

THE
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES
OF
DANIEL WEBSTER

National Edition

VOLUME THIRTEEN

THE NATIONAL EDITION OF THE
WRITINGS & SPEECHES OF DANIEL
WEBSTER IS LIMITED TO ONE
THOUSAND AND FIFTY COPIES
THIS SET IS NUMBER...510.....



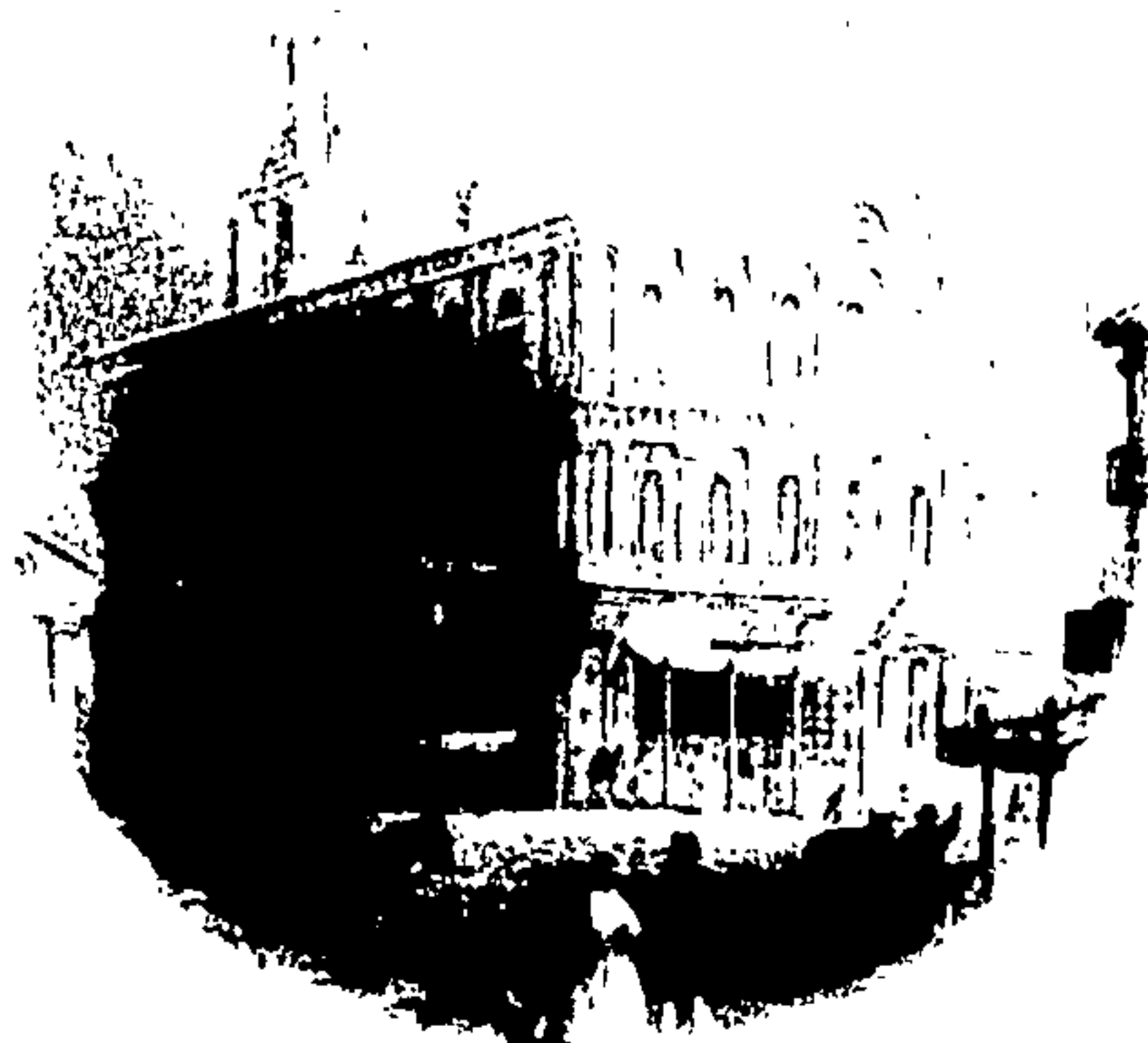
1912-1913

Daniel Webster

From a Painting of Mr. Webster in Hunting Costume by
G. P. A. Healy, in the possession of Mr. Thomas
B. Bryan, Elmhurst, Ill.

THE WRITINGS AND
SPEECHES
OF
DANIEL WEBSTER

IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES



VOLUME THIRTEEN

The Writings and Speeches of
DANIEL WEBSTER
HITHERTO UNCOLLECTED
VOLUME ONE · ADDRESSES
ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS
NATIONAL EDITION · Illustrated
with Portraits and Plates



BOSTON · LITTLE, BROWN, & COMPANY
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND THREE

5
45
000
10

7x
W378W

COPYRIGHT, 1903,
BY LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.

Rec. Dec. 4, 1903.

UNIVERSITY PRESS • JOHN WILSON
AND SON • CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

Webster's Writings and Speeches Hitherto Uncollected

Preface

IN his will, signed October 21, 1852, three days before his death, Mr. Webster said : " I appoint Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Cornelius Conway Felton, and George Ticknor Curtis, to be my literary executors ; and I direct my son, Fletcher Webster, to seal up all my letters, manuscripts, and papers, and at a proper time to select those relating to my personal history, and my professional and public life, which in his judgment should be placed at their disposal, and to transfer the same to them, to be used by them in such manner as they may think fit. They may receive valuable aid from my friend George J. Abbot, Esq., now of the State Department."

On June 1, 1854, Edward Everett wrote to Fletcher Webster that the literary executors had "thought it best, at an early period, to address a circular to his (Mr. Webster's) Correspondents requesting that his letters might be sent to us. This request has been complied with in many instances." Mr. Everett added that "as the choice out of so great a mass of materials of those adapted for the press can only be made to advantage on a collective view of the whole, we shall be gratified to receive from you, as soon as convenient, such of the papers as you shall judge proper to be placed at our disposal, and we will then, as soon as possible, select from them and the collection made by ourselves those which it may be expedient to publish, at the present time, and these we will place in your hands for that purpose, agreeably to your request."

A year later, in a letter to Fletcher Webster, dated September 10, 1855, Mr. Everett wrote : "In compliance with your request I have no hesitation in stating my confident belief that

the correspondence and other papers of your late honored father now in your possession and in that of his literary executors contain ample material for several volumes not less interesting and valuable than those already published ; perhaps for the general reader still more interesting."

