mr. Speaker; to that rule, which would seem to imply a correlative duty of respectful attention on the part of the Chair, I always adhere; never seeking for attention in the countenances of the members, much less of the spectators and auditors in the lobby or the gallery: as, however, I find the Chair resolutely bent on not attending to me, I shall take my seat:' which I did accordingly. The chastisement was so deserved, so studiously provoked, that it was not in my nature to forego inflicting it. Like 'Worcester's rebellion, *it lay in my way and I found it.*'

"He replied in a subdued tone of voice, and with a manner quite changed from his usual petulance and arrogance (for it is generally one or t'other, sometimes both), 'that he had paid all possible attention, etc., which was not true, in fact; for from the time that I entered upon the subject of his conduct in relation to the bank in 1811 (renewal of old charter), and in 1816 (the new bank), and on internal improvements, etc., (quoting his words in his last speech, that 'this was a limited, *cautiously restricted* government), and held up the 'Compromise' in its true colors, he never once glanced his eye upon me but to withdraw it, as if he had seen a basilisk."

Notwithstanding the bitterness of feeling evinced toward Clay indicated in the foregoing, enough has been seen of the relations existing between the two, to show that each entertained for the other the highest respect and admiration.

After the close of that session of Congress RANDOLPH retired to Roanoke, where he was again the victim of solitariness and melancholy. "Be not solitary; be not idle," he would say to the young

men of the country. Yet "alone, all alone," as he expressed it, he could not avoid the one nor successfully combat the other. He made wills and destroyed them, then made others to share the same fate. He finally, however, made his last will and testament.

He set all his slaves free, and made provision for their being properly attended to. Though this was the result of philanthropic motives, it did not redound to the benefit of his slaves, as most of them gave themselves up to idleness and became worthless vagabonds.

The most weighty matter of deliberation at the next session of Congress was the apportionment bill. Taking the ground that "government to be safe and to be free must consist of representatives who have a common interest and a common feeling with the represented," he opposed the several propositions fixing the ratio at seventy-five, and at forty thousand. He did not wish his own State to fall behind the New England States in the number of representatives. Finally a proposition was made fixing the ratio at thirty-eight thousand; he favored this and made one of the most logical and argumentative speeches delivered during the session. He was again in the minority. The bill fixing the ratio at forty thousand passed by a large vote, and Virginia fell forever into numerical inferiority of representation.

In the spring of 1822, RANDOLPH took his departure for Europe, whither he said he ought to have gone years before,—referring to the period when he meditated "a temporary relinquishment of his country.

His voyage was very agreeable. He had the company of Mr. Hervey, then a comparative youth, for whom he conceived a very warm attachment. On parting with him after their arrival, he said: "I do not wish you to tell any one that I am here. I do not covet any attention at present, sir. I have come to England *to see and not to be seen,—to hear and not to be heard.* I don't want to be made a lion of, sir. *You* understand me. I have formed a friendship for you, which I hope will be continued, sir; and when you come to London you must instantly inform me of your arrival; *there* is my address, sir. God bless you; and remember, you tell your father not to give you *whisky punches or novels.*"

On his arrival in London he met Hervey and got an introduction to his father, with whom he was highly delighted. He

also formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Fry, the Newgate philanthropist. She was much pleased with him and frequently entertained him. She sent him a note one day to dine with her; apologizing for naming so unfashionable an hour as *four o'clock*, it being usual for people to dine in the locality where he was quartered at *eight*. He replied as follows: "Mr. RANDOLPH regrets that a prior engagement will deprive him of the pleasure of dining with Mrs. Fry on Tuesday next. No apology, however, was necessary for the *early* hour named in her note, as it is *two hours* later than Mr. RANDOLPH is accustomed to dine in Virginia; and he has not yet been long enough in London to learn how to turn day into night, and vice versa."

His friend Hervey procured an order for the admission of RANDOLPH and himself into the House of Lords, on the night the Catholic Peers' Bill was discussed. He informed RANDOLPH of what he had done, and asked his company. "Pray, sir," said he, "at which *door* do *you* intend to enter the House?" "At the *lower* door, of course, where all strangers enter," replied Hervey. "Not *all* strangers, if you please," said RANDOLPH, "for I shall enter at the *private* door, near the throne." Hervey told him it was impossible, that it was an extraordinary occasion, and that *no* stranger could be admitted there. Vain expostulation! "What sir," said RANDOLPH, "do you suppose I would consent to struggle with, and push through the crowd of persons, who for two long hours must fight their way through the *lower* door! Oh, no sir! I shall do no such thing: and if I can not enter as a gentleman commoner, I go not at all." On this they parted. After long and severe labor, almost squeezed and suffocated to death, Hervey got in and managed to procure a stand near the bannisters. "Presently," said he, "to my no small surprise and *envy*, I saw 'RANDOLPH of Roanoke,' in all his glory, walking in most leisurely and perfectly at home, alongside of Canning and Lord Castlereagh, Sir Robert Peel, and other distinguished members of the House of Commons. Some of these gentlemen selected for him a prominent position where he could see and hear perfectly, and I observed many courtesies passing between them during the night."

Soon after, RANDOLPH participated in the festivities of a ball, extended to the nobility by his Majesty, George the Fourth. Speaking of this assemblage of English aristocrats, he said: "There were jewels enough sir, there, to make new crowns for all

of Europe. And I, too, *Republican* though I am, must needs go in court dress! Well sir, don't imagine that I was so foolish as to *purchase* a new suit at a cost of twenty or thirty guineas. Oh no! I have not studied London life for nothing. I had been told sir, that many a noble lady would appear at the ball that night with jewels *hired* for the occasion; and I took the hint sir, and hired a full court dress for five guineas. When I beheld myself in the glass, I laughed at the oddity of my appearance, and congratulated myself that I was three thousand miles from Charlotte Court-house. Had I played the harlequin *there* sir, I think my next election would have been doubtful." He met Lord Castlereagh, Miss Edgeworth and other notables there, from all of whom he received proofs of esteem and admiration.

After traveling through England and Scotland, meeting everywhere a cordial reception, he returned to the United States, March 30th, 1823, in time to be at the close of the Seventeenth Congress. He took his seat in the Eighteenth Congress, when consolidation was the order of the day. It was at the first session of this Congress that the resolutions favoring the cause of Greek independence were presented. He took grounds against the impetuous Clay and colossal Webster. "This Quixotism," said he, "in regard either to Greece or South America, is not what the sober, reflecting minds of our people require at our hands. Sir, we are in debt as individuals, and we are in debt as a nation; and never since the days of Saul and David, or Cæsar and Cataline, could a more unpropitious period have been found for such an undertaking." He also opposed, with characteristic ability, Clay's internal improvement scheme. He was also with the opposition in many of the features of the tariff of 1824. During the discussions upon this measure he came in contact with Lewis McLean of Delaware, and certainly came off victorious, having given one of the finest retorts found in the annals of political debate.

After these labors he again visited Europe. He traveled through England, France, and Switzerland, with infinite pleasure and profit. After an agreeable sojourn in the Old World, he returned home in December, 1824. In the presidential election of that year he took but little interest, though his personal preferences were for Mr. Crawford. In 1825 he was again elected to Congress, and took his seat as one of the leaders of the opposition to Adams'

administration. He necessarily came in contact with its ablest supporters. Against Clay he was particularly severe. Speaking of the similarity of views entertained between that gentleman and Adams in regard to the Panama question, he denounced their labors as "the coalition of Blifil and Black George,—the combination unheard of till then, of the puritan with the blackleg." Clay challenged him and demanded a meeting or an apology. He replied by saying: "I have no explanations to give. I will not give any. I am called to the field. I have agreed to go and am ready to go." That night he called on his friend, James Hamilton, and said: "Hamilton, I have determined to receive without returning Clay's fire; nothing shall induce me to harm a hair of his head; I will not make his wife a widow, or his children orphans. Their tears would be shed over his grave: but when the sod of Virginia rests on my bosom, there is not in this wide world an individual to pay this tribute upon mine." He said this with tears trembling in his eyes. That night Hamilton and Tattnall, both friends, called on him. They found him reading Milton's Paradise Lost. Tattnall, who was to act as his second, told him he had heard that he did not intend to fire at Clay, and said if that was the case he would not go with him to the field. To prevent this, RANDOLPH said with a smile: "Well Tattnall, I promise you one thing; if I see the devil in Clay's eye, and that with malice prepense, he means to take my life, I may change my mind." This was evidently said to prevent his second from refusing to go. They met,—RANDOLPH turned to Hamilton and said: "Clay is calm but not vindictive. I hold to my purpose, Hamilton, in any event; remember this." While taking their stand RANDOLPH's pistol accidentally went off. General Jessup, Clay's second, said his friend should leave the ground if that happened again. At Clay's request he was allowed to proceed. The parties took their stands; the word was given, and Clay deliberately fired,—his ball passing through RANDOLPH's gown. RANDOLPH then raised his pistol and fired in the air. Clay advanced toward him, and with great feeling said: "I trust in God, sir, you are untouched; after what has occurred, I would not have harmed you for a thousand worlds." RANDOLPH calmly and somewhat facetiously replied: "Mr. Clay, you owe me a new coat, sir." The latter expressed his gratitude that he was to no greater extent his debtor, and the affair terminated. We may add that

RANDOLPH had been opposed to dueling,—but after thinking much upon the subject, concluded it was no more than private, individual war, and was as justifiable as national conflicts.

At the session of 1826–'27, RANDOLPH was beaten for the Senate by Mr. Tyler, but was immediately after sent to the House by his old constituents,—"such constituents," he said, "as man never had and never would have again." He remained a leader of the opposition, which being in the minority, he urged his friends "to observe that practice which is the hardest for all, especially for young physicians,—we ought to throw in no medicine at all;—to abstain, to observe *a wise and masterly inactivity*." Many of his speeches during that session show a fine degree of eloquence, learning and research. After its adjournment he sought repose at Roanoke, where friendly correspondence was all that relieved the monotony of his life. He took great interest as the friend of Jackson in the ensuing presidential campaign. None was more intensely gratified at the result than he, or labored harder to procure it. On Jackson's inauguration he retired forever from Congress, having previously indicated that he would not consent to re-election. He saw his party triumphant,—he wanted none of the spoils,—and felt that his work was done. Contrary to his wishes to spend the balance of his life in retirement and travel, he was elected to the Virginia Convention, which met for the purpose of revising the State constitution. That was one of the most remarkable body of men ever assembled in the Old Commonwealth. Marshall, Madison, Tazewell, Leigh, Johnson and Taylor, were among the members. Wisdom, talent, varied learning, vast erudition graced Richmond then. There, too, were ambitious men from other States for the purpose of deriving instruction from the lips of age and experience. RANDOLPH was an object of interest and admiration. Mingling with those whom he had known for long years through their labors, he left the convention with increased fame and reputation.

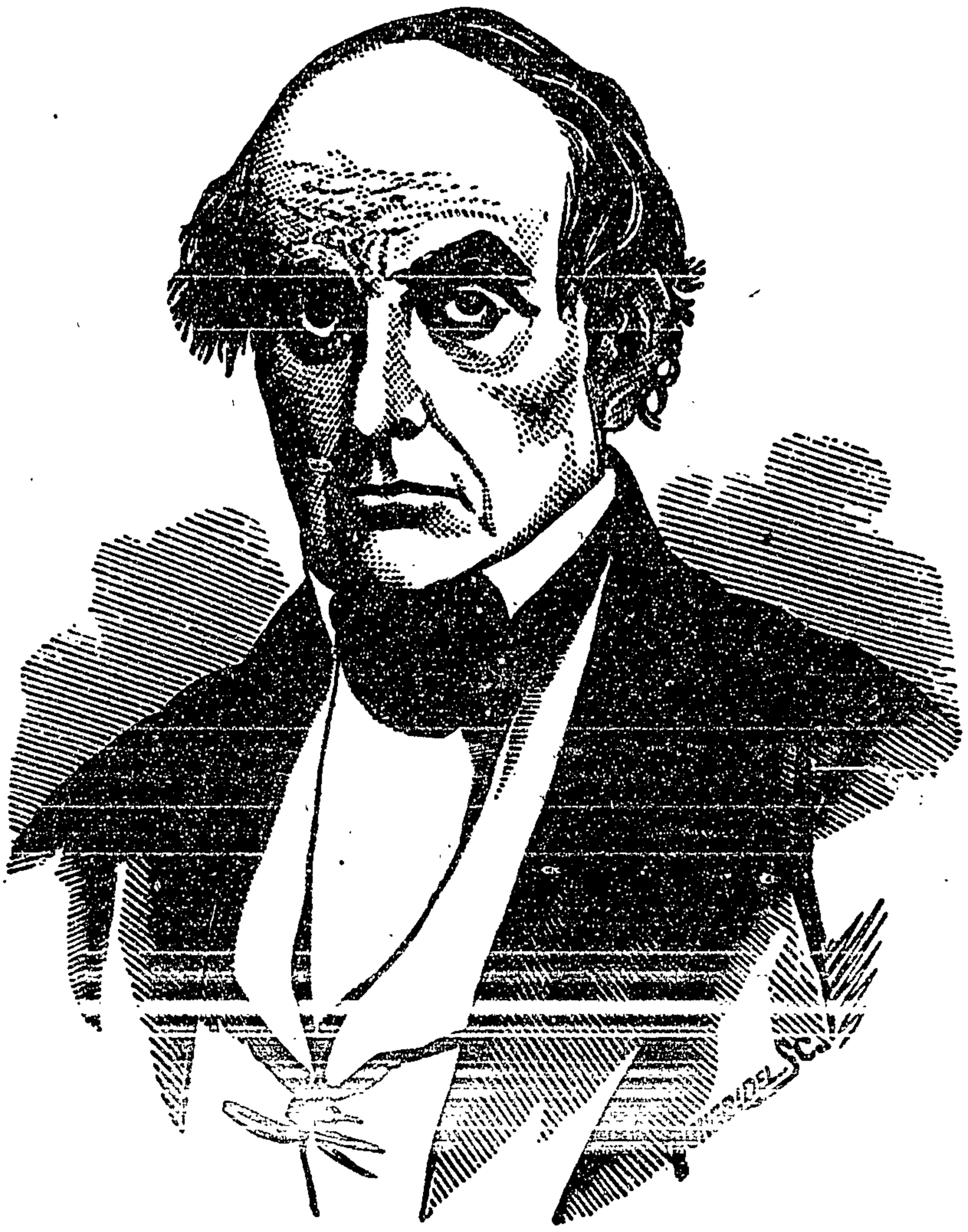
In September, 1829, he received from Jackson the appointment as Minister to Russia. He entered upon his duties in the spring of 1830, and reached St. Petersburg the same fall, where he was received with marked cordiality and respect. The duties which he had to discharge were neither arduous nor of an important nature. He represented our country at the court of the Czar with dignity and simplicity, and maintained our national honor. He

returned to the United States in the fall of 1831, feeling, as he said, "*seven years nearer the grave.*"

By this time he had became a confirmed opium eater, of which he made no disguise. "I live," said he, "by, if not upon opium. I am fast sinking into an opium-eating sot, but, please God! I shall shake off the incubus yet before I die; for, whatever difference of opinion may exist on the subject of suicide, there can be none as to '*rushing into the presence of our Creator*' in a state of drunkenness, whether produced by opium or brandy." This terrible practice, no doubt, contributed much to his increased attenuation, and hastened his death. He was now evidently fast approaching the grave. The alarming movements of South Carolina nullification, roused, for the last time, his failing energies. Going over his county in his carriage, unable to stand, he would sit down and address the people in words of fire, upon the condition of the country. His efforts were continued till the compromise tariff was adopted. Again he saw peace and tranquillity restored. It was his last triumph, and a fit time for him to die. He desired to go to England, and was making preparations for the voyage when the summons came. He went once more to Mataox, visited the graves of his ancestors, and in great feebleness hastened to Washington city. He went into the Senate chamber for the last time, when the affecting and memorable parting scene between Clay and himself took place. He then proceeded to Philadelphia. The night of his arrival was dark and stormy, and it was with much difficulty that lodging was procured; after he had succeeded, he raised his hands and said: "Great God! I thank thee. I shall be among friends and be taken care of." Dr. Parish was immediately sent for. He entered the room and asked the patient how long he had been ill. "Don't ask me that question; I have been sick all my life," said RANDOLPH. The Dr. felt his pulse saying, "there are idiosyncrasies in many constitutions; I wish to know what is peculiar about you." "I have been an idiosyncrasy all my life. All the preparations of camphor injure me. As to ether it will blow me up. Not so with opium; I can take opium like a Turk, and have been in the habitual use of it for some time," was the answer. All efforts to revive him were fruitless. He could scarcely breathe, his expectoration was so difficult. Just before he died he got the Dr. to read for him. In reading he came to the word "Omnipotence," which the Dr. pronounced.

Omnipotence. "Omnipotence, sir," said Randolph. The Dr. remonstrated. "Pass on sir," said his dying patient. Soon after he came to the word "Impetus," which he pronounced Impetus. "*Im*petus, sir," exclaimed RANDOLPH. The Dr. again differed. "There can be no doubt of it sir," was the reply. After the reading, he sank rapidly. He ordered his father's breast button to be brought to him and fastened in his shirt bosom, which was done. He then closed his eyes,—but suddenly raising upward, he exclaimed with vehemence: "*Remorse!* REMORSE! REMORSE!—let me see the word,—get a dictionary, let me see the word." "There is none in the room sir." "Write it down then,—let me see the word." One of his cards bearing "RANDOLPH, of Roanoke" was procured. He was asked if it should be written on the card. "Yes; nothing more proper." The word "remorse" was written on both sides and handed to him. In deep agitation he fastened his eyes upon the word, saying: "Remorse! you have no idea what it is: you can form no idea of it whatever: it has contributed to bring me to my present situation,—but I have looked to the Lord Jesus Christ, and hope I have obtained pardon. Now let John take your pencil and draw a line under the word." This was done, when the Dr. asked what was to be done with it. "Put it in your pocket," said he, "when I am dead look at it."

He then became more quiet,—sent for witnesses, in the presence of whom he confirmed his will, and soon after breathed his last. So died JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke, June 24th, 1833, in the sixty-first year of his age. His remains were conveyed to Virginia, and deposited beside those of his fathers', over which he had shed bitter and solitary tears. There let them rest as a part of the soil with which has commingled the ashes of so many of her illustrious sons.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

A DISTINGUISHED character of antiquity, was questioned as to what constituted the best means of national defense: he answered,—men. The interrogatory was repeated again, and even the third time; and he replied, with emphasis,—MEN. The efficiency of this kind of national defense is clearly shown in the history of our confederacy. America is as much indebted for her renown, to the wisdom and firmness of her statesmen, as to the patriotism of her military heroes, so signally tested "in the great struggle for Independence."

In our political firmament, have always shone stars of the brightest luster, that have failed not to guide us to peace and prosperity. Some of these have been of the first magnitude and of dazzling brilliancy. High in the honored constellation, was one that rose in the East,—shed its light "over the sea, and over the land;" nor culminated, until it had gilded the far-off horizon of Eternity. That star was DANIEL WEBSTER.

His lineage is traced back to his great-great-grandfather, Thomas Webster, who came from Norfolk, England, to this country, in 1656. He located at Hampton, a small village in New Hampshire, and raised a highly reputable family. His son Ebenezer, married and had several sons, to one of which he gave his own name. Ebenezer seems to have been a favorite family name with the ancestors of the great statesman. From Thomas Webster, the first of the stock of whom we have any accurate account, the name was given from father to son, through three generations. The family were noted for integrity, firmness and energy. Ebenezer Webster, the last of that name, and father of DANIEL,

was a man of marked courage and hardihood. He served efficiently as a Ranger in the French war of 1763. After the close of the struggle, he settled at the little town of Salisbury, New Hampshire. He was, in fact, one of the earliest pioneers of civilization in that then dreary part of the country. He was just beginning to establish himself comfortably, when the Revolution called him to arms. He enrolled himself in the armies of liberty with ardor and enthusiasm. He was a Captain under Gen. Stark, at Bennington, and behaved with coolness and bravery. He subsequently led the attack against the rear of the British, on the occasion when Stark said: "Fellow Soldiers! there is the enemy; if we don't take them, Molly Stark will be a widow to-night." Though in the attack he was foiled by superior numbers, Captain Webster exhibited great heroism and fortitude. Transferred to the left wing of the army, he again rushed into the fight with ardor, and contributed much to the honors of the day. He was afterward at White Plains, and several other engagements, and always displayed the same spirit of valor and firmness. After the close of the war, he returned to Salisbury, and took an interest in the prosperity of the country, that secured the esteem of his fellow-citizens. His well-known probity, and excellent judgment, elicited respect and consideration. He was several times sent to the Legislature, as Representative and Senator, and finally selected as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Laden with honors, he died in the spring of 1806, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

He was twice married. The maiden name of his second wife was Abigail Eastman, a lady of Welsh descent. By her he had two sons,—DANIEL and Ezekiel.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born January the 18th, 1782, in the town of Salisbury, New Hampshire. The rigid moral principles of the early New England settlers surrounded him from the first. Though the resources of the country were undeveloped, and few facilities for mental culture afforded, among the granite hills that surrounded his home, his young mind was not neglected. When a small boy, he walked, through snow and ice, a distance of two and a half miles, to a common school. A strong desire for books early showed itself, in the eager avidity with which he seized upon every sort of useful information. His father was a true type of the New Englander, and extended every aid to his son.

Young Daniel read many excellent books, and in the selection of his favorites, exhibited discrimination, refined and correct. The Spectator, Watts' Psalms, and the Essay on Man, seem to have captivated the mind of the coming orator and statesman. He was continued at the common school, at intervals when he could be spared from home, until he entered his fourteenth year. He was then sent to Exeter, in his native State, and placed at the Academy, under the charge of Dr. Abbott. He had never before been beyond the rugged hills of his forest home; and finding himself among near a hundred students, all of whom had enjoyed advantages superior to any he had received, he felt no inconsiderable diffidence. But becoming domesticated among his new acquaintances, he soon ingratiated himself into their favor, and excelled the most of them in his studies. He did not long remain at this institution. In 1797, his father, seeing evident sparks of greatness in his son, began to entertain the idea of giving him a collegiate education. With this view, he was placed under the care of Rev. S. Woods of Boscawen. With this worthy man, he attained a tolerable knowledge of the Latin language. It is a significant fact, that his young soul took fire over the pages of Cicero, and that he remained through life, his favorite author and constant companion. Making the best use of his time, and the advantages thrown in his way, in 1797, he passed honorably the ordeal of examination and entered the Freshman's class at Dartmouth college. Well as he loved his regular studies, and anxious as he was to attain a correct knowledge of the classics, he devoted much time to the study of history and general literature. Much of his time during hours of recreation, was devoted to making selections, and writing essays for a newspaper. His most distinguishing trait at college, seems to have been a grasping desire to range the field of literature with intellectual rapacity, and pluck whatever blossoms came in his way. He finally graduated, creditably, but with no marked distinction. The vast fund of general information attained during this time, was greater than his proficiency in any one particular department of science.

