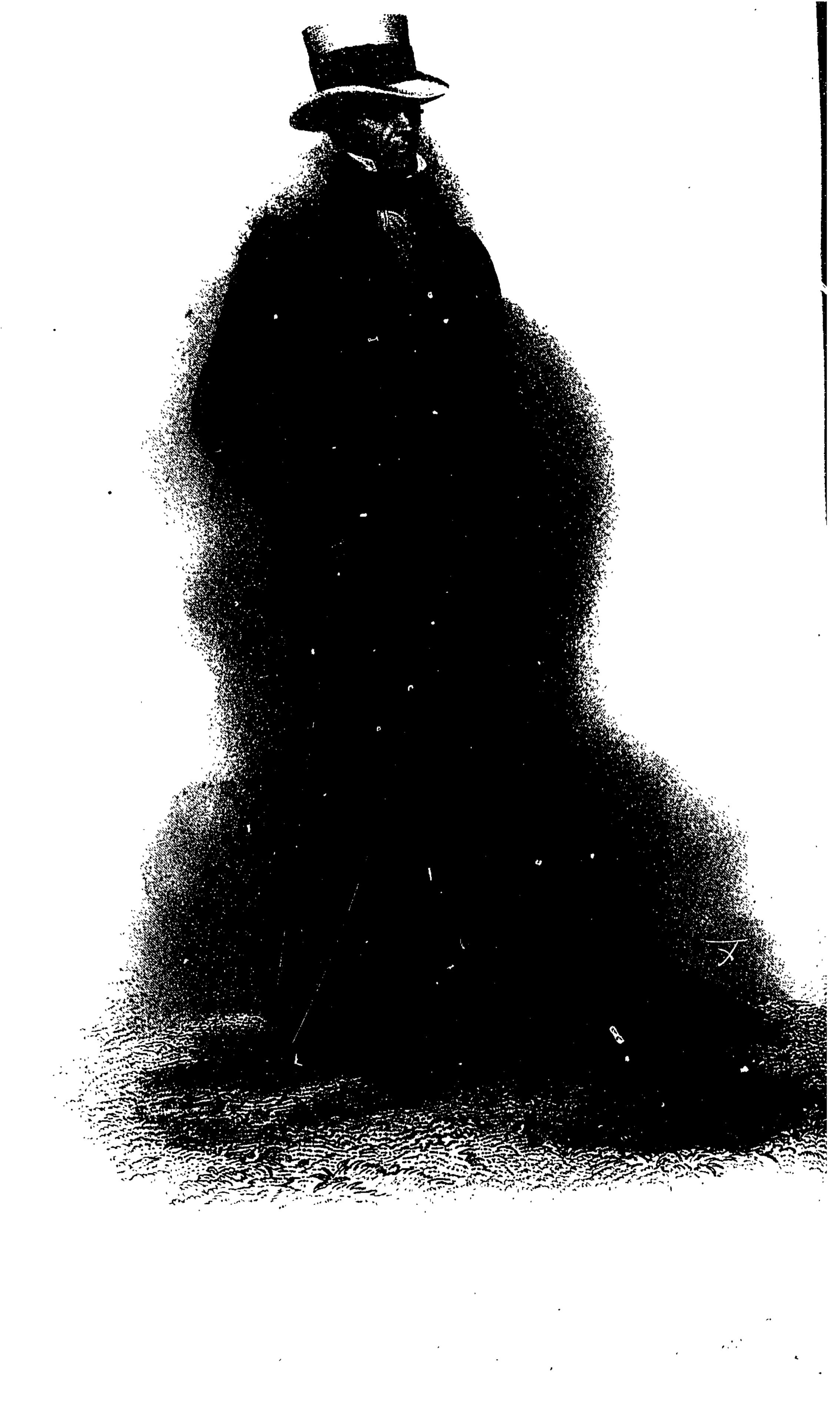
LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON.



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ANDREW JACKSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY JAMES PARTON,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF AARON BURR," "HUMOROUS POETRY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE," ETC.

* DESPREATE COURAGE MAKES ONE A MAJORITY."

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CHAPTER XVII.

MRS. EATON.

William O'Neal kept at Washington for many years a large old-fashioned tavern, where members of Congress, in considerable numbers, boarded during the sessions of the national legislature. William O'Neal had a daughter, sprightly and beautiful, who aided him and his wife in entertaining his boarders. It is not good for a girl to grow up in a large tavern. Peg O'Neal as she was called, was so lively in her deportment, so free in her conversation, that, had she been born twenty years later, she would have been called one of the "fast" girls of Washington. A witty, pretty, saucy, active tavern-keeper's daughter, who makes free with the inmates of her father's house, and is made free with by them, may escape contamination, but not calumny.

When Major Eaton first came to Washington as a Senator of the United States in the year 1818, he took board at Mr. O'Neal's tavern, and continued to reside there every winter for ten years. He became acquainted, of course, with the family, including the vivacious and attractive Peg. When General Jackson came to the city as Senator in 1823, he also went to live with the O'Neals, whom he had known in Washington before it had become the seat of government. For Mrs. O'Neal, who was a remarkably efficient woman, he had a particular respect. Even during his presidency, when he was supposed to visit no one, it was one of his favorite relaxations, when worn out with business, to stroll with Major Lewis across the "old fields" near Washington to the cottage where Mrs. O'Neal lived in retirement, and enjoy an hour's chat with the old lady. Mrs. Jackson, also, during her residence in Washington in 1825, became attached to the good Mrs. O'Neal and to her daughter.

In the course of time Miss O'Neal became the wife of purser Timberlake of the United States Navy, and the mother

of two children. In 1828 came news that Mr. Timberlake, then on duty in the Mediterranean, had cut his throat in a fit of melancholy, induced, it was said, by previous intoxication. On hearing this intelligence, Major Eaton, then a widower, felt an inclination to marry Mrs. Timberlake, for whom he had entertained an attachment quite as tender as a man could lawfully indulge for the wife of a friend and brother-mason. He took the precaution to consult General Jackson on the subject. "Why, yes, Major," said the General, "if you love the woman, and she will have you, marry her by all means." Major Eaton mentioned, what the General well knew, that Mrs. Timberlake's reputation in Washington had not escaped reproach, and that Major Eaton himself was supposed to have been too intimate with her. "Well," said the General, "your marrying her will disprove these charges, and restore Peg's good name." And so, perhaps, it might, if Major Eaton had not been taken into the Cabinet.

Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake were married in January, 1829, a few weeks before General Jackson arrived at the seat of government. As soon as it was whispered about Washington that Major Eaton was to be a member of the new Cabinet, it occurred with great force to the minds of certain ladies, who supposed themselves to be at the head of society at the Capital, that, in that case, Peg O'Neal would be the wife of a cabinet minister, and, as such, entitled to admission into their own sacred circle. Horrible to contemplate! Forbid it, morality! Forbid it, decency! Forbid it, General Jackson!

Among those who were scandalized at the appointment of Major Eaton was the Rev. J. N. Campbell, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Washington, which the General and Mrs. Jackson had both attended, and which, it was supposed, President Jackson would attend. Not caring to speak with the General himself on the subject, Mr. Campbell communicated the ill things he had heard of Mrs. Eaton to the Rev. E. S. Ely, of Philadelphia, who had known General Jackson in his mercantile days, and had come to Washington to wit-

ness the inauguration of his old friend. Dr. Ely desired to converse with General Jackson on the subject, but finding ho opportunity to do so in Washington, wrote to the General, after his return to Philadelphia, a very long letter, in which he detailed all the charges he had heard against Mrs. Eaton. He informed the President that she had borne a bad reputation in Washington from her girlhood; that the ladies of Washington would not speak to her; that a gentleman, at the table of Gadsby's Hotel, was said to have declared that he personally knew her to be a dissolute woman; that Mrs. Eaton had told her servants to call her children Eaton, not Timberlake, for Eaton was their rightful name; that a clergyman of Washington had told Dr. Ely, that a deceased physician had told him, that Mrs. Timberlake had had a miscarriage when her husband had been absent a year; that the friends of Major Eaton had persuaded him to board elsewhere, for the sake of getting him away from Mrs. Timberlake; that Mrs. Jackson herself had entertained the worst opinion of Mrs. Timberlake; that Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake had traveled together, and recorded their names on hotel registers as man and wife, in New York and elsewhere.

For your own sake, said the reverend doctor, for your dead wife's sake, for the sake of your administration, for the credit of the government and the country, you should not countenance a woman like this.

This letter was dated March 18th, 1829. General Jackson replied to it immediately, and in a manner peculiarly characteristic. Indeed, all his most peculiar traits were exhibited in the course of this affair.

GENERAL JACKSON TO REV. DR. ELY.

"WABITINGTON, March 23, 1829.

"Dear Sir: Your confidential letter of the 18th instant has been received in the same spirit of kindness and friendship with which it was written.