On October 29, 1855, Mr. Everett wrote again to Fletcher Webster giving some suggestions regarding the publication of Mr. Webster's posthumous works. He said : " You refer to your father's speech on the Conscription. There are other speeches during his first membership in Congress, which it will be well to consider, as also some earlier political writings. There was, I understand, a very able speech in Faneuil Hall on the Oregon question, not contained in my edition. The speech in the Senate on Mr. Bates' death I regret not to have been acquainted with. His last great legal argument — on the India rubber case — will be worth preserving ; and of course all his public speeches made after the six volumes were in print ; among them his great historical address at New York and the last speech in Faneuil Hall.¹ If you will furnish me a list of anything of this kind which you either possess or which occurs to you, I will see what I can add to it. I think all matter of this kind should immediately follow your father's autobiographical Memoir, in the new publication. You observe that the papers sent on Saturday, with those put into my hands before, are all of those in your possession, ' which you propose to publish.' There must be of course a large mass of papers still remaining, the disposition of which is a question of importance and interest. You may recollect when we last conversed on the subject, I recommended to you (after withdrawing all such as for personal reasons you might think proper to withhold), to send the rest to the Executors, who will make a business of examining, classing, probably binding, and otherwise carefully preparing for permanent preservation and future use such as are adapted for it. Your father's will, I think evidently contemplates the performance of this office by us. His reference to Mr. Abbot implies it. Great value will hereafter attach to these papers, scarcely inferior to those of Washington. It is desirable for

¹ All the speeches and addresses here referred to by Mr. Everett are now published in *Writings and Speeches Hitherto Uncollected*.

your father's reputation as a statesman and jurist, that they should be put into the most convenient form for consultation."

Some further suggestions were made by Mr. Everett in a Memorandum dated November 7, 1855.

The foregoing extracts from Mr. Everett's letters show that the publication of a series of volumes supplementing the 1851 edition of Mr. Webster's works was contemplated, but a half century elapsed and found the work still unaccomplished.¹ Two volumes of Private Correspondence, edited by Fletcher Webster, appeared in 1857, but many of Mr. Webster's most important letters, some of them upon great public questions, were omitted. In 1869 George Ticknor Curtis's *Life of Daniel Webster* was published. Its two volumes contained a large number of letters which were not printed in the *Private Correspondence*. Mr. Curtis stated that great pains had been taken by Mr. Ticknor in collecting the material, which had been placed in his hands by the latter after Mr. Everett's death in 1865. Mr. Curtis's Webster papers were destroyed in 1881, when the warehouse in which they were stored was burned, but, fortunately, before that time a large number of the letters had passed into the hands of Mr. Charles P. Greenough, and are now in the Library of Congress.

The largest and most valuable collection of Webster manuscripts, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, &c. was preserved by Mr. Webster's friend Peter Harvey and given by him to the New Hampshire Historical Society. An examination of this material indicates that efforts were made to trace uncollected speeches and writings, but no systematic arrangement of the material was ever made, and much of the matter which is now first collected in this publication, had not been located. The memoranda and manuscripts in Mr. Harvey's collection have, however, been of great value and help in bringing this material to light. During the past two years a great many newspaper and periodical files have been searched, Congressional records, public documents, and law reports examined, pamphlet reports of Mr. Webster's speeches secured, a large

¹ The original letters from Mr. Everett to Fletcher Webster from which these extracts are taken are in the New Hampshire Historical Society.

number of manuscripts have been read and copied, and with much labor and care the matter now printed in the four volumes of Writings and Speeches Hitherto Uncollected has been brought together.

Mr. Webster's eloquence, his mastery of English, and his greatness as a statesman and a jurist, were sufficiently shown in the volumes edited by Edward Everett. And with the thought that the chief value of the present work,—the first attempt to place before the world the matter not printed in the edition of 1851,—would consist in collecting and preserving this important material for reference, it has not been deemed advisable to select from the papers and letters collected, but rather to publish everything of importance without abridgment.

The first volume of the Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster Hitherto Uncollected is chiefly devoted to Addresses on Various Public Occasions, of which more than seventy are here gathered for the first time, and printed from the contemporary reports in newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets, and from manuscripts. The first speech in the series is that on the Tariff, delivered at the Faneuil Hall meeting of October 2, 1820, held for the purpose of opposing increased protective duties, at which time protection had not been established as the settled policy of the country. This is followed by the "Amalgamation" speech, delivered in the Adams Campaign of 1827, and a speech on Nullification at Faneuil Hall, December 17, 1832. A long address delivered before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Boston, November 11, 1836, is printed for the first time from a manuscript.

In 1837 Mr. Webster visited the West and made a speech of some length at St. Louis, and one at Rochester on his way home, which are included in this collection. There are three speeches delivered in the famous Harrison campaign of 1840; a speech before the Chamber of Commerce, New York, November 4, 1842, on receiving the news of the ratification of the Treaty of Washington; and a speech at a dinner given to Mr. Webster by the merchants of Baltimore, May 18, 1843.

In the great campaign of 1844 when Henry Clay was the Whig candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Webster made numer-

ous speeches, and eleven will be found in this collection. Just after this series are a tribute to Andrew Jackson (1845), a Speech on the Oregon Question, Faneuil Hall, November 7, 1845, and the Speech at the Boston Whig Convention, September 23, 1846, the scene of a memorable struggle between the Anti-slavery and so-called "Commercial" Whigs, in which address occurs the oft-quoted expression, "I see in the dark and troubled night which is now upon us, no star above the horizon, but the intelligent, patriotic, united Whig party of the United States." This speech is followed by one on the Mexican War, Springfield, Mass., September 29, 1847, in which Mr. Webster claimed the Wilmot proviso as his "thunder," and a speech at the Whig Convention, Abington, Mass., October 9, 1848, advocating the election of Gen. Taylor.

In 1850 and 1851 he delivered in various parts of the Union a series of remarkable addresses in defence of his famous Seventh of March Speech and the Compromise Measures. Only two of these are in his works, and seven additional speeches, delivered at Boston, Annapolis, Syracuse, and Capon Springs, Va., are now first collected. The new matter also embraces the Address on the Dignity and Importance of History before the New York Historical Society, February 23, 1852, and the Speech at the Kossuth Banquet, January 7, 1852.

The reader will find in this volume the two noted speeches delivered in Boston during the last year of Mr. Webster's life, that of May 22, 1852, — when the doors of Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of American liberty," were "thrown open, wide open, on golden hinges moving," and Mr. Webster spoke there by the unanimous invitation of both branches of the city government of Boston, — and the address delivered on Boston Common, July 9, 1852, upon the occasion of the reception tendered him on his return from Washington; also the Speech at Marshfield to his neighbors, July 25, 1852, his last public utterance.

The first volume also contains a series of papers grouped under the title of Autobiographical Papers and Conversations Hitherto Uncollected. Among these are Autobiographical Reminiscences (1825); Autobiographical Notes and Fragment of a Journal, from manuscripts; Mr. Webster's Record of his Children; his Last Will (1852); Conversations with Charles Lanman and

Professor Felton, etc. Mr. Webster's Autobiography, his Diary, and Memorandum of Mr. Jefferson's Conversations, will be found, as heretofore, in the first volume of his Private Correspondence.