Well prepared for a course of legal studies, after graduating he entered the office of Mr. Thompson, a practitioner of considerable ability, in his native village. Under the eye of this gentleman, he made rapid progress in his chosen profession, and laid broad and deep the basis of his future eminence. Let it not be supposed,

however, that his legal studies met with no interruption, or that no object of solicitude save his ambition presented itself. He wished to give his brother Ezekiel an education, and fit him for the higher walks of life. To do this it was necessary for him to vacate his law office and assume the responsibilities of teaching, which he did in the town of Fryburg, Maine, on a salary of three hundred and fifty dollars a year. He afterward had the pleasure of seeing his brother a prominent member of the bar, and on the road to distinction, which would have been attained, had not sudden death cut him off in the outset of his career.

In 1802, he re-entered the office of Mr. Thompson, and took up the law; he also read the classics with relish and profit,—Horace, Sallust, and other authors were devoured with greedy avidity. His favorite sport at this time, as indeed it was through life, was angling, and Isaac Walton has had few more successful disciples. He enjoyed this species of recreation with a degree of zest amounting to a passion. "It so happened," said he in a speech delivered in 1851, "that all the public services rendered in my day and generation, have been connected with the general government. I think I ought to make an exception. I was ten days a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and I turned my thoughts to the search for some good object in which I could be useful in that position, and after much reflection I introduced a bill which, with the general consent of both Houses passed into a law, and is now a law of the State, which enacts that *no man in the State shall catch trout in any other manner than the old way, with an ordinary hook and line.*"

The following anecdote is related of him in after life, connected with one of his angling excursions, which the statesman often told to the infinite mirth of his friends:

"Some years since, Mr. WEBSTER started off from Marshfield on a trouting expedition to Sandwich, a neighboring town on Cape Cod. On approaching a fine stream he alighted from his wagon and just then he met the owner of the farm, whose stream ran through it. 'Good morning,' says WEBSTER, 'is there any trout here?' 'Well,' says the farmer, 'some people fish here but I don't know what they do get.' 'I'll throw my line in,' says WEBSTER, 'and see what there is.' WEBSTER walked the banks of the stream trying his luck, and the old farmer followed him. Soon WEBSTER remarked, 'You have some bog on your farm.' 'Yes,' says

the farmer, 'and that ain't the worst of it.' Fishing still further along, WEBSTER says, 'You seem to have plenty of mosquitoes here.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'and that ain't the worst of it.' WEBSTER still kept on throwing his line into the deep pools, and then said, 'You have plenty of briers here.' 'Yes,' says the farmer, 'and that ain't the worst of it.' MR. WEBSTER, getting somewhat discouraged in a hot August day, bitten by mosquitoes, scratched by briers, and not raising a single fish, dropped his rod and said, 'he didn't believe there was any trout here.' 'And that ain't the worst of it,' says the farmer. 'Well,' says Mr. WEBSTER, 'I would like to know *what the worst of it is?*' '*There never was any here!*' says the farmer."

In 1804, young WEBSTER went to the city of Boston, where his legal studies were completed under the tuition of Christopher Gore, an attorney of varied attainments and high distinction. In 1805 he was admitted to the bar of the Court of Common Pleas. Speaking of his studies, WEBSTER always affirmed that Thompson made a sad mistake by confining him upon the pages of Coke and Littleton, which kept him so long "groping about in the dark, believing, of course, that he should come to the light, but not foreseeing when or whereabouts." Blackstone's Commentaries, he said, furnished him light, and made the way clear. He recommends to all preceptors in the law "to furnish the students, in the outset, one of each kind of the writs issued in a suit, together with one of each kind of the papers, from the beginning to the end,—for instance, a declaration, a demurrer, a plea, a record, and a judgment roll,—so that he can have ocular demonstration of what each contains, and can read it and turn over, and look at it inside out,—that he may see the documents about which he is to read."

After his admission to the bar he commenced practice in the village of Boscawen, but soon after removed to Portsmouth. His father was then judge of the Court of Common Pleas, but died soon after. He heard his son's first speech at the bar, and saw at once his brilliant destiny. Speaking of this, WEBSTER afterward said, his father presided and heard his first speech, but never heard him again. His father died, much lamented, in the spring of 1806. The next year WEBSTER was admitted to the bar of the New Hampshire Supreme Court; his brother Ezekiel was ad-

mitted about the same time, and went into a prosperous practice. He died very suddenly, while delivering an argument at Concord, in his native State. In the summer of 1808, WEBSTER was married to Grace Fletcher, daughter of Rev. Mr. Fletcher of New Hampshire, a lady of beauty and accomplishments. The issue of this union was four children,—two sons and two daughters, all of whom are dead except one,—Fletcher Webster, of Boston.

For nine years WEBSTER was engaged in Portsmouth in an honorable and lucrative law practice. He established a widespread reputation, won the confidence of his professional brethren, and was sought after in many of the most difficult cases. Bright as his legal prospects were, however, other matters were to call his wonderful talents into action. By the time he had turned his thirtieth year, the people had marked him as suited for public life, and he was elected to Congress. He took his place there in 1813, at the extra session. War with England had been declared, and was the prominent topic of discussion. Clay, battling his way from obscurity, was speaker of the House and leader of the war party. He did not recognize then, perhaps, in the person of the young member from New Hampshire, his matchless rival, on whom, the balance of his political life, he must keep fixed his eagle gaze. Calhoun, Grundy, and Forsythe, too, were there. Intellect, talent and learning, shed luster over the House when WEBSTER appeared on the arena, a brilliant light, destined to attract the gaze of all. He was not long in making his mark in the national Legislature. In June, 1813, a resolution was introduced requiring information from the President, concerning a decree of France, purporting to be an abrogation of the Milan and Berlin decrees. On this resolution he made his first speech in Congress. The House was taken by surprise. It was powerful, vigorous, logical, and thorough.

"No member before," says a cotemporary, "ever riveted the attention of the House so closely in his first speech. Members left their seats, when they could not see the speaker face to face, and sat down or stood on the floor before him. All listened attentively and silently during the whole speech; and when it was over many went up and warmly congratulated the orator; among whom were some not the most niggard of their compliments, and who most dissented from the views he expressed." Of his maiden speech, Chief Justice Marshall said: "At the time

when this speech was delivered I did not know Mr. WEBSTER, but I was so struck with it that I did not hesitate then to state that Mr. WEBSTER was a very able man, and would become one of the very first statesmen in America, and perhaps the very first." It will be readily admitted, that such encomiums from sources so unquestionable, seldom greet members of Congress on their first appearance. Had WEBSTER been earlier in Congress he would doubtless have opposed many measures that had been acted upon; but entering the body after we were engaged in the war, he wished it pushed to a successful termination. He zealously advocated the improvement of our naval forces, urging the necessity of our being in a position to cope with the enemy by sea as well as land. He also engaged warmly in the discussions growing out of Randolph's "Illiad of woes,"—the Embargo. "His speeches on these questions," says Everett, "raised him to the front rank of debaters."

In 1814, WEBSTER was re-elected to Congress. The treaty of peace having been concluded with Great Britain before the assemblage of the next session, other matters occupied their attention. The finances of the nation being at a very low ebb, some means must be resorted to, to relieve the prevailing distresses. The national bank measure was originated. The first bill upon the subject after passing the Senate, was opposed by WEBSTER as "a mere *paper money* contrivance, calculated to injure the people, to increase the financial embarrassments of the government, and to bring discredit upon the country." This first bill, fixing the capital of the bank at fifty millions of dollars,—five millions in specie, the balance in government securities,—and requiring a loan to the treasury of thirty millions, was voted down. It was afterward so amended as to make it more of a "specie paying bank," when it received WEBSTER's support. It passed in this shape, but was vetoed by President Madison.

On the adjournment of Congress WEBSTER removed to the city of Boston, with a view of practicing his profession. He was greeted in that city with a cordial welcome by old friends and former associates. He yet had one session to serve as a member from his native State. The session was to him one of no very great importance. He served through his term with fidelity and honor, and after adjournment again returned to Boston and resumed his business for a period of two years. At the expiration

of that time he was urged to run for Congress, and also offered a seat in the Senate. He declined both. He wished to become a first rate lawyer before engaging in other pursuits,—to make himself master of the high calling he had selected, before seeking other fields of labor. He served a brief period in the Massachusetts Legislature,—was chosen one of the electors and sent to the convention called to revise the State constitution, in all of which positions he vindicated his rising reputation. In 1823, no longer able to resist the will of the people, he consented to run for Congress, and was elected by a handsome majority. He took his seat in the Eighteenth Congress, among old associates and familiar friends. Clay was still speaker, and continued to accumulate that commanding influence that indicated the future leadership of the Whig party. Among the most important subjects coming up for deliberation was the Greek Revolution. His great heart beating warmly for liberty everywhere, WEBSTER favored the friendly expression of public opinion on the part of the United States in behalf of Greece. On the 8th of December, 1823, he presented a resolution to the effect, "That provision ought to be made by law for defraying the expenses incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece whenever the president shall deem it expedient to make such appointment." His speech upon this resolution is a splendid exhibition of true eloquence, and a trumpet-toned denunciation of tyrannical usurpation upon the rights of mankind. The following eloquent and *true* estimate of the power of public opinion uttered in this speech, will live and be admired while the language finds a reader, or purity of diction a patron: "It may be asked, perhaps, what *we* can do? Are we to go to war? Are we to interfere in the Greek cause, or any other European cause? Are we to endanger our pacific relations. No, certainly not. What then, the question recurs, remains for *us?* If we will not endanger our own peace; if we will neither furnish armies nor navies to the cause which we think the just one, what is then within *our* power?

"Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies were principal reliances, even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, there has arrived a great change in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and *the public opinion* of the civilized world

is rapidly gaining an ascendency over mere brutal force. It may be silenced by military power, but it can not be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassable, inextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton's angels,

'Vital in every part,
Can not, but by annihilating, die.'

Unless this be propitiated or satisfied, it is in vain for power to talk either of triumphs or repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun, there is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovation; it calls upon him to take notice that the world, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the scepter of his victory is a barren scepter; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but molder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind." The "Greek Speech," whence the foregoing is taken, is one of the most eloquent and powerful in the American annals.

Webster took an active part upon the tariff of 1824, arguing in opposition until its passage. In the fall of that year he was again elected to Congress, almost by the unanimous vote of his constituents. The most noted question of the next session was the Panama Mission, in regard to which, he entertained views coincident with those of Clay and Adams, elsewhere set forth.

In December, 1820, he was invited to deliver a discourse commemorative of the landing of the pilgrims, and gave vent to one of the most exuberent gushes of eloquence and feeling, that ever melted a heart or enchained a hearer. He had ever cherished for the pilgrim pioneers, a venerative adoration. "Our fathers," said he, "came hither to a land from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought and here they were to fix their hopes, their attachments and their objects. Some natural tears they shed as they left the pleasant abodes of their fathers, and some emotions they suppressed when the white cliffs of their native country, now seen for the last time, grew dim to their sight. They

were acting, however, upon a resolution not to be changed. With whatever stifled regret, with whatever occasional hesitation, with whatever appalling apprehension which must sometime arise with force to shake the firmest purpose, they had yet committed themselves to heaven and the elements; and a thousand leagues of water soon interposed to separate them forever from the land which gave them birth. A new existence awaited them here; and when they saw these shores, rough, cold, barbarous and barren, as then they were, they beheld their country. That mixed and strong feeling which we call love of country, and which is, in general, never extinguished in the heart of man, grasped and embraced its proper object here. Whatever constitutes *country* except the earth and the sun, all the moral causes of affection and attachment which operate upon the heart, they had brought with them to their new abode. Before they had reached the shore, they had established the elements of a social system, and at a much earlier period had settled their forms of religious worship. At the moment of their landing, therefore, they possessed institutions of religion: and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, established by consent, founded on choice and preference, how early do these fill up our idea of country! The morning that beamed upon the first night of their repose, saw the pilgrims already established in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious liberty, and worship. Poetry has fancied nothing in the wanderings of heroes so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelligent, educated man. Everything was civilized but the physical world. Institutions containing in substance all that ages had done for human government were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and more than all, a government and a country were to commence with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence; her first breath

the inspirations of liberty; her first principle the truth of divine religion?"

WEBSTER's eloquence was grand, towering, massive, overwhelming, resistless. As an orator we doubt whether he ever had an equal. Demosthenes of ancient, and Burke of modern times, may, perhaps, rank beside him. He was selected to deliver the address on the occasion of laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument. Speaking of which, he said: "Let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of morning gild it, and parting day linger upon its summit." It was on this occasion when, turning to the survivors of the battle fought there, he said:

"Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder in the strife of your country. Behold how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads, the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flames arising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assaults; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. The hights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen, in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you, to-day, with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and to greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position, appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defense. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen to meet you here, and in

the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty to thank you! But, alas! you are not all here. Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. You lived, at least, long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of liberty, you saw arise the light of peace, like

'Another morn
Risen on mid noon:—'

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

"But,—ah!—Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civic counsels and the destined leader of our military bands; whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish, but thine shall endure! This monument may molder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail. Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

"Veterans! you are the remnant of many a well-fought battle. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth; from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington and Saratoga. Veterans of half a century! when in your youthful days, you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to a scene like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of universal gratitude."

It is related of WEBSTER, that as he was about speaking at Bunker Hill, the crowd pressed so upon him, in their eagerness to catch every word, that great inconvenience was occasioned. The authorities, after vainly trying to make the people give room, requested the orator to interpose. WEBSTER arose, and with his own peculiar gesture said: "Gentlemen, stand back!" Some individual came up and told him the crowd could not move. The speaker again turned his massive brow toward the throng, and said "*Gentlemen! stand back!*" A friend cried out: "Mr. WEBSTER! it is impossible." "*Impossible?*" said the orator, "NOTHING is impossible on *Bunker Hill.*" It was enough; the people fell back as though a simoon had met them in the face. Order was secured and he proceeded with the address.

WEBSTER was also selected to pronounce the eulogy upon Jefferson and John Adams, the singular co-incidents of whose lives invested them with additional interest. It was in this effort that he gave the correct and widely known definition of eloquence. Speaking of the attributes of his subjects and the causes of their power, he said:

"When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force and earnestness, are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It can not be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshaled in every way, but they can not compass it. It must exist in the man, and in the subject, in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it,—they can not reach it. It comes, if come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then falls rebuked and subdued as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear-

conceptions, outrunning the deductions, the higher purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object,—this, this is eloquence; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence,—it is action, noble, sublime, god-like action."

In 1826, he was chosen to the Senate of the United States to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Mills, deceased, and began his splendid career as the "defender of the Constitution." He soon measured strength with Tazewell upon the subject of the Process bill, regulative of "the proceedings of the United States courts." He also took an active part in the discussion of the tariff measures of the season. Though not fully approving of the tariff of 1826 and 1828, he voted for those measures after their amendments, as the best that could be done under the circumstances. The act of 1828 being followed by the nullification movement of South Carolina, and the hostile indications between the two sections of the country, furnished WEBSTER with opportunities of winning imperishable distinction. At the first session of the Twenty-first Congress the public land question presented itself for legislative consideration. Growing principally out of deep anxiety on the part of the North and the South to secure the balance of political power in the Western States, intense feelings of rivalry were engendered. In December, Foote of Connecticut presented his since famous resolution, which was in these words:

"*Resolved*,—That the committee be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of public land remaining unsold within each State and territory, and whether it be expedient to limit for a certain period the sales of public lands, to such land as have heretofore been offered for sale and are now subject to entry at the minimum price. And also, whether the office of Surveyor General and some of the land offices may not be abolished without detriment to the public service."

This resolution of inquiry, it would not seem at first glance, was to be the precursor of one of the most able and remarkable debates ever recorded. Benton immediately denounced it as designed to injure the West, a denunciation which he continued to indulge after all such intentions were disclaimed by the author of the resolution. On the 18th of January, 1830, he made a set speech against it, in which much bitterness against the New

England States was indicated. "The resolution was introduced," said he, "to check-mate my graduation bill. It was an offer of battle to the West. I accepted the offer; I am fighting the battle; some are crying out and hauling off; but I am standing to it and mean to stand to it. I call upon the adversary to come on and lay on; and I tell him,

'Damn'd be he that first cries hold,—enough.'"

Holmes of Maine replied to Benton on the 19th, when general discussion followed. Colonel Hayne, of South Carolina, one of the most brilliant and gifted men in the Senate, now came to Benton's assistance, and exceeded that member in his denunciation of the resolution and the New England States. The Eastern States, he avowed, "always sought to create a manufactory of paupers, who should supply the manufactories of rich proprietors, and enable then to amass great wealth," and hence were opposed to giving settlers easy access to the public domain. He frequently, too, let fall remarks of personal application to WEBSTER. Speaking of the national measures by which the interests of the growing West had been fostered, he said: "If you look to the votes on any one of these measures, and strike out from the list of ayes the names of New England members, it will be found that in *every case* the South would then have voted *down* the West, and the measures would have failed." These and expressions of similar import nettled WEBSTER and his friends. He replied to Hayne's speech with dignity and force. "While I stand here," said he, "as the representative of Massachusetts, I will be her true representative, and by the blessing of God I will vindicate her character, motives and history from every imputation coming from a respectable source." To this speech Benton replied, when in consequence of important legal engagements on the part of WEBSTER, it was moved on Thursday, the 21st, that further discussion be postponed till the ensuing Monday. Eager for the contest, and stung by WEBSTER's former speech, Hayne objected. "He saw the gentleman from Massachusetts in his seat and presumed he could make an arrangement which would enable him to attend." Laying his hand on his heart, he said: "Some things have fallen from him which rankle *here*." "The gentleman," he added, "has discharged his fire in the face of the Senate; and I hope the opportunity will now be afforded me of returning the shot." No farther indulgence was asked. Rising with impressive dignity, WEBSTER said: "Let

the discussion proceed. I am ready *now* to receive the gentleman's fire.

The debate now went on: Hayne proceeded through a speech of an hour's duration in a manner more bold and defiant than on the former occasion. He disclaimed the charge of wishing to excite feelings of ill-will in one section of the country against the other; objected to the construction given to his remarks; charged his opponent with taking a singular course in the debate by making him the object of his especial notice, instead of carrying out his declaration to vindicate the North and the East from the attacks made by Benton. "He choses," said Hayne, "to consider *me* as the author of those charges; selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent." Presuming to assign his motives for such a course, the speaker proceeded: "Has he discovered in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri that he is over*matched* by that Senator; and does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has his distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of the 'new alliances' to be formed, at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered coalition come back like the ghost of the murdered Banquo, to 'sear the eyeballs' of the gentleman, and will not 'down at his bidding?' Are dark visions of broken hopes and honors lost forever, still floating before his heated imagination." Intimating that WEBSTER made him the object of his remarks, instead of Benton, for the purpose of avoiding the contest with the latter gentleman, he continued: "The South shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made upon them from any quarter."

After this somewhat fiery exordium the speaker become more analytic; he accused WEBSTER of inconsistency,—of changing his views upon the subject-matter of the resolution. He took issue with him on the assertion that the East had favored, or manifested disposition to favor the interests of the West. Referring again to the contest in the House in 1825, as the only instance of favor extended by the East to the West, he said: "A happy union between the members of the celebrated *coalition* was consummated.

whose immediate issue was a president from one quarter of the Union, with the succession, as it was supposed, to another." After adverting to the national debt he touched upon the slavery question,—contending that the institution of slavery was calculated to elevate the interests of the people of the South, and denouncing the professions of northern men in behalf of the degraded African slave as the offspring of "false philanthropy, which like the father of evil, is constantly walking to and fro about the earth seeking whom it may devour." After dwelling upon the old order of the day,—consolidation,—in regard to which he again accused his rival of inconsistency, he concluded by referring to feelings of disunion which he alleged had been thrown out by him as being entertained by the people of the South, and said: "The gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the South, through me, the most unworthy of her servants. He has crossed the border, he has divided the State of South Carolina, is making war upon her citizens, and endeavoring to overthrow her principles and her institutions. Sir, when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict I meet him at the threshold. I will struggle while I have life for our altars and our firesides,—and if God gives me strength I will drive back the enemy discomfited. Nor shall I stop there. If the gentleman provokes war he shall have war. Sir, I will not stop at the border. I will carry the war into the enemies territory, and not consent to lay down my arms until I have obtained indemnity for the past and security for the future. It is with unfeigned reluctance, Mr. President, that I enter upon the performance of this part of my duty. I shrink almost instinctively from a course, however necessary, which may have a tendency to sectional feelings and sectional jealousies. But sir, the task has been forced upon me, and I proceed right onward to the performance of my duty. Be the consequences what they may, the responsibility is with those who have imposed upon me the necessity. The senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone; and if he shall find, according to a homely adage, that he 'lives in a glass house,' on his head be the consequences."

Motion was now made to adjourn, which being carried, no further debate was had until the ensuing Monday, when it was resumed by Hayne, bestowing first an eloquent and glowing eulogy upon South Carolina, after which, he gave vent to bitter denunci-

ation of New England, quoting largely from partisan documents to support his allegations. After enchaining the House for some time by an exhibition of masterly eloquence, he concluded thus: "If animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait of southern character, we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there, with one bold and generous sentiment in his bosom, that would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, 'you must pardon something to the spirit of liberty.'"

Thus closed one of the most eloquent and powerful efforts that ever drew attention from a political body. Hayne took his seat with a just feeling of triumph, and received the congratulations of friends all around. His victory was supposed to be complete. But the ominous words of "Harry Vane! woe to thee, Sir Harry Vane," from Oliver Cromwell, were not more fatal to the "Rump Parliament," than were those soon to be uttered by WEBSTER, to his imagined victory. It was a proud day for the gallant Hayne. His friends thought his speech unanswerable,—and even the friends of WEBSTER were solicitous of the issue. It is related by March, in his Reminisences, that "The town was divided into geographical opinions. One's home could be distinguished from his countenance or manner; a southerner's by his buoyant, joyous expression and confident air; a Yankee by his timid, anxious eye and depressed bearing. One walked with a bold, determined step that courted observation; the other with a shuffling gait that seemed to long for some dark corner, some place to hear and see and be unseen."

