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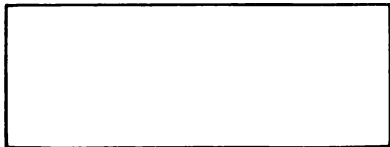
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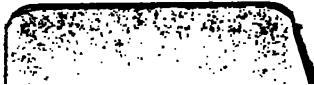
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SELECTION OF

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IN HONOR OF THOSE

ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN,

JOHN ADAMS *2d Pres. of the U.S.*

AND

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

^c**HARTFORD:**

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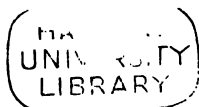
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DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, ss.



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CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,

Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

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EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,

July 11, 1826.

BY JOHN TYLER.

WHY this numerous assemblage—this solemn and melancholy procession—these habiliments of woe? Do they betoken the fall of some mighty Autocrat, some imperial master who hath “bestrid the earth like a Colossus,” and whose remains are followed to the grave by the tools and minions of his power? Are they the tokens of a ceremonious woe—a mere mockery of feeling? Or are they the spontaneous offerings of gratitude and love? What mighty man has fallen in Israel, and why has Virginia clothed herself in mourning? The tolling of your dismal bell, and the loud, but solemn discharge of artillery hath announced to the nation the melancholy tidings—THOMAS JEFFERSON no longer lives. That glorious orb which has for so many years given light to our footsteps, has set in death. The Patriot—the Statesman, —the Philosopher—the Philanthropist, has sunk into the grave—Virginia mourns over his remains and her harp is hung upon the willows. Why need I say more? There is a language in this spectacle which speaks more eloquence than tongue can utter. This is the testimony of a well spent life—the tribute of a nation’s gratitude. Look on this sight, ye rulers of the earth, and learn from it the lesson of wisdom. Ye ambitious and untamed spirits, who seek the attainment of glory by a scaffolding formed of human suffering, behold a people in tears over the funeral bier of their benefactor, and if true glory be your object, be guided by the light of this example.

In pronouncing the eulogy of the dead, my countrymen, I have no blood-stained banner to present—no battles to recount—no sword or helmet to deposit on his hearse. I have to entwine a civic wreath which Philosophy has woven and Patriotism has hallowed. The achievements of the warrior in the field, attract the attention of mankind and fasten on the memory, while the labors of the civilian too often passes unnoted and unknown. But not so with that man whose death we this day mourn. The results of his policy are exhibited in all around : although his sun has sunk below the horizon of this world, yet hath it left a train of light which shall never be extinguished. At the commencement of his successful career, he manifested the same devotion to the rights of man, which he evidenced in his after life—at an early day he so distinguished himself as the firm and fearless assertor of the rights of colonial America, as to draw upon him the frowns of the Royal Governor :—and had already anticipated the occurrence of the period when the colonies should be elevated to the condition of free, sovereign, and independent States. Having drawn his principles from the fountain of a pure Philosophy, he was prepared to assail the slavish doctrine that man is incapable of self government, and to aid in building upon its overthrow that happy system under which it is our fortune to live. On the coming of that tremendous storm which for eight years desolated our country, Mr. Jefferson hesitated not, halted not. Born to a rich inheritance—destined to the attainment of high distinction under the regular government—courted by the aristocracy of the land, he adventured, with the single motive of advancing the cause of his country and of human freedom, into that perilous contest, throwing into the scale his life and fortune as of no value.—The devoted friend of man, he had studied his rights in the great volume of nature, and saw with rapture the era near at hand, when those rights should be proclaimed, and the world aroused from the slumber of centuries. The season was approaching for the extension of the empire of reason and phi-

osophy, and the disciple of Locke and of Sidney rejoiced, at its approach. Among his fellow laborers, those devoted champions of liberty, those brilliant lights which shall forever burn, he stood conspicuous. But how transcendantly bright was that halo of glory by which he was surrounded on the Fourth of July, 1776! Oh, day, very precious in the recollection of Freemen! now rendered doubly so by the recollection that it was the birth-day of a nation, and the last of him who had conferred on it immortality. Yes! illustrious man! it was given thee to live until the advent of a nation's jubilee—thy disembodied spirit was then upborne by the blessings of ten millions of Freemen, and the day and hour of thy renown was the day and hour of thy dissolution. How inseparable is now the connexion between that glorious epoch and this distinguished citizen? Does there not seem to have been an especial providence in his death? The sun of that day rose upon him, and the roar of artillery and the hosanna of a nation sounded in his ears the assurances of his immortality. So precious a life required a death so glorious.—Who now shall set limits to his fame? On the annual recurrence of that glorious day, when with pious ardour millions yet unborn shall breathe the sentiments contained in the celebrated Declaration of Independence—when the fires of Liberty shall be kindled on every hill and shall blaze in every valley, shall not the name of JEFFERSON be pronounced by every lip, and written on every heart? Shall not the rejoicings of that day and the recollection of his death, cause the smile to chase away the tear, and the tear to becloud the smile? But not to the future millions of these happy States, shall his name be confined—that celebrated State Paper will be found wherever is to be found the abode of civilized man:—sounded in the ears of tyrants, they shall tremble on their thrones—while man, so long the victim of oppression, awakes from the sleep of ages and bursts his chains. The day is rapidly approaching, a prophetic tongue has pronounced it, “to some nations sooner, to others later, but finally to all”