The second volume of the Writings and Speeches Hitherto Uncollected contains Speeches in Congress and Diplomatic Papers. The former, with a few exceptions, have been reprinted from the Annals of Congress, Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress, and the Congressional Globe. The Speeches delivered in the House of Representatives are twenty in number, and extend from 1813 to 1827. They begin with Mr. Webster's first utterance in Congress, when a representative from New Hampshire, that on submitting Resolutions on the French Decrees, and include, among other efforts called forth by the War of 1812, the long speech on The Encouragement of Enlistments, in which he advocated the establishment of an American Navy; the speeches on the Repeal of the Embargo and The Increase of Direct Taxes (1814); and the Conscription Speech (1814), thought by his biographer, George Ticknor Curtis, to be lost, but here printed from the original manuscript. Among the important speeches in the House in this volume are that on the Resolution regarding Greece (1824), the Speech on the Bill for the Continuation of the Cumberland Road (1825), Remarks on the President's Message relative to the Creek Indians (1827), occasioned by the controversy between the United States and the State of Georgia, and a Speech on the British Colonial Trade Bill (1827).

It is worthy of note that Mr. Webster's Collected Works, published in 1851, contain none of his utterances in Congress prior to 1815.

The Speeches in the United States Senate included in the second volume are more than fifty in number, delivered in the years 1828 to 1841 and 1846 to 1850. Among the more important of these are a Speech on the Revenue Collection Bill, otherwise known as the "Force" Bill, introduced to meet the nullification emergency, Remarks and Resolutions called forth by the Modification of the Tariff proposed by Mr. Clay, and Remarks upon Mr. Calhoun's Resolutions, all of which were delivered in 1833; several speeches on the Removal of the Deposits (1834); Remarks occasioned by President Jackson's

Message explanatory of his Protest of April 17, 1834; Remarks in opposition to Mr. Calhoun's Incendiary Bill (1836); Eulogy of Senator Isaac C. Bates (1845); Remarks on the Government of California and New Mexico (1849); Debate with Mr. Calhoun on the Government of New Territories (1849); A Personal Explanation in regard to Former Speeches on Slavery (1850), &c.

The Diplomatic Papers were written in the years 1841 to 1843 and 1850 to 1852. They are printed from the Executive Documents of the United States Senate, and from copies furnished by Mr. Andrew H. Allen, Librarian of the Department of State, whose advice regarding this portion of the work has been of great value. There are in all eighty-five letters, and among the subjects to which they relate are the following: The Seizure of American Vessels; The Creole Case; The United States and Mexico; The Northeastern Boundary; Haytian Affairs; The Lopez Expedition against Cuba; The Mission to Japan; Impressment; The Hawaiian Islands; The American Policy regarding Cuba; The Republics of Central America; The Kossuth Banquet Speech; The Tehuantepec Treaty; The American Fisheries; The Claim of Peru to the Lobos Islands, &c.

In an Appendix to the second volume will be found three speeches in the United States Senate, Notes of a Speech on the Compromise Bill (1833), and twenty-one Diplomatic Papers printed from manuscripts.

The third volume of the new material includes Miscellaneous Papers, Legal Arguments and Early Addresses and Papers.

In the Miscellaneous Papers are more than forty articles upon historical, legal, and political subjects reprinted from the North American Review, from pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts, and other sources. The Memorial to Congress on restraining the Increase of Slavery in New States (1819), The Constitutional Rights and Privileges of Harvard College (1821), and the Address on the Annexation of Texas (1845) are printed from the original pamphlets. Papers on Nullification (1830) and the Currency (1831), an Unpublished Speech on the Loss of the Fortification Bill (1836), and an article on President Tyler and the Whigs, are from the Life of Webster by George Ticknor Curtis. There are twelve editorial articles

from the *National Intelligencer* and three from the *Madisonian*. Among the papers printed from original manuscripts are two from the collection of Hon. George F. Hoar, — *Principles* (1832) and *The Duties of the Whig Party* (1845); an article entitled *President Tyler's Veto of the National Bank Bill* (1841) from the New York Public Library (Lenox Branch) Collection; and nine papers from the original manuscripts in the New Hampshire Historical Society, one of the most important being the *Suggestion to Joel Poinsett on the Northeastern Boundary* (1839).

There are twenty-six Legal Arguments and Opinions, derived from the Reports, from pamphlets, and from original manuscripts, among them being the Argument on behalf of the Boston and Lowell Railroad and the Argument in the Goodyear Rubber Case. This portion of the work has been annotated by Mr. John M. Gould of the Suffolk Bar.

The Legal Arguments are followed by seventeen Early Addresses and Papers from the original pamphlet, periodical, and newspaper publications, and from manuscripts. They include five articles published in the *Monthly Anthology*, 1805–1808; five Fourth of July Orations, 1800–1812; and three Dartmouth College Addresses — the Funeral Oration on Ephraim Simonds (1801), Oration on Opinion (1801), and the Phi Beta Kappa Address entitled *The State of Our Literature* (1809). Three early political papers — *An Appeal to the Old Whigs of New Hampshire* (1805), *Considerations on the Embargo Laws* (1808), and *The Rockingham Memorial* (1812) — will be found in the collection.

The fourth and final volume of the *Writings and Speeches Hitherto Uncollected* is devoted entirely to Correspondence and includes about eight hundred and fifty letters, almost all of which were written by Mr. Webster. Many of them are of great interest and importance. More than one hundred were written to Joseph Story, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Edward Everett, Governor John Davis, and President Fillmore. There are sixty-one letters to Jeremiah Mason, twenty-four to Charles March, written during Mr. Webster's first year in Congress, seventeen to Ezekiel Webster, thirty-seven to Franklin Haven, numerous letters to Peter Harvey,

George Ticknor, Hiram Ketchum, R. M. Blatchford, Mrs. Caroline Le Roy Webster, and Fletcher Webster, and letters to John C. Calhoun, Jeremiah Smith, Timothy Pickering, Thomas H. Benton, De Witt Clinton, President Tyler, Chancellor Kent, Edward Livingston, Josiah Quincy, Jared Sparks, Lewis Cass, Thurlow Weed, Sir Henry L. Bulwer, Commodore R. F. Stockton, Abbott Lawrence, and many others.