Nothing of the speech had escaped the mind of WEBSTER. Not the least intimidated he had taken notes of the whole, and treasured each quotation and reference. He had to reply to the senator with but little time for preparation. As soon as Hayne closed he rose to reply, but it being rather late in the day motion to adjourn was made, which was acquiesced in. WEBSTER meantime thought over the arguments of the Colonel. He was heard to laugh to himself, and being asked the cause replied: "I have been thinking of the way in which Colonel Hayne's quotation about Banquo's ghost can be turned against himself; and I am going to get up and make a note of it," which was immediately done.

The day after, WEBSTER made his reply. The occasion was one

of deep interest. The Senate chamber was unusually crowded. Many ladies were present, to accomodate whom, grave senators gave up their seats. One large, fleshy man, not being able to squeeze himself into the throng, got to a window and cut a hole through the stained glass where he could see the speaker. The Vice-president took his chair. Preliminaries were done away with by motion to hear the speech. WEBSTER was ready. Man, perhaps, never looked or felt more proudly majestic, or calm and self-possessed. Amid perfect stillness and with mighty dignity he rose. All eyes were fastened upon him as lifting his broad brow, and directing his glance full upon the Vice-president, he pronounced the exordium to his remarkable speech.

"Mr. President," said he, "when the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glances of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence; and before we float further on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least, be able to form some conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution."

The dignity and feeling with which this was said, won the profound attention of Hayne's friends, who had been so exultant. One of them affected indifference by pretending to read a newspaper, which, it is said, on examination, proved to be *upside down*. The speaker soon came to Hayne's application of Banquo's ghost, to which part of his speech he thus most happily replied:

"Sir, the honorable member was not for other reasons entirely happy in his allusions to the story of Banquo's murder and Banquo's ghost. It was not, I think, the friends, but the enemies of the murdered Banquo, at whose bidding his spirit would not down. The honorable gentleman is fresh in his reading of the English classics, and can put me right if I am wrong; but, according to my poor recollection, it was at those who had begun with caresses, and ended with foul and treacherous murder, that the gory locks were shaken. The ghost of Banquo, like that of Hamlet, was an honest ghost. It disturbed no innocent man. It knew where its appearance would strike terror, and who would cry out 'A ghost!' It made itself visible in the right quarter,

and compelled the guilty and the conscience-smitten, and none others, to start, with,

'Prithee, see there! behold! look! lo,
If I stand here, I saw him!'

Their eyeballs were seared (was it not so, sir?) who had thought to shield themselves, by concealing their own hand, and laying the imputation of the crime on a low and hireling agency in wickedness; who had vainly attempted to stifle the workings of their own coward consciences, by ejaculating, through white lips and chattering teeth, 'Thou canst not say I did it!' I have misread the great poet if those who had no way partaken in the deed of death, either found that they were, or *feared that they should be*, pushed from their stools by the ghost of the slain, or exclaimed, to a specter created by their own fears and their own remorse, 'Avaunt! and quit our sight!'"

The countenance of WEBSTER's friends now brightened as they saw him turn the flank of his opponent by turning his application against himself. While upon this part of his speech, dwelling forcibly upon the folly and instability of such characters as impersonated by Macbeth, he is said to have fixed his eye firmly on Calhoun, the Vice-president, saying of Banquo's murderers, they placed

"A barren scepter in their gripe,
Thence to be wrenched by an unlineal hand,
No son of theirs succeeding."

As he said this, all eyes turned to Calhoun, who showed evident emotion.

No further uneasiness existed as to his being able to cope successfully with his powerful antagonist, and reversionary feelings soon began to take place. The buoyancy of Hayne's friends began to animate those of WEBSTER, while the depression prevailing among them overspread those of the former. Proceeding with his speech, becoming more animated and majestic at the close of each stately period, he thus replied to Hayne's taunt about Benton's being an "over*match* for him:

"It was put as a question for me to answer, and so put as if it were difficult for me to answer, whether I deemed the member from Missouri an ovematch for myself in debate here. It seems to me, sir, that this is extraordinary language, and an extraordinary tone for the discussions of this body.

"Matches and over-matches! Those terms are more applicable

elsewhere than here, and fitter for other assemblies than this. Sir, the gentleman seems to forget where and what we are. This is a senate: a senate of equals: of men of individual honor and personal character, and of absolute independence. We know no masters; we acknowledge no dictators. This is a hall for mutual consultation and discussion; not an arena for the exhibition of champions. I offer myself, sir, as a match for no man, I throw the challenge of debate at no man's feet. But then, sir, since the honorable member has put the question in a manner that calls for an answer, I will give him an answer; and I tell him that, holding myself to be the humblest of the members here, I yet know nothing in the arm of his friend from Missouri, either alone or when aided by the arm of his friend from South Carolina, that need deter even me from espousing whatever opinions I may choose to espouse, from debating whatever I may choose to debate, or from speaking whatever I may see fit on the floor of the Senate. Sir, when uttered as matter of commendation or compliment, I should dissent from nothing which the honorable member might say of his friend. Still less do I put forth any pretensions of my own. But when put to me as a matter of taunt, I throw it back, and say to the gentleman that he could possibly say nothing less likely than such a comparison to wound my pride of personal character. The anger of its tone rescued the remark from intentional irony, which otherwise, probably, would have been its general acceptation. But, sir, if it be imagined that by this mutual quotation and commendation; if it be supposed, that by casting the characters of the drama, assigning to each his part; to one the attack; to another the cry of onset: or, if it be thought that by a loud and empty vaunt of anticipated victory, any laurels are to be won here; if it be imagined, especially, that any or all of these things will shake any purpose of mine, I can tell the honorable member, once for all, that he is greatly mistaken, and that he is dealing with one of whose temper and character he has yet much to learn. Sir, I shall not allow myself, on this occasion, to be betrayed into any loss of temper; but if provoked, as I trust I never shall allow myself to be, into crimination and recrimination, the honorable member may perhaps find that, in that contest, there will be blows to take as well as blows to give; that others can state comparisons as significant, at least, as his own, and that his impunity may, perhaps, demand of him whatevers power of taunt

and sarcasm he may possess. I commend him to a prudent husbandry of his resources."

The South Carolina senator was soon made aware that "a prudent husbandry of his resources" was, indeed, essential on the occasion. Replying to Hayne's remarks concerning the "murdered coalition," he looked and acted, it is said, as though "the thing was too mean for scorn itself." "It is," said he, "the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, and introduce it into the Senate. He can not change it from what it is,—an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself."

He met his antagonist at every point, and met him triumphantly. Coming to that part of Hayne's speech where he pronounced the eulogium upon the State of South Carolina, to the disparagement of Massachusetts, WEBSTER replied in the following lofty sentiments:

"The eulogium pronounced on the character of the State of South Carolina by the honorable gentleman, for her revolutionary and other merits, meets my hearty concurrence. I shall not acknowledge that the honorable member goes before me in regard for whatever of distinguished talent, or distinguished character, South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honor: I partake in the pride of her great names. I claim them for countrymen, one and all. The Laurenses, Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Marions,—Americans all,—whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by State lines, than their talents and patriotism were capable of being circumscribed within the same narrow limits. In their day and generation they served and honored the country, and the whole country, and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him, whose honored name the gentleman bears himself,—does he suppose me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism, or sympathy for his sufferings, than if his eyes had first opened upon the light in Massachusetts, instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir,—increased gratification and delight, rather. Sir, I thank God that,

if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is said to be able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit which would drag angels down.

"When I shall be found, sir, in my place here in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit, because it happened to spring up beyond the little limits of my own State and neighborhood; when I refuse, for any such cause, or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven,—if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue in any son of the South,—and if moved by local prejudice, or gangrened by State jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

"Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections,—let me indulge in refreshing remembrances of the past,—let me remind you that in early times no States cherished greater harmony, both of principle and of feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return. Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution,—hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation and distrust are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

"Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts,—she needs none. There she is,—behold her and judge for yourselves. There is her history,—the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie for ever. And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it,—if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it: if folly and madness, if uneasiness, under salutary and necessary restraint, shall succeed to separate it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand

in the end by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain over the friends who gather round it: and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin."

It is said that a large number of New Englanders were sitting together in the Hall, regarding their noble champion with intensest interest, and that as he closed the foregoing with his glowing eye fixed upon them, "*they shed tears like girls.*"

Meeting Hayne with unanswerable arguments upon every issue embraced in the resolution, he finally came to his remarks upon disunion. Elevated to the highest pitch of moral grandeur, his chest heaving with the emotions of his soul, he delivered the following high sentiments,—sentiments which the world knows "by heart:"

"I profess, sir, in my career hitherto to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues, in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection, or its benefits. It has been to us all, a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

"I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how

tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed.

"While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured,—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as,—What is all this worth? Nor those other words of delusion and folly,—Liberty first, and Union afterward,—but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every true American heart,—Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!"

Such was the close of what is doubtless WEBSTER's master-piece. Its delivery produced an effect upon his listeners never surpassed in the history of parliamentary debate. It is said, when "the speech was over, the tones of the orator still lingered upon the ear, and the audience, unconscious of the close, retained their positions. The agitated countenance, the heaving breast, the suffused eye, attested the continued influence of the spell upon them. Hands that in the excitement of the moment had sought each other, still remained closed in an unconscious grasp. Eye still turned to eye to receive and repay mutual sympathy, and seemed forgetful of all but the orator's presence and words." "The New Englanders," it is said, "after adjournment, walked down Pennsylvania Avenue with a firmer step and bolder air,—'pride in their port, defiance in their eye.' * * * Not one of them but felt he had gained a personal victory. Not one who was not ready to exclaim: 'Thank God, I too am a Yankee.'"

That evening WEBSTER attended the President's levee,—where

he was the cynosure of all eyes,—an object of greater attraction than Jackson himself. He received congratulations warm and heartfelt, from all sides. Animated with the glow of high intellectual excitement, he received his friends in his happiest manner. Meeting his competitor in the debate, as he approached him, he said with a smile: "How are you this evening, Colonel Hayne." "*None the better for you, sir,*" pleasantly replied the gallant South Carolinian. This debate, and WEBSTER's speech, created a profound sensation over the country, which was speedily flooded with reports in newspapers and pamphlets, from one end to the other. It identifies WEBSTER, forever, with the masters of oratory, and sheds imperishable luster upon his name. He came into the debate in the prime of life, and though little time for preparing his reply was afforded, his physical and mental powers were in a condition of full maturity. He was also in vigorous health, with every incentive around him to rouse the fiery soul of an orator. He had just entered his fiftieth year, with not a faculty impaired. The following description of him at the period has been preserved:

"The personal appearance of Mr. WEBSTER has been a theme of frequent discussion. Time had not thinned nor bleached his hair: it was dark as the raven's plumage, surmounting his massive brow in ample folds. His eyes, always dark and deep set, enkindled by some glowing thought, shone from beneath his sombre, overhanging brow like lights, in the blackness of night, from a sepulcher. It was such a countenance as Salvator Rosa delighted to paint.

"No one understood, better than Mr. WEBSTER, the philosophy of dress; what a powerful auxiliary it is to speech and manner, when harmonizing with them. On this occasion he appeared in a blue coat and buff vest,—the Revolutionary colors of buff and blue;—with a white cravat; a costume, than which none was more becoming to his face and expression. This courtly particularity of dress added no little to the influence of his manner and appearance."

Speaking of his feelings toward his antagonist during the delivery of this splendid oration, WEBSTER himself said: "I felt as if everything I had ever seen or read or heard, was floating before me in one grand panorama, and I had little else to do than to reach up and cull a thunderbolt and *hurl* it at him." Being congratulated as the author of a speech that would live through all coming time, he said: "*How I wish my poor brother*, (Ezekiel), *had lived till*

after this speech, that I might know if he would have been gratified." He never lost his affection for that only brother, nor ceased to mourn his early decease. During the administration of Jackson, as President, WEBSTER continued an active and prominent member in the Senate. He agreed and voted with Calhoun, rejecting the appointment of Van Buren as Minister to England, because apprehensive that too many concessions would be made at the court of St. James. He also, in the session of 1831–'32, advocated and voted for Dallas' bank bill, believing that the financial condition of the country demanded the measure contemplated, which passed, but was vetoed by the President.

The Nullification Ordinance and military preparations of South Carolina next claimed public attention. Jackson was re-elected President in 1832. South Carolina was in a state of revolt. Hayne resigned his seat in the Senate, and was elected governor of the State; Calhoun resigned his office as Vice-president, and succeeded him to the Senate. Hugh L. White, of Tenn, was elected Prest. *pro tem.* Congress met in December;—Calhoun, though threatened with arrest, hastened to his post. Jackson sent special orders to the army, and issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina requiring obedience to the laws of the land. Governor Hayne issued a counter proclamation, while Colonel Preston, of the same State, declared to the excited nullifiers, that "there were sixteen thousand back-countrymen with arms in their hands, and cockades in their hats, ready to march to Charleston at a moment's notice; and the moment Congress shall pass the laws recommended by the President in relation to our port, I will pour down a torrent of volunteers that shall sweep the myrmidons of the tyrant from the soil of Carolina." Soon after Calhoun's arrival, the Force Bill, making adequate provision for collecting the revenue, was reported to the House. WEBSTER, during the discussion which had taken place, had participated to no great extent, but when Calhoun came forward with all his logic and power to attack the bill, asserting the rights of a State to sit in judgment upon the acts of the federal government, he was looked to as the proper person to reply. The speech of Calhoun was conceived by an ingenious mind, and draped by a consummate master of language. WEBSTER summed up the Senator's position, thus:

"Beginning with the original error, that the Constitution of the United States is nothing but a compact between sovereign States;

asserting in the next step, that each State has a right to be its own sole judge of the extent of its own obligations, and, consequently, of the constitutionality of laws of Congress; and in the next, that it may oppose whatever it sees fit to declare unconstitutional, and that it decides for itself on the mode and measure of redress, the argument arrives at once at the conclusion, that what a State dissents from, it may nullify; what it opposes, it may oppose by force; what it decides for itself, it may execute by its own power; and that, in short, it is itself supreme over the legislation of Congress, and supreme over the decisions of the national judicature,—supreme over the Constitution of the country,—supreme over the supreme law of the land. However it seeks to protect itself against these plain inferences, by saying that an unconstitutional law is no law, and that it only opposes such laws as are unconstitutional, yet this does not, in the slightest degree, vary the result, since it insists on deciding this question for itself; and in opposition to reason and argument, in opposition to practice and experience, in opposition to the judgment of others having an equal right to judge, it says only: 'Such is my opinion, and my opinion shall be my law, and I will support it by my own strong hand. I denounce the law. I declare it unconstitutional; that is enough; it shall not be executed. Men in arms are ready to resist its execution. An attempt to enforce it shall cover the land with blood. Elsewhere, it may be binding; but here, it is trampled under foot.' This, Sir, is practical nullification.

"Against these positions WEBSTER laid down a system embodied in the following propositions:

"First. That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact, between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities; but a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals.

"Second. That no State authority has power to dissolve those relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution; and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution.

"Third. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the Constitution of the United States, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties; and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of, and

finally interpret, this supreme law, as often as it has occasion to pass acts of legislation; and in cases capable of assuming, and actually assuming, the character of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final interpreter.

"Fourth. That an attempt by a State to abrogate, annul, or nullify an act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the just powers of the general government, and on the equal rights of other States; a plain violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency."

He maintained these principles, in a speech of marked ability and close reasoning. The orator was now the statesman. No bitter sarcasm, no grand bursts of eloquence, no trope or figure was indulged in. It was the time for argument,—close, calm, convincing argument. His speech was unanswerable,—a plain, solid, unadorned exposition of the subject, and a triumphant maintenance of the supremacy of the federal government over the assumption of State rights.

The force bill passed, and increased by its requirements the agitations of the South, until the passage of the compromise tariff, before named, upon which Clay had been long and anxiously preoccupied. Webster, for his bold stand against nullification and its exponent, Calhoun, received the high approval of the administration, which felt the full extent of its indebtedness.

Nullification was followed by the memorable bank controversy. Of Jackson's refusal to consent to a re-charter of the bank and removal of the deposits no more will be said. After the latter measure Clay introduced his resolutions of censure, which originated a long and fierce debate,—Webster not participating until Jackson sent in his protest, asserting executive jurisdiction over the public funds,—that impeachment constitutionally was the only way in which a president was amenable to the House,—that he and his subordinates are responsible to the people alone, and they to him, and that he is their immediate representative. Webster took up the protest in the Senate. Disclaiming all personal ill will toward the President, and conceding that, in both civic and military capacities, he had rendered the nation important services, he gave it a searching analysis. He denounced it as an enormous assumption of power, budding with the same odious principles,

against which, "while suffering was yet afar off, our fathers raised their flag," and at war with the interests of the country. This speech was pronounced among the most powerful of the session, and won eulogiums from distinguished jurors and parliamentarians.

Before the close of the session WEBSTER delivered an able argument against the course of the Senate adopting the expunging resolutions,—he also prepared a report on finance, delivered a speech on the appointing power, and one on the French spoliation bill, in each of which, are evidences of his own great mind and industry.

In March, 1837, Van Buren came to the presidency. WEBSTER, in the meantime, complying with the wish of leading men of New York, had addressed a large mass-meeting in that city, upon the measures of Jackson's administration, entering into an elaborate review of the whole. He mentioned the annexation of Texas, a measure beginning to form a national topic, and declared himself against it from an "*entire unwillingness to do anything that would extend the slavery of the African race on this continent, or add other slave-holding States to this Union.*" The whole speech was another exhibit of his unrivaled powers.

The administration of Van Buren commenced at a period of great financial depression. The new president immediately convened Congress in extra session, to relieve the distresses of the country. They met, September, 1837. Calhoun presented a resolution against congressional legislation upon the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was amended by Clay. WEBSTER opposed all such resolutions, affirming congressional jurisdiction over the District as being ceded to the general government.

Early in January, 1838, Silas Wright brought in a bill recommending the independent treasury system. WEBSTER opposed the measure in spirit and in detail, "as in the highest degree injurious to the public interests." Calhoun, the avowed champion of the sub treasury, replied on the 15th of February, which drew from WEBSTER a speech of still greater merit and weight, than was his former one. During the balance of the session, he and Calhoun came frequently in contact. WEBSTER had, for some time, been contemplating a trip to Europe,—this he thought a favorable opportunity. He had been mentioned by his friends and party in connection with the presidency. The Whig national convention

would meet before he could return. After preparing a letter withdrawing his name from their consideration, he sailed for Europe. He traveled through England, Scotland, and France, paying much attention to agriculture, finance, and law. He was everywhere received with marks of esteem and public consideration.

The Whig national convention met during his absence, and nominated Harrison as their candidate for the presidency. WEBSTER came back to the United States in time to take active part in the canvass. He made several warm and stirring speeches for the Whig cause. Harrison was elected and inducted into office in March, 1841. In the selection of his cabinet, the new president tendered the post of Secretary of the Treasury to WEBSTER. This he declined, but signified his willingness to accept the State department, which was promptly given him.

This was a post involving duties delicate and weighty. Our affairs with England required immediate attention. The north-eastern boundary question had been long a matter of dispute. In 1783 it had been the subject of treaty; ten years after, in convention, it had been only partially settled, and further efforts, in 1803, had resulted in no final adjustment. It was again a subject of consideration at the treaty of Ghent, and commissioners were appointed to survey the line. Still unsettled, the King of the Netherlands was made umpire in the matter; his proposition was not acceptable to either of the parties. Thus the matter stood through the administration of Jackson, and though made a subject of executive consideration by his successor, Van Buren, it was still unsettled. WEBSTER, therefore, as Secretary of State, was forced to go back to the starting point, and follow the controversy through all its aspects before satisfactory results could be obtained.

The interruption of American commerce on the coast of Africa, by English vessels, upon suspicion of encouraging the slave trade, was another difficulty presenting itself to the Secretary. Oregon Territory also formed a matter of serious concern. McLeod was arraigned before the New York State courts upon criminal charges for the seizure of the Caroline, which was, during the night, sent over the falls of Niagara.

This had long been a subject of national dispute, and was still unsettled. The British government demanded the release of McLeod

upon the ground that the seizure was an official, not an individual act. WEBSTER replied by affirming his agreement in views with the ministry, and a desire to have him released. The trial and acquittal of McLeod put the matter at rest.

In December, 1841, Lord Ashburton was appointed special envoy to the United States, from England, to settle the north-eastern boundary question, WEBSTER having given the English ministry notice of extreme anxiety, on our part, to bring about such a result. He arrived at Washington in the spring of 1842, and formal agreements were immediately entered upon. During the transaction of this business, WEBSTER prepared some of the ablest and most thorough State papers ever emanating from the mind of a statesman or diplomatist. The result was the satisfactory arrangement of the difficulty, and the warmest intimacy between Ashburton and himself. They completed their work in August, 1842. The line decided upon by commissioners selected from Maine and Massachusetts, was declared to be the north-east boundary; no further interference with our commerce was guaranteed; mutual efforts to suppress the slave trade were agreed to; and the difficulties growing out of the capture of the Caroline definitely settled. The treaty, on being submitted to the Senate, was received with great unanimity.

This treaty placed WEBSTER as high in the esteem of the world as a diplomatist, as he had ever stood as an orator and a statesman. Difficulties with Mexico next presented themselves. An expedition had been undertaken by some Texians against Santa Fe, several of whom had been taken prisoners; our government urged their release. Mexico, in turn, demanded through her minister, Sig. De Bocanegra, who had more arrogance than statesmanship, that a stop be put to emigration from the United States to Texas, as being likely to involve her in difficulties. WEBSTER'S letters to the Mexican secretary, and to our minister at Mexico, were able and masterly, declaring, on our part, a position of strict neutrality and inactivity. He also became involved in an ably maintained correspondence with the Spanish minister, Chevalier De Argaiz, in regard to the Amistead, which was taken possession of by some negroes, and subsequently brought into an American port, and salvage claimed. De Argaiz asserted that it was a national matter, but was effectually silenced by WEBSTER, who proved that it was a subject of court jurisdiction.