"I must here be permitted to remark that I sincerely regret you did not personally name this subject to me before you left Washington, as I and his partisans, here and elsewhere, to destroy the character of Mrs. Eaton by the foulest and basest means, so that a deep and lasting wrong might be inflicted on her husband. I could have given you information that would at least have put you on your guard with respect to anonymous letters, containing slanderous insinuations against female character. If such evidence as this is to be received, I ask where is the guarantee for female character, however moral—however virtuous?

"To show you how much you have been imposed upon, and how much Mrs. E. has been slandered, I am warranted in the positive contradiction of the very first charge made against her—' that she was in ill-fame before Mr. Eaton ever saw her'—from the united testimony of the Hon. John Rhea, Dr. Hogg, and others who boarded with Mr. O'Neal, long before Mr. Eaton was a member of Congress. If you feel yourself at liberty to give the names of those secret traducers of female reputation, I entertain no doubt but they will be exposed and consigned to public odium, which should ever be the lot of those whose morbid appetite delights in defamation and slander.

"As to the information of Mr. ———, of Baltimore, I will barely remark that he may be a respectable man; but surely you will agree with me, that a charge so malignant in its character, unless accompanied with indubitable evidence of the criminality of the act, should not have been made, and shows him at once to be destitute of those just, manly, and charitable feelings, which should be characteristic of every good and virtuous man. In contradiction of Mr. ——'s information to you, I have many letters from Baltimore, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other States, congratulating me and the nation on the selection of Mr. Eaton as one of my Cabinet. Besides these, many members of Congress, and among them the leading members of the New York delegation, expressed personally their high gratification at his appointment. You were assuredly justified in stating to my friends that I have no information, nor ever had, on which any reliance ought to be placed, of any infamous conduct of Mrs. Eaton.

"One observation on the bank conversation. The place where the remark was made is sufficient evidence, to my mind, that it emanated from Clay or his satellites, with a view of completing what he had here begun. I am fully warranted in charging Mr. Clay with circulating these slanderous reports, from information derived from a very intelligent lady, who met Mr. Clay and his wife on her way to this city. This lady says Mr. and Mrs. Clay spoke in the strongest and most unmeasured terms of Mrs. Eaton. She inquired of them to know upon what grounds these charges rested. 'Rumor, mere rumor,' was the answer. So far from this attempt to injure Mrs. Eaton on the part of these personages having the effect intended, the lady, as soon as she arrived, sought to become acquainted

with her and Mr. Eaton. Now, my dear sir, justice to female character, justice to me, and justice to Mr. Eaton, require that these secret agents in propagating slander should be made known to Mr. Eaton, that he may be enabled to defend the character of his wife against such vile and unprincipled attacks. Would you, my worthy friend, desire me to add the weight and influence of my name, whatever it may be, to assist in crushing Mrs. Eaton, who, I do believe, and have a right to believe, is a much injured woman, and more virtuous than some of her enemies?

"It is due to me to be made acquainted with the names of those bank directors who have dared to throw an imputation on the memory of my departed wife. Men who can be base enough to speak thus of the dead, are not too good secretly to slander the living; and they deserve, and no doul a will receive, the scorn of all good men. Mr. Eaton has been known to me for twenty years. His character heretofore, for honesty and morality, has been unblemished; and am I now, for the first time, to change my opinion of him, because of the slanders of this city? We know, here, that that none are spared. Even Mrs. Madison was assailed by these fiends in human shape. Mrs. Commodore —— has also been singled out as a victim to be sacrificed on the altar of defamation, because she left this city and traveled precisely in the way agreed on by Commodore —, but did not promulgate to the gossips here. I speak advisedly in relation to this matter, for I have seen a letter from Commodore —, giving an exposé of this whole transaction, justifying his wife's conduct and vindicating her innocence. He expresses a determination, when he returns to this country, to investigate the affair, and punish the defamers of his wife's character; and I sincerely hope he may live to do it, for I am disgusted even to loathing at the licentious and depraved state of society. It needs purifying.

"You were badly advised, my dear sir, when informed 'that Mrs. Jackson, while in Washington, did not fear to put the seal of reprobation on such a character as Mrs. Eaton.' Mrs. Jackson, to the last moment of her life, believed Mrs. Eaton to be an innocent and much injured woman, so far as relates to the tales about her and Mr. Eaton, and none other ever reached her or me. As Mrs. J. has been introduced into this affair, and as she loved truth while living, and she and myself have taken the (illegible) Psalm for our guide, to which I refer you, I will give you a concise history of the information which I and Mrs. Jackson possessed upon this subject. First, let me remark that Major O'Neal is a mason, Mr. Timberlake was a mason, and Mr. Eaton is a mason; therefore, every person who is acquainted with the obligations of masons, must know that Mr. Eaton, as a mason, could not have criminal intercourse with another mason's wife, without being one of the most abandoned of men. The high standing of Mr. Eaton, as a man of moral worth and a mason, gives the lie direct, in my

estimation, to such a charge, and ought to do it, unless the facts of his alleged guilt shall be clearly and unequivocally established, when, should that be the case, he ought and would be spurned with indignation.

"I became acquainted with Major O'Neal in this city before Congress ever sat in it. I never saw him again until 1819, when I visited his house to pay my respects to Mr. Eaton, who in December preceding took his seat in the Senate for the first time. In 1823 I again visited the city in the character of Senator from Tennessee, and took lodging with Mr. Eaton at Major O'Neal's, when and where I became acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Timberlake. I was there when Mr. Timberlake left this country for the Mediterranean, and was present when he took leave of his wife, children, and family. He parted with them in the most affectionate manner, as he did also with myself and Mr. Eaton. Between him and the latter gentleman there appeared to be nothing but friendship and confidence from the first time I saw them at Major O'Neal's, until the day of his departure. From the situation and proximity of the rooms we occupied, there could not have been any illicit intercourse between Mr. Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake without my having some knowledge of it; and I assure you, sir, that I saw nothing, heard nothing which was calculated to excite even the slightest suspicion. Shortly after Mr. Timberlake left Washington for the Mediterranean, I was told in great confidence that it was rumored in the city that Mr. Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake were too intimate. I met it, as I meet all slanders, with a prompt denial, and inquired from what source this rumor came, and found it originated with a female, against whom there was as much said as is now said against Mrs. Eaton. This report came to the ear of Mrs. Jackson through the same channel; but to the day of her death she believed it to be a base slander, as I do at this day. As to what servants may have said about her telling them not to call her children Timberlake, but Eaton, it is matter of regret to me that you have named it. My dear sir, if the tales of servants, who become offended by being dismissed, are to be believed, what security has your dear wife for her virtuous character, or that of any other lady?

"It is reported that Mr. Timberlake declared he would never again return to this country, in consequence of Mr. Eaton having seduced his wife. How can such a tale as this be reconciled with the following facts? While now writing, I turn my eyes to the mantel-piece, where I behold a present sent me by Mr. Timberlake of a Turkish pipe, about three weeks before his death, and presented through Mr. Eaton, whom in his letter he calls 'his friend.' Now, sir, could this be so, if he did really believe Mr. Eaton had injured him, or wronged him? No, I am sure you will say it is impossible.

"I have not the least doubt but that every secret rumor is circulated by the minions of Mr. Clay, for the purpose of injuring Mrs. Eaton, and

through her, Mr. Eaton; but I assure you that such conduct shall never have my aid.

"When Mrs. E. visits me (she has not done so since the 4th), I shall treat her with as much politeness as I have ever done, believing her virtuous, at least as much so as the female who first gave rise to the foul tale, and as are many of those who traduce her. As to the determination of the ladies in Washington, I have nothing, nor will I ever have any thing to do with it. I will not persuade or dissuade any of them from visiting Mrs. Eaton, leaving Mrs. Eaton and them to settle the matter in their own way; but I am told that many of the ladies here have waited on her.

"The villain who could have used such an expression at a public table, as has been related to you by Mr. ---, of New York, ought to have been instantly kicked from the table, and that Mr. —— did not thus treat him, instead of telling you of it, does not elevate him much in my estimation. A man who could be so base and wanton in his conduct would not hesitate to slander the most virtuous female in the country, nay, even the Saviour, were He on earth. With regard to the tale of the clergyman, it seems to me to be so inconsistent with the charities of the Christian religion, and so opposed to the character of an embassador of Christ, that it gives me pain to read it. Now, my dear friend, why did not this clergyman come himself and tell me this tale, instead of asking you to do it? His not having done so, convinces me that he did not believe it, but was willing, through other sources, to spread the vile slander. If he had been told this by the attending physician himself, he had nothing to fear from giving his name, provided he was a person of responsibility; if he derived it from any other source than the doctor, he himself became a slanderer. The New Testament contains no such uncharitable examples as given by our Saviour while a sojourner on earth. I pray you write this clergyman, and remind him of the precepts contained in the good old book. If he reads it, he will know where to find them.