Although many of these letters have been printed in newspapers and books they have never before been collected and arranged in chronological order, and a number of them are published from the original manuscripts. They begin with a letter on the Icarus Papers written to Moses Davis, August 27, 1803, and extend to a few days before Mr. Webster's death. Among the letters of considerable length and importance which will be found in the volume are the letter on the Independence of Texas written to Nicholas Biddle, September 10, 1838; that on the Annexation of Texas, addressed to the Citizens of Worcester County, Mass., January 23, 1844; one on the Judiciary of Massachusetts, to William Davis, October 16, 1843; the Correspondence with E. Rockwood Hoar, in 1848, when Mr. Webster declined to support the Free Soil nomination of Van Buren for the Presidency; letters to Hiram Ketchum and Senators Bates and Choate of Massachusetts, on the United States Bank question, written in 1841; letters giving impressions of England, written during Mr. Webster's visit there in 1839; a letter on River and Harbor Improvements, written to N. B. Judd and others, June 26, 1847; the Webster Annuity Correspondence and the Correspondence with Thomas H. Benton; letters to Governor Levi Lincoln and others, written shortly before Mr. Webster's first election to the United States Senate; numerous letters connected with his law practice and his career at Washington; letters on the Dartmouth College Case, on the Tariff and Commercial Relations, on the Cabinets of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, on the Creole Case, the Northeastern Boundary, the McLeod Case, the Ashburton Treaty, the Chinese Mission, and the Oregon question; letters relating to the Hülsemann difficulty; a letter to B. F. Ayer on the Preservation of the Union, November 16, 1850; letters called forth by the Seventh of March Speech; the letters of

1851 and 1852 occasioned by the refusal of the use of Faneuil Hall by the Aldermen of Boston ; letters on the Compromise Measures of 1850, &c., &c.

Notes printed in the original publication of the speeches, papers, letters, &c., embraced in these volumes, also notes found in the original manuscripts are indicated by asterisks and daggers, and the new notes by figures. The 1851 edition of Mr. Webster's Writings is referred to in the notes as *Collected Works*.

Nothing remains to add but an acknowledgment of great indebtedness to those who have generously accorded permission to reprint manuscripts in their possession or have kindly aided with information and advice.

First in importance is the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H., which has given the unrestricted use of its remarkable Collection. Especial thanks are due to the officers and library committee and to Rev. Nathan F. Carter, the Librarian, whose help has been of great value.

Mrs. Louise A. Curtis kindly gave permission to reprint important papers and letters from her husband's *Life of Daniel Webster*, without which material, any approach to a complete edition of Mr. Webster's Writings would have been impossible.

Hon. George F. Hoar and Rev. Edward Everett Hale not only tendered the use of their Webster manuscripts, but furnished valuable suggestions as well.

The publishers are deeply grateful to the Massachusetts Historical Society for the use of letters in the *Proceedings and Collections of the Society*, and to Dr. Samuel A. Green, the Librarian ; to the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., Nathaniel Paine, Esq., President of the Society, and Stephen Salisbury, Esq., its Treasurer, for permission to print Webster letters in the *Davis Papers*, and to Edmund H. Barton, the Librarian, and Miss Mary Robinson, Assistant Librarian, for information ; to Horace G. Wadlin, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, Otto Fleischner, Assistant Librarian, and James L. Whitney, the former Librarian, for many courtesies extended in the search and for the use of manuscripts ; to Wilberforce Eames, Librarian of the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch, to Morris Jastrow, Jr., Libra-

rian of the University of Pennsylvania, to Arthur H. Chase, Librarian of the New Hampshire State Library, to Gregory B. Keen, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, and other officials, for information and the use of valuable material; to Hon. Charles Francis Adams, for permission to print numerous letters to John Quincy Adams; to Charles P. Greenough, Esq., Boston, for the use of a large number of important letters; the original manuscript of the Phi Beta Kappa Address, delivered at Dartmouth in 1809, and other material; to Edwin B. Sanborn, Esq., New York, for permission to print several letters to Ezekiel Webster; to Mrs. Robert D. Bronson, Summit, N. J., for the use of letters to her grandfather, Judge William Gaston, of North Carolina; to Lyon G. Tyler, Esq., Williamsburg, Va., for material from Letters and Times of the Tylers; to Hon. Charles R. Corning, Concord, N. H., for the use of his collection; to Mrs. A. R. Sharp, Boston, for permission to print letters in the Sparks Correspondence, Harvard College Library; to Miss Helen Richards Healey, for letters to her grandfather, John P. Healey; to Samuel Hoar, Esq., Concord, for the use of the correspondence between his father, E. Rockwood Hoar, and Mr. Webster; to Franklin Haven, Esq., Boston, for the use of numerous letters written to his father by Mr. Webster; to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Boston, for permission to reprint a large number of letters from the Memoir and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason; to Hon. William Everett, for the use of letters to his father, Edward Everett, and for having placed in the publishers' hands copies of letters preserved by Mr. Everett; to Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons for letters from the Speeches, Correspondence, &c., of Daniel S. Dickinson, and the Life and Correspondence of Rufus King; to Miss Eugenia Coleman for letters reprinted from the Life of J. J. Crittenden, by Mrs. C. Coleman; to Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, for a letter written to his grandfather, Henry Cabot; to William J. Tucker, President of Dartmouth College, for a letter to Joseph Hopkinson; to Timothy Farrar Burke, Cheyenne, Wyoming, for a letter to his grandfather, Timothy Farrar; to William Kent, Esq., for letters from the Memoirs of Chancellor Kent; to Hon. Winslow Warren, for two letters reprinted from the

History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association; to Messrs. C. W. and A. F. Lewis, for information and for material from the Fryeburg Memorial; to Charles E. Bliss, Bangor, Me., for copies of newspaper clippings; to J. S. H. Frink, Esq., Portsmouth, N. H., for a copy of the Rockingham Memorial; to Messrs. Fitzroy Kelly, Boston, B. C. Clark, Boston, Arthur G. Stevens, Concord, N. H., and Grenville H. Norcross, Boston, for the use of letters; and to the late Mrs. Abbott Lawrence, for the use of material from the Memoir of Abbott Lawrence.

Indebtedness for information is acknowledged to Albert S. Batchellor, Esq., Littleton, N. H., Editor of State Papers, State of New Hampshire, William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard College Library, Charles F. Richardson, Professor of English, Dartmouth College, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits and Mr. George de C. Curtis, of the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch, James Schouler, Esq., Boston, M. D. Bisbee, Librarian of Dartmouth College, Messrs. Edward A. Kelly, Boston, Frank B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass., Otis Norcross, Boston, James F. Colby, Hanover, N. H., J. G. Rosengarten, Philadelphia, William T. Davis, Plymouth, and Worthington C. Ford, Library of Congress. It should be added that valuable information was derived from letters written to the Boston Transcript in 1884 by Edward L. Pierce, Author of *The Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*; and that the newspaper and periodical files of the Boston Athenæum, together with the facilities for examining them afforded by Mr. Charles K. Bolton the Librarian and the other officials, have been of very great assistance.

J. W. McINTYRE.

Boston, October 7, 1903.