Meantime Harrison died, and was succeeded by the Vice-president, John Tyler. His defection, by vetoing the bank and other Whig measures, soon after he came into power, shattered the party to pieces. After the resignation of every member of his cabinet, except WEBSTER, who felt too deeply the importance of negotiations then pending, to be hurried by excitement from a post of duty, Tyler was universally denounced as the betrayer of the Whig party,—the political Iscariot of the country. Much blame attached to WEBSTER for his continuance with an administration everywhere so odious to the party. The Whigs of Massachusetts met in convention at Boston, and declared "*a full and final separation* from the President of the United States." WEBSTER, soon after, visited that city, and was invited by numerous persons, those who had participated in the convention, among others, to address the people at a public dinner, with which they proposed to honor him. Declining the dinner, he fixed a day when he would address them at Faneuil Hall. At the appointed time an immense concourse had gathered. The mayor introduced the speaker, and after approving the manner in which his duties as Secretary of State had been performed, said:

"We are sure, whatever may befall the country, that you will be ready to sacrifice everything for her good, save *honor*, and on that point, amidst the perplexities of these perplexing times, we shall be at ease; for we know that he who has so nobly maintained his country's honor, may safely be intrusted with his own."

"WEBSTER opened his reply with one of these exquisitely beautiful sentences which are scattered so profusely throughout his speeches. 'I know not how it is, Mr. Mayor,' said he, 'but there is something in the echoes of these walls, or in this sea of upturned faces which I behold before me, or in the genius that alway hovers over this place, fanning ardent and patriotic feeling by every motion of its wings,—I know not how it is, but there is something that excites me strangely, deeply, before I even begin to speak.' Recurring then to the history of his life, to his labors in their midst, and to his public services in the various positions he had been called to fill; after a clear, condensed statement of the diplomatic labors in which he had been engaged, he referred directly to the remark of the mayor, that he might be safely intrusted to take care of his own honor and reputation. 'I am,' said he, 'exactly of his opinion.' I am quite of opinion that,

on a question touching my own honor and character, as I am to bear the consequences of the decision, I had a great deal better be trusted to make it. No man feels more highly the advantage of the advice of friends than I do; but on a question so delicate and important as that, I like to choose myself the friends who are to give me advice; and upon this subject, gentlemen, I shall leave you as enlightened as I found you.' With this rather unpromising preface, he proceeded to remark upon the 'outpouring of wrath' to which he has been subjected for remaining in the President's Cabinet. He was 'a little hard to coax, but as to being driven, that was out of the question.' He had chosen to trust to his own judgment, and thinking he was at a post where he was in the service of the country and could do it good, he had staid there. Again apologizing for entering upon topics on which his opinions might be different from those of his audience, he cited the resolutions passed 'by the most respectable convention of Whig delegates,' which had met in Boston a few days before. He noticed among them a declaration, made on behalf of the Whigs of the State, a 'full and final separation from the President.' 'I am a Whig,' said he,—'I have always been a Whig, and I always will be one; and if there are any who would turn me out of the pale of that communion, let them see who will get out first. I am ready to submit to all decisions of Whig conventions on subjects on which they are authorized to make decisions. But it is quite another question, whether a set of gentlemen, however respectable they may be as individuals, shall have the power to bind me on matters which I have not agreed to submit to their decision.' He went on to say that three years of the President's term of office still remained; that great public interests required his attention; and asked whether all his measures upon these subjects, however useful they might be, were to be opposed by the Whig party of Massachusetts, right or wrong. There were a great many Massachusetts Whigs also in office,—Collectors, District Attorneys, Postmasters, Marshals. What was to become of them in this separation? Mr. Everett, our Minister in England, was *he* expected to come home on this separation, and yield his place to somebody else? 'And in regard to the individual who addresses you,—what do his brother Whigs mean to do with him? Where do they mean to place me? Generally, when a divorce takes place, the parties divide their children. I am anxious to know where, in

the case of this divorce, *I* shall fall.' WEBSTER said he had alluded to this matter because he could not fail to see that the resolution had an intentional or an unintentional bearing on his position. It meant that if he should choose to remain in the President's councils he must cease to be a Massachusetts Whig. 'And I am quite ready,' said he, 'to put that question to the people of Massachusetts.' He proceeded to say that there was too general a disposition to postpone all attempts to do good to the country to some future day. Many Whigs thought they saw a prospect of having more power than they had. But there was a Whig majority in Congress, and the substantial fruits of the great victory of 1840 could, with moderate and prudent councils, still be secured. But nothing but cordial and fraternal union could save the party from renewed prostration."*

WEBSTER's speech, on this occasion, was powerful and convincing, and had an effect on the sentiment of the people, but did not turn back the tide of public opinion then sweeping against the administration. In 1843 WEBSTER, having finished the important negotiation just spoken of, quit Tyler's cabinet, and retired to private life. For some time he was occupied with professional business, or engaged on his farm. He loved rural occupations, and engaged in them with fondness and relish. Up with the lark, inhaling the sweet morning air at Marshfield, he enjoyed a most enviable respite from the harassing perplexities of public concerns. He always arose at dawn. The following letter, written at advanced age, shows something of his habits, and appreciation of that purest hour of the day:

RICHMOND, VA.,
Five o'clock, A. M., April 29, 1852.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—

"Whether it be a favor or an annoyance, you owe this letter to my early habits of rising. From the hour marked at the top of the page, you will naturally conclude that my companions are not now engaging my attention, as we have not calculated on being early travelers to-day.

"This city has a 'pleasant seat.' It is high; the James river runs below it, and when I went out, an hour ago, nothing was heard but the roar of the Falls. The air is tranquil and its

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* Lyman. Everett.

temperature mild. It is morning, and a morning sweet and fresh, and delightful. Everybody knows the morning in its metaphorical sense, applied to so many occasions. The health, strength, and beauty of early years, lead us to call that period the 'morning of life.' Of a lovely young woman we say she is 'bright as the morning,' and no one doubts why Lucifer is called 'son of the morning.'

"But the morning itself, few people, inhabitants of cities, know any thing about. Among all our good people, no one in a thousand sees the sun rise once in a year. They know nothing of the morning. Their idea of it is, that it is that part of the day which comes along after a cup of coffee and a beefsteak, or a piece of toast. With them morning is not a new issuing of light, a new bursting forth of the sun, a new waking up of all that has life from a sort of temporary death, to behold again the works of God, the heavens and the earth; it is only a part of the domestic day, belonging to reading the newspapers, answering notes, sending the children to school and giving orders for dinner. The first streak of light, the earliest purpling of the east, which the lark springs up to greet, and the deeper and deeper coloring into orange and red, till at length the 'glorious sun is seen, regent of the day,'—this they never enjoy, for they never see it.

"Beautiful descriptions of the morning abound in all languages, but they are the strongest perhaps in the East, where the sun is often an object of worship.

"King David speaks of taking to himself the 'wings of the morning.' This is highly poetical and beautiful. The wings of the morning are the beams of the rising sun. Rays of light are wings. It is thus said that the sun of righteousness shall arise 'with healing in his wings,'—a rising sun that shall scatter life, health and joy throughout the Universe.

"Milton has fine descriptions of morning, but not so many as Shakspeare, from whose writings pages of the most beautiful imagery, all founded on the glory of morning, might be filled.

"I never thought that Adam had much the advantage of us from having seen the world while it was new.

"The manifestations of the power of God, like His mercies, are 'new every morning,' and fresh every moment.

"We see as fine risings of the sun as ever Adam saw; and its risings are as much a miracle now as they were in his day, and

I think a good deal more, because it is now a part of the miracle, that for thousands and thousands of years he has come to his appointed time, without the variation of a millionth part of a second. Adam could not tell how this might be. I know the morning,—I am acquainted with it, and I love it. I love it fresh and sweet as it is,—a daily new creation, breaking forth and calling all that have life and breath and being to new adoration, new enjoyments, and new gratitude.

DANIEL WEBSTER."

To WEBSTER, there was a high morality in labor;—cultivating industrious habits, and holding converse with the vast works of the Deity. He exemplified Nature's nobility,—possessed of a sound, robust constitution, a well developed soul, with proper inclinations to do right. The Bible was his daily companion, and Nature his grandest study. No man ever had greater depth of moral principle, or better conceptions of God and his works. Often at Marshfield, the wise and the good for his companions, would conversation turn upon religion and religious subjects. On all such occasions, WEBSTER showed himself a profound scripturist, possessed of the deepest reverence for its sublime truths.

On one occasion, talking upon this subject, WEBSTER laid his hand on the Bible, saying: "This is the book. I have read through the entire Bible many times. I now make a practice to go through it once a year. It is the book of all others for lawyers as well as divines; and I pity the man that can not find in it a rich supply of rules for his conduct,—it fits man for life, it prepares him for death." Comparatively speaking, how few men there are who ever read the Bible through once during their lives.*

WEBSTER had a high admiration of the Book of Job, and as an "epic poem, regarded it far superior to the Illiad or Odyssey." He read it through, over and over again, and would often repeat favorite passages,—among others, the following: "Then the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, and said: Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? Gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me. Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding," etc. Nothing, it is affirmed,

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* It may be remembered that it only requires the perusal of something over three chapters a day to read through that book of books every year,—every one might do this.

could be more delightful than his recitations of this and other favorite portions, not only from the Bible, but the various authors of the world. Thoroughly versed in the ancient, and English classics, a ripe scholar and profound thinker, he at once caught the spirit of its author, and in reciting any production, glowed with the same inspiration that dictated it.

On other occasions, conversation would seasonably assume a lighter turn, when his exhaustless fund of humor and anecdotes, related in a manner perfectly inimitable, would provoke the mirth, and promote the entertainment of his company for hours and hours. He used, in his happiest vein, to relate the following of himself, which he enjoyed as well as those he was entertaining:

"A few years since, but before the great Northern Railroad passed through his farm, WEBSTER was on his way to the old homestead; he took the stage at Concord, New Hampshire, and had for his companion a very old man. After some conversation, he ascertained that the old man was from the neighboring town of Salisbury, and asked him if he ever knew Captain Webster. 'Surely, I did,' said the old man; 'and the Captain was a brave and good man, sir; and nobly did he fight for us, with General Stark, at Bennington.' 'Did he leave any children!' inquired WEBSTER. 'O, yes; there was Ezekiel, and I think, Daniel.' 'And what become of them?' asked WEBSTER. 'Why, Ezekiel, —and he was a powerful man, sir: I have heard him plead in court often. Yes, sir, he was a powerful man, and fell dead while pleading in Concord.' 'Well,' said WEBSTER, 'and what become of Daniel?' 'Daniel,—Daniel,' repeated the old man thoughtfully; 'why, Daniel, I *believe*, is a lawyer about Boston somewhere.'"*

The emphasis with which the old gentleman pronounced "I *believe*," in regard to himself after knowing so much about his less distinguished brother was too much for the great statesman, and he preserved the joke. He used also to relate the following, with an equal degree of zest and good humor:

"He was forced one night to make a journey by private conveyance from Baltimore to Washington. The man who drove the wagon was such an ill-looking fellow, and told so many stories of robberies and murders that, before they had gone far, WEBSTER

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* Lyman's Memoirs.

was almost frightened out of his wits. At last the wagon stopped in the midst of a dense wood, when the man, turning suddenly round to his passenger, exclaimed fiercely, 'Now, sir, tell me who you are?' WEBSTER replied, in a faltering voice, and ready to spring from the vehicle, 'I am DANIEL WEBSTER, member of Congress from Massachusetts!' 'What,' rejoined the driver, grasping him warmly by the hand, 'are you WEBSTER? Thank God! thank God! You were such a deuced ugly chap, that I took you for some cut-throat or highwayman.'"*

His cotemporaries and intimate associates, all agreed that he "was the best story teller in the world," and possessed a greater variety of interesting reminiscences than any other American statesman.

But we resume;—WEBSTER took an active part in the presidential canvass of 1844, and in common with the Whig party, felt deep mortification at the defeat of Clay. On the election of Polk to the Presidency, he was re-elected to the United States Senate, in the place of Rufus Choate. Congress convened in 1845, and WEBSTER took his seat among the most prominent men of the minority. The Oregon boundary question, left unsettled in the Ashburton treaty, and Texas annexation were the leading topics of discussion. To the latter measure he was firmly opposed. Upon the subject of tariff he occupied the old Whig ground. Upon the Oregon question, after the division of the territory satisfactory to both America and England, and efforts had been made to organize a territorial government to the portion belonging to us,—he insisted, in the Senate, that the Missouri compromise of 1821, "excluding slavery above, and admitting it below the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude," should apply to the new territory also. He warmly contended for the exclusion of slavery from Oregon. "The Southern States," said he, "have peculiar laws, and by those laws there is property in slaves. This is purely local. The real meaning, then, in making complaint is, that they can not go into the territories of the United States carrying with them their own peculiar local law,—a law which creates property in persons. This demand, I, for one, shall resist." His speech on this subject was of profound ability, and created intense interest; he closed by laying down the following propositions:

* Ibid.

"First. That when this Constitution was adopted, nobody looked for any new acquisition of territory to be formed into slaveholding States.

"Second. That the principles of the Constitution prohibited, and were intended to prohibit, and should be construed to prohibit, all interference of the general government with slavery, as it existed, and as it still exists, in the States. And

"Third. Looking to the operation of these new acquisitions, which have in this great degree had the effect of strengthening that interest in the South by the addition of *five* States, I feel that there is nothing unjust, nothing of which any honest man can complain, if he is intelligent; I feel that there is nothing which the civilized world, if they take notice of so humble a person as myself, will reproach me when I say, as I said the other day, that I have made up my mind for one, that under no circumstances will I consent to the further extension of the area of slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of slave representation in the House of Representatives."

He succeeded in carrying his point,—slavery was forever excluded from the territory.

Meantime annexation had taken place, and hostilities with Mexico, as WEBSTER early foresaw, had grown out of the measure. The war was prosecuted vigorously. Penetrating the enemies country, triumphant at every point, our arms had placed the American banner upon the Capitol of the ancient Aztec kings. The treaty of Hidalgo Gaudelupe was concluded, and presented to Congress for ratification. The provisions of this treaty stipulated the accession of immense territorial area to the United States,—California and New Mexico. The contest that had been carried on in the field, was now transferred to the halls of Congress. WEBSTER was opposed to the treaty. He did not think we needed territorial extension,—and readily foresaw that the slavery question, with all its perilous influences, would be re-agitated. The acquisition of more slave States, he felt, would establish a balance of power fearfully dangerous to the country, and destroy proper relationships between the two branches of the national legislature. "I think," said he, "I see a course adopted which is likely to turn the Constitution of the land into a deformed monster, into a curse rather than a blessing; in fact, a frame of unequal government, not founded on proper representation, not

founded on equality, but on the grossest inequality; and I think that this process will go on until the Union shall fall to pieces. I resist it to-day and always. Whoever falters, whoever flies, I continue the contest." The treaty was speedily ratified, and high excitement followed. Slavery or no slavery in the newly acquired territories formed the issue of the next presidential contest, while the exercise of the veto power was one of minor consideration, in selecting the candidate.

Zachary Taylor, purely upon considerations of his military fame, was brought out as the Whig candidate for President, in 1848, and elected over his opponent, Lewis Cass, by an immense majority. WEBSTER refused to be a candidate for the vice-presidency in the contest; he was in fact a candidate for the first office, and much dissatisfied with the nomination of Taylor. That the claims of such men as WEBSTER and Clay should have been set aside at that time, and one preferred who had never in the least, acquainted himself with the politics or institutions of his country, is a sad commentary upon the old Whig party, great as it was,—and that Taylor should have consented to quit the field where he had won so many laurels, to become a candidate for the highest office in the gift of man, knowing, as he did, that others had vastly superior qualifications for the position, must forever, in the minds of correct-thinking men, detract from his fame,—great as it was. Without detracting from Taylor, it is but just to affirm, that his supersedure in the command in Mexico, after his brilliant victories, by Clay or WEBSTER, would have been more appropriate, than his elevation to the presidency over two such veteran statesmen; and that the acceptance of the post of commander of the army by either of them, after the battle of Monterey, would have been equally generous, as was his acceptance of the nomination.

On Taylor's inauguration into office, March 5th, 1849, discussions incident to the treaty with Mexico immediately arose. Through the turmoil of the early part of Taylor's administration, to which, from a variety of causes, he did not occupy the most friendly relation, WEBSTER stood by the Union, combating with his mighty arm and mightier mind, the dangers of sectional strife. When the compromise measures were presented, he was found where he always stood, ready to make any reasonable concessions to preserve the Union. He made glowing and eloquent speeches favoring the admission of California, and the organization of

territorial government for Utah without reference to the slavery question; he also expressed a willingness to settle the Texas boundary question, by purchasing that portion of New Mexico claimed by Texas, and favored the fugitive slave law, preparing however a qualifying clause guaranteeing, in all cases, the right of the fugitive to trial by jury. On the accession of Vice-president Millard Filmore, to the Presidency, after the death of Taylor, WEBSTER was called to the Cabinet as Secretary of State. Fillmore was bitterly assailed by the North for appending his signature to the fugitive slave law, and it required all his wisdom and patriotism, seconded by the commanding influence of WEBSTER, to allay the storm that swept over the country. This influence he had. The law was peculiarly odious to Massachusetts, particularly to the people of Boston. Notwithstanding all this, WEBSTER fearlessly insisted upon its provisions being carried out. Though WEBSTER contributed greatly to restore peace and harmony among the disaffected, his course drew upon him severe animosities from the opponents of the law, and afforded cause of regret among many of his warm admirers in New England.

Soon after he became Secretary of State, he wrote his famous Hulseman letter. Austria had applied the knife to the neck of Hungary, prostrate, and gasping in the last throes of her nationality. Mr. Mann was sent to Austria and Russia on a mission of observation. In his reports to this government he indulged in reflections of just severity upon the despotism of the two countries. Chevalier Hulseman wrote to the State department, denouncing all such interference. This insolent demand provoked from WEBSTER the celebrated reply known as the Hulseman letter. The tone of this document is haughty and uncompromising. Treating con temptuously the Chevalier's disposition to have a controversy about the matter, it laid his arguments low as the despotism of which he was the minion. Vindicating the entertainment of active sympathy, on the part of America, toward any people struggling for independence, he hurled against his tyrannical masters, indignation deep as scorn could make it. It breathes a love of liberty, a fervid patriotism, a bold frankness, and a proud republicanism in every line and word. It is among the finest specimens of literary composition and eloquent diction to be found in the language. Taken as a whole, it is a remarkable State paper, worthy the careful study of statesmen, scholars and diplomatists.

In 1851, with the President and other members of the Cabinet, WEBSTER took a brief tour through western New York, and was honored in Buffalo with a public dinner and other testimonials of regard. On resuming his official duties at Washington, our affairs with Spain demanded attention. The fillibustering expeditions of Lopez against the Island of Cuba, brought about unpleasant difficulties. The disastrous results of his attempts are well known. A number of prisoners were detained upon the Island, for whose relief WEBSTER promptly interposed, and secured the release of many. Some of these were of doubtful citizenship, a consideration that provoked a correspondence with the Spanish consul, in which the Secretary fully maintained his diplomatic ability.

Among his last services was the adjustment of the fishery question with England. Also the Tehuantepec treaty, and affairs with Central America, became subjects of moment and importance. In regard to Central America, the renewed operation of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty engrossed his attention.

Warmly enlisted in behalf of liberty the world over, he felt a deep interest in the cause of Hungary, and used every exertion to secure to Kossuth a safe passage to this country, having given our minister at Constantinople instructions to prevent his capture by the Austrians. After his arrival here, he visited the Capitol. A public dinner was given him at Washington, in January 1852. WEBSTER was present, and made an eloquent speech welcoming the exile patriot to the hospitalities and freedom of America, and expressing the warmest sympathies for his country and the glorious cause in which she had been engaged, without however indicating a desire of active participation, on the part of America, in the concerns of other and foreign nations.

These were among the last services of DANIEL WEBSTER. He continued in his official position, discharging every duty with fidelity and consummate wisdom till the latter part of the year 1852, when, in consequence of ill health, he was forced to repair to Marshfield. He had not long been at his old home, whence had irradiated rarest gems of intellect, the most vivid flashes of genius, and purest blossoms of affection, when it became evident that his mortal race was nearly run. He steadily grew worse, and on the 14th of October, his life was despaired of. His condition was telegraphed over the country, and a Union's heart throbbed mournfully toward Marshfield, and a Union's ear bent in eager listening

for latest intelligence from the dying statesman. Intelligence came, but no hope. He sank rapidly till the 24th, when he called his family and friends to his bedside to say a last farewell, requesting they should all remain at the mansion till the scene was over. He asked how long before the time of final departure would arrive. Being answered two or three hours, he said: "I suppose I must lie here quietly till it comes." He then commenced vomiting with great pain and difficulty. A simple medicine was given him by Dr. Jeffries, when WEBSTER said: "Something more Doctor, more,—I want restoration." Near eleven o'clock, the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," recurring to his mind, he repeated the words, "Poet, Poetry, Gray. Gray." His son, Fletcher, repeated the first line:

"The curfew tells the knell of parting day."

"That 's it, that 's it," exclaimed his father. Several verses were then read, to which he listened with evident pleasure. He sank calmly until about two o'clock, expressing a hope that he might retain his mental faculties to the last;—he also mentioned the difficulty of dying. Dr. Jeffries repeated the consoling passage from the 23d Psalm: "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me: Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me." "The fact, the fact," exclaimed the dying man. "That is what I want,—Thy rod, Thy rod,—Thy staff, Thy staff." His breathing now became difficult,—the final moment had come. The orator, statesman and scholar, with his intellect unclouded breathed his last, truthfully saying: "I STILL LIVE."* He was buried at Marshfield, where after generations will make pilgrimages to do homage to the "Defender of the Constitution," and claim from Massachusetts a part of his fame, as much American as her own Plymouth Rock.

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* Lyman's Memoirs and Reminiscences.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

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THE war of the Revolution, justly regarded as the most important event in American history, attaches to the heroes whose energies and capacities it developed, a veneration not fully accorded to the leaders of our arms since that period, and produces in the mind of the people a disposition to give their admiration to those connected with the first great struggle, and overlook, comparatively, the merits of men who victoriously consummated more recent events. Yet in the study of the times since that period, we see that men have arisen, whose talents, firmness, and patriotism, might have found them equal to its momentous crises, had the emergencies of their day and generation called them into action. Among these we find recorded on the pages of our military history the name of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Harrison is a name, ancient and honorable, traceable back to coveted connections among the first families of old England. They early emigrated to Virginia, of which Benjamin Harrison, father of our subject, was at one time governor. He subsequenty filled several important posts, and finally became one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. His son WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, was born at Berkley, Virginia, February 9th, 1773, soon after which event, his father died.

On the death of his father he became the protege of Robert Morris, the great Revolutionary patriot. He received a fair education, and read medicine with a view of devoting himself to its practice. While poring over books of anatomy and *materia medica*, the war-whoop of hostile Indians fell upon his ear and

echoed over the western borders. Contrary to the wishes of his friends, he determined to shoulder his gun and fight the savages. Receiving from Washington himself the commission of ensign, in his twentieth year he was regularly mustered into service in an artillery regiment. His first duty was to escort reinforcements from Fort Hamilton, through a dense forest full of Indians, to the Miami, which was accomplished with great courage and dexterity, —so much so, that he was advanced to a lieutenant's commission.