"I am authorized to say it is untrue that Mr. Eaton ever changed his lodgings, from the first time he went to Major O'Neal's to the present day, except for a few weeks, which was in consequence of his being on several committees much pressed with business, and making it necessary for him, a short time, to be near the Capitol. I should like to know the names of the members of Congress who saw the names of Mr. Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake entered on the tavern register as man and wife, and the date of those entries. If my memory serves me correctly, Mr. Eaton never traveled in company with Mrs. Timberlake but once, and then her husband went along, nor do I believe they went as far as New York; but in this I may be mistaken. But, suppose it to be true, are we to infer guilt from that circumstance? If the owner of the house, or his barkeeper, were to place upon their register the names of Mr. and Mrs. Eaton.

what would that prove? Why, only that they supposed the lady with him, on his arrival at the inn, was his wife—a mistake, I will venture to say, that often occurs. There is, I expect, about as much truth in this story as the one that informed you, on your arrival at Philadelphia, that Mrs. Eaton was to preside at the President's house, or the one that represented her as intending to visit your city, in company with Major Lewis, to assist in purchasing furniture for the presidential mansion. Now, my dear sir, when such a bare-faced and unfounded misrepresentation as this can meet you in the teeth, I set down all that has been told you as unworthy entirely of credit.

"Major Lewis will go on shortly to see his daughter, at school in Philadelphia, and Mrs. Eaton, for aught I know, may go with him, to purchase furniture for her own house, as I am told she and Mr. Eaton intend keeping house. I suppose she has a right to travel, as well as any other person, if she chooses to do so; and if she desires to go under the protection of Major Lewis, if he nor her husband object, I do not think any other person has a right; but I do not know that she designs going at all—I am inclined to think she does not. Mrs. Eaton has not been in my house since I moved into it, but should she do so, the same attention and respect will be shown to her that are shown to others. On my nieces I lay no restriction. I only enjoin it on them to treat all well who may call to see them; they are required to visit none but those they may think proper.

"Permit me now, my dear and highly esteemed friend, to conclude this hasty, and I fear unintelligible scrawl. Whilst on the one hand we should shun base women as a pestilence of the worst and most dangerous kind to society, we ought, on the other, to guard virtuous female character with vestal vigilance. Female virtue is like a tender and delicate flower; let but the breath of suspicion rest upon it, and it withers and perhaps perishes forever. When it shall be assailed by envy and malice, the good and the pious will maintain its purity and innocence, until guilt is made manifest—not by rumors and suspicions, but by facts and proofs brought forth and sustained by respectable and fearless witnesses in the face of day. Truth shuns not the light; but falsehood deals in sly and dark insinuations, and prefers darkness, because its deeds are evil. The Psalmist says, 'The liar's tongue we ever hate, and banish from our sight.'

"Your friend, Andrew Jackson."

Dr. Ely promptly replied to this formidable letter. He was glad to learn, he said, that the President was so sure of Mrs. Eaton's innocence, and expressed a hope, that if she had done wrong in past times, she would now be restored by repentance to the esteem of the virtuous. Dr. Ely was, evi-

dently, not quite convinced of Mrs. Eaton's immaculate purity. The President hastened to renew his efforts in her defense. He wrote again to his reverend friend.

GENERAL JACKSON TO REV. DR. ELY.

" WASHINGTON CITY, April 10, 1829.

"My Dear Sir: I have just received your friendly and frank letter of the 4th instant; and finding that you have been badly advised as to some matters on the subject under consideration, I am induced once more to write you. And first I must remark, that I have always thought repentance presupposes the existence of crime, and should have been gratified had you pointed to the proof of Mrs. Eaton's criminality before you recommended repentance.

"In your letter you say you had been assured by a gallant man that the rumors of which you speak, had been communicated to Mrs. Eaton and myself. This is not true, unless in confidence, or the information having been given by a lady, as stated to you in my last letter. If I am right in my conjectures as to the gallant man alluded to, he never did see any thing criminal in Mrs. Eaton, as he has always positively assured me; and the rebuff this gallant gentleman would have met with, if he had related it, would have convinced you that Mrs. Timberlake was not of such easy virtue. From that time to the present period they have been unfriendly. I think I well know the gentleman alluded to, and if I am not mistaken, although I entertain a high opinion of him, yet I do know there is no man whose prejudices run higher.

"I will relate a circumstance which has lately occurred, and then you can judge whether attempts have not been made to destroy Mrs. Eaton's character upon mere rumor, unfounded and under secrecy. Soon after General Call returned from Philadelphia he communicated to me that he had received, confidentially, from a high-minded, honorable man, 'information of a correspondence in writing between Mr. Eaton and Mr. Timberlake, which fixed on Mr. and Mrs. Eaton positive criminality—and that he had seen it.' I replied, as I always had done to the General, that this was a positive and unfounded slander, and that he ought to give up the name of such a villain; for, said I, pointing to the tobacco-pouch, 'that, with the note which accompanied it, is my evidence that Mr. Timberlake had the utmost confidence in Mr. Eaton to the day of his death.' I insisted that it was due to Mr. Eaton to give him the name of this man, as he was determined to have justice done himself and lady. But, as has always been the case, the name of this man could not be had, it was in confidence. It is thus, my dear sir, this and all other slanders are circulated and promoted.

"I have since obtained a power of attorney (from Timberlake to Eaton),

<u>;</u>,,

a copy of which I enclose you. Besides this, there are letters of a more recent date, expressive of the highest confidence in Mrs. Eaton and of the most friendly feeling. Yet it has been stated, and confidently circulated, that the conduct of Mr. Eaton was the cause of Mr. Timberlake's cutting his throat! Can any man, disposed to do justice and support truth, believe such tales, after reading the enclosed power of attorney and the letters referred to? They afford to my mind the most satisfactory evidence of the entire confidence reposed in Mr. Eaton by Mr. Timberlake up to the period of his death. Instead of communicating these slanderous tales to Mr. Eaton, they are concealed under the pledges of confidence by those who profess friendship for him. I do not wish to be understood as saying that these reports have never reached his ear, but I do say, that no one, so far as I am advised, has ever said to him, that such a gentleman of high standing has taken upon himself the responsibility of charging either Mr. or Mrs. Eaton with any act of criminality or even impropriety. I am sure our friend General Call has not, but to me he has said such rumors were in circulation, and when investigated were traced to the female alluded to in my last letter. In all General Call's conversations with me, and they have been frequent and confidential, he never did intimate any knowledge of Mrs. Eaton which was calculated, in my opinion, to cast even a shade of suspicion on her virtue. The very act which gave rise to his suspicions was one which, in my judgment, should have given him a more exalted opinion of her chastity.

"Mr. Eaton has very recently understood that the wives of two gentlemen in this city, have been speaking disrespectfully of himself and Mrs. Eaton, and he has, as it has been intimated to me, with promptness attended to the matter, and I doubt not that their lips will be hermetically scaled for the future. I have often reflected upon myself with some severity for ever having received, confidentially, any communication prejudicial to the character and standing of Mr. Eaton. I have known him for twenty years, without a speck upon his moral character, and my friend General Call has always united with me, in expressions of his great moral worth. I would then ask you, if such confidence existed between Mr. Eaton and Mr. Timberlake, to the day of the death of the latter, as is conclusively shown by the enclosed power of attorney, and the other evidence referred to, would not Mr. Eaton have been the basest man on earth, to have violated his confidence, and severed the ties that exist between masons? His general character forbids the idea, and his having taken her as his wife, is conclusive to my mind that he knew her to be virtuous. If he had been base enough to violate the confidence reposed in him by her husband, and to burst the bonds of masonry, he would have left her in disgrace and misery, instead of taking an object so vile and so loathsome to his bosom. Permit me now to say to you, in the language of sincerity, that I do not

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believe there is a being, worthy of belief, that can or will dare to state a single fact, going to show criminality or a want of virtue in her. Why, then, will not these secret slanderers, if they believe what they propagate, and have the proof—why not come out boldly, and like men armed with truth, be responsible for what they are daily in the habit of secretly and confidentially circulating? Truth fears not the open day, but falsehood and vile slander delight in darkness, and under the garb of friendship and in the name of confidence, circulate their poison.

"I question very much if any one ever told Mr. Eaton more than that rumors were afloat injurious to his character, until lately. No individuals were ever pointed out as speaking disrespectfully of Mr. Eaton and his wife, except the two ladies mentioned above; and from my knowledge of the man, I feel confident, that so soon as he can trace these slanders to any responsible source, he will make the individual responsible to him, be he who he may. I know he has been most cruelly treated by two men, who, to his face, have been always most friendly; and yet by innuendoes behind his back, have added to these slanders.