when it will be made manifest, that the mass of mankind have not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God." Already has this great truth aroused the one half of this continent from the lethargy in which it has so long reposed. Already are the pæans of liberty chanted from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rio de la Plate, and its altars are erecting on the ruins of a superstitious idolatry. A mighty spirit walks abroad upon the earth, which shall in its onward march overturn principalities and powers, and trample thrones and sceptres in the dust. And when the happy era shall arrive for the emancipation of nations, hastened on as it will be by the example of America, shall they not resort to the Declaration of our Independence, as the charter of their rights, and will not its author be hailed as the benefactor of the redeemed?

But my countrymen, this State Paper is not the only lasting testimonial which he has left of his devotion to the rights of man. Where should I stop, were I to recount the multiplied and various acts of his life, all directed to the security of those rights? The statute book of this state, almost all that is wise in policy or sanctified by justice, bears the impress of his genius and furnishes evidence of that devotion. I choose to present him to you in the light of a mighty reformer. He was born to overturn systems and pull down establishments. He had a more difficult task to accomplish than the warrior in the embattled field. He had to conquer man and bring him to a true knowledge of his own dignity. He had to encounter prejudices become venerable by age—to assail error in its strong places, and to expel it even from its fastnesses. He advanced to the charge with a bold and reckless intrepidity, but with a calculating coolness. The Declaration of which I have just spoken, had announced the great truth that man was capable of self-government, but it still remained for him to achieve a conquest over an error which was sanctified by age, and fortified by the prejudices of mankind. He dared to proclaim the important truths—"That Almighty God had

created the mind free ; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacities, tend only to beget hypocrisy and meanness, and a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and of mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do ; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greater part of the world and through all time :” “ That truth is great and will prevail if left to herself : that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist of error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.” This is the language of the Bill establishing freedom, and is to be found on our Statute Book : how solemn and sublime and how transcendently important, are the truths which it announces to the world.— What but his great and powerful genius could have contemplated the breaking asunder those bonds in which the conscience had been bound for centuries ? Who but the ardent and devoted friend of man would have exposed himself to the thunder and denunciation of the church throughout all christendom, by breaking into its very sanctuary and dissolving its connexion with government ? If he consulted the page of history he found that the church establishment, exercising unlimited control over the conscience, and unlocking at its pleasure the very gates of Heaven to the faithful devotee, had in all ages governed the world—that kings had been made by its thunders to tremble on their thrones, and that thrones had been shivered by the lightnings of its wrath. In casting his eyes over the face of the globe he beheld it is

true the mighty spirit of Protestantism walking on the waters, but confined and limited in its empire, and even its garments dyed in the blood of the martyrs. Over the rest of the world he beheld the religion of the meek and blessed Redeemer, converted into a superstitious rite, and locked up in a gloomy and ferocious mystery. The sentence of the terrible Inquisitor sounded in his ears, followed by the clank of chains and the groans of the victim. If he looked in the direction from whence the sound proceeded, he saw the fires of the *auto-de-fe* consuming the agonized body of the offender, and thus finishing the last act of this horrible tragedy.— He who had so much contributed to the unbinding of the hands of his countrymen, would have left his work unfinished if he had not also unfettered their consciences. True, he had in all this great work able coadjutors, who like himself, had adventured all for their country ; but he was the great captain who arranged the forces and directed the assault. Let it then be henceforth proclaimed to the world that man's conscience was created free : that he is no longer accountable to his fellow man for his religious opinions, being responsible therefor only to his God : that it is impious in mortal man, whether clothed in purple or in lawn, to assume the judgment seat : that the connexion between church and state is an unholy alliance, and the fruitful source of slavery and oppression ; and let it be dissolved. What an imperishable monument has Mr. Jefferson reared to his memory, and how strong are his claims to our gratitude. When from every part of this extended republic, the prayers and thanksgivings of countless thousands shall ascend to the throne of grace, each bending at his own altar, and worshiping his Creator in his own way, shall not every lip breathe a blessing on his name, and every tongue speak forth his praise ? Yes, he was born a blessing to his country, and in the fullness of time, shall become a blessing to mankind. He was indeed, a precious gift ; a most beloved reformer. Shall we not then, while weeping over his loss, offer thanks to the giver of every perfect gift, for having permitted him to live ?