In 1793, he attached himself to the army under the immediate eye of Anthony Wayne. The condition of the settlers of our frontier was distressing,—the Indians had been frequently victorious, and perpetrated their savage deeds with merciless rapacity. In the language of Congress, giving instructions to Wayne, "Another defeat would prove inexpressibly ruinous to the country." Wayne immediately hastened on to Pittsburgh, a spot already renowned in Indian warfare, as being the site of old Fort Duquesne. Desertion was common among the troops, to prevent which, Wayne was forced to adopt rigorous measures. Such was the discipline under which young HARRISON was trained for military duties. Having determined on active operations, Wayne broke up his quarters at Pittsburgh, and descending the Ohio river in boats, stopped at Fort Washington, a spot now covered by the flourishing city of Cincinnati.

Remaining here for some time, in the fall of 1793, he repaired to the Miami river, and erected a fort, which he called Fort Greenville. Thence HARRISON was dispatched with a body of men to take possession of the old battle ground that witnessed the bloody defeat of St. Clair, which was done without bloodshed; the bones of the slain that had long whitened the field were appropriately buried, and HARRISON returned to camp, where he received the compliments of his commander, and was afterward favorably mentioned in the official proceedings. Being reinforced with a body of Kentucky troops, Wayne penetrated the heart of the Indian country to the junction of the Maumee and Auglaize rivers, where he built a fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance, —a name in perfect keeping with his intrepid character. Here, after fruitless overtures of peace, a bloody and decisive battle took place, favorable to the American arms, which resulted in a treaty of peace and vast territorial acquisitions to the United States.

Wayne, in his official reports, mentions HARRISON in the most high and complimentary terms.

Upon the successful issue of this expedition, so favorable a hold had HARRISON's military capacities taken upon the superior officers and War department, he was promoted to the rank of captain, and placed in command of Fort Washington. While in this command he married. His wife was the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the father of the Miami settlement. She was a lady of strong sense and sterling worth. Through the long and eventful life of her husband, she was the faithful partner of his joys and sharer of his trials. She still survives, and lives at North Bend, Ohio, the venerable relict of the hero of Tippecanoe. She was residing at the old homestead, at that place, when the house was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1858.

In 1797, his services in the field being no longer needed, he was appointed by President Adams, Secretary of the North-western territory, which position he held till his election to Congress, from the territory, in 1799. He then resigned his secretaryship, and took his seat in the Sixth Congress. About this time, the territory filling up with rapidity, had become sufficiently settled to take some part in the strifes of party politics. Jefferson and Adams were each aspiring to the presidency, HARRISON preferring the former. While a member of Congress, he secured the passage of a bill which became law, providing for the subdivision and sale of the public lands in the territory in small parcels, enabling the honest working emigrant to secure a homestead upon easy terms. In this, though opposed by the monopolist and the speculator, he met the approval of the people. He also procured the passage of a bill, protective of preemption rights, that was of much service to the settlers. The territory of Indiana was organized by the same Congress, and HARRISON received the appointment of governor. The new territory embraced then a vast area, including Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois, the capital being on the Wabash, where now is seen the thriving city of Vincennes. Over this wide range of country, with its then sparse population, HARRISON possessed, as is in one sense the case with all territorial governors, almost absolute power. The confirmation of grants, the veto of legislative acts, the appointment of magistrates, and the enforcement of law were each powers which he possessed to an unrestricted extent. His ermine honor, and upright character

in every element, eminently fitted him for the exercise of these powers without view of elevating himself, but solely for the public good. Conjoined with his civic duties, he was made major-general of the militia, and had the appointment of all officers in the territory below the rank of general.

In 1804, being duly vested with authority by President Jefferson, he negotiated a treaty with the Sacs and Fox Indians, whereby all the land between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, extending from the source of Fox river to Wisconsin, came into the possession of the United States. Other purchases of lands in the Mississippi valley were obtained by satisfactory negotiation. With the perfect good will,—and indeed the strongly expressed wishes of the people, he was continued governor of the territory through the successive administrations of Adams, Jefferson, and a part of Madison's,—embracing a period of thirteen years. Pacific and sincere, however, as were the wishes of the United States toward the Indians, hostilities were not done with. In 1806, Tecumseh, the most eloquent, persuasive, and daring warrior of all the Indian tribes, conceived the bold design of uniting all the tribes in a league of extermination against the whites. In this he was assisted by his cunning brother, the Prophet. His boldness and address, coupled with an iron will and an untamable spirit, gave him great influence over his brethren. He went from post to post, and by every conceivable means, tried to stir up a war spirit. It was also supposed, and no doubt truly, that he was aided by British emissaries, who were secretly at work on the northern frontier. HARRISON immediately took steps to counteract Tecumseh's designs, and sent special messengers to the pacific Indians, reprimanding them for their course. These messengers were rejected. The tomahawk was unburied, and they gathered in vast numbers around Fort Wayne. Neglecting other pursuits, they reached a point of utter destitution, and were suffering for food. Hoping still to reconcile them by a material proof of esteem, HARRISON sent them a supply of provisions. It was all in vain. The Prophet took up his quarters at Tippecanoe, where his savage followers thirsting for blood, gathered around him. Soon after, he had an interview with HARRISON, at which, though he pretended to desire, above all things, peace with the whites, he asserted the Indian claim to the territory, upon the grounds that a legitimate cession required the consent of all the tribes, which he said had

been withheld. HARRISON maintained the claims of the United States, and asserted a determination to defend them. They parted, the chief entertaining more warlike feelings than before. He concentrated his braves with a sweeping rapidity, and soon had over a thousand butchering warriors at his beck. In 1809, at a council held at Fort Wayne, HARRISON procured, by purchase from the Miamies, an additional extent of territory, stretching along the Wabash above Vincennes. Tecumseh who was absent at the time sounding the war note to other tribes, on his return was very indignant, and threatened condign punishment upon the chiefs of the tribes who had sold the lands. Things growing darker, HARRISON soon after invited Tecumseh to Vincennes, to hold a council together, limiting his escort to thirty men. Disregarding the limitation, the chief went accompanied by four hundred painted warriors, armed to the teeth. Sullenly refusing to hold council in the governor's house, he insisted that they should go to some trees near by. The governor was forced to submit. This meeting took place, August, 1810. Tecumseh opened the discussion, by reiterating the injustice of the occupancy of the land of the aborigines. HARRISON replied by saying that if the Miamies thought it to their interest to sell their lands, the Shawnees had no right to complain,—the two tribes being remotely situated. Tecumseh's eye rolled like a ball of fire. Every muscle of his frame was agitated as he sprang to his feet, and with quivering lip and chattering teeth, hissed, "*It is false*," upon the ears of the governor. In an instant four hundred warriors were on their feet with brandished tomahawks and flourishing war-clubs, looking fiercely and menacingly upon Harrison and his escort of twelve soldiers. The escort was about to fire, but the coolness and address of HARRISON prevented. With great calmness and self-possession, he said to Tecumseh: "You are a bad man: I will have no further talk with you. You must now take your departure from these settlements and hasten immediately to your camp." The wily chief fearing he had been too hasty in his insolence to HARRISON requested another interview. This was granted, but the precaution was had of assembling two companies of armed militia. At this interview the chiefs of several powerful tribes announced their intention of adhering to the fortunes of Tecumseh. To which the governor replied, that he would inform the President of their determination. The next day, HARRISON,

still conciliatory, paid Tecumseh a visit at his camp, but nothing satisfactory resulted from the interview with the haughty chief, who said to the governor, he only hoped that the Great Spirit would put sense enough in his head to make him give up the lands in question. Tecumseh now retired to Tippecanoe and joined the Prophet, where they both continued with untiring energy the concentration of forces. The Indians after this became blood-thirsty and terribly desperate. Indiscriminate depredations were committed as though definite hostilities were raging. Murders were committed upon innocent border settlers, and the demand for satisfaction resolutely refused. So troublous had the times become, that HARRISON received orders to march in force against the combination at Tippecanoe, but not to strike a blow while it could possibly be avoided. These injunctions were obeyed, though they gave the Indians much the advantage by placing the Americans on the defensive, thus depriving them of all favorable opportunities resulting from skillful manœuvring. His force, nine hundred strong, marched from Fort Harrison, some twenty leagues above Vincennes, October 28th, 1811. Universal joy prevailed among the settlers as these efforts were made to destroy the bands of midnight murderers, that hovering and prowling about the country, only made themselves known by the crack of a rifle, the gleam of a tomahawk, or shrill war-cry. Their march lay through a country, sometimes gullied with deep ravines, then opening into stretching prairies, and anon shaded with thick woods filled with every variety of obstruction.

Vigilantly guarding against surprise, they proceeded with that caution and order indicative of experienced generalship, and a complete knowledge of the foe, until near the enemy's head-quarters. Indians now began to appear in great numbers, exhibiting a warlike appearance and the most determined ferocity. Being worn down by their march, it was deemed best to halt, take some rest and refreshment, and hold a council of war. Knowing perfectly well that an attack might probably be made upon them that night, every effort was made to prevent surprise. The soldiers rested in their clothes with loaded firelocks in their hands, while an unusual number of outposts were stationed at proper distances to give notice of the approach of the foe, and the governor's horse kept saddled ready to be mounted at a moment's warning.

In this condition they remained until near day-light. About

four o'clock, the moon shining dimly, HARRISON and his officers were seated around the fire conversing upon the probable results of the expedition, not dreaming of an immediate attack, though well prepared to sustain one. The Indians, meanwhile, had crept stealthily along in the grass until within a few yards of the army. On they came, a thousand strong, expecting to overcome the sentinels and accomplish the butchery of a sleeping army. At length one of the sentries descried something crouched close to him; judging rightly that it was an Indian, he instantly discharged the contents of his gun into his body. In an instant a thousand yells were raised, and as many balls hissed among the troops of HARRISON. The savages then rushed fiercely upon the camp, little thinking that every man reposed on a loaded gun, prepared to give them a bloody welcome. HARRISON immediately formed his men and extinguished the fires, which had served to direct the Indian shots. Every man was ready for the foe, and though the contest on the left flank raged, for a time, fierce and bloody, the Indians were forced to give back. They screened themselves among some trees near at hand, when rallying, they again rushed to the charge. The scene was now terrific. HARRISON was here, and there, regardless of danger, amid perfect showers of balls and unceasing sword clashes; his men like veterans of a hundred fields, true as steel, quailed not before the yell, the tomahawk gleam, and the death shot. Guided by the rattle of dried deer's hoofs, the savages would rush forward with loud shouts, and recoil to the same ominous noise. Perched on an eminence at some distance, their infatuated Prophet sang his wizard-like incantations, at which his wretched followers would rush again to the embrace of death. Thus the battle raged, till daylight like "a messenger of mercy" broke over the scene. Victory was seen in the faces of the Americans,—defeat marked the countenances of the Indians. Conducting the movement in person, HARRISON led his men to the attack,—the cavalry at the same time charged upon them with an impetuosity they could not withstand. The enemy broke and fled in confusion, until reaching a swamp, inaccessible to cavalry, they came to a halt, more from exhaustion, than policy or a desire to renew the contest. They were everywhere repulsed, and so completely, that a check was forever given to the formidable league being consummated by Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. Such was the battle of Tippecanoe,—

one of the most splendid and decisive victories in the records of Indian warfare.

It will be readily perceived that the extreme caution of HARRISON, his thorough knowledge of his enemy, and the proper mode of fighting them, were all that kept his army from annihilation. Had they lain on their blankets,—had they not kept their guns ready for any emergency, and the most vigilant watch, it would have been very easy for their stealthy foe to have overcome the sentinels and accomplished the butchery of the entire party, in which event, the whole north-western territory would have been overrun, and subjected to horrors and devastations, at which humanity recoils. Too much credit can not well be ascribed to the gallant HARRISON and his courageous men for their behavior in this desperate action.

Tecumseh was not present when this battle was fought; following the war trail and keeping eye upon the favorite scheme of consolidating all the tribes in hostilities with his whites, he had gone among his southern brethren, where he hoped to make his appeals and efforts as efficient as he had elsewhere done. On his return, however, he was not discouraged at the disastrous turn things had taken. Souls like his may be subdued, but conquered, never. Though many of the tribes who had entered into the league at the solicitations of the Prophet, now laid down their arms and renounced further hostile movements, the intrepid Tecumseh, still roused them to activity and stirred the elements of strife among the unfriendly tribes. He was further encouraged by the threatening aspect of affairs with Great Britain, against which nation, it will be remembered, war was formally declared in June, 1812. Indian hostilities, after this, increased to an alarming extent.

Soon as war was declared, the people of the West, with great unanimity and a well-placed preference, chose HARRISON leader of their forces. He repaired to Frankfort, Kentucky, and in conference with men acquainted with the condition of the country, devised plans for a campaign, which, had they been put into execution it is said would have prevented the surrender of Hull, the capture of Detroit, and the disastrous consequences that followed. This event being succeeded by wanton depredations in the north-western territory, a large portion of which was left open to the enemy, HARRISON immediately received the rank of brigadier-general, and was instructed to make head against

the savages. Great difficulties were occasioned by the scarcity of clothes and provisions, and the newly-created general found that his commission involved him in a situation extremely delicate and important. His first movement was upon Fort Wayne, which was menaced by a large body of Indians and in imminent peril. He reached the post, December 9th, 1812, immediately after which he was invested with the supreme command of the entire north-western army, amounting to about ten thousand men. These, however, were scattered in comparatively small bodies over a wide range of country, and nothing but the exercise of the authority given him by the War department, to draw from the public funds and select his own officers, and do whatever his discretion might dictate, enabled him to relieve the country.

His next objects were to drive the British from Detroit, get command of Lake Michigan, frustrate their plans in Canada, and relieve the frontiers. All the country between Upper Sandusky and Fort Defiance was embraced in his theater of action. Learning that General Winchester was making a movement against the enemy and wishing to further his designs as much as possible, HARRISON hurried a body of three hundred men to the Miami Rapids. He went, in person, and joined Pitkin, whose troops were preparing for a demonstration against the Indians. The bad condition of the roads however, and other causes, produced such delay that the battle of Raisin was fought and won by the enemy. It is thought, had HARRISON been earlier invested with the command, that fearful massacre would have been averted.

HARRISON now proceeded to the Miami to ascertain the condition of General Winchester and the reinforcement he had sent to him. He arrived at his quarters on the 20th of January, 1813, soon after which, he fell in with the frightened fugitives flying from the field of Raisin. He had urged every possible endeavor to prevent that disaster, but was too late,—Winchester's men were utterly defeated before his arrival. Gloom and depression now prevailed among them. HARRISON set about infusing new hope, and collecting together the broken bands of the dispersed. Through ceaseless energy and unwearying perseverance, by the first of February he had succeeded in reorganizing the army, which seemed reanimated by his presence.

Having completed these arrangements, he went into winter quarters at Fort Meigs, so called in honor of the governor of Ohio.

Receiving at this time the rank of major-general, he went to Cincinnati to procure supplies necessary to prosecute the campaign. The spring campaign of 1813 opened by demonstrations on the part of the enemy against Fort Meigs. The British, sanguine of success, were marching directly upon it, while Tecumseh, elated at the success at Raisin, and smarting under the defeat at Tippecanoe, with over five hundred fierce warriors of his own race, joined the expedition, eager to glut his appetite for blood. HARRISON was on the alert. Not at all intimidated, he hurried back to the frontier and called on Kentucky for three thousand men. These reached the camp in May, about the time he in person returned. He was just in time. The enemy, numbering almost double his own forces, were full of exultation. They commenced a severe attack upon the little fort, which, for near a week, withstood a perfect shower of balls. Though sometimes riddled, and made to tremble by the exultant shout of the assailants, the skill, activity and boldness of the commander repaired every breach and kept the Indians at bay. The ardor first exhibited by them, at length began to subside. The whizzing bullet, the savage yell, and brutal face had became familiar to the men in the fort, who imitating the example of their brave general were cool and fearless. Seeing the hopefuless of his men, HARRISON determined to assume the defensive, and attack the enemy's batteries. His arrangements being judiciously planned, the assault was made with great boldness. The troops from the fort rushed in solid phalanx upon the batteries. They were soon captured and silenced, the enemy being driven back at every point. The charge was resistless as a tornado, and bore down everything before it; so desperate was the rush that a hundred and fifty of HARRISON'S men were killed in almost half an hour's time. Sanguinary however as it was the victory was complete, and the defense glorious. The enemy being beaten, HARRISON left the command of the place to General G. Clay, and devoted his attention to other matters.

Tecumseh, however, was not to be subdued thus easily,—stung with his defeat, and burning for revenge, he leaped like a raging tiger in search of prey through bush and brake, hunting his warrior bands. So successful was he that by the first of July of the same year, he had collected an army of five thousand savages. With these he again invested Fort Meigs,—remaining but a short

time, he raised the siege and left for Lower Sandusky. HARRISON, in the meantime, for the protection of his stores above, had built a fort at Seneca as a post of reserve. Learning the rout Tecumseh had taken, and knowing the importance of keeping Sandusky, he concentrated his forces with all possible alacrity for that purpose. The Indians attacked the upper fort, commanded by Colonel Crogan, but were repulsed with heavy loss,—Perry's brilliant victory on Lake Erie shortly afterward left matters in this quarter in a condition of comparative safety. Giving proper instructions to Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, HARRISON, about the middle of September, embarked with two brigades for Bass Island. Soon after he was in possession of Malden, in Canada, now the dismantled fortress, whence the British and their savage mercenaries had poured death and destruction over the frontiers. The enemy headed by Proctor and Tecumseh were in rapid retreat through Canada. "I will pursue them," says HARRISON, in his dispatch, "to-morrow, (the 28th of September,) although there is little hope of overtaking them, as they have upward of one thousand horses, and we have not one in the army." In council, soon after, HARRISON said: "There were but two ways of accomplishing their object; one of which was to follow him up the strait by land; the other to embark and sail down Lake Erie to Long Point, then march hastily across by land twelve miles to the road and intercept them." Being decided to follow them by land, they pushed rapidly forward in pursuit. They came up with the enemy on the fifth of October. Proctor's force was, as he thought, admirably arranged to secure a good defense. His left was protected by the Thames river, his right by a large swamp, and Tecumseh with his Indian hordes. HARRISON's mode of attack was quickly decided. With the perception of true military intuition he saw his advantage. He directed one division of his infantry to take position opposite Proctor, extending the line from the river to the swamp, facing which, at right angles with these, he placed the other division. Having made these arrangements, he ordered Colonel Johnson, whose cavalry had joined him, to charge the enemy's front. The order was executed in gallant style. The British being in open file, and the cavalry dashing ahead in a solid, compact body, with impetuosity, they were forced to give way. The infantry, the moment the enemy were thrown into confusion, closed in upon them, and they were forced to surrender. The

Indians fought like hyenas, directing a sharp and galling fire upon the troops. In the midst of their heroic feats, however, their brave leader, the indomitable Tecumseh, fell dead upon the field while urging his braves. His voice no longer heard, his sturdy form ceasing to direct their movements, they threw down their arms and fled in indiscriminate confusion. Such was the battle of the Thames, a complete victory gained by exhibitions of superior generalship, almost without blood-shed. The Americans took about six hundred prisoners in the action, with the loss of but few men. The results of the battle were highly favorable. The surrender of the British, and the fall of Tecumseh, induced the Indians to ask for peace, while the victory of Perry and other disasters of the English, produced a similar desire on their part. Thus this battle was virtually the close of the war. HARRISON was now at the hight of his fame. President Madison in his next annual message spoke of him as having "signally honored" himself and the cause of the country. Members of Congress spoke of his victories as "such as would have secured to a Romam general in the best days of the republic, the honors of a triumph." Governors of States said, that "the blessings of thousands of women and children, rescued from the scalping knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and from the still more savage Proctor, rest on General HARRISON and his army." In addition to these evidences of high merit, Congress proposed the following complimentary resolution:

"*Resolved—By the Senate and House of Representatives of United States, in Congress assembled;* that the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby presented to Major-General WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, and Isaac Shelby, late governor of Kentucky, and through them to the officers and men under their command, for their gallant and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces, under Major-General Proctor, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the 5th day of October, 1813, capturing the British army with their baggage, camp equipage, and their artillery; and that the President of the United States be requested to cause two *gold medals* to be struck, emblematical of this triumph, and presented to General HARRISON and Isaac Shelby, late governor of Kentucky.*

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* Statesman's Manual.

This was HARRISON's last military engagement. He went with his army to the Niagara frontier, whence he proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, but being beyond the limits of his military jurisdiction, he went to Washington city, receiving everywhere on his route, various manifestations of profound esteem and regard. From Washington he proceeded to Ohio, to participate in whatever military movements might be deemed advisable. He, soon after, from some misunderstanding with the Secretary of War, Armstrong, who, it has been alleged, from causes not assigned, did his utmost to cripple HARRISON's movements, resigned his commission. He would not have done this under any circumstances, had he not seen that further services were not required at his hands, and that hostilities were about to cease. His resignation was accepted at the War department, though had President Madison been at Washington it would not have been, as he afterward expressed unfeigned regret at the step, wishing that earlier intimation had been given of such design. Other prominent men, too, expressed sincere regret at the acceptance of his resignation. He continued however to retain the entire confidence of the people and the government. In 1814, conjoined with Lewis Cass and Isaac Shelby, he was despatched to Fort Greenville to treat with the Indians and was in the ensuing year, also placed at the head of an important embassy upon similar business. Having performed these labors with the same degree of fidelity and promptitude that had characterized his transactions heretofore, he retired to private life.

He was, however, soon called again to public duties, and was elected in 1816 to Congress, from his own district in Ohio. He occupied this position the next term, also being originally elected to fill a vacancy. At the instigation of some one actuated by envy or prejudice, as soon as he took his seat in that body, he was charged by an army contractor with misplacing the supplies furnished. The accuser could not tarnish such fame as his. At HARRISON's own request a committee was appointed and a full investigation had of his conduct while connected with the army, which resulted not only in a verdict of public acquittal, but the bestowal of high and well-deserved eulogiums upon his integrity, firmness, and patriotism.