"The opinion I had of Mrs. Commodore — when I last wrote you, I still entertain. After reading Commodore — 's letter to Mr. Skinner of Baltimore, I could not give credence to the reports which had been circulated about her, and my belief of her innocence has since been strengthened by corroborating statements made to me here. If her father is really wealthy, as is stated to be the case by you, he is unworthy of confidence; for in an application which he has made to me for office, he assures me it is made in consequence of his poverty! Again you say, 'if the Commodore would furnish the authors of the rumors against his wife he must begin with her own father,' etc. Now, permit me to say that unless you have it from Mr. — 's own lips, you ought not to believe he has been instrumental in circulating these rumors about his daughter. I have received a letter from him, in his own hand writing, in which he speaks in the most indignant manner of the authors of the slanders against his child, and solemnly declares his firm conviction of her innocence.

"I have been thus explicit, my dear sir, knowing that you love the truth, but believing that you have opened your ear to tales which, if I judge rightly of the high character you allude to, should never have been repeated to you; for he has either acted treacherously to me, or told you of things which have no existence. In short, he has told me himself that he never did see any act of Mrs. Eaton which was improper, though he believed her a thoughtless, volatile woman. I have written to the gentleman, informing him of the power of attorney, the letters, etc., etc., referred to above. From this evidence of confidence on the part of Mr. Timberlake in Mr. Eaton, I ask, can you believe such tales, without some direct and positive proof of criminality, and that, too, from the lips of in-

dividuals whose standing in society entitled them to credit? Where is the witness who has thus come forth in substantiation of these slanderous charges? None has yet done so, nor do I believe any will; for I believe the reports are entirely destitute of foundation.

"It puts me in mind (if I may be permitted to refer to the circumstance by way of illustration) of a tale circulated here the other day, to wit, 'that I was seized with spasms in the stomach, which would have occasioned my instant death, but for the immediate assistance of Dr. Henderson, who was at hand and saved me.' This was asserted to be an indubitable fact, and from the lips of Dr. Henderson himself. Now, my worthy friend, the truth is, I had no spasms, nor had I ever seen or heard of Dr. Henderson before, to the best of my recollection. But still the tale was told, and confidently believed to be true. It was repeated in the presence and hearing of my friend, Mrs. Love, who promptly contradicted it; but she was met with the reply, 'I have it from the mouth of Dr. Henderson himself; it must be true.' Thus it is with most of the tales, rumors, and surmises, which are put in circulation by the gossips of the world. Unless I am greatly mistaken, when all the facts and circumstances connected with this attempt to destroy Mr. Eaton, and blast the reputation of his wife, are brought to light, it will be found, in point of malignity and wickedness, to have few parallel cases.

"Please present me most kindly to your amiable wife, and believe me to be sincerely your friend,

Andrew Jackson."

These letters convey but a faint idea of the interest felt by General Jackson in the vindication of the lady. He sent a gentleman to New York to investigate the hotel-register story. He wrote so many letters and statements in relation to this business that Major Lewis was worn out with the nightly toil of copying. The entire mass of the secret and confidential writings relating to Mrs. Eaton, all dated in the summer and autumn of 1829, and most of them originally in General Jackson's hand, would fill about eighty-five of these pages. And besides these, there was a large number of papers and documents not deemed important enough for preservation. To show the zeal and energy of General Jackson in the defense of a friend, I will append a catalogue of the papers preserved:

1. Letter of Dr. Ely to the President, stating the rumors.
2. The President's reply, given above. 3. Dr. Ely to the

President. 4. The President's second letter to Dr. Ely, given above. 5. Copy of purser Timberlake's power of attorney to Major Eaton. 6. A large batch of certificates by Timberlake's shipmates, showing that the purser had always spoken most affectionately of his wife and children, and had cut his throat in a fit of gloom, caused by dissipation on shore. 7. Dr. Ely to the President; says he is going to New York to inquire into the conduct of the lady there. 8. Dr. Ely to the President; says he has been to New York, and there is no truth in the stories. 9. Rev. J. N. Campbell to the President; begs him not to throw the weight of his great influence against him in his difference with Major Eaton. 10. The President to Rev. J. N. Campbell; says he will not. 11. Rev. J. N. Campbell to the President; he is glad to hear it. 12. A narrative by the President, duly signed and attested, of an interview between himself and the Rev. J. N. Campbell, which narrative the reader shall have the pleasure of perusing. 13. A finishing letter from the President to the Rev. J. N. Campbell. 16. Fifteen certificates of Mrs. Eaton's good character, addressed to the President, in reply to inquiries by him. 17. A correspondence between Major Eaton and the Rev. J. N. Campbell.

All this, and much more, in the first months of a new administration! General Jackson, indeed, made the cause his own, and brought to the defense of Mrs. Eaton all the fire and resolution with which, forty years before, he had silenced every whisper against Mrs. Jackson. He considered the cases of the two ladies parallel. His zeal in behalf of Mrs. Eaton was a manifestation or consequence of his wrath against the calumniators of his wife.

The General was so urgent in demanding of Dr. Ely the names of the persons who had spoken ill of Mrs. Eaton, that the doctor wrote, at length, to Mr. Campbell, advising him to call upon the President, and tell him all he knew. Mr. Campbell, in consequence, sought an interview with General Jackson. What transpired on this occasion the General deemed so important, that he wrote out for preservation a

statement of it, with an account of the proceedings to which the interview led.

NARRATIVE BY GENERAL JACKSON.

"BE IT REMEMBERED, that on Tuesday evening, the 1st of September, 1829, I was in my parlor, when the door-keeper came to, and informed me, that the Reverend Mr. Campbell wanted an interview with me in my office. I went immediately up to my office, where I found Mr. Campbell and Major Donelson. Major Donelson having retired, Mr. Campbell observed, he supposed I knew his business, or the object of his business with me. I assured him that I did not. He then said that he had received a letter from Dr. Ely, which made it proper for him to inform me that he was the Presbyterian preacher or clergyman alluded to in Dr. Ely's letter to me, as having given the information relative to the tale of the deceased doctor, upon the subject of the miscarriage of Mrs. Timberlake, now Mrs. Eaton, in the absence of her husband, under circumstances which made it manifest that the child could not be his, as related to me in a letter from Dr. Ely. I was much astonished at this avowal, and replied that it was the first intimation I ever had that he was the Presbyterian clergyman who gave currency, through Dr. Ely, to this vile tale, and assured him that I never had the least suspicion of his being the author, and that in passing the subject through my mind, I had done injustice to another, for which I was sorry, although I had never named him to any one.

"Mr. Campbell then read to me part of Dr. Ely's letter, and entered into an explanation of his motives for not having made his communication directly to me. He said he knew Dr. Ely was my friend, and he wished me to be informed of those charges against Mrs. Eaton before I appointed Major Eaton a member of my Cabinet; that he had enjoined on Mr. Ely secrecy; that he considered it confidential, and charged him, that if he did not give it to my own ear, not to lisp it to any one. It was upon this condition alone that Mr. Ely was authorized to give up his name to me. He complained that Dr. Ely had not treated him well in communicating the information to others, and particularly to Mrs. Eaton.

To which I replied, I regretted that either he or Dr. Ely had not come directly to me with the tale, before Dr. Ely left Washington. If they had done so, I told him, I could easily have shown them the falsehood of some of the charges contained in Dr. Ely's letter to me, and would have pointed out to them some of the unhappy consequences that must now inevitably take place. I told him that I never had heard of this tale, circulated as coming from a dead doctor, before I read it in Dr. Ely's letter; that I was surprised Dr. Ely had not told him he had advised me in a confidential note, the Saturday before he left Washington, not to be drawn

from my determination of appointing Mr. Eaton a member of my Cabinet, as his talents and my confidence in him made it necessary for me to have him near me. This I had determined on, and when next I saw him, told him that I could not be shaken in my purpose; that Major Eaton came into my Cabinet by my persuasion, and not from his own choice; that I knew him intimately for twenty years and upward, and believed his moral character to be without a blot.

"Mr. Campbell then detailed the information derived from this dead doctor, whom he called by the name of Craven.

"The manner of his relating the circumstances drew my particular attention, and I observed to him, as soon as he had gotten through, that this dead doctor tale was to me, in itself, incredible. As related by Mr. Campbell it is substantially as follows:—'The doctor told him that he had been called to Mrs. Timberlake as a physician, in consequence of her having been thrown from her carriage and much hurt; that when he entered the room where Mrs. Timberlake and an old woman were, they broke out into a loud laugh, and told him he was too late—that Mrs. Timberlake had miscarried, and he had lost his job; that Mr. Timberlake had been so long absent from home, that it was well known that the infant could not have been his.'

"I drew Mr. Campbell's attention to the absurdity of this story as related, and asked him if he had ever thought of the dilemma in which the dead doctor would be placed for telling such a tale, and he for believing and reporting it. I asked him if he did not know that doctors were prohibited by law from revealing the secrets of a sick bed, and if he did not suppose this doctor would be considered a base man and unworthy of credit, the moment this story was presented to the public. I told him the honorable, moral, and religious part of the community would have no confidence in the representations of such a man, and that he would be held responsible for it, inasmuch as he had avowed himself the author of its circulation.