But, my countrymen, we have still further reasons for the deepest gratitude. He had not yet finished his memorable efforts in the cause of human liberty—the Temple had been reared, but it was yet exposed to violent assaults from without; those principles which in former ages had defeated the hopes of man, and have overthrown republics, remained to be hunted out, exposed and guarded against. The most powerful of these was the concentration and perpetuation of wealth in the hands of particular families, and the creation thereby of an overweening aristocracy. The fatal influence of this principle had been felt in all ages and in all countries. The feelings of pride and haughtiness which wealth is so well calculated to engender, and the homage which mankind are unhappily so much disposed to render it, causes the perpetuation of large fortunes in the hands of families, the most fearful antagonist to human liberty. Marcus Crassus had said, that the man who aspired to rule a Republic, should not be content until he had mustered wealth enough to maintain an army—and Julius Cæsar paved the way to the overthrow of Roman Liberty by the distribution, from his inexhaustible stores, of largesses to the people. Mr. Jefferson saw therefore the necessity of reformation in our municipal code, and the act abolishing entails and that regulating descents are all in their essential features, the offspring of his well constituted intellect.—He has acted throughout on the great principle of the equality of mankind, and his every effort has been directed to the preservation of that equality among his countrymen. How powerful in its operation is our descent law in producing this effect. Founded on the everlasting principles of justice, it distributes among all his children, the fruits of a parent's labor. The first born is no longer considered the chosen of the Lord, but nature asserts her rights and raises the last to an equality with the first. Thus it is that the spirit of a proud independence, so auspicious to the durability of our institutions, is engendered in the bosoms of our citizens. Thus it is that we are under the influence of an

agrarian law in effect, while nature instead of being violated is protected, and industry instead of being suppressed, is excited by new stimuli. The great lawgiver of Spain in vain sought to perpetuate the principles of equality among the citizens of that renowned Republic, by various measures, all of which ultimately failed; a measure which depends not upon veneration for the character of any one man, but lays hold of the affections and records its own perpetuity in the great volume of nature; a measure which will every day more conspicuously develop its beauties; one without which the blood shed in the revolution would have been shed in vain; without which the glories of that struggle would fade away, or exist but as another proof of man's incapacity for self-government. What more shall I say of it? May I not call it that great measure which to our political, like the sun to our planetary system, imparts light and heat, unveils all its beauties and manifests its strength. Tell me then ye destinies that control the future, say, is not this man's fame inscribed in adamant! Say, men of the present age, ye lovers of liberty, ye shining lights from amid the gloom of the world—say, does Virginia claim too much when she pronounces her Jefferson wiser than the lawyers of antiquity? Tell me then, men of America, have ye not lost your father, your benefactor, your best friend? And you, the men of other countries, where the light of his example is but dimly seen—you, who constitute the salt of the earth, will you not kindle your lamps in the mighty blaze of his fame, and distribute the blessings of his existence around you?

Here I might stop. The cause of this mournful procession is explained. The picture might be considered as finished. His claim to the gratitude of mankind is made manifest, and his title to immortality is established. But his labors did not here cease—I have still to exhibit him to you in other lights than those in which we have regarded him—to present other claims to your veneration and gratitude.—

Passing over those incidents which history has already recorded, let us regard him in that station which I now fill more by the kindness of the public than from any merit of my own—we here recognized in him the able vindicator of insulted America against the sarcasms of European Philosophy. Indulging in the visions of a fallacious theory, it was attempted to be proved that the flush and glow which nature assumed on the other side of the Atlantic, was converted on this continent into the cadaverous aspect of disease and degeneracy—that while she walked abroad over the face of Europe in all her beautiful proportions, here she hobbled on crutches and degenerated into a dwarf. How successfully he threw back this slander upon her calumniators, let the world decide. His notes on Virginia will ever bear him faithful witness.—Slanders upon nations make the deepest and most lasting impression. They fall not on one man, but a whole people, and if not refuted, tend to sink them in the scale of existence. If, under any circumstances, they are to be deprecated, how much more are they to be so, when published against a nation not even in the gristle of manhood, unknown to the mass of mankind and struggling to be free. Such was the condition of America at that day. Shut out from free intercourse with Europe by the monopolizing spirit of the parent state, she had remained unknown to the world, and was regarded as an extensive wild, within whose bosom the fires of genius and of intellect had not as yet been kindled. Mr. Jefferson saw then the injury which she would sustain if they remained unrefuted. Vigilant at his post, and guardful of the interests of these states, he encountered the most distinguished of the philosophers of Europe, and his victory was complete. It was answer enough for him to have said, what in substance he did say, that in war we had produced a Washington, in physics a Franklin, and in astronomy a Rittenhouse,—and if this triumph had not then been esteemed complete, might we not

add with the certainty of success, that in philosophy and politics, America had produced a Jefferson ?