In Congress as in the field, the acts of HARRISON showed that he was by nature more of a military than a civic leader. He warmly advocated the enactment of such laws as would lend greater and

more ready efficiency to the militia of the country, and advocated with earnestness measures to secure pensions to the surviving soldiers of the Revolutionary war. In the former object he failed entirely, Congress having always exhibited a degree of tardy legislation upon the subject,—he succeeded, however, in his wishes in regard to the latter, and was gratified to see that adequate provision was made for those veterans who poured out their blood like water in our early struggles. Upon the resolutions of censure introduced against Jackson for his conduct in the Seminole war, he expressed himself as feeling that he had transcended the powers conferred by his command, but accorded to him all praise for his bravery and heroism. He agreed and voted with Clay upon the resolutions extending sympathy to the Greeks in their struggle for independence.

Serving out his term in Congress with credit to himself and profit to his constituents, he was, in 1817, sent to the State Senate from Ohio, where he proved the same zealous, energetic public servant. In 1824, he was chosen presidential elector from Ohio, and gave his influence, and finally his vote for Henry Clay. During the same year he was sent from that State to the Senate of the United States, after taking his seat in which body he was made chairman of the committee of military affairs. Of HARRISON as a statesman not much can be said. He possessed an incorruptible integrity, high moral tone, a clear head and well informed,—was always at his post, and endeavoring to subserve the interests of the people. Yet among men renowned for their knowledge of political economy and sagacity, whose entire lives had been devoted to civic pursuits, he was not one of those who would make an individual and distinctive mark. He was a friend and supporter by his vote and acts, of the administration of John Quincy Adams, than which, few have been of more benefit to the country or signally prosperous.

In 1828, he was appointed Minister to Bogota, which he reached in December. The country he found convulsed, the people wholly ignorant of their rights, and ground down by an absolute despotism. He was warmly received by the natives, and entered upon his duties with the spirit and simplicity of a pure and tried republican. He was recalled by Jackson on his accession to the presidency in 1829; but before his return, he prepared for Simon Bolivar, the South American Liberator, an address upon con

stitutional liberty, to which considerable merit has been attached, not only for the soundness of the principles it inculcates, but for the purity and chasteness of the style in which they are conveyed. On his return from this mission he again retired to North Bend, a beautiful spot on the Ohio, some fourteen miles below the city of Cincinnati. In 1835 he was presented as a candidate for the presidency against Martin Van Buren, and though no thorough organization was effected or concert of action secured, he received seventy-three electoral votes, enough at least to show his extensive popularity. In 1839, the Whig national convention again assembled at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and re-nominated him as their candidate. HARRISON, at the time he received this nomination was clerk of the Hamilton County Court, a position which he was induced to accept from pecuniary considerations, on his return from Bogota. Van Buren was again his opponent. The campaign opened with unprecedented popular excitement, which continued up to the day of election. Never before or since has a presidential campaign created such universal interest. The result was, HARRISON received two hundred and thirty-four, and Van Buren sixty electoral votes,—securing the election of the former by a vote of nearly four to one.

Wide spread and universal joy prevailed over the country as the result became known,—guns were fired, drums beat and bonfires kindled. He left North Bend in January, 1841, to assume the duties of his high office, and reached the seat of government on the 9th of the same month. March 4th, 1841, he was inducted into office and delivered his inaugural, in presence of an immense and highly enthusiastic assemblage. After these proceedings, and the festivities incident to the occasion were over, the new President selected his cabinet, which was composed as follows:

Secretary of State, Daniel Webster;
Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Ewing;
Secretary of War, John Bell;
Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger;
Post-Master General, Francis Granger;
Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden.

On the 17th of March, 1841, the President called an extra session of Congress to meet the first of the ensuing May, to take in consideration the financial condition of the country. A Whig President was now duly installed, his Cabinet selected, and Congress

would soon be in session. The land was full of joy, and everything indicated a prosperous administration of the government. The President himself, grateful to the Supreme Ruler of all things for the peaceful condition of the country, his heart overwhelming with gratitude to his fellow-citizens for the trust reposed to his keeping, looked for support to the mighty champions he knew would rally to his administration. All was joy,—all was peace. But alas for the mutability of human affairs!—how soon were the banners streaming in triumph to turn to weeds of mourning, and the sun that rose in splendor to sink in the darkness of discord.

On the 29th of March HARRISON had a severe chill, which was accompanied by a fever. This attack was followed by one of pneumonia and pleurisy. He grew worse, and despite the best medical skill, it was feared his death was near. These fears were not unjustifiable. He failed rapidly for several days. On the 4th of April, just one month after he was inaugurated into the highest and most responsible office in the gift of man, speaking as though to his successor, he said: "*Sir, I wish you to understand the principles of the government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more.*" These were his last words,—he immediately expired. The country that one month before was so full of rejoicing, was filled with mourning at the sad and unlooked for event. Tributes of respect were everywhere paid to the illustrious dead, and universal sorrow prevailed. His funeral obsequies took place on the 7th; Rev. Mr. Hawley performed the Episcopal funeral service, when his remains were laid in the Congressional burying ground. They were subsequently removed to North Bend, where they still repose on the sloping hill-side, marked by a plain tombstone, according well with the republican simplicity of his character. "In person, HARRISON was tall and slender. Although he never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution, yet such had been the effect of his habitual activity and temperance, that few men enjoyed such bodily vigor. He had a fine dark eye, remarkable for its keenness, fire and intelligence, and his face was strongly expressive of the vivacity of his mind and the benevolence of his character. The most remarkable traits of his character, and those of which he was most distinguished throughout his whole career, were his disinterestedness, his regard for the rights and comforts of others, his generous disposition, his mild and forbearing temper, and his plain, easy and unostentatious manner."



JAMES K. POLK.

JAMES K. POLK.

Few administrations of this government have been more prosperous, marked with a higher degree of energy, or have resnlted in more lasting advantages than did that of James K. Polk. Elected upon his indorsment of a measure among the most important ever presented for political consideration, and over a man conceded the most popular in the nation, at a time when the two parties were about equally divided, and full of mighty interests,—and possessing marked decision and firmness of character, his official term brought to his name honorable distinction and renown. Reared in the political schools of the Democratic party, he consistently adhered to its principles, studied deeply the history of his times, and came into power, though from comparative obscurity, well prepared to execute its exalted trusts.

He was born November 2d, in the County of Mecklinburg, North Carolina, in the year 1795. The Polks, whose name it is claimed was formerly Pollock, were originally from Ireland, where Robert Polk and his wife resided centuries ago. James Knox Polk, the great grandfather of our subject, removed from Ireland to Somerset County, Maryland, at an early day. The family increased and became quite numerous. They were noted for their sterling independence, and unwavering fidelity to the Democratic party. being early designated as the "Democratic family. "Many of them became distinguished,—some as participants in the Revolution, and others in civic capacities. One branch of the family removed to the East and thence to the county and State above named. From this branch descended the eleventh President.

His father was a man of strong will, and a warm supporter of the administration of Jefferson during both his official terms. In 1806, he removed with his family from North Carolina to Tennessee, and settled on Duck Creek, then the midst of a dense though fertile wilderness, where POLK's youth and early manhood were passed. Notwithstanding the scanty means of instruction existing in that rugged and unpopulous part of the country, young POLK acquired a tolerable English education. His father designed him for a merchant, but adopting the maxim, "once a clerk always a clerk," the future President was decidedly opposed to yard sticks, retail scales and account books. Yielding however, he was placed for a time in charge of a merchant, with a view of preparation for that kind of life. He did not remain long in this situation. His young ambition rebelled,—he came from behind the counter, and after earnest supplication was sent to an academy at Murfreesborough, where in the summer of 1813, he was eagerly poring over books and studies, and fairly on the road to his high destiny. After two years' intense and profitable application, in his twentieth year, he entered the University of North Carolina. Here, after bearing away the prize each year from all competitors, he graduated with the first honors, in 1818, and was pronounced one of the finest scholars in that part of the country. Though a good linguist, his passion was for mathematics, in which branch of science he excelled. After graduating, his health broke down, in consequence of close confinement and mental application.

He returned to Tennessee and commenced reading law under charge of the renowned Felix Grundy, and obtained license to practice in 1820. He then went to Maury County and entered upon his professional career. He had many personal friends there, and wearing high academic honors, and of plain, undisguised manners, he began his career under auspicious circumstances. Aided by these advantages, he devoted himself incessantly to the duties of his profession, and rose rapidly into position. He continued to enjoy an increasing and profitable practice until 1823, when he launched upon the stormy sea of party politics.

In that year he entered public life as the representative from Maury County to the State Legislature. He soon gave greater evidences of capacity for the halls of legislation than the forum. He was elected for the two successive terms by large majorities, and soon established a wide-spread reputation. In 1823–24, he

espoused the fortunes of Andrew Jackson, in whose elevation to the presidency he took an active part. His attachment to that statesman was warm and disinterested.

Having passed an honorable political novitiate as a State legislator, he was in 1825 elected to the Congress of the United States, and took his seat the ensuing December. This was the commencement of John Quincy Adams' administration, and the Democratic party had just failed in the election of a favorite leader. POLK took his seat true to his early principles, a consistent and unflinching democrat, fully prepared by prior legislative experience, and a thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles of government and constitutional law, to make himself a prominent and influential member. Though not a nullifier, nor in any way an extremist, he regarded federal assumptions with a jealous eye, and viewed the national Constitution as possessing powers limited and susceptible only of specific construction. He was opposed to indiscriminate appropriation of public funds for purposes of internal improvement, and distinguished himself by his hostility to a too liberal construction of the fundamental Constitution. He was opposed to a national bank, and indicated his opposition prior to the reception of Jackson's first ominous message upon that subject. He arrayed himself against a protective tariff, and advocated the most economical system of public expenditures. Thus it will be seen that upon most or all the exciting political questions of the day, he was hostile to Adams' administration, and in opposition to the leading members on the floor. Though one of the youngest members in the House, he took an immediate and popular stand. He first distinguished himself in a speech called out by a proposition to prevent, by Constitutional provision, in any circumstances, the election of President by Congress. The whole nation had been disturbed by the excitement growing out of the choice made in the House, resulting in the selection of Adams over Jackson, and the subject had assumed a phase of considerable importance. His speech on the occasion won for him brilliant parliamentary laurels. It evinced the rigid logician, the close reasoner, and a well informed mind, and an excellent adherent to his party. Upon the subject of the Panama Mission he was opposed to the administration, declaring that the subject was entirely one of executive and senatorial jurisdiction, involving as it did the treaty making

power, of which those two branches of the legislature were the constitutionally recognized custodians.

He was now rapidly reaching that distinction destined to identify his name forever with the political history of the country. During Adams' entire official term he continued in opposition, taking an active part on all questions coming up in the House for deliberation.

Succeeding John Quincy Adams to the presidency, Jackson was inducted into office at a time favorable to the development of POLK's rising fortunes. Having won his way to respectable position as a State legislator, and proven one of the most formidable opponents of the former administration, he was well prepared to render essential service as supporter of Jackson's executive acts. At the session of 1827, POLK was appointed to the committee of foreign affairs, and soon after made chairman of a select committee.

Always contending that the revenue should be no higher than the absolute necessity of expenditure required, he presented a report denying in strong terms the existence of congressional power to collect beyond that limit for purposes of indiscriminate distribution. The internal improvement policy of Jackson as elsewhere stated, was indicated in his veto, in 1830, of the bill making appropriation for the completion of the Maysville road. He was deeply censured by the friends of internal improvement by the general government, but proudly sustained by his friend and leading supporter JAMES K. POLK.

In 1832, being placed on the Committee of Ways and Means, the duties of which were more onerous and complicated than those of any other in the House, he prepared a report embodying the same views afterward asserted and so fearlessly carried out by the President himself.

His course upon this question raised up a host of enemies, particularly in the city of Nashville, then just rising into commercial influence, and he was bitterly denounced through the public prints, and even by some of his immediate constituents. He was returned to Congress, however, after a violent contest, into which the merits of the bank question entered largely, by a fair majority. In 1833, Jackson's removal of the deposits filled the country with the most heated animosities; POLK being still chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, stood by the President, vindicating his course on all occasions with boldness and

ability, and successfully pushing through resolutions commendatory of his acts. Continuing a warm friend and supporter of Jackson's public policy through 1834, POLK was the ensuing year chosen speaker of the House, a position to which he was again called at the extra session, convened by Van Buren on his accession to the Presidency as successor to Jackson. To this position he was annually elected for a number of years, and conferred upon it a dignity and honor surpassed by no prior incumbent. Various appeals were made from his decisions to the House, which rarely failed to sustain him, with a degree of unanimity that evinced appreciative indorsement of his views and judgment. Though at times during his speakership party feelings were deep and bitter, and he was assailed with virulence, Congress never failed at the close of each session to pass a resolution to the effect, "that the thanks of the House be presented to the Hon. JAMES K. POLK for the able, impartial, dignified manner in which he has presided over its deliberations and performed the arduous and important duties of the chair." His incumbency of this office closed in the spring of 1839, on which occasion with evident emotion, he said: "When I look back to the period when I first took my seat in this House, and then look around me for those who were then my associates here, I find but few very few remaining. But five members who were with me here fourteen years ago continue to be members of this body. My service here has been constant and laborious. I can, perhaps, say what but few others if any can, that I have not failed to attend the daily sittings of this House for a single day since I have been a member of it, save on a single occasion, when prevented for a short time by indisposition. In my intercourse with the members of this body when I occupied a place on the floor, though occasionally engaged in debates upon interesting public questions and of an exciting character, it is a source of unmingled gratification to me to recur to the fact, that on no occasion was there the slightest personal or unpleasant collision with any of its members. Maintaining and expressing at all times my own opinions firmly,—the same right was fully conceded to others. For four years past the station I have occupied, and a sense of propriety in the divided and usually excited state of public opinion and feeling which has excited, both in this House and the country, have precluded me from participating in your debates. Other duties were assigned me

"The high office of speaker, to which it has been twice the pleasure of this House to elevate me, has been at all times one of labor and high responsibility. It has been made my duty to decide more questions of parliamentary law and order, many of them of a complex and difficult character, arising often in the midst of high excitement, in the course of our proceedings, than had been decided, it is believed, by all my predecessors since the foundation of the government. This House has uniformly sustained me, without distinction of the political parties of which it has been composed. I return them my thanks for their constant support in the discharge of duties I have had to perform.

"But, gentlemen, my acknowledgments are especially due to the majority of this House for the high and flattering evidence they have given me of their appreciation of my conduct as their presiding officer, by the resolution you have been pleased to pass. I regard it as infinitely of more value than if it had been the common matter-of-course and customary resolution which in the courtesy usually prevailing between the presiding officer and the members of any deliberative assembly, is always passed at the close of their deliberations.

"I regard this as the highest and most valued testimonial I have ever received from this House, because I know that the circumstances under which it has passed have made it a matter of substance, and not mere form. I shall bear it in grateful remembrance to the latest hour of my life.

"I trust this office may in future times be filled, as doubtless it will be, by an abler man. It can not, I know, be filled by any one who will devote himself with more zeal and untiring industry to do his whole duty than I have done."

Thus closed his congressional career of fourteen years, during which, with tenacious consistency he adhered to the principles of the Democratic party. He would not join the majority of his party in Tennessee, in 1836, which gave the electoral vote of the State to Hugh Lawson White, but supported Van Buren as the national candidate for the presidency. Having declined a re-election to Congress, he was presented as the candidate for governor of Tennessee, and elected over his opponent, Newton Cannon, in August 1839, by large majority. He was next nominated for the vice-presidency by the legislature of his adopted State, to be placed on the ticket with Van Buren, the candidate for re-election

in 1840. Both candidates were badly beaten,—POLK receiving but one electoral vote. The election of Harrison to the presidency by a majority so overwhelming produced a reaction favorable to the Whigs, and diminished the Democratic strength in the State of Tennessee. Under these circumstances, POLK was next presented as a candidate for governor in 1841. His opponent, James C. Jones, was justly regarded among the ablest men of the State. The returns showed the election of Jones by a majority of over three thousand. POLK now retired to private life, in the enjoyment of which he remained till 1843, when he was again brought forward as a candidate for governor against his old competitor, Jones. He was again beaten and by a larger majority than before. The warm, political and personal friend of Andrew Jackson, in the full and entire confidence of his party, he now again retired to private life. His mind, however, could not remain inactive, and he studied well and deeply the great political questions of the day. In 1844 the annexation of Texas came up. Though POLK had declared his intention of finally withdrawing from the perplexities of party questions he felt deeply the interest of this. In many sections of the Union the people had expressed themselves in emphatic terms as opposed to the measure. He was asked to coincide with their views in regard to the matter. So far from doing so, with characteristic firmness of purpose, he replied: "Let Texas be annexed, and the authority and laws of the United States be established and maintained within her limits, as also in Oregon territory, and let the fixed policy of our government be not to permit Great Britain to plant a colony or hold dominion over any portion of the people or territory of either. These are my opinions; and without deeming it necessary to extend this letter by assigning the many reasons which influence me in the conclusions to which I come, I regret to be compelled to differ so widely from the views expressed by yourselves."

As the avowed advocate of annexation, in May 1844, he was nominated by the Baltimore Democratic convention as their candidate for the presidency, against the Whig nominee, Henry Clay. The annexation question was the principal issue in the exciting campaign that followed. The canvass resulted in the election of POLK to the presidency and George M. Dallas to the vice-presidency, over Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen, by a majority of sixty-five electoral votes. He went to the Capitol, delivered his

inaugural and was inducted into office as President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1845. In his inaugural address he indicated the policy of his administration and invoked the other branches of the national legislature to aid in preserving the peace, prosperity, and harmony of the country. It closed as follows:

"None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace, if Texas remains an independent State, or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas to occasional wars, which so often occur between bordering independent nations? Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her, to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter her ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens, to the frontier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union? Whatever is good or evil in the local institutions of Texas will remain her own, whether annexed to the United States or not. None of the present States will be responsible for them, any more than they are for the local institutions of each other. They have confederated together for certain specified objects. Upon the same principle that they would refuse to form a perpetual union with Texas because of her local institutions, our forefathers would have been prevented from forming our present Union. Perceiving no valid objection to the measure, and many reasons for its adoption, vitally affecting the peace, the safety, and the prosperity of both countries, I shall on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our Constitution, and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy, endeavor, by all constitutional, honorable, and appropriate means, to consummate the expressed will of the people and government of the United States, by the re-annexation of Texas to our Union at the earliest practicable period.

"Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain, by all constitutional means, the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky mountains. Our title to the country of the Oregon is "clear and unquestionable," and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. But eighty years ago our population was confined on the west by the ridge of the Alleganies. Within that period,—within the life-

time, I might say, of some of my hearers,—our people increasing to many millions, have filled the eastern valley of the Mississippi; adventurously ascended the Missouri to its head springs; and are already engaged in establishing the blessings of self-government in valleys, of which the rivers flow to the Pacific. The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industry of our emigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately wherever they may be upon our soil. The jurisdiction of our laws, and the benefits of our republican institutions, should be extended over them in the distant regions which they have selected for their homes. The increasing facilities of intercourse will easily bring the States, of which the formation in that part of our territory can not be long delayed, within the sphere of our federative Union. In the meantime, every obligation imposed by treaty or conventional stipulations should be sacredly respected.

"In the management of our foreign relations, it will be my aim to observe a careful respect for the rights of other nations, while our own will be the subject of constant watchfulness. Equal and exact justice shall characterize all our intercourse with foreign countries. All alliances having a tendency to jeopard the welfare and honor of our country, or sacrifice any one of the national interests, will be studiously avoided; and yet no opportunity will be lost to cultivate a favorable understanding with foreign governments, by which our navigation and commerce may be extended, and the ample products of our fertile soil, as well as the manufactures of our skillful artisans, find a ready market and remunerating prices in foreign countries.

"In taking 'care that the laws be fully executed,' a strict performance of duty will be exacted from all public officers. From those officers, especially, who are charged with the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, will prompt and rigid accountability be required. Any culpable failure or delay on their part to account for the moneys intrusted to them, at the times and in the manner required by law, will, in every instance, terminate the official connection of such defaulting officer with the government.

"Although, in our country, the chief magistrate must almost of necessity be chosen by a party, and stand pledged to its principles and measures, yet, in his official action, he should not be the President of a part only, but of the whole people of the United States. While he executes the laws with an impartial hand,

shrinks from no proper responsibility, and faithfully carries out in the executive department of the government the principles and policy of those who have chosen him, he should not be unmindful that our fellow-citizens who have differed with him in opinion are entitled to the full and free exercise of their opinions and judgments, and that the rights of all are entitled to respect and regard."

On the 5th of March the new President selected his Cabinet as follows:

Secretary of State, James Buchanan;
Secretary of Treasury, Robert J. Walker;
Secretary of War, William L. Marcy;
Secretary of Navy, George Bancroft;
Post-Master General, Cave Johnson;
Attorney-General, John Y. Mason.

The first question that came up was the annexation of Texas. Among the last acts of the precedent administration was the passage and approval of resolutions favoring annexation. These resolutions met with some opposition, but finally passed under the idea that Tyler would favor annexation by treaty, the objections to them originating from some who favored that mode of proceeding. Contrary to expectation, Tyler hurried off the resolutions to Donaldson, charge d'affairs to Texas, with instructions to bring about speedy annexation. These proceedings forestalled the action of the new President. The resolutions admitting Texas, were laid before the convention assembled for the purpose of forming a State constitution, and recognized, July 4th, 1845. Texas being thus a part of the United States had a right to claim her protection. The frontiers of the new State were much exposed, and post roads needed. Requisition being made to the government for these purposes, General Taylor was dispatched to the State with an army of occupation, and in the latter part of July, on St. Joseph's Island, unfurled for the first time on Texian soil the American flag. Mexico resented indignantly not only the occupation, but the annexation of Texas, and began immediately to prepare for war. Other difficulties with that dusky people early presented themselves. Indemnity to the amount of six millions of dollars had long been claimed by the United States for depredations upon our commerce by Mexico during her old external and internal wars. Our vessels had been seized and their cargoes confiscated. In a conference of commissioners from the respective

parties, convened in 1840, a part of the six million claim was acknowledged but not liquidated. Commissioners again met in 1843, and Mexico agreed through hers to pay off the amount in twenty installments. But three of these were paid. The payment of the remainder was to commence in April 1844, about a year before POLK's accession to the presidency. Failing to comply with her agreements, the subject demanded and received executive attention.

The hostile feelings of Mexico, engendered by the resolution of annexation, being increased by the military occupation of Texas, Almonte, her minister to our government, early in March demanded and obtained his passports, while our minister, Slidell, being refused further audience with the Mexican officials, was, in one sense, peremptorily dismissed from the country. Herrera, then president of Mexico, though his power was evidently tottering to its fall, immediately issued a proclamation, asserting the Mexican right to the territory between the Neuces and Rio Grande, and calling out the forces of the country to resistance. Thus all government relations were destroyed, and the two nations continued to approach open hostilities, which actively commenced around Matamoras in 1846.