"Mr. Campbell then observed, he believed that he (the doctor) had stated that he accidentally happened in, and had not been sent for as a physician.

"I told Mr. Campbell it was still more absurd to suppose that a married woman, so long absent from her husband that every one must know the child could not be his, would so wantonly publish her own disgrace and infamy to the world, when she had no need of a physician in her private chamber. This version of the story, I observed to him, was too absurd and ridiculous, as well as inconsistent with every principle and feeling of human nature, to be believed even by the most credulous; and that I was astonished a man of his good sense could, for one moment, give credence to it, and particularly as it involved the character of a lady.

I then inquired of Mr. Campbell what date the dead doctor had given to this transaction—the date being important.

"He replied, in 1821.

"I asked him if he was aware of the situation he would be placed in if, on inquiry, it should appear that Mr. Timberlake was in this country, and never out of it in 1821. I told him I was under the impression that it would so appear, whenever examined into; that I was induced to believe he had not been absent from the United States from the close of the war until 1824; that I had understood he was detained here prosecuting a claim against the government for property thrown overboard by Commodore Decatur previous to the capture of the frigate *President*. Having lost his vouchers, he was unable to settle his accounts, and, therefore, being considered a defaulter, could not get public employment.

"Mr. Campbell replied that Mr. Timberlake, from the information of the Doctor, must have been absent in that year.

"I answered it was my opinion he would find himself mistaken, and it would be well for him to make inquiry, and as a Christian and preacher of the Gospel, it would be his duty, if he found he had been mistaken in this information, to repair the injury he had done female character by saying to Mrs. Eaton, and to the world, that on inquiry he found there was no truth in the tale of his dead Doctor. Justice and Christianity, I told him, demanded this of him.

"After some further conversation on the subject of Mrs. Timberlake visiting his family, and the visit being returned, and that a friendly intercourse was kept up between the two families, until Dr. Craven gave him the information relative to the abortion, when all intercourse ceased, I asked Mr. Campbell why he did not, when he received this information, and before he terminated the friendly relation which had subsisted between his family and Mrs. Timberlake, go to her and inform her of this vile tale, and the name of the person from whom he had received it, and say to her that she must remove this stain upon her character, or all intercourse between them must cease. This, I told him, was what I thought he, as a Christian, ought to have done, pursuing the golden rule of doing to others as we would they should do unto us. This would have given her an opportunity of showing her innocence, or, if she failed, then, with a clear conscience, he and his family could have withdrawn from her society.

"The date having been given by Mr. Campbell, as stated by the dead doctor, it being an important fact by which to judge of the truth or false-hood of this story, I at once determined to have inquiry made as to where Mr. Timberlake was in all the year 1821; and while ruminating on this subject, Major W. B. Lewis came into my office and inquired relative to Mr. Campbell's business with me (he having been in the parlor below when the doorkeeper told me the Rev. Mr. Campbell wished to have a

private interview with me). I told him Mr. Campbell came to avow himself to be the clergyman alluded to in Dr. Ely's letter to me, who had informed him (Ely) of the reported miscarriage of Mrs. Timberlake, when it was well known the child could not be her husband's, in consequence of his long absence from the country; and that Mr. Campbell had affixed to this transaction a date—1821. This, I observed, was tangible, and by it the truth or falsehood of the tale might be tested. I requested Major Lewis to ascertain, if it was practicable to do so, where Mr. Timberlake was in all that year, assuring him that I was convinced, in my own mind, and had so said to Mr. Campbell, that Mr. Timberlake was here during the whole year 1821; that I had never heard of his leaving the United States until the spring of 1824; that I had seen him at Mr. O'Neal's in the winter of 1823 and 1824, and was there when he took leave of his family, preparatory to a cruise up the Mediterranean.

"On the evening of the 2nd of September, instant, Major Lewis informed me that he had made the inquiry, as requested by me, and had learned that Mr. Timberlake was a merchant in this city about that time, and that his books were now in the possession of Mrs. Eaton, which, if looked into, would in all probability show where he was during the year 1821. I resolved to go and examine the books myself, and on the same evening—2nd September—I accordingly went up to Major Eaton's.

"On entering the parlor, I found no one there but John Henderson, Major Eaton's nephew, who informed me that his uncle was up stairs with his aunt, who was very sick. I desired him to go up and request his uncle to come below, as I wanted to see him. Major Eaton came down and invited me to walk up and see Mrs. Eaton. I did so, and found her very ill and in bed. After a short conversation with her, and being informed of an interview had with Mr. Campbell on that day, I asked Mrs. Eaton if she had the mercantile books of Mr. Timberlake in her possession. She said she had. I desired to know if she would permit me to see them. She said not only me, but any one. I then went down stairs to the parlor, were the books were brought to me, and I examined them. I soon found from entries—said to be in the handwriting of Mr. Timberlake that he was in this country and in this city throughout the year 1821. Before leaving Major Eaton's, I took extracts from the books of Dr. Sim's and Major O'Neal's accounts, to show Mr. Campbell, and to prove to him that Mr. Timberlake must have been here in that year, and as late as February, 1822, as the entries were made in his own handwriting.

"I was convinced in my own mind that on exhibiting this proof to Mr. Campbell, he would at once see the cruelty of this charge, as made by his dead doctor, and the injustice done Mrs. Eaton, and would so declare to Mrs. Eaton and all others. I, therefore, on my return home, requested Major Donelson to wait upon Mr. Campbell, and having heard that Col.

Towson, by request of Mr. Campbell, was present at the interview between the latter gentleman and Major Eaton and his lady, on the 2d instant, I desired Major Donelson to request the Colonel to accompany Mr. Campbell and be present at the interview I wished to have with him.

"Agreeably to my request, the Rev. Mr. Campbell called at my office on the morning of the 3d inst., when an interview was had in the presence of Col. Towson and Major Donelson. After stating to Mr. Campbell and Col. Towson the reason which had induced me to request this meeting, it being in consequence of a conversation had with Mr. Campbell, at his own request, on the 1st inst., I stated the result of my inquiry as to the fact where Mr. Timberlake was in the year 1821, and having the proof in my hand, observed that it evidenced, beyond all contradiction, that the tale of the dead doctor could not be true. I further observed that if any doubts existed as to the entries being in the handwriting of Mr. Timberlake, the books could be seen, and that fact clearly ascertained.

"Mr. Campbell then said, I must have misunderstood him as to the date.

"I replied, I could not; he must recollect, at the time he made the statement, how earnestly I brought to his view the dilemma in which he would be placed if, at the date given to this transaction, Mr. Timberlake should be proved to be in this country. Notwithstanding this, he (then) still persisted in the declaration of Mr. Timberlake's absence in that year.

"He, however, now maintained that I had mistaken him as to the date.

"I again told him as positively I had not. I then asked him to give a date to the transaction, if it was not in 1821. He refused. I replied, that the date being all important, for on this depended the innocence or guilt of the lady, I requested that he would give to it a date. He did not and would not. After taking out some papers, and looking over them, he said Mr. Timberlake was absent, from his memoranda, in the autumn of 1822.

"I observed to him that there was neither justice nor Christianity in making a charge which goes to the destruction of female character, without affixing to it a date, by which truth or falsehood could be tested. Still, however, Mr. Campbell, in his last interview, positively refused to give a date, although in his first he had given 1821, and insisted that Mr. Timberlake must have been absent. Col. Towson and Major Donelson being present, their written statement is referred to as explanatory of what was further said at this interview—being on the 3d instant.

"I will barely add, in conclusion, that Mr. Campbell stated he had employed Mr. Key as counsel, who had told him his proof was sufficient. He further said his statement would be corroborated by the evidence of the mother and wife of Dr. Craven. I cautioned him not to be too san-

guine with regard to his proofs. He said that he and Col. Towson had seen the mother and wife of Dr. Craven that morning, etc., etc.

"This statement is made from memoranda in writing, taken immediately after the conversation took place, from day to day; and although the very words may not be given, I am certain the whole, as far as I have attempted to state the conversation, is substantially correct.

"Andrew Jackson."

"September 3d, 1829."

"P. S.—I requested Mr. Campbell to explain his motives in coming to me to avow himself as the author of this secret slander against Mrs. Eaton; but this he failed satisfactorily to do. It was well known that I had been long and intimately acquainted with Major Eaton, knew his worth, and was satisfied that a blemish did not rest upon his moral character. Why he did not go to Mr. Eaton with it, who was here, I can not tell. He was the person who should have been informed of this slander, and especially as both Mr. Campbell and Dr. Ely acknowledged to me in the presence of my cabinet, Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Ingham, Mr. Branch, Mr. Barry, and Mr. Berrian, and also Major Lewis and Major Donelson, that they entirely acquitted Major Eaton of the charge of improper or criminal conduct.