CONTENTS

Addresses Hitherto Uncollected

	PAGE
Speech on the Tariff, Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 2, 1820	5
Speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, April 20, 1827	23
Speeches at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., July 28, 1828	31
Remarks at a Dinner given to Hon. James Brown, Novem- ber 6, 1829	35
Remarks on Sunday Schools, Washington, February 16, 1831	38
Speech on Nullification, Boston, December 17, 1832 . .	40
Speech at Concord, N. H., October, 1834	44
Remarks at Lexington, Mass., April 20, 1835	57
Remarks at Hallowell, Me., October 3, 1835	59
Remarks at Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., Septem- ber 8, 1836	61
Lecture before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Boston, November 11, 1836	63
Speech at St. Louis, June, 1837	79
Speech at Rochester, N. Y., July 20, 1837	88
Remarks at the Abbot Festival, Exeter, N. H., August 23, 1838	101
Remarks on Common Schools, Hanover, Mass., September 3, 1838	104
Remarks on Education. An Abstract of an Address relating to Amherst, Mass., and Hanover, N. H.	106

	PAGE
Speech at the Baltimore Convention, May 4, 1840 . . .	108
Speech at the Whig Festival, Alexandria, June 11, 1840 . .	110
Speech at Patchogue, N. Y., September 22, 1840 . . .	114
Speech at New York, November 4, 1842	143
Speech at Baltimore, May 18, 1843	150
Speeches at the State Agricultural Fair, Rochester, N. Y., September 20 and 21, 1843	172
The Nomination of Clay, Canton, Md., May 2, 1844 . .	196
Speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 9, 1844	203
Address at Portsmouth, N. H., May 17, 1844	212
Speech at Trenton, N. J., May, 1844	216
Speech at Boston, July 4, 1844	238
Speech at the Whig Mass Meeting, Springfield, Mass., August 9, 1844	243
Remarks at Taunton, Mass., September 10, 1844 . . .	252
Speech at Boston, September 19, 1844	254
Speech at New York, October 9, 1844	270
Speech at Pepperell, Mass., November 5, 1844	276
Speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 8, 1844 . . .	301
Remarks on Commercial Treaties, New York, March, 1845	306
Tribute to Andrew Jackson, New York, July, 1845 . .	308
Speech on the Oregon Question, Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 7, 1845	310
Remarks at Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., April 30, 1846	325
Speech at the Whig State Convention, Boston, September 23, 1846	327
Speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 6, 1846 . . .	330
The Relief of Ireland, Washington, February 9, 1847 . .	342
The Mexican War, Springfield, Mass., September 29, 1847	345
Speech at the Whig Convention, Abington, Mass., Octo- ber 9, 1848	366

Contents

	xix
	PAGE
Remarks at Dedham, Mass., September 26, 1849 . . .	381
Remarks at Boston, April 29, 1850	386
Remarks at the Revere House, Boston, November 4, 1850	390
Speech at Annapolis, Md., March 25, 1851	392
Speech at Harrisburg, Pa., April 1, 1851	401
Speech in front of the Revere House, Bowdoin Square, Boston, April 22, 1851	405
Speech at Syracuse, May, 1851	408
Speech at a Dinner given to Mr. Webster at Syracuse, May, 1851	422
Speeches at Capon Springs, Va., June 28, 1851	429
Remarks at the Railroad Jubilee at Boston, September 17, 1851	442
Remarks at the New Hampshire State Agricultural Society Fair, Manchester, October 9, 1851	445
Speech at the Kossuth Banquet, Washington, January 7, 1852	452
The Dignity and Importance of History, New York His- torical Society, February 23, 1852	463
Remarks at City Hall, New York, February 24, 1852 . .	498
Remarks on James Fenimore Cooper, New York, February 25, 1852	501
The Colony of Liberia, New York, February 27, 1852 .	505
Remarks at Trenton, N. J., March 26, 1852	507
Remarks before the St. Nicholas Society, New York, May 26, 1852	509
Address delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, May 22, 1852	510
Remarks before the Agricultural Convention at Washington, June, 1852	523
Remarks at Washington, June 21 and 24, 1852	525
Speech at a Reception at Boston, July 9, 1852	528
Speech at Marshfield, July 25, 1852	539

Autobiographical Papers and Conversations

	PAGE
Autobiographical Reminiscences, 1825	545
Autobiographical Notes	549
Mr. Webster's Parents	552
Mr. Webster's Will, 1836	554
The Annexation of Texas (Memoranda of Robert J. Walker), March 19, 1845	556
Mr. Webster's Record of his Children, May 11, 1848 . .	558
Fragment of a Journal	561
Henry Clay, January 21, 1850	562
Conversations with Charles Lanman	564
Conversations with Professor Felton	581
On Christianity, 1852	584
Mr. Webster's Last Will, 1852	586
Inscription by Mr. Webster for his Monument	592

Appendix

Speech on the Abolition of Slavery, 1840	595
--	-----

List of Illustrations

VOLUME THIRTEEN

Daniel Webster *Frontispiece*

From the painting by G. P. A. Healy, in the possession of
Mr. Thomas B. Bryan

Faneuil Hall in Mr. Webster's Time *Engraved Title*

From an engraving by H. Griffiths, after a drawing by
W. H. Bartlett

George Ticknor Curtis *Page 21*

From a photograph by George G. Rockwood

Millard Fillmore " 442

From a photograph in the possession of Mr. W. J. Baker

Facsimile of the Cover of an Autograph Copy of the
Pamphlet entitled "An Address delivered before
the New York Historical Society, February 23,
1852." " 463

From the original, in the possession of Mrs. Abbott Lawrence

Winfield Scott " 525

From a photograph from life

Addresses Hitherto Uncollected

VOL. I. — I

On Christianity¹

"LAST Sabbath," said Mr. Webster, "I listened to an able and learned discourse upon the evidences of Christianity. The arguments were drawn from prophecy, history, and internal evidence. They were stated with logical accuracy and force; but, as it seemed to me, the clergyman failed to draw from them the right conclusion. He came so near the truth that I was astonished that he missed it. In summing up his arguments, he said the only alternative presented by these evidences is this: Either Christianity is true, or it is a delusion produced by an excited imagination. Such is not the alternative, said the critic; but it is this: The Gospel is either true history, or it is a consummate fraud; it is either a reality, or an imposition. Christ was what He professed to be, or He was an impostor. There is no other alternative. His spotless life, His earnest enforcement of the truth, His suffering in its defence, forbid us to suppose that He was following an illusion of a heated brain.