Congress convened December 1845, the Democrats being in the majority in both branches. The House organized by the election of a Democratic speaker, John M. Davis, of Indiana. Thus the administration bid fair to be strongly sustained. The President in his message urged upon Congress the revision of the tariff of 1842, insisting upon a reduction of duties,—the establishment of an independent treasury system, and the assertion of our claim to the entire territory of Oregon after the expiration of one year. He also touched upon our affairs with Mexico, urging active preparations for any emergency that might occur from that quarter. The tariff question was immediately taken up. A new tariff was devised looking to revenue, not protective interests, and passed to go into operation December 1846. Many commodities were imported into the country, upon which only storage duties were paid until required for consumption. For the accommodation of such a "warehouse bill" was passed. These acts operating detrimentally to the Pennsylvania iron interests, created great dissatisfaction among some of the eastern cities.

Difficulties with Mexico at length approached a crisis, and

actual hostilities commenced. In the spring of 1846 war was formally declared against that country, and immediate steps taken for its vigorous prosecution. The strength of the army was augmented, the navy increased, fifty thousand volunteers were called for and money appropriated within a brief period. The manner in which the war was prosecuted and brought to a close, covering our arms with glory, belongs to other pages.

The Smithsonian Institute at Washington, a monument in the new world to the liberality of an educational philanthropist of the old, was incorporated and placed under congressional regulation, during the session. Provision for the reception of delegates from Texas, and the admission of Wisconsin and Iowa was also made. A bill, authorizing the collection of indemnity from the French for depredations committed upon our merchant vessels, and a bill providing for the improvement of rivers and harbors also passed and were submitted to the President,—they both received his veto. It was at this session of Congress also, that the Wilmot Proviso originated.

The bill requiring three millions of dollars to negotiate a treaty with Mexico was being considered, when Wilmot of Pennsylvania, an administration member, moved the following proviso: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation or any other manner whatever, except for crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted: *Provided always*, That any escaping to such territory from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed out of said territory to the person claiming his or her labor or service." This provision, after meeting considerable opposition from the southern members, passed the House and was sent to the Senate. It was, perhaps, only prevented from becoming a law by one man. The adjournment of the session was fixed at twelve o'clock on the day the Proviso was being discussed in the Senate. Dixon H. Lewis, from Alabama, met it boldly and squarely. He moved in the Senate that it be stricken out, and made an able speech in support of the motion. Davis from Massachusetts arose to reply, and was making a speech in favor of the Proviso. The clock in the House was either too fast or that in the Senate too slow; while

Davis was speaking, word was brought that the House had adjourned,—it being twelve o'clock by their time, but not by that of the Senate. Thus the bill failed, showing on what small things great matters often hinge.

The Oregon boundary question next presented itself. It was definitely settled by formal treaty, concluded by the Secretary of State, James Buchanan, and Pakenham, the British minister, by fixing the boundary line on the forty-ninth degree of north latitude. The treaty was acquiesced in by the Senate, June 1846, which left us on terms of entire amity and good will toward Great Britain.

The congressional election of 1846 showed that the administration had waned in popularity, resulting in large accessions of strength to the Whig party. The main causes of this were opposition in many portions of the country to the Mexican war, and the change from the protective tariff of 1842, to the revenue principle. In the House, therefore, a majority of the members were opposed to the administration, while the Senate was still Democratic. Congress met December 1847; the House organized by the election of a Whig speaker, R. C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who beat Lynn Boyd, of Kentucky, forty-six votes. The session was comparatively inactive and unimportant. The territory of Oregon was organized, a sixteen million loan was provided, and the State papers of President Madison were purchased by the government.

The year of 1848 brought with it another presidential election. The Democratic national convention which met at Baltimore in May, nominated as their candidates, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for vice-president. The Whig national convention met the June following in the city of Philadelphia, and nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for vice-president. The claims of Clay were warmly urged by his friends in the convention, but sacrificing his fitness to availibility, Taylor received the nomination. The Mexican war had been concluded, and the country was dazzled with the fame of the gallant hero, who had achieved so many brilliant victories and conferred such honor upon our flag. The friends of the Wilmot Proviso, organizing themselves into a "Free Soil Party," also met in convention in the city of Buffalo, New York, in August, and nominated Martin Van Buren and C. F. Adams, of Massachusetts, as their candi-

dates for the presidency. The canvass resulted in the election of Taylor and Fillmore, each of whom received a hundred and sixty-three electoral votes. Cass and Butler received each a hundred and twenty-seven; while the Free Soil candidates received none, though their popular vote at the polls was near three hundred thousand.

The last session of Congress under POLK's administration assembled December 4th, 1848, and continued until March of the ensuing year. The principal subject of consideration before this Congress, was providing governments for the territories just acquired by treaty with Mexico; but the excitement concerning restriction or no restriction of slavery, as expressed in the Wilmot Proviso, and its application to these territories, prevented definite action on the various propositions submitted, and all efforts to organize territorial governments at this session were unsuccessful.

After the accession of his successor, POLK returned to Tennessee and took up his residence at his new mansion, situated in the most beautiful part of the city of Nashville. He determined to devote the balance of his life to domestic ease and quiet. He was married about the year 1828 to Sarah Childers, daughter of Joel Childers, of Rutherford County, Tennessee. They had no children.

POLK did not long survive his retirement. Early in June, 1849, he was prostrated by a severe chronic diarrhea, of which he died in great pain on the 15th, in the 54th year of his age. His remains were deposited in the Nashville Cemetery, but subsequently removed to a plain, substantial family vault, constructed to receive them, upon the mansion grounds. The ceremonies of removal were solemn and imposing, the remains being accompanied by one of the largest Masonic processions ever witnessed in the South, composed in part, of distinguished men from all sections of the country.

"In person POLK was of middle stature, with a full, angular brow, and a quick, penetrating eye. The expression of his countenance was grave; and at the close of his presidential term he appeared care-worn. The serious cast of his countenance was often relieved by a pleasant smile, indicative of the amenity of his disposition. In private life he was much esteemed. He was unostentatious in his deportment, and in his last illness indicated his religious views by receiving the ordinance of baptism from a clergyman of the Methodist church."



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

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ZACHARY TAYLOR, one of five children, and son of Richard and Sarah Taylor, was born November 24th, 1784, in Orange County, Virginia. His ancestry were from England, whence they emigrated to this country in 1692. The father of ZACHARY served bravely as a colonel through the Revolutionary war. He went to Kentucky in 1785, a year after the birth of his son, who was to bring such distinction to his name, and settled where now stands the flourishing city of Louisville. Success attended his change of residence, and through correct deportment and continued energy, he soon accumulated a very handsome property. As Louisville rose into commercial importance, and the State began to assume politically prominent influence and position, he became a man of considerable note. He took part in forming the State constitution, and several times represented Jefferson County in the assembly. After proving himself an honored and valuable citizen for a number of years, both in public and private capacities, he died at his farm, regretted by all conversant with his sterling qualities. Previous to his death he showed a strong desire to see his children educated to walks of usefulness and honor. His son ZACHARY, therefore, when a small boy, was sent to school to a Mr. Ayres, who taught in the immediate neighborhood. At that time the country was infested with Indians, and no small degree of care and solicitude were felt by parents and guardians for children attending school.

Young TAYLOR was also taught to labor, being confined when not at school to the healthful, exhilarating exercise of farming till

he reached his majority; this accounts to a great degree for his strong, unbending constitution, which nothing could subdue during all the privations of a long and checkered military life. He first turned his thoughts to military affairs at the time when the people of Kentucky were inflamed in regard to the alleged machinations of Aaron Burr, having been induced by the suspicions attached to that noted man to join a body of Kentucky volunteers. His service however not being required, he again engaged in rural occupations.

In 1808, through the intervention of influential kinsmen, he was appointed lieutenant in the United States army, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of his brother, Hancock Taylor, who had held that commission for some time. He was then twenty-three years old when opportunity opened for the gratification of his military propensities. He took great pride in his new commission, and hastened to join General Wilkinson at New Orleans. On arriving in that city he was attacked with yellow fever, and forced to return home. He remained inactive for some time, but devoted himself closely to the study of military tactics. In 1810 he was married to Margaret Smith, daughter to Major R. S. Smith, of Maryland, a lady every way adapted to his tastes and feelings.

In 1812, after the formal declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, Taylor was advanced in rank, and took command of Fort Harrison, built by the general of that name on the Wabash, near Vincennes, during operations already mentioned against the combined forces of Tecumseh, the Prophet, and the British. Against this fort the Indians made early preparations for an attack. After vainly trying to deceive Captain TAYLOR and his party, many of whom were disabled by sickness from making resistance, the savages, on the night of the 5th of September, made a desperate assault. The little garrison numbering in all but fifty, including invalids, were aroused in the night by the muskets of the foes. The fort was fired, and but for the intrepidity and coolness of the commander would have been destroyed. Under his directions water was thrown upon the fire by some of the party, while others opened upon the assailants a continuous fire that had destructive effect. This attack lasted about eight hours, during which, owing to the superior skill and composure of Taylor, but three or four of his men were killed, while quite a number of the Indians fell at every discharge from

the fort. Seeing the utter futility of further efforts, the savages at length withdrew, leaving the fortress in possession of its occupants. General Hopkins soon after arrived with a reinforcement, as the garrison were still apprehensive of another attack. TAYLOR in this affair behaved with such coolness and showed such military knowledge, that he was advanced to the rank of Major; while in letters to the executive of Kentucky, it was said: "The firm and almost unparalleled defense of Fort Harrison, by Captain ZACHARY TAYLOR, has raised for him a fabric of character not to be exalted by eulogy." Soon after an expedition was planned by Hopkins against the settlements of the Winnebagoes, which, after considerable skirmishing was entirely successful. In this TAYLOR behaved with much bravery, and received the highest praises of his commander, and the admiration of his subordinates.

Major TAYLOR remained on the northern frontier, co-operating efficiently with Harrison and others, until the successful termination of the war of 1812. After the close of the war, the army was reduced, and former promotions done away with. In consequence of this, TAYLOR, from the rank of major, sank to that of captain. Displeased with the policy that dictated such a course he left the service, and returning home resumed his farming avocations. He was soon after, however, restored to his former commission and returned to the army. After some two years meritorious service on Lake Michigan, whither he was ordered in 1816, he returned to Kentucky. Remaining in that State about a year he was sent to New Orleans. In connection with Colonel Russel, an old friend and associate, he continued in the southern service a number of years, his principal duties being the opening of roads and the erection of military posts. In 1819 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, which he held without opportunity of signalizing himself until 1824, when he went to Louisville on the recruiting service. Conjoined with General Winfield Scott and other military officers, in 1824, he was actively engaged in organizing the national militia so as to render them more effective.

These labors, although they gave opportunity for the exercise of military judgment, resulted in no permanent or solid benefits. He now again embarked in the duties of the north-western frontier, in the discharge of which he continued for a period of five years. Drilling his troops through the various military evolutions pertaining to the service, in the northern wilds of Wisconsin, and studying

army tactics, Colonel TAYLOR was preparing himself for the important position awaiting him. He has been described at this time as open in his disposition, frank, generous, intelligent, and liberal-minded, but a rigid disciplinarian, whom nothing could subdue or dishearten.

In 1832 the difficulties of the Black Hawk war called him to more laborious service. The Sac Indians urged on, it has been asserted, by mercenary white men, committed various outrages upon the frontier settlers of Illinois. They were led by the famous chief, Black Hawk, and caused fearful alarm among the people.

General Scott was immediately ordered with a thousand men to the scene of operations, with instructions to arrest further depredations. This force was subsequently increased by the accession of two thousand five hundred men, among whom were four hundred regulars, commanded by Colonel TAYLOR. The Indians retreating into the back woods, Atkinson and TAYLOR, about the last of July, 1832, in obedience to instructions, were ordered to pursue them. After a toilful march, they came up with the Indians, at the confluence of the Iowa and Mississippi rivers, where after a sanguinary struggle, they were entirely routed with great slaughter. TAYLOR behaved in the action with all the coolness and courage of a veteran warrior. The chief, Black Hawk, and a numerous retinue of prisoners were conveyed by TAYLOR to Jefferson barracks, where they remained till preliminaries for peace were arranged. Thus closed the Black Hawk war. TAYLOR after these transactions visited his family at Louisville, Kentucky, whence after a brief but pleasant sojourn he assumed the command of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, which he had hastily constructed during former operations in that quarter. He remained at that point for some time. In 1836, in view of the menacing attitude of the Seminole Indians in Florida, he was ordered to that State, whither he went without delay. Refusing to comply with treaty stipulations entered upon in 1832, to evacuate the territory, but manifesting no hostile intentions, they had lived on terms of amity with the white settlers, the latter indicating no great anxiety to enforce the treaty. These peaceful relations, however, were destined to speedy destruction. Osceola, a bold and daring chief, incited his brethren to rebellion, and a bloody crusade against the whites was commenced,—another evidence of the utter impossibility of

two distinct races, the one inferior to the other, occupying the same soil without servitude or rebellion. Listening to the war appeals, the entire Seminoles were in arms, and murders and outrages of various grades were committed in the territory. TAYLOR reached Florida at a time when matters looked more discouraging than otherwise. All efforts of General Jessup to bring the war to an end had proved abortive, and tended to embolden the savages. Operations were now to be pursued on a different plan. TAYLOR was instructed to ferret out the foe and overcome them wherever found, without reference to further attempts at negotiation.

In December 1837, therefore, in company with General Jessup, and eleven hundred men, he set out for the thickets and swamps, resolved to exterminate or bring to terms of accomodation the lurking enemy. They came up with the Indians on Christmas day. They were concealed among the hummocks, in a prairie bordered by a thick cypress swamp. TAYLOR, after arranging matters for the attack, led his troops across the swamp and penetrated the prairie. Just as they had got fairly into the glade, the sharp crack of several hundred rifles and as many wild yells from the foe gave them a bloody and hideous greeting. The effect was perfectly stunning. Nothing can be more inconceivably startling than to be thus suddenly attacked by blood-thirsty savages, to whom slaughter is a feast and the cries of pain but music. Many of our officers were shot down at the first discharge, while bullets continued to pour among their ranks. As the Indians rushed from their hiding places some confusion became manifest among the volunteers as they saw several officers fall. Recovering however, they rushed to the charge, each man performing his duty as though his own life were to be the sacrifice if they failed. The Indians were several times driven back, but as often rallied and fought with unabated courage. In this way the fight continued several hours with murderous effect. The enemy at last gave away and were hotly pursued to their camp on Lake Okeechobee, after which this sanguinary conflict took its name. The battle of Okeechobee closed the war,—some violence followed, but further important transactions were unnecessary to resubjugate the hostile tribes. The Americans lost in the action twenty-six killed and one hundred and twelve wounded, among whom were several valuable officers, who had given evidences of high military promise

and future distinction. TAYLOR received the highest encomiums for his skill and dauntless courage in the action. The government extended to him, through the War department, appropriate thanks for his gallantry and coolness, and soon after rewarded him by promotion to the rank of "brigadier general for distinguished services in the battle of Okeechobee, in Florida." After this promotion he succeeded General Jessup in the command of the forces in Florida, and devoted himself with efficient energy to the protection of the inhabitants against the Indians, and to keeping them entirely overawed.

He held this post till 1840, and performed his duties every way satisfactory to the government. Being succeeded in the southern command by General Armistead, TAYLOR was placed at the head of the troops in the south-west, and established his head-quarters at Fort Jessup, in Arkansas. In 1841 he took possession of Fort Gibson, which he continued to occupy for a period of five years. He, in the meantime, bought property in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and removed his family from Kentucky to that place, which remained his residence for many years.

He remained in but partially active service till the annexation of Texas, when, as before stated, he was ordered to that State with an army of occupation. Soon as the annexation resolutions were acquiesced in by Texas, TAYLOR was ordered to advance to the Sabine, at some point on the Gulf favorable to the protection of the new State. For this expedition he was furnished with two regiments of infantry and seven companies of dragoons and artillery. His immediate instructions were to take possession of the entire portion of Texas claimed by the people of that State, in the manner his own judgment should dictate, but to refrain from striking a blow unless compelled to. TAYLOR accordingly proceeded to the western frontier and took up his position at Corpus Christi, near the mouth of the Nueces,—the disputed territory being between that river and the Rio Grande. He remained at Corpus Christi about six months, when agreeably to instructions he moved forward with his army toward the Rio Grande. Just before reaching Point Isabel he was met by a deputation of Mexicans from Matamoras, bearing a protest against his occupancy of the country. Point Isabel was seen at the same time in flames, and justly feeling that it was an act of overt hostility on the part of the Mexicans, he dismissed the deputation, and telling them he would give

an answer from the Rio Grande, he hastened to subdue the fire at Point Isabel, designing to establish an army depot there. Most of the buildings were preserved, while the captain, by whose order the place was fired, escaped merited punishment.

Remaining at Point Isabel for some time the army proceeded to the Rio Grande, and threw up a fort opposite Matamoras, to which they gave the name of Fort Brown. The Mexicans also constructed fortifications on the other side, resolved to dispute all attempts against the town. On the 10th of April, 1846, the first blood was shed, and by Mexican hands. Colonel Cross of the army, for exercise rode out that morning unattended, beyond the lines. He was murdered by the enemy,—his remains were subsequently buried with due military honors. The Mexican forces rapidly increased upon the Rio Grande, and were under the command of General Ampudia. On the 12th of April, that general wrote the following note to the American commander:

"By explicit and definite orders of my government, which neither can well nor should receive new outrages, I require you in all form, and at latest, in the peremptory term of twenty-four hours, to break up your camp and retire to the other bank of the Neuces river, while our governments are regulating the pending question in relation to Texas. If you insist on remaining upon the soil of the department Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which with so much injustice on your part you provoke us; and that on our part this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles of the most civilized nations; that is to say, that the law of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations; trusting that on your part the same shall be observed." To the above TAYLOR replied as follows:

"The instructions under which I am acting will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer, but at the same time wish it understood that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibilities with those who rashly commenced hostilities. In conclusion, you will permit me to give the assurance, on my part, that the laws and customs of war among civilized nations shall be carefully observed." Hostilities now fairly commenced. Arista succeeded Ampudia in the

command of the Mexican army, whose strength was much increased. TAYLOR continued strengthening his position, determined to maintain it at all hazards. He also blockaded the river, thus cutting off supplies from Matamoras. When this was known to the Mexican General, he made preparations to attack the fort with vigor and in full force. TAYLOR, believing from all indications that the Mexicans would aim to get possession of Point Isabel, and then come upon his rear, and knowing that to be an important point hastened thither, leaving Fort Brown in as good a condition of defense as circumstances would allow. Mistaking this retrograde movement, designed to protect the army stores, for a retreat, the Mexican general resolved on pursuit, and dispatched a large body of men across the Rio Grande for that purpose. Having secured the safety of his stores at Point Isabel, TAYLOR now hastened back to Fort Brown, besieged in the meantime by the enemy, who had erected a fort in the rear of it. On the 8th of May he met the pursuing Mexicans, drawn up for battle on a prairie in the vicinity of Palo Alto. Both sides prepared for action, which commenced at two o'clock P M. on the part of the Americans, who were resolved to force the enemy's position. The Mexican cannon were planted immediately in front, their cavalry stationed on the left. As the order to advance was given, the artillery of the enemy opened upon the Americans with a series of terrific discharges. They were responded to by the light artillery of Major Ringgold in front, and Duncan's battery on the left. The attack, sustained for the most part by artillery, lasted some five hours, when, unable longer to withstand the destructive and well directed fire of the battery, the Mexicans were swept from the field. TAYLOR'S force in the engagement numbered about twenty-three hundred men. That of the Mexicans was estimated at six thousand. Their loss in the action was two hundred killed and four hundred wounded. The Americans lost nine killed and forty wounded,—among the former was the gallant and accomplished Major Ringgold.* Remaining on the ground during the night, TAYLOR proceeded next day toward Matamoras. At a ravine known as Resaca de la Palma, he found the Mexicans prepared to dispute his progress. They were strongly posted, having their artillery so arranged as to bear directly upon the

* Mansfield.

advancing columns. As the Americans approached, the Mexican artillery, managed principally by General La Vega, opened upon them a tremendous fire which was returned by Ridgely's battery with telling effect. After the action had continued for some time in this way, TAYLOR determined to silence the guns of La Vega by a bold stroke. This duty was assigned to Captain May of the dragoons. That officer at the head of his troop immediately dashed ahead over all opposition upon the guns. He ordered La Vega to surrender. Finding resistance vain, and astounded at an exploit, the daring of which he had never before seen equalled, the Mexican general obeyed. The enemy's guns were effectually silenced, and La Vega taken prisoner. This was one of the most daring feats of the whole war, and decided the day. The Mexicans gave way on all sides and fled to the Rio Grande, hotly pursued by our troops till they passed that river. The Mexican force in the engagement was estimated at six thousand, while that of the Americans did not reach one-third that number. The American loss was thirty-nine killed and eighty-three wounded. The loss of the enemy in these two actions, killed, wounded and missing was about one thousand. "Our victory," said TAYLOR in his dispatch, "has been decisive. A small force has overcome immense odds of the best troops Mexico can furnish,—veteran regiments perfectly equipped and appointed. Eight pieces of artillery, several colors, and a large amount of baggage and public property have fallen into our hands. The causes of the victory are doubtless to be found in the superior quality of the officers and men." TAYLOR in these actions exhibited the highest courage, coolness, and military judgment, exposing himself, regardless of danger, to the most imminent peril. The Mexican army was completely shattered. Their general, Arista, ingloriously fled and made his way alone into the interior.

Fort Brown, which in the meantime, had been left in command of Major Brown and Captains Mansfield and Hawkins, was severely bombarded by the Mexicans from the fort erected in the rear. The attack commenced on the morning of the 5th of May, and was continued for several days with vigor. The heroic defenders of the fort were at one time almost reduced to extremities, being closely besieged and very short of supplies. The victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and the return of the Americans on the 10th gave joyful relief, and left the

Americans in undisputed possession of the Rio Grande as a basis of future operations. News of the movements taking place on the Rio Grande flew rapidly to the United States and created the most intense interest. Congress immediately authorized the appropriation of ten million of dollars, and the raising of fifty thousand volunteers for the purpose of prosecuting the war to a speedy and victorious conclusion. Largely over the number required were soon reported to the executives of the various States ready for marching orders.