"Why this persecution of Mrs. Eaton—the motives which induced to such conduct—I leave to the decision of the moral and Christian world. Mrs. Eaton is the wife of Major Eaton, which is the strongest evidence he can give in her virtue. Does Mr. Campbell wish to separate man and wife by his false tales? Surely this is not the doctrine taught by our Saviour, and which, if he reads his Bible, he may find in every page of that sacred book.

"Andrew Jackson."

The postscript to General Jackson's statement was evidently added some days after the date affixed to the body of the narrative, because the postscript alludes to a cabinet council held on the 10th of September. This council the President invited Mr. Campbell to attend in the following letter:

GENERAL JACKSON TO REY. J. N. CAMPBELL.

"WASHINGTON, September 10th, 1829.

"Dear Sir: After our interview in the presence of Colonel Towson and Major Donelson, Mr. Key sought one with me, in which he submitted certain propositions as the basis of an accommodation of the existing difficulty between yourself and Major Eaton, the result of which was nothing

more than an agreement to suspend any further action upon the subject until the arrival of Mr. Ely, who was to be requested to visit this place immediately.

"Mr. Ely has since arrived, but I do not perceive, notwithstanding your failure as far as I am informed, to sustain the charge against Mrs. Eaton's character, that you are disposed to make those acknowledgments which, it occurs to me, an ambassador of Christ ought, on such an occasion, to make. This being the fact, and judging from your letter of the 5th, and from insinuations made to me by Mr. Ely in regard to the supposed reluctance of certain clerks to testify in the case, that my relation to it has been or may be misconceived, I have determined to call my Cabinet together this evening at 7 o'clock, when I have asked Mr. Ely to attend, and will be happy also if you will, for the purpose of disclosing to them what has happened; so that whatever may be the course of the affair hereafter, no misunderstanding of my motives and agency in it, therefore, may exist.

"Having ever entertained the highest regard for the moral character of Mr. Eaton, I brought him into my Cabinet, with the fullest persuasion that the cause of virtue and religion, which it has been my pride through life to support, would be benefited by it. I wanted no information to satisfy me of the purity of his character. As my friend, years of intimacy and experience with him, supplied the most abundant evidence of it; but a different sentiment, entertained by others, has been obtruded upon me, in a manner which, I must say, invariably excited my distrust of its sincerity. In this I may be wrong, but the golden rule which requires us to do to others what we would have others do to us, seems to me so plainly to have required that the cause of such a sentiment should have first been communicated to Mr. Eaton, that I can not yet give up this distrust.

"It can only be removed by the complete establishment of the fact upon which they have been supposed to rest their belief of his criminal intercourse with Mrs. Timberlake, and until this is done, justice to her, to myself, and the country, requires that after the proposed council with my Cabinet, I should hold no future conversation with yourself or any one else, in relation to this subject. Your obedient servant,

"Andrew Jackson."*

What occurred at the meeting of the Cabinet in the evening, General Jackson did not think proper to have recorded. From other sources I learn some particulars.

The members of the Cabinet, Dr. Ely, and Mr. Campbell being assembled, the President opened the proceedings with

^{*} All these documents are from the MSS. of Major. Wm. B. Lewis.

an address upon the meanness of calumny, and concluded by giving an account of the late investigations. The dispute between himself and Mr. Campbell upon the date of the alleged miscarriage was renewed with much acrimony. Mr. Campbell declared that he had not intended to give the year 1821 as the precise date of Dr. Craven's story. He had seen, that very morning, the widow and the daughter of Dr. Craven, who both confirmed his previous statement, and agreed that 1826 was the year when the damning event occurred. The President still insisted that Mr. Campbell had irrevocably committed himself to the year 1821. He further declared that Dr. Craven's wife and daughter had given two versions of the "dead-doctor tale," which were irreconcilable. The President would not hear Mr. Campbell further on that point. He had originally said 1821, and by 1821 he must abide.

The President then turned to the other charges. "As to the allegation," said he, "that Mrs. Jackson had an unfavorable opinion of Mrs. Timberlake, I declare of my own knowledge that it is false." The charge that Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake passed the night together in a New York hotel dwindled first, said the President, into a story that they had been seen on a bed together, and, afterward, that they had been seen sitting on a bed together. He called upon Dr. Ely to state the result of his inquiries in New York.

The reverend gentleman told his story, and concluded by saying that there was no evidence to convict Major Eaton of improper conduct.

- "Nor Mrs. Eaton either," broke in the President.
- "On that point," said the Doctor, "I would rather not give an opinion."

"She is as chaste as a virgin!" exclaimed the President. When Dr. Ely had finished his narrative, Mr. Campbell asked to be allowed to say a few words in his own justification. He declared that, in all that he had done, his object had been to save the administration of General Jackson from reproach, and the morals of the country from contamination. He had communicated nothing to the opponents of the ad-

ministration. He conceived that the evidence which had been elicited justified him in the course he had deemed it right to pursue.

As he was proceeding to remark upon the evidence, General Jackson interrupted him with marked asperity of manner, saying that he had been summoned thither to give evidence, not discuss it.

Mr. Campbell then said: "I perceive that I have mistaken the object of the invitation to come here; that it was not to give me an opportunity of saying any thing in my justification. I have therefore only to say, that I stand ready to prove, in a court of justice, all I have said, and more than I have said, or would have dared to say three days ago."

He then bowed to the council and retired. The council broke up soon after, and the President deemed Mrs. Eaton a vindicated woman. It is needless to say, that the church over which the Rev. Mr. Campbell presided was no longer favored with the attendance of the President of the United States.

Whether the efforts of the President had or had not the effect of convincing the ladies of Washington that Mrs. Eaton was worthy of admission into their circle, shall in due time be related. Upon a point of that nature ladies are not convinced easily. Meanwhile, the suitors for presidential favor are advised to make themselves visible at the lady's receptions. A card in Mrs. Eaton's card basket, is not unlikely to be a winning card.

bill for refunding the money, and gave it an earnest and persevering support. In the House the measure was strenuously supported by Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, and Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, to both of whom General Jackson expressed his gratitude in the warmest terms. The bill was passed in the Senate by a party vote of twenty-eight to twenty—Mr. Calhoun voting with the friends of the expresident; in the House, by one hundred and fifty-eight to twenty-eight.

Congress thus notified the future commanders of armies, first, that they may place under martial law a city threatened by an enemy; and, secondly, that they may keep it under martial law for the space of two months after the enemy has been vanquished, and driven from the soil and from the waters of the State in which that city is situated. In other words, Congress invested the military commanders of cities, in time of war, with supreme authority.

CHAPTER XLV.

GENERAL JACKSON JOINS THE CHURCH.

The north-of-Irelanders are a religious people. From his mother, from the traditions of his father and his race, from the example of his circle of relatives in the Carolinas, from his early attendance at the old log church in the Waxhaws, General Jackson had derived a regard for religion and its observances, which, in the wildest period of his life, was never wholly forgotten by him. To clergymen he always paid particular respect, and among them he found some of his warmest friends. Without ever being a "Sabbatarian," he was an observer of the day of rest, and a church-goer. On Sunday mornings he would say to his guests: "Gentlemen, do what you please in my house; I am going to church." The language which Henry Clay employed upon moving the appoint-vol. III—41

ment of a national fast day, in view of the ravages of the cholera in 1832, describes exactly the religious feelings of General Jackson during sixty years of his life. "I am no member of a religious sect," said Mr. Clay, "I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and I trust that I shall be. But I have, and I always have had, a profound respect for Christianity, the religion of my fathers, and for its rites, its usages, and its observances."

How much the religious tendencies of General Jackson were strengthened by the example of his wife, and how much more by her affecting death at the moment when he needed her most, we have already seen; and how he gave her his solemn promise to join the church as soon as he had done with politics. The letters which he wrote, during his presidency, to members of his own family, abound in religious expressions. The following to Mrs. Emily Donelson, the wife of his valued private secretary, will serve to show the strong tendency of his mind to religion during those exciting and turbulent years.

GENERAL JACKSON TO MRS. EMILY DONELSON.

"Washington, November 27th, 1886.

"My Dear Emily: Your kind and acceptable letter of the 11th instant was received on the 23d, whilst I was confined to my bed by a severe hemorrhage from the lungs, which threatened a speedy end to my existence, but, with sincere thanks to a kind Providence, who holds our existence here in the hollow of His hand, I have so far recovered, as to be able to write you this letter, to acknowledge the receipt of yours, and to offer to Him who made us my most sincere and hearty thanks for His kindness to you in restoring you to health again, and with my prayers for your perfect recovery, and that you may be long spared to superintend the bringing up and educating of your dear children, and be a comfort to your dear husband, who has a great solicitude about you, and great anxiety to speedily return to you; but my sudden attack has detained him.