"Every act of His pure and holy life shows that He was the author of truth, the advocate of truth, the earnest defender of truth, and the uncomplaining sufferer for truth. Now, considering the purity of His doctrines, the simplicity of His life, and the sublimity of His death, is it possible that He would have died for an illusion? In all His preaching, the Saviour made no popular appeals. His discourses were all directed to the individual. Christ and His apostles sought to impress upon every man the conviction that he must stand or fall alone—

¹ From "A Eulogy on Daniel Webster delivered before the Students of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., Dec. 29, 1852," by Prof. Edwin D. Sanborn, who said: "A few months before his decease while sitting with him alone, by his own fireside, I heard him discourse most eloquently upon the great truths of Christianity and the proper method of teaching them."

he must live for himself and die for himself, and give up his account to the omniscient God as though he were the only dependent creature in the universe. The Gospel leaves the individual sinner alone with himself and his God. To his own Master he stands or falls. He has nothing to hope from the aid and sympathy of associates. The deluded advocates of new doctrines do not so preach. Christ and His Apostles, had they been deceivers, would not have so preached.

“If clergymen in our day would return to the simplicity of the Gospel, and preach more to individuals and less to the crowd, there would not be so much complaint of the decline of true religion. Many of the ministers of the present day take their text from Saint Paul, and preach from the newspapers. When they do so, I prefer to enjoy my own thoughts, rather than to listen. I want my pastor to come to me in the spirit of the Gospel, saying, ‘You are mortal; your probation is brief; your work must be done speedily. You are immortal, too. You are hastening to the bar of God! the Judge standeth before the door.’ When I am thus admonished, I have no disposition to muse or to sleep. These topics have often occupied my thoughts; and if I had time, I would write upon them myself.”

Mr. Webster's Last Will

1852.¹

IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD!

I, DANIEL WEBSTER, of Marshfield, in the County of Plymouth, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Esquire, being now confined to my house with a serious illness, which, considering my time of life, is undoubtedly critical, but being, nevertheless, in the full possession of all my mental faculties, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament.

I commit my soul into the hands of my heavenly Father, trusting in his infinite goodness and mercy.

I direct that my mortal remains be buried in the family vault at Marshfield, where monuments are already erected to my deceased children and their mother. Two places are marked for other monuments, of exactly the same size and form. One of these, in proper time, is to be for me; and perhaps I may leave an epitaph. The other is for Mrs. Webster. Her ancestors and all her kindred lie in a far-distant city. My hope is, that after many years she may come to my side, and join me and others whom God hath given me.

I wish to be buried without the least show or ostentation; but in a manner respectful to my neighbors, whose kindness has contributed so much to the happiness of me and mine, and for whose prosperity I offer sincere prayers to God.

Concerning my worldly estate, my Will must be anomalous and out of the common form, on account of the state of my affairs. I have two large real estates. By marriage settlement, Mrs. Webster is entitled to a life estate in each; and after her death, they belong to my heirs. On the Franklin estate, so far as I know, there is no incumbrance except Mrs. Webster's life estate. On Marshfield, Mr. Samuel Froth-

¹ From "Webster and His Master-pieces," by Rev. B. F. Tefft.

ingham has an unpaid balance of a mortgage, now amounting to twenty-five hundred dollars. My great and leading wish is to preserve Marshfield, if I can, in the blood and name of my family. To this end, it must go in the first place to my son, Fletcher Webster, who is hereafter to be the immediate prop of my house, and the general representative of my name and character. I have the fullest confidence in his affection and good sense, and that he will heartily concur in anything that appears to be for the best.

I do not see, under present circumstances of him and his family, how I can now make a definite provision for the future, beyond his life. I propose, therefore, to put the property into the hands of Trustees, to be disposed of by them as exigencies may require.

My affectionate wife, who has been to me a source of so much happiness, must be tenderly provided for. Care must be taken that she has some reasonable income. I make this Will upon the faith of what has been said to me by friends of means which will be found to carry out my reasonable wishes. It is best that Mrs. Webster's life-interest in the two estates be purchased out. It must be seen what can be done with friends at Boston, and especially with the contributors to my life annuity. My son-in-law, Mr. Appleton, has most generously requested me to pay little regard to his interests or to those of his children; but I must do something, and enough to manifest my warm love and attachment to him and them. The property best to be spared for the purpose of buying out Mrs. Webster's life-interest under the marriage settlement is Franklin, which is very valuable property, and which may be sold, under prudent management, or mortgaged, for a considerable sum.

I have also a quantity of land in Illinois, at Peru, which ought to be immediately seen after. Mr. Edward Curtis, and Mr. Blatchford, and Mr. Franklin Haven, know all about my large debts, and they have undertaken to see at once whether those can be provided for, so that these purposes may probably be carried into effect.

With these explanations, I now make the following provisions, namely :

Item. — I appoint my wife, Caroline Le Roy Webster, my son, Fletcher Webster, and R. M. Blatchford, Esquire, of New York, to be the executors of this Will. I wish my said Executors, and also the Trustees hereinafter named, in all things relating to finance and pecuniary matters, to consult with my valued friend, Franklin Haven; and in all things respecting Marshfield, with Charles Henry Thomas, always an intimate friend, and one whom I love for his own sake and that of his family; and in all things respecting Franklin, with that true man, John Taylor; and I wish them to consult, in all matters of law, with my brethren and highly-esteemed friends, Charles P. Curtis and George T. Curtis.

Item. — I give and devise to James W. Paige and Franklin Haven, of Boston, and Edward Curtis, of New York, all my real estate in the towns of Marshfield in the State of Massachusetts, and Franklin, in the State of New Hampshire, being the two estates above-mentioned, to have and to hold the same to them and their heirs and assigns, forever, upon the following *Trusts*, namely:

First. — To mortgage, sell or lease, so much thereof as may be necessary to pay to my wife, Caroline Le Roy Webster, the estimated value of her life-interest, heretofore secured to her thereon by marriage settlement, as is above recited, if she shall elect to receive that valuation in place of the security with which those estates now stand charged.

Secondly. — To pay to my said wife, from the rents and profits and income of the said two estates, the further sum of five hundred dollars per annum during her natural life.

Thirdly. — To hold, manage and carry on the said two estates, or so much thereof as may not be sold for the purposes aforesaid, for the use of my son, Fletcher Webster, during his natural life; and after his decease, to convey the same in fee to such of his male descendants as a majority of the said Trustees may elect, they acting therein with my son's concurrence, if circumstances admit of his expressing his wishes, otherwise acting upon their own discretion; it being my desire that his son Ashburton Webster take one, and his son Daniel Webster, Jr., the other, of the said estates.

Item. — I direct that my wife, Caroline Le Roy Webster,

have, and I hereby give to her, the right during her life to reside in my mansion-house at Marshfield, when she wishes to do so, with my son, in case he may reside there, or in his absence; and this I do, not doubting my son's affection for her or for me, but because it is due to her that she should receive this right from her husband.

Item. — I give and bequeath to the said James W. Paige, Franklin Haven and Edward Curtis, all the books, plate, pictures, statuary and furniture, and other personal property, now in my mansion-house at Marshfield, except such articles as are hereinafter otherwise disposed of, in trust to preserve the same in the mansion-house for the use of my son Fletcher Webster during his life, and after his decease to make over and deliver the same to the person who will then become "the owner of the estate of Marshfield;" it being my desire and intention that they remain attached to the house while it is occupied by any of my name and blood.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my said wife all my furniture which she brought with her on her marriage, and the silver plate purchased of Mr. Rush, for her own use.