TAYLOR, after the victories just noted, resolved to attack Matamoras. Commodore Conner's squadron in the Gulf was expected to participate. For the purpose of conferring with that officer, TAYLOR, leaving his army in the command of General Twiggs, hastened to Point Isabel. At that place he met a reinforcement just arrived from Louisiana. These were placed in the command of Colonel Wilson, and proceeded across the Rio Grande, taking possession of Brazos, it being the first capture made beyond the river. TAYLOR returned to headquarters and prepared for an immediate attack upon Matamoras. While this was being done, Arista, who had returned to the city, proposed an armistice, with a view to the settlement of existent difficulties between the two governments. Judging this to be a mere pretext to gain time TAYLOR refused compliance. Arista partially succeeded in removing his military stores, when with the remnant of his army he retreated toward Monterey. TAYLOR now crossed the Rio Grande and took undisputed possession of Matamoras. The enemy was pursued by Lieutenant-Colonel Garland and his cavalry a distance of sixty miles, when the pursuing party satisfied of the futility of farther efforts returned to the city.

Arrangements were soon made for a formal invasion of the country. Much delay was occasioned, and operations greatly retarded by the inefficient facilities of transportation. In June TAYLOR was regularly commissioned as Major-General. During the summer, operations were successful in various quarters. Vera Cruz was blockaded, and Reynosa, Revilla, Mier, and Camargo captured. The latter point, near two hundred miles above the mouth of the Rio Grande, was selected as the general depot where supplies and various divisions of reinforcemnts were to be concentrated. By autumn the forces under his command, TAYLOR thought, justified an advance into the interior. On the 20th of

August, therefore, General Worth with his division commenced the march, and was a few days after followed by TAYLOR in person; their design being against the city of Monterey, the capitol of New Leon, and one of the most important places in northern Mexico. The forces of Worth and Taylor effected a junction the latter part of August at Murin, and were organized under the commander-in-chief. TAYLOR encamped the 19th of September at Walnut Springs, only a league distant from the city. Monterey was defended by ten thousand men under the command of General Ampudia, one of the most inefficient officers that ever drew a lance. The city possessed strong natural defenses, which had been augmented by the Mexicans. After cautious and careful reconnoissances of the city, TAYLOR, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, determined to take the place by storm. This was no small undertaking. Defended on all sides by strong fortresses, whence frowned mounted cannon upon the invaders, she presented a formidable appearance. The streets of the city, too, were narrow and well defended by cannon, and the soldiers provided with every means of defense. General Worth, on the 20th of September encamped near the city just beyond the range of the Mexican guns, and on the ensuing day began the attack. On the 23d the entire army was engaged in the assault, and a fierce struggle ensued in the streets. The enemy gave way gradually, retreating from street to street, until their strong works were abandoned. TAYLOR placed his troops in these, resolved to confer with General Worth in regard to a combined assault. The city, however, was spared the consequences of being stormed. On the 24th, General Ampudia notified the American general of his willingness to evacuate the town if permitted to do so with their baggage and munitions without molestation. TAYLOR, not wishing to weaken his forces, or subject the inhabitants to further injury, wisely acceded to the proposition. The Mexicans the next day left the city, and General Worth was made its temporary governor. The American loss in and around Monterey amounted to a hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred and sixty-eight wounded,—that of the enemy was greatly over that number. On the 12th of November TAYLOR, having established his headquarters at Monterey, sent Worth and his division to Saltillo, and directed General Wool, instead of continuing his route to Chihuahua, to lead his forces, over two thousand strong, to Parras. These orders

were obeyed, and Generals Worth and Wool effected a junction of their troops at Saltillo early in December. TAYLOR soon after joined them at that point, resolved to hold Saltillo, as being a place of considerable political and military importance.

The Mexicans were concentrating all available forces at San Luis Potosi, a city situated about three hundred miles from Saltillo TAYLOR gave a clear statement of the obstacles in the way of an advance upon that place, and proposed an immediate movement against Tampico. This plan was not carried out. That place was, however, taken by Commodore Perry during the month of November, and a garrison detached from TAYLOR's army to take possession of it. TAYLOR had returned to Monterey; learning while on his way from that place to Victoria, that Santa Anna, who had been recalled from exile and placed at the head of the Mexican armies at San Luis Potosi, meditated an attack upon Worth's command at Saltillo, and afterward that of General Wool at Parras, he hastened back with a view of concentrating his forces to meet the enemy. Activity and watchfulness now characterized the movements of the American general. Quitman was ordered with his volunteers to Victoria to join the troops of General Patterson. Generals Butler and Wool moved with their respective troops from Parras and Monterey to reinforce Worth at Saltillo, while TAYLOR in person, accompanied by Twiggs, proceeded in the direction of Victoria, of which General Quitman took unopposed possession on the 29th of December. On the 4th of January, 1847, Generals TAYLOR and Twiggs entered the place and joined to their command the troops of Patterson and Quitman, which increased the forces in the town to over five thousand men.

The American Congress, in the meantime, resolved to commence operations against Vera Cruz, and thence push forward to the city of Mexico. General Winfield Scott was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and made immediate efforts to insure the success of his southern campaign. His first step was to draw off from TAYLOR nearly all the regulars whom he had so long and bravely commanded and led to so many brilliant victories. Generals Worth, Quitman, Patterson, and Twiggs, with their several commands, in obedience to the orders of Scott, departed for Vera Cruz, leaving TAYLOR with but five thousand men, of whom but five hundred were regulars, to continue operations against Santa Anna. TAYLOR, on parting with his faithful old

regulars, issued an order "extending his heartfelt wishes for their continued success and happiness, confident that their achievements on another theater would redound to the credit of their country and its arms." Being reinforced till his command reached between six and seven thousand men, TAYLOR, in January 1847, took up his headquarters at Monterey, where he learned the capture by the Mexicans of Cassius M. Clay and Majors Gaines and Borland at Encarnacion. Santa Anna, meanwhile, had been elected provisional President of Mexico, and collected at San Luis Potosi an army of twenty-one thousand men, and was preparing to drive TAYLOR across the Rio Grande. In early February his army was put in motion against the Americans at Saltillo. The Mexicans were well equipped, and led by their old general, confident of victory. After a rapid march they reached Encarnacion on the 21st, and the next day pushed forward against Saltillo.

Every inducement surrounded the Mexican general to leave no effort untried to obtain a decisive victory. If he could beat TAYLOR in an important battle, one by one, he could retake all the captured posts, drive him out of the country, infuse ardor into the army, and establish unlimited ascendency over the minds of the people. If himself beaten, the Americans would be in undisputed possession of the northern division of Mexico, his own army broken to pieces, and all hope and confidence destroyed. Everything, indeed, hinged upon the fate of a single battle, and the newly created President was fully nerved up to the crisis.

TAYLOR, on learning the vast preparation and approach of the enemy, with skill and celerity concentrated his forces, and took up his position about three leagues from Saltillo at a mountain pass called Buena Vista, where he determined to await and give battle. The position was well selected. It was a narrow pass between two ranges of mountains through which lay the Saltillo and San Luis Potosi road. The mountains were cut with gullies by heavy rains to which the country is subjected, between which were plateaus of sufficient surface to afford foot-hold for small bodies of soldiers and maneuvering detachments. Parallel with the road to the west was a deep ditch, piercing it from the western range of mountains. TAYLOR stationed his left wing on a large plateau east of the road commanding the mountain side, his right wing rested on the opposite mountain side upon the plateaus-

protected by the ditch, while the light artillery was stationed in the road commanding the center of the pass.

On the morning of the 22d of February, a body of Americans stationed at Agua Nueva came rushing to Buena Vista, announcing the approach of the Mexicans, who were moving rapidly forward from Encarnacion. The position of the American army was extremely critical. Santa Anna had a force five times their number, well equipped and elated with hopes of victory. TAYLOR had but few regulars,—his force, greatly inferior in numbers as it was, being mostly volunteers unaccustomed to the field,—yet he prepared to meet the enemy with boldness and fortitude. TAYLOR possessed an extraordinary amount of firmness and determination. When he was preparing to return from Point Isabel to Fort Brown, in 1846, just previous to the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, he said: "I shall march this day with the main body of the army to open a communication with Major Brown, and to throw forward supplies of ordnance and provision. *If the enemy oppose my march, in whatever force I shall fight him.*"

He was now at Buena Vista, and though the enemy was marching forward with overwhelming numbers, he resolved to fight him "in whatever force." Santa Anna soon came up and at eleven o'clock informed TAYLOR that he was "surrounded by twenty thousand men," and ordered him to surrender. In reply to this information and order, TAYLOR characteristically said: "*Tell Santa Anna to come and take me,*" which the latter immediately prepared to do. The judicious selection of his position now became apparent. It was a species of Thermopylæ pass, where numerical superiority was deprived of many advantages. The mountain sides prevented successful cavalry deploys, in which a great part of the enemy's strength consisted, while the narrowness of the pass rendered inefficient a large portion of the infantry and artillery. The Mexicans began the attack against the left wing stationed on the plateau east of the road, by endeavoring to turn their flank,—these maneuvers resulted in nothing more than light skirmishing. Expecting a complete victory, by order of the Mexican general, fifteen hundred cavalry led by Minon gained the rear of TAYLOR'S army, to prevent his retreat. Night set in, and the Americans rested on their arms, ready to give their enemy a fierce welcome on the morrow. TAYLOR went to Saltillo to bring forward all the troops at that

place; he arrived at Buena Vista just after the action began on the morning of the 23d. The attack was made in the same manner as it was the day before against the left wing on the plateau. The gallant left sustained its position manfully, hurling back a vastly superior force with their well directed fires. Early in the morning a dense body of Mexicans marched steadily forward against the American center. They soon encountered the artillery, directed by Captain Washington, and were driven back with severe loss. Uniting a large number of cavalry and infantry under cover of the ridges, the Mexicans again directed a combined and desperate attack upon the left. O'Brian's artillery poured against the advancing infantry a heavy and destructive fire, but could not check their progress, and it was soon perceived that they were rapidly outflanking the left wing with the obvious intent of gaining the rear. Affairs were in this most critical condition when TAYLOR arrived on the ground from Saltillo. Captains Bragg and Sherman with their artillery were quickly ordered to the support of the receding left, and bodies of cavalry formed for the same purpose. The Mexicans made desperate efforts against these, but were forced to fall back. A portion of the Mexican army had meantime gained the rear, but being disjoined from the main body, reaped no advantages by the movement; they rather, indeed, embarrassed themselves while endeavoring to regain the regular ranks. At this junction Santa Anna sent TAYLOR a message, asking what he wanted. Wool was sent to the Mexican general with an order for his troops to cease their fire. This not being obeyed Wool returned to his post.

After various evolutions and repulses, the Mexicans again became united, and strong efforts were made to drive the Americans from the field. Minon secured a high position on the Saltillo road, and had several light encounters with TAYLOR's reserves. He also tried to charge the artillery but was driven back in confusion and did not again participate in the action. Santa Anna's reserves now made a vigorous attack upon the Illinois and Kentucky volunteers, composing a portion of the infantry. They came on in vastly superior numbers and overwhelmed everything before them. O'Brian's infantry was routed and his field pieces, so gallantly served, captured by the advancing Mexicans. At this critical moment and turning point of the battle, the heroic Bragg came forward with his artillery from his noble defense of the left. A body of

infantry was quickly formed, and he was ordered in front of the flushed Mexicans. Though at the imminent peril of losing not only his guns but his life the order was promptly obeyed. His battery was formed not a minute too soon,—the enemy were within a few yards of his guns when a shower of canister checked them on the spot, while repeated discharges cut them down with fearful slaughter. Bragg won imperishable laurels. Without flinching or giving way an inch, his battery thundered death against the enemy, who repulsed, would return in dense bodies to the very muzzles of his pieces, when they would recoil with thinned ranks; at length they were forced to retire with heavy loss. The Kentucky troops in their ardor advancing too far ahead of the main body, were turned back and hotly pursued by the enemy, who followed them aloug the ravine, until repulsed by a raking fire from Washington's artillery. Protected by the Indiana and Mississippi troops, a portion of the artillery took position on the plateau which was gallantly defended. Colonels Henry Clay, jr., and McKee of Kentucky, and Hardin of Illinois fell while leading forward their commands; Colonel Yell, of Arkansas, and Adjutant Vaughan, of Kentucky, were killed in the earlier part of the action.

The repulse of the Mexicans by Braggs' battery, and successful defense of the plateau terminated gloriously the battle of Buena Vista, the result of which was the subjugation of northern Mexico. Night again hovered over the field, and put an and to the conflict. The wounded were conveyed to Saltillo and carefully provided for. Expecting a renewal of the contest on the 24th, the troops rested on their arms, and for the most part without fires. Reinforcements came in, both of infantry and cavalry, and every preparation was made for a renewal of the action. When the morning dawned however upon the field of battle, it was perceived that the enemy had retreated to Agua Nueva, whither, in his present exhausted condition, TAYLOR did not deem it advisable to pursue, satisfied with the dispersion of an army numbering five times his own, and the maintenance of his position.

A satisfactory exchange of prisoners was agreed upon between the two commanders. TAYLOR buried the dead, and with characteristic magnanimity, attended with solicitude to the wants of the Mexican wounded, having them conveyed to Saltillo where medical aid was procured. The Americans lost in this sanguinary battle

two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded and twenty-three missing,—the Mexicans lost in all over fifteen hundred.

Santa Anna evacuated Agua Nueva on the 26th, and in a distressed condition directed his march to San Luis Potosi; on the next day General TAYLOR and his army were encamped at Agua Nueva, the remaining Mexican soldiers retreating at his approach, leaving many of the dead unburied and the wounded uncared for. The Mexican army continued to decrease by sickness and desertion, Santa Anna leaving along the route of his retreat, dead, sick, and dying soldiers,—some crowded into houses, and others lying on the road side.

This, in many respects, was one of the most extraordinary battles fought in modern times. Men versed in military matters concluded that at one time the Americans were virtually beaten, but owing to their inexperience in the field the volunteers were ignorant of the fact, and fought on till victory crowned their efforts.

At Buena Vista TAYLOR reached the acme of his military fame. Cut off from the aid of his regulars, with that bold and indomitable courage he had always exhibited, he was determined to maintain his position at every hazard. News of his glorious victory, the importance of which, Mansfield justly says in his well written history of the Mexican war, can not be exaggerated, was welcomed in the United States with pride and gratification. Thomas L. Crittenden, aid to TAYLOR, being dispatched to Washington city with the official account of the battle, and an escort of two hundred and sixty men under Major Giddings, was attacked at Ceralvo by the Mexicans, over four times their number, commanded by General Urrea. The escort fought bravely, and after a sharp encounter forced the Mexicans to give way, and proceeded on their route. TAYLOR, after active pursuit of Urrea, returned to his old camp at Walnut Springs, in the vicinity of Monterey, and established his headquarters.

The capture of Vera Cruz by General Scott, and his subsequent victories at Cerro Gordo, Cherubusco, Chapultepec, and Molino del Rey, resulting in the conclusion of the Mexican war, TAYLOR, after several months of comparative leisure asked and obtained leave to revisit his home at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Having reached the highest position among the heroes of his country,

he now wished to retire to his home and enjoy with his family, from whom he had been so long absent, the dear reward of merit and duty. Leaving the army under General Wool he returned to the United States, through the country which his own arms had conquered, passing Camargo, Matamoras, and Point Isabel on his route. He left the latter point in November, and arrived at New Orleans the first of the ensuing month, where, aside from that holiest of joys, a reunion with his family, he was greeted with firing of cannon, and the plaudits of his countrymen. Among other testimonials of highest appreciation, he was presented with an elegant sword, appropriated by the Legislature of Louisiana. It was presented by Governor Johnson, who made suitable and eloquent remarks on the occasion, to which TAYLOR replied with deep feeling and emotion. Thence to Baton Rouge his journey was a grand ovation of the people, who were eager to extend grateful homage to the brave veteran who had so heroically vindicated the national flag, and maintained unsullied the national honor.

He reached Baton Rouge with an earnest desire to close his life at his home uninterrupted by public cares. In this he was doomed to disappointment. Though the measure of his military glory was complete, a double honor awaited him. His extraordinary achievements in carrying the American arms under the most untoward circumstances, through an enemy's country, and bringing back our banners with victory perched upon them, had taken a deep hold upon the mind of the people, and identified him with those upon whom they felt too many honors could not be conferred. Before his return from Mexico many of the States had signified their preference for him as chief magistrate of the United States. He had mingled during life to a very limited extent in politics, and to say that this preference was based upon other than military fame, or that civic capacity instead of availability was the precursor of it, would most certainly be a departure from the facts in the case. Though discarding party ties, his political proclivities were known to be Whig, and in the canvass after his nomination he received almost the unanimous support of that party. Mortified beyond measure at the defeat of their candidate and favorite champion in 1844, the Whig party unwilling to risk that great champion again, and knowing the potent influence his military exploits would have in the canvass, early singled out TAYLOR as

the successor of James K. Polk. He was interrogated on behalf of a large number of friends and pledged supporters, by Captain J. S. Allison in regard to his political views. He replied as follows:

"BATON ROUGE, *April* 22d, 1848.

DEAR SIR:—

I have consented to the use of my name as a candidate for the presidency. I have frankly avowed my own distrust of my fitness for this high station; but having, at the solicitation of many of my countrymen, taken my position as a candidate, I do not feel at liberty to surrender that position until my friends manifest a wish that I should retire from it. I will then most gladly do so. I have no private purposes to accomplish, no party projects to build up, no enemies to punish,—nothing to serve but my country.

I confess, while I have great cardinal principles which will regulate my political life, I am not sufficiently familiar with all the minute details of political legislation to give solemn pledges to exert myself to carry out this or defeat that measure. I have no concealment. I hold no opinion which I would not readily proclaim to my assembled countrymen; but crude impressions upon matters of policy, which may be right to-day and wrong to-morrow, are perhaps not the best test of fitness for office. One who can not be trusted without pledges, can not be confided in merely on account of them.

I will proceed, however, now to respond to your inquiries:

1. I reiterate what I have so often said: I am a Whig. If elected, I would not be the mere president of a party. I would endeavor to act independent of domination. I should feel bound to administer the government untrammelled by party schemes.

2. THE VETO POWER. The power given by the Constitution to the executive to interpose his veto, is a high conservative power; but, in my opinion, should never be exercised except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress. Indeed, I have thought that for many years past the known opinions and wishes of the executive have exercised undue and injurious influence upon the legislative department of the government; and for this cause I have thought our system was in danger of undergoing a great change from its true theory. The personal opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the executive chair, ought not to control the action of

Congress upon questions of domestic policy; nor ought his objections to be interposed where questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of government, and acquiesced in by the people.

3. Upon the subject of the tariff, the currency, the improvement of our highways, rivers, lakes, and harbors, the will of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress, ought to be respected and carried out by the executive.

4. THE MEXICAN WAR. I sincerely rejoice at the prospect of peace. My life has been devoted to arms, yet I look upon war at all times and under all circumstances as a national calamity, to be avoided if compatible with the national honor. The principles of our government, as well as its true policy, are opposed to the subjugation of other nations and the dismemberment of other countries by conquest. In the language of the great Washington, 'Why should we quit our own to stand on foreign ground?' In the Mexican war our national honor has been vindicated; and in dictating terms of peace, we may well afford to be forbearing and even magnanimous to a fallen foe.

These are my opinions upon the subjects referred to by you, and any reports or publications, written or verbal, from any source, differing in any essential particular from what is here written, are unauthorized and untrue.

I do not know that I shall again write upon the subject of national politics. I shall engage in no schemes, no combinations, no intrigues. If the American people have not confidence in me, they ought not to give me their suffrages. If they do not, you know me well enough to believe me, when I declare I shall be content. I am too old a soldier to murmur against such high authority.

Z. TAYLOR."

With these asseverations before them, the Whig national convention met at Philadelphia in June 1848, and after four ballotings nominated ZACHARY TAYLOR for President, and Millard Fillmore for Vice-president. Notwithstanding TAYLOR's repeated assertions that if elected he would administer the government without reference to party, the Democrats, true to their characteristics as a party, withheld their support. The canvass was conducted on party grounds, resulting in the election of TAYLOR and Fillmore by large popular and electoral majorities. Being elected President

of the United States, he started for Washington city on the 24th of January, 1849, which, after receiving along his route highest marks of appreciation from the people, he reached the 23d of the ensuing month. He was escorted into the city amidst firing of cannon, rockets, processions and military displays.

TAYLOR was inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1849, and selected his Cabinet as follows:

Secretary of State, John M. Clayton;
Secretary of the Treasury, William M. Meredith;
Secretary of War, George W. Crawford;
Secretary of the Navy, William B. Preston;
Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing;*
Post-Master General, Jacob Collamer;
Attorney-General, Reverdy Johnson.

The leading feature of his one year and four mouth's administration of the government, was the great slavery agitation, arising from our territorial acquisitions by the treaty with Mexico. New States were demanding admission into the Union, and the desire to apply the Wilmot Proviso as a condition, caused bitterest animosities from the very commencement of his official term. From the introduction of the California territorial bill before TAYLOR came into office, sectional excitements ran high. The organization of the first session of Congress under his administration, showed clearly that it would be a stormy one. So strong were party feelings, and so deep the interest felt in regard to the new territories, that sixty-three ballotings were had, and near a month consumed in the election of a speaker. The sixty-third ballot, on the 22d of December, 1849, resulted in the choice of Howell Cobb, of Georgia. On the 24th of the same month the President sent in his message, expressing an ardent desire, that peaceful relations abroad and fraternal feelings at home might be maintained.

That session of Congress was the longest ever held since the organization of the government, extending from December 3d, 1849, to September 30th, 1850, a period of three hundred and two days. During the sectional hostilities incident to its deliberations, the President, with patriotism and firmness, did his utmost to secure the safety and harmony of the Union.

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* This department was created during POLK's administration.

Considered as a representative of our military men, we do not purpose following TAYLOR through the exciting scenes of this Congress. The events of his administration have been mentioned in connection with other characters, where it is presumed they more properly belong. Before the close of the session TAYLOR was summoned to another sphere. Early in July, 1850, he was attacked with bilious fever, of which he died on the 9th at the President's House, in the 66th year of his age. His prominent traits were sound judgment, strict integrity, and a coolness and courage nothing could waver. He was of medium hight, rather corpulent, had a high forehead, quick and restless eye, and an even temper. He was, in manners and dress, extremely plain and unostentatious. His death filled the nation with regret,—his name will live while a star adorns the American flag.

This brings us to the close of our work, and we, at least, for the present lay aside the pen. Whether the reader follow us to the end,—whether he be instructed or entertained we know not; but would say to him, he can not study too closely nor emulate with too much zeal the lives of ILLUSTRIOUS MEN OF AMERICA.

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