"I rejoice, my dear Emily, to find your spirits are good, and that you are able to take exercise daily. This is necessary to your perfect recovery; and trust in a kind Providence, that in time you will be completely restored to your health. You are young, and with care and good treatment, will outgrow your disease, but you must be careful not to take cold this

winter, and as soon as Doctor Hunt's prescription reaches you, I would advise you to pursue it. The digitalis, I fear, is too exciting to the pulse.

"The doctor tells me I lost from the lungs, and by the lancet and cupping, upwards of sixty ounces of blood, which stopped the hemorrhage without the aid of that potent, but pernicious, remedy to the stomach, sugar of lead. I am now mending as fast as I could expect, and if I can keep clear of taking cold this winter, I hope to be spared, and to return to the Hermitage in the spring, and again have the pleasure of seeing you and your dear children, to whom present me affectionately.

"My dear Emily, the chastisement by our Maker, we ought to receive as a rebuke from Him, and thank Him for the mildness of it—which was to bring to our view, and that it may be always before us, that we are mere tenants at will here. And we ought to live daily, so as to be prepared to die, for we know not when we may be called home. Then let us receive our chastisements as blessings from God; and let us so live that we may say with the sacred poet:

What though the Father's rod
Drop a chastening stroke,
Yet, lest it wound their souls too deep,
Its fury shall be broke!

Deal gently, Lord, with those
Whose faith and pious fear,
Whose hope, and love, and every grace,
Proclaim their hearts sincere.

"I must close with my blessing to you and the children. May God bless you and all. Emily, farewell. Affectionately,

"Andrew Jackson."

The promise which he made to his wife, in the grove that shades the Hermitage church he remembered, but did not strictly keep. In August, 1838, he wrote to one who had addressed him on the subject: "I would long since have made this solemn public dedication to Almighty God, but knowing the wretchedness of this world, and how prone many are to evil, that the scoffer of religion would have cried out—'hypocrisy! he has joined the church for political effect,' I thought it best to postpone this public act until my retirement to the shades of private life, when no false imputation could be made that might be injurious to religion." He passed two or three

years, however, in "the shades of private life," before he performed the act referred to in this letter.

From the Rev. Dr. Edgar, pastor of an influential Presbyterian church in Nashville, I received the information which is now to be imparted to the reader. It was a sermon of Dr. Edgar's that produced in General Jackson the state of mind that led to his connecting himself with the church, and it was Dr. Edgar who administered to him his first communion. He is, therefore, the source of trustworthy information on this interesting subject.

It was about the year 1839 that Dr. Edgar was first invited to the Hermitage for the purpose of administering religious advice to its inmates. Mrs. Jackson, the amiable and estimable wife of the General's son, was sick in body and troubled in mind. General Jackson invited his reverend friend to call and see her, and endeavor to clear her mind of the cloud of perplexity and apprehension which hung over it. In the course of her conversation with the Doctor, she chanced to say, in the General's hearing, that she felt herself to be "a great sinner."

"You a sinner?" interposed the General, "why, you are all purity and goodness! Join Dr. Edgar's church, by all means."

This remark was considered by the clergyman a proof that, at that time, General Jackson was "blind" as to the nature of true religion. Soon after this interview Mrs. Jackson's anxiety was relieved, and she waited to join the church only for a suitable opportunity.

Ere long a "protracted meeting" was held in the little church on the Hermitage farm. Dr. Edgar conducted the exercises, and the family at the Hermitage were constant in their attendance. The last day of the meeting arrived, which was also the last day of the week. General Jackson sat in his accustomed seat, and Dr. Edgar preached. The subject of the sermon was the interposition of Providence in the affairs of men, a subject congenial with the habitual tone of General Jackson's mind. The preacher spoke in detail of the

perils which beset the life of man, and how often he is preserved from sickness and sudden death. Seeing General Jackson listening with rapt attention to his discourse, the eloquent preacher sketched the career of a man who, in addition to the ordinary dangers of human life, had encountered those of the wilderness, of war, and of keen political conflict; who had escaped the tomahawk of the savage, the attack of his country's enemies, the privations and fatigues of border warfare, and the aim of the assassin. How is it, exclaimed the preacher, that a man endowed with reason and gifted with intelligence can pass through such scenes as these unharmed, and not see the hand of God in his deliverance? While enlarging on this theme, Dr. Edgar saw that his words were sinking deep into the General's heart, and he spoke with unusual animation and impressiveness.

The service ended, General Jackson got into his carriage, and was riding homeward. He was overtaken by Dr. Edgar on horseback. He hailed the Doctor, and said he wished to speak with him. Both having alighted, the General led the clergyman a little way into the grove.

- "Doctor," said the General, "I want you to come home with me to-night."
- "I can not to-night," was the reply; "I am engaged elsewhere."
- "Doctor," repeated the General, "I want you to come home with me to-night."
- Dr. Edgar said that he had promised to visit that evening a sick lady, and he felt bound to keep his promise. General Jackson, as though he had not heard the reply, said a third time, and more pleadingly than before:
 - "Doctor, I want you to come home with me to-night."
- "General Jackson," said the clergyman, "my word is pledged; I can not break it; but I will be at the Hermitage to-morrow morning very early."

The anxious man was obliged to be contented with this arrangement, and went home alone. He retired to his apartment. He passed the evening and the greater part of the

night in meditation, in reading, in conversing with his beloved daughter, in prayers. He was sorely distressed. Late at night, when his daughter left him, he was still agitated and sorrowful. What thoughts passed through his mind as he paced his room in the silence of the night, of what sins he repented, and what actions of his life he wished he had not done, no one knows, or will ever know.

But the value of this upheaving of the soul depends upon that. There is a repentance which is radical, sublime, regenerating. There is a repentance which is shallow and fruitless. Conversion means a turning. It is only when we know from what a man turns, and to what he turns, that we can know whether his turning is of any benefit to him. There is such a thing as a man's emancipating himself, in one night of agony and joy, in one thrilling instant of time, from the domination of pride and desire. He who is walking along the plain can not reach the mountain top in a moment; but in a moment he can set his face toward it, and begin to scale the height. Touching the nature and worth of this crisis in General Jackson's life I know nothing, and can say nothing. We shall soon have an opportunity of observing whether the spirit of the man had changed, or whether to the last he remained what we have seen him hitherto.

As the day was breaking, light seemed to dawn upon his troubled soul, and a great peace fell upon him.

To Dr. Edgar, who came to him soon after sunrise, General Jackson told the joyful history of the night, and expressed a desire to be admitted into the church with his daughter that very morning. The usual questions respecting doctrine and experience were satisfactorily answered by the candidate. Then there was a pause in the conversation. The clergyman said at length:

"General, there is one more question which it is my duty to ask you. Can you forgive all your enemies?"

The question was evidently unexpected, and the candidate was silent for a while.

"My political enemies," said he, "I can freely forgive; but as for those who abused me when I was serving my country in the field, and those who attacked me for serving my country—Doctor, that is a different case."

The Doctor assured him that it was not. Christianity, he said, forbade the indulgence of enmity absolutely and in all cases. No man could be received into a Christian church who did not cast out of his heart every feeling of that nature. It was a condition that was fundamental and indispensable.

After a considerable pause the candidate said that he thought he could forgive all who had injured him, even those who had assailed him for what he done for his country in the field. The clergyman then consented to his sharing in the solemn ceremonial of the morning, and left the room to communicate the glad tidings to Mrs. Jackson. She hastened to the General's apartment. They rushed with tears into each other's arms, and remained long in a fond and silent embrace.

The Hermitage church was crowded to the utmost of its small capacity; the very windows were darkened with the eager faces of the servants. After the usual services, the General rose to make the required public declaration of his concurrence with the doctrines, and his resolve to obey the precepts, of the church. He leaned heavily upon his stick with both hands; tears rolled down his cheeks. His daughter, the fair, young matron, stood beside him. Amid a silence the most profound, the General answered the questions proposed to him. When he was formally pronounced a member of the church, and the clergyman was about to continue the services, the long restrained feeling of the congregation burst forth in sobs and exclamations, which compelled him to pause for several minutes. The clergyman himself was speechless with emotion, and abandoned himself to the exultation of the hour. A familiar hymn was raised, in which the entire assembly, both within and without the church,

joined with an ecstatic fervor which at once expressed and relieved their feelings.*

From this time to the end of his life, General Jackson spent most of his leisure hours in reading the Bible, biblical commentaries, and the hymn-book, which last he always pronounced in the old-fashioned way, hime book. The work known as "Scott's Bible" was his chief delight; he read it through twice before he died. Nightly he read prayers in the presence of his family and household servants. I say read prayers, for so I was informed by those who often heard him do it. But there has been published a description of the family worship at the Hermitage, which represents the General as delivering an extempore prayer.

The Hermitage church, after the death of Mrs. Jackson and the General's removal to Washington, had not been able to maintain itself; but the event which we have just related caused it to be reorganized. At one of the first meetings of the resuscitated church, General Jackson was nominated a "ruling elder."