Item. — I give, devise and bequeath, to my said Executors all my other real and personal estate, except such as is hereinafter described and otherwise disposed of, to be applied to the execution of the general purposes of this Will, and to be sold and disposed of, or held and used, at Marshfield, as they and the said Trustees may find to be expedient.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my son, Fletcher Webster, all my law-books, wherever situated, for his own use.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, Samuel A. Appleton, my California watch and chain, for his own use.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my grand-daughter, Caroline Le Roy Appleton, the portrait of myself by Healey, which now hangs in the south-east parlor at Marshfield, for her own use.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my grandson, Samuel A. Appleton, my gold snuff-box with the head of General Washington, all my fishing-tackle, and my Selden and Wilmot guns, for his own use.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my grandson, Daniel Webster Appleton, my Washington medals, for his own use.

Item. — I give and bequeath to my grand-daughter, Julia Webster Appleton, the clock presented to her grandmother by the late Hon. George Blake.

Item. — I appoint Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Cornelius Conway Felton and George Ticknor Curtis, to be my literary executors; and I direct my son, Fletcher Webster, to seal up all my letters, manuscripts and papers, and at a proper time to select those relating to my personal history, and my professional and public life, which in his judgment should be placed at their disposal, and to transfer the same to them, to be used by them in such manner as they may think fit. They may receive valuable aid from my friend George J. Abbot, Esq., now of the State Department.

Item. — My servant William Johnson is a free man. I bought his freedom not long ago for six hundred dollars. No demand is to be made upon him for any portion of this sum, but so long as is agreeable I hope he will remain with the family.

Item. — Monica McCarty, Sarah Smith and Ann Bean, colored persons, now also and for a long time in my service, are all free. They are very well-deserving, and whoever comes after me must be kind to them.

Item. — I request that my said Executors and Trustees be not required to give bonds for the performance of their respective duties under this Will.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Marshfield, and have published and declared this to be my last Will and Testament, on the twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and fifty-two.

(Signed) DANIEL WEBSTER. (Seal)

Signed, Sealed, Published and declared, by the said Testator, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, at his request, and in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have set our names hereto as subscribing witnesses, the word "our" being erased in the third line from the bottom of the fifth page, before signing.

(Signed) GEORGE J. ABBOT,
JOHN JEFFRIES,
CHARLES H. THOMAS.

The following memorandum is from a copy in the New Hampshire Historical Society.

My Island farm, so called, contains about 150 acres. With a very fair new built tenants' house, &c., I should think with care it might be disposed of for \$3000. I do not know how saleable it might be, on account of the remoteness of its situation. But it is excellent land, and has this year been the most productive & remunerative of any of my real estate here.

It is under a mortgage of 1300 dollars, as I think, to the Hingham Savings Bank.

Mr. Thomas knows all about it. This property if a purchaser offers may be sold for the benefit of the Marshfield estate.

I do not know whether the whole or any part of it is within the Marriage Settlement.

The above was dictated by Mr. Webster to me on the 21st October 1852, at the time he was preparing his Will.

He directed me not to incorporate it in the Will, but to leave it a memorandum for the guidance of his Executor.

GEO. T. CURTIS.

Inscription by Mr. Webster for his Monument

OCTOBER 15, 1852.¹

LORD, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief.

Philosophical argument, especially that drawn from the vastness of the universe in comparison with the apparent insignificance of this Globe, has sometimes shaken my reason for the faith that is in me; but my heart has assured, and reassured me, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be a Divine Reality.

The Sermon on the Mount cannot be a merely human production. This belief enters into the very depth of my conscience. The whole history of man proves it.

DAN'L WEBSTER.

¹ From a paper in the Greenough Collection. George Ticknor Curtis in his Life of Webster says that "When he first dictated this inscription, he said to Mr. Abbot: 'If I get well, and write a book on Christianity, about which we have talked, we can attend more fully to this matter. But, if I should be taken away suddenly, I do not wish to leave any duty of this kind unperformed. I want to leave somewhere a declaration of my belief in Christianity. I do not wish to go into any doctrinal distinctions in regard to the person of Jesus, but I wish to express my belief in His divine mission.' "

Appendix

VOL. I. — 38

Speech on the Abolition of Slavery

[1840.]¹

INTRODUCE this topic by a reference to the value of the *Union*, & to your known sentiments upon that subject. Slavery was not misunderstood by our fathers. They acted as conscientious, religious men in reference to existing circumstances. We must do so. Their toleration of slavery, enabled them to secure important enactments to arrest the slave trade. Suppose they had acted upon the idea, that they must tolerate in no form & to no extent the evil which stood in their way. The slave states would have been banded together, & the slave *trade* would have had powerful aid & succor, &c, &c.

Before 1789 the subject of slavery, in states where it existed, was a subject of course entirely under the control of the legislative power of the State. In this condition the Constitution found things; & our New England fathers, in agreeing to the Constitution, agreed to leave all things, in this respect as they found them. They acknowledged the existence of slavery, which did actually exist, & one well known provision of the Constitution is founded on this recognition. Nothing has since occurred, either to diminish the power of the States over this matter, or to give any power to Congress. Congress has no power over it. No branch of its authority reaches to it. This was admitted, by all Northern men, in the early history of the Government, & can be denied by nobody. I wish to say here, in the heart of Massachusetts, what I have said in Virginia that the Genl Govt has no right whatever, to interfere, in any way, with slavery in the States. This is what I have always said, & what I took some pains to say, in Jan. 1830 in the Debate on Mr. Foot's Resolutions. And while such incessant efforts are making in the South to alarm the people of that quarter about the intentions & purposes of Northern Whigs, in regard to this

¹ From a manuscript, partly in Mr. Webster's handwriting, in the New Hampshire Historical Society. The paper is endorsed, in another hand, "about 1840."

subject, I have deemed it proper to declare, & to repeat, my own view of our Constitutional obligations, & so far as I know, the view also of all other Northern Whigs. It is represented in the Southern States that we would exercise the powers of Congress, or exercise assumed powers in Congress, to the overthrow of the rights of our Southern brothers, which our fathers guaranteed to the people of the Southern States. I therefore feel bound to say, so far as I am concerned, & so far [as] you design, those representations are untrue.

I am willing to express my opinions, equally unequivocally, in regard to slavery in the District of Columbia.

I have no doubt that Congress does possess Constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; because the Constitution gives it exclusive power of legislation over the District, without any limitation or restraint whatever. I have expressed this opinion often, especially when Mr. Calhoun's Resolution was under discussion, two or three years ago.¹

And I think that the people have an undoubted right to petition Congress on this subject; & that the rule of the last House of Representatives, against receiving such petitions was a denial of a Constitutional right.

The propriety of abolishing slavery in the District is quite another thing. That is a question of justice, & of expediency. If the abolition of slavery in the District were proposed either by payment to owners or otherwise, to-day, I certainly should not vote for it, against the sense of the people themselves.

It is to be considered, that this District is in the heart of large slaveholding States, & that Congress is the legislature of the District, & to some extent bound by the will of the people of the District. These States ceded the District for the convenience & accommodation of Congress, and the establishment of a seat of Government. This was all that Congress needed, & all it could receive, under the Constitution. To these States, slavery, its continuance or abolition, & the time & manner of abolition, are questions of vital importance, & go deep into the whole fabric of society.

¹ Mr. Calhoun introduced resolutions on the subject of slavery December 27, 1837, and Mr. Webster addressed the Senate on Mr. Clay's substitute resolution, January 10, 1838. (See Collected Works.) The speech here printed might therefore have been delivered in 1840. In the second paragraph he remarks: "I wish to say here in the heart of Massachusetts, what I have said in Virginia" &c. He spoke at Barre, Worcester County, Mass., July 4, 1840, but a report of the speech has not been found.

The direct interest which the U. States have in the subject is comparatively a very small one; its discussion in Congress naturally agitates, & alarms surrounding States; & therefore, my opinion is, & always has been, that the smaller interest should wait, till the larger interest had moved. I verily believe that the abolition of slavery in the District at this moment, would be an injury to the general cause, which those who recommend it profess a desire to support.

Situated as we are, in this Country, with no power to interfere with the States, we must wait for the operation of moral cruces. We must encourage temperate & cool reflection. Nothing can be done by violence.¹ Every man of observation knows, that the temper & disposition of the whole Southern Country is far less disposed to a calm & dispassionate consideration of the subject now, than it was eight years ago. This is because so great pains have been taken to persuade the South, that the North is ready to break down the Constitution, & all its securities, in order to accomplish emancipation. It is time to put an end to these fears. It is time to declare that no such unconstitutional purposes are entertained. And it is time to cease from violent agitation, and in this, as in other efforts intended to benefit mankind, to proceed by the srrer ways of reason, persuasion & truth.

There are those who openly scoff at the Union, & deride the Constitution, as an instrument inconsistent with the rights of man. They avow the opinion that it ought not to stand in the way of the accomplishment of their object.

Such persons, if they mean any thing, recommend civil war. Happily, they are few. The great body of the People, having entered into the Union, mean to abide by its terms, & for one, while I have any part to act in public life, I shall take no liberties with the Constitution of my Country.²

I feel it to be the duty of every man, having the views which you & I entertain of slavery, to do all in his power; by the exercise of moral influences, to ameliorate its condition & to terminate its existence—and so far as these ends may be promoted by means, not against the restraints of the Constitution, & in the

¹ The words "and agitation," originally written here, have been crossed out. In Mr. Webster's handwriting on the margin is the following memorandum: "Leave out that word because it is not necessary & is one of the ideas to which the Abolitionists cling with tenacity."

² What follows is mostly in another hand, with occasional changes in Mr. Webster's handwriting.

assent of those, who are thereby affected, I would hasten to adopt them. The exercise of political power for moral ends, is worse than useless, if it go in advance of popular approbation. Is it not manifestly our duty then, on this subject to strive to restore that quiet state of the public mind, when free from apprehension of violation of political rights, our Southern brethren upon whom the relation of master & slave, has been cast by inheritance, shall under the influences of moral & religious feelings be again induced to consider, as it is their province alone to consider, how & at what time, they can best accomplish deliverance from what we hold to be so great an evil.

We all know that before our Southern brethren were alarmed, at what they took to be approaching aggression of their constitutional rights, there was not only in the District of Columbia, but in several of the Slave holding States a favorable condition of the public mind tending to the emancipation of slaves & to the establishment of provision for their subsequent happiness. The subject was discussed, in State Conventions, & in the Halls of legislation. I desire to see that condition of public opinion restored, & if the North will but confine itself to what it may lawfully, justly & constitutionally do upon this subject, the cause of philanthropy & freedom will not only be restored to what it has lost, in the last few years, but will move onward with the peaceful aid of truth & justice unresisted free to sustain & hasten its advance.

*Memorandum on the abolition of the Slave Trade.*¹

1751. The Quakers agree no longer to hold slaves.

1776 (July 4) Constitution of the United States, Section 9th, declaring that the migration or importation of such persons as the Governments of the States then existing should choose to admit, cannot be prohibited by Congress before 1808.

1778 (October) Law of the State of Virginia, prohibiting the introduction of negro slaves from any country out of the United States, or from any part of the United States, except by persons intending to settle in the States.

1788 Act of British Parliament for the better regulation of the Slave trade.

1792 (May 16) Decree of the King of Denmark for the cessation of the slave trade in his dominions after 1802.

¹ From a manuscript owned by Hon. George F. Hoar. It is not in Mr. Webster's hand, but bears this endorsement in his handwriting: "Memoranda of Acts regulating the abolition of the Slave trade."

1792. Bill for the abolition of the Slave trade passed by House of Commons of Great Britain, but rejected by the Lords.

1792 (Dec. 21) Act of Legislature of South Carolina, similar to the above Virginia Act, to be in force for two years from date;—subsequently continued in force by other acts until 1800, when the prohibition was made perpetual.

1794 (March 22) Act of Congress of the United States, prohibiting citizens and vessels of the United States from engaging in the slave trade, between the United States and any foreign country or between any foreign countries.

1796. Act of the Legislature of Maryland similar to the Virginia Act.

1798. Act of Legislature of Georgia, similar to the Virginia Act.

1800. Act of Legislature of South Carolina similar to the Virginia Act.

1803 (Feb. 28) Act of Congress of the United States, forbidding the importation of negroes into any State which by its laws prohibits such importation, unless they be seamen, natives of a country beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

1807 (Mar. 2.) Act of Congress of United States prohibiting the introduction of negroes as slaves into the United States, or any of its territories, from any foreign country, after January 1st, 1808.

1807 (Mar. 25) Act of the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade by British subjects or in British vessels, and between the British dominions and any foreign country.

1811. Act of Parliament increasing the penalties for slave trading.

1815 (Mar. 29) Decree of Napoleon for the abolition of the slave trade in French dominions.

1817. Decree of Louis 18th for confiscation of vessels engaged in the slave trade.

1818 (Apr. 20) Act of Congress increasing the penalties against vessels and persons attempting to import slaves into the United States.

1820 (May 15) Act of Congress, declaring guilty of piracy any citizen of the United States belonging to the crew of any vessel owned wholly or in part by the citizens of the United States, or navigated wholly or in part for such, which is engaged in importing negroes into the United States as slaves or in enslaving free negroes.