The misfortunes which had befallen his son induced General Jackson, in 1843, to cancel a will which he had made several years before, and to prepare a new one. The first will bestowed a handsome legacy upon a favorite nephew;

^{*} Rev. E. F. Berkley, an episcopal clergyman of Kentucky, writes: "Mr. Clay was baptized in his parlor at Ashland, on the 22d of June, 1847, in our usual way, by pouring a handful of water on his head, in the name of the Holy Trinity; one of his daughters-in-law and four of his grand-daughters being baptized at the same time, and in the same way. . . . The reason of his receiving this holy ordinance at home was, that my congregation at the time were building a new church edifice, and we had no fitter place for the performance of these sacred rites."

the second left the entire estate to his son in fee simple. In connection with this subject, Major Lewis related to me some interesting particulars of an interview between himself and the ex-President, which occurred just after the execution of the new will.

It was a beautiful morning in June. "Come, Major," said the General, "it's a pleasant day, let us take a stroll." He seemed very weak, scarcely able to walk; and had much difficulty in breathing. After walking a short distance, Major Lewis advised him to return, but he would not. A second and a third time, the Major entreated him to go no further. "No, Major," he said, "I set out to show you my cotton field, and I will go." They reached the field, at length, and sat down upon a stump to admire its flourishing appearance. Suddenly changing the subject, the General told his companion that he had made a new will, leaving his whole estate unconditionally to his son. Major Lewis ventured to remonstrate, and advised that a part of the property should be settled upon Mrs. Jackson and her children, enough to secure them against want in case his son's speculations should continue to be unsuccessful.

"No," said the General after a long pause, "that would show a want of confidence. If she," pointing to the tomb in the garden, "were alive, she would wish him to have it all, and to me her wish is law."

The new will, therefore, remained unaltered. It is a most characteristic document, and nothing in it is more characteristic than the honest anxiety it exhibited to secure the payment of the debt to Messrs. Blair and Rives.

GENERAL JACKSON'S WILL.

HERMITAGE, June 7th, 1848.

In the Name of God, Amen:—I, Andrew Jackson, Sr., being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, and impressed with the great uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and being desirous to dispose of my temporal affairs so that after my death no contention may arise rel-

ative to the same; and whereas, since executing my will of the 30th of September, 1833, my estate has become greatly involved by my liabilities for the debts of my well-beloved and adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., which makes it necessary to alter the same: Therefore I, Andrew Jackson, Sr., of the County of Davidson, and State of Tennessee, do make, ordain, publish, and declare this my last will and testament, revoking all other wills by me heretofore made.

First, I bequeath my body to the dust whence it comes, and my soul to God who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. My desire is, that my body be buried by the side of my dear departed wife, in the garden at the Hermitage, in the vault prepared in the garden, and all expenses paid by my executor hereafter named.

Secondly, That all my just debts be paid out of my personal and real estate by my executor; for which purpose, to meet the debt of my good friends General J. B. Planchin & Co. of New Orleans, for the sum of six thousand dollars, with the interest accruing thereon, loaned to me to meet the debt due by A. Jackson, Jr., for the purchase of the plantation from Hiram G. Runnels, lying on the east bank of the river Mississippi, in the State of Mississippi; also, a debt due by me of ten thousand dollars, borrowed of my friends Blair and Rives, of the city of Washington and District of Columbia, with the interest accruing thereon, being applied to the payment of the lands bought of Hiram G. Runnels as aforesaid; and for the faithful payment of the aforesaid recited debts, I hereby bequeath all my real and personal estate. After these debts are fully paid,

Thirdly, I give and bequeath to my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., the tract of land whereon I now live, known as the Hermitage tract, with its butts and boundaries, with all its appendages of the three lots of land bought of Samuel Donelson, Thomas J. Donelson, and Alexander Donelson, sons and heirs of Savern Donelson, deceased, all adjoining the Hermitage tract, agreeable to their butts and boundaries, with all the appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining, with all my negroes that I may die possessed of, with the exceptions hereafter named, with all their increase after the before recited debts are fully paid, with all the household furniture, farming tools, stock of all kind, both on the Hermitage tract farms, as well as those on the Mississippi plantation, to him and his heirs, for ever. The true intent and meaning of this my last will and testament is, that all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, is hereby first pledged for the payment of the above recited debts and interest; and when they are fully paid, the residue of all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, is hereby bequeathed to my adopted son A. Jackson, Jr., with the exceptions hereafter named, to him and his heirs for ever.

Fourth, Whereas I have heretofore by conveyance, deposited with my

beloved daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jr., given to my beloved granddaughter, Rachael Jackson, daughter of A. Jackson, Jr. and Sarah his wife, several negroes therein described, which I hereby confirm—I give and bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jr. and Sarah his wife, a negro boy named Ned, son of Blacksmith Aaron and Hannah his wife, to him and his heirs for ever.

Fifth, I give and bequeath to my beloved little grandson, Samuel Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jr. and his much beloved wife Sarah, one negro boy named Davy or George, son of Squire and his wife Giney, to him and his heirs for ever.

Sixth, To my beloved and affectionate daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted and well beloved son, A. Jackson, Jr., I hereby recognise, by this bequest, the gift I made her on her marriage, of the negro girl Gracy, which I bought for her, and gave her to my daughter Sarah as her maid and seamstress, with her increase, with my house-servant Hannah and her two daughters, namely, Charlotte and Mary, to her and her heirs for ever. This gift and bequest is made for my great affection for her—as a memento of her uniform attention to me and kindness on all occasions, and particularly when worn down with sickness, pain, and debility. She has been more than a daughter to me, and I hope she never will be disturbed in the enjoyment of this gift and bequest by any one.

Seventh, I bequeath to my well beloved nephew, Andrew J. Donelson, son of Samuel Donelson, deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee, with this injunction, that he fail not to use it when necessary in support and protection of our glorious union, and for the protection of the constitutional rights of our beloved country, should they be assailed by foreign enemies or domestic traitors. This, from the great change in my worldly affairs of late, is, with my blessing, all I can bequeath him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible. This bequest is made as a memento of the high regard, affection, and esteem I bear for him, as a high-minded, honest, and honorable man.

Eighth, To my grand-nephew, Andrew Jackson Coffee, I bequeath the elegant sword presented to me by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, commanded by Captain Beal, as a memento of my regard, and to bring to his recollection the gallant services of his deceased father, General John Coffee, in the late Indian and British war, under my command, and his gallant conduct in defense of New Orleans in 1814 and 1815, with this injunction: that he wield it in the protection of the rights secured to the American citizen under our glorious constitution, against all invaders, whether foreign foes or intestine traitors.

I bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jr., and Sarah his wife, the sword presented to me by the citizens of

Philadelphia, with this injunction: that he will always use it in defense of the constitution and our glorious union, and the perpetuation of our republican system: remembering the motto-—" Draw me not without occasion, nor sheath me without honor."

The pistols of General Lafayette, which were presented by him to General George Washington, and by Colonel William Robertson presented to me, I bequeath to George Washington Lafayette, as a memento of the illustrious personages through whose hands they have passed—his father, and the father of his country.

The gold box presented to me by the corporation of the city of New York, the large silver vase presented to me by the ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, my native State, with the large picture representing the unfurling of the American banner, presented to me by the citizens of South Carolina, when it was refused to be accepted by the United States Senate, I leave in trust to my son, A. Jackson, Jr., with directions that should our happy country not be blessed with peace, an event not always to be expected, he will, at the close of the war or end of the conflict, present each of said articles of inestimable value to that patriot, residing in the city or State from which they were presented, who shall be adjudged by his countrymen or the ladies to have been the most valiant in defense of his country and our country's rights.

The pocket spyglass which was used by General Washington during the revolutionary war, and presented to me by Mr. Custis, having been burned with my dwelling-house, the Hermitage, with many other invaluable relics, I can make no disposition of them. As a memento of my high regard for General Robert Armstrong, as a gentleman, patriot, and soldier, as well as for his meritorious military services under my command during the late British and Indian war, and remembering the gallant bearing of him and his gallant little band at Enotochopco creek, when, falling desperately wounded, he called out—"My brave fellows, some may fall, but save the cannon"—as a memento of all these things, I give and bequeath to him my case of pistols and sword worn by me throughout my military career, well satisfied that in his hands they will never be disgraced—that they will never be used or drawn without occasion, nor sheathed but with honor.

Lastly, I leave to my beloved son all my walking-canes and other relics, to be distributed among my young relatives—namesakes—first, to my much esteemed namesake, Andrew J. Donelson, son of my esteemed nephew, A. J. Donelson, his first choice, and then to be distributed as A. Jackson, Jr., may think proper.

Lastly, I appoint my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., my whole and sole executor to this my last will and testament, and direct that no security