In all the various stations which he afterwards filled, we find him laboring unceasingly for the good of his country. Having won by his virtues and talents the confidence of Washington, he was called to preside over the department of State. In this station he vindicated the rights of America against the sophistry of the European Cabinets, and gave proof of that skill in diplomacy for which he will be distinguished through all future ages. When the future statesman shall look for a model from which to form his style of diplomatic writing, will he not cease his search, and seize with avidity on that, the offspring of the Secretary's pen in his correspondence with Hammond and Genet ? Called at length by the voice of the people to the Presidency of these United States, he furnished the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of Republicanism. He sought not to enlarge his powers by construction, but referring every thing to his conscience, made that the standard of the constitutional interpretation. Regarding the government in its true and beautiful light of a confederation of States, he could not be drawn from his course by any of those splendid conceptions which shine but to mislead. He extinguished \$33,000,000 of the national debt—enlarged our territorial jurisdiction by the addition of regions more extensive than our original possessions—overawed the Barbary powers, and preserved the peace of the nation amidst the tremendous convulsions which then agitated the world. I will dwell no longer on this fruitful topic, nor indulge my feelings. Party spirit is buried in his grave and I will not disinter it. The American people will as one man look with admiration on his character, and dwell with affectionate delight over those bright incidents in his life to which I have already alluded.

Thus then my countrymen, in the 66th year of his age, he terminated his political career, and went into the shades of

retirement at Monticello. But unlike the politicians of other days, who had fled from the cares and anxieties of public life, that retirement was not inglorious. He still lived for his country and the world. Let that beautiful building devoted to the sciences, the last of his labors, reared under his auspices and cherished by his care, testify to this. How choice and how delightful this the, last fruit of his bearing!— How lasting a monument will it be to his memory! It will be, we may fondly hope, the perpetual nursery of those great principles which it was the business of his life to inculcate. The youth of Virginia and the youth of our sister states, to use his own beautiful language, “will bring hither their genius to be kindled at our fire.” “The good old Dominion, the blessed mother of us all, will then raise her head with pride among the nations.”

When history shall at some future day, come to draw his character, to what department shall she assign him? Shall she encircle his brow with the wreath of civic worth; or shall Philosophy weave a garland of her own? He is equally dear to all the sciences. In mournful procession they have repaired to the tomb where his mortal remains are inurned and hallowed the spot. Yes, hallowed be the spot where he rests from his labors. Wave after wave may roll by, sweeping in its resistless course countless generations from the face of the earth, yet shall the resting place of Jefferson be hallowed. Like Mount Vernon, Monticello shall catch the eye of the way-farer and arrest his course.— There shall he draw the inspirations of liberty, and learn those great truths which nature destined him to know.

Is not then this man's life most beautifully consistent? Trace him from the period of his earliest manhood to the hour of his final dissolution, and does not his ardor in the prosecution of the great cause of human rights, excite your admiration, enlist your gratitude? May it not be said that he has lived for the good of others? Look upon him in the

last stage of his existence—But a few days before his death he exults in the happiness of his country and the full confirmation of his labors—with the prospect of death before him—suffering under a cruel disease, he offers up an impressive prayer for the good of mankind. When speaking of the approaching Jubilee, in writing to the Mayor of Washington, he says, “May it be to the world what I believe it will be: the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings of free government.” And it shall be the signal—a flood of light has burst upon that world, and the Jugernauts of superstition and the gloom of ignorance shall melt in its brightness. Will you then look upon him my countrymen in the last moments of his existence? Shall I make known to you his fond concern for you and your posterity when the hand of death pressed heavily upon him? Learn then that he dwelt on the subject of the University—portrayed the blessings which it was destined to diffuse, and forgetful of his valuable services, often urged his physician to leave his bed-side lest his class might suffer in his absence. One other theme dwelt on his lips until they were motionless—It was the Fourth of July—He often expressed the wish to die on that day. On the third, so says my correspondent, he raised his languid head and said “this is the Fourth of July,” and the smile of contentment played upon his lips—Heaven had heard his prayers and crowned his wishes—Oh precious life! Oh glorious death! He has left to us my countrymen, a precious legacy—His last words were, “I resign myself to my God, and my child to my country.” And shall not that child of his age—that only surviving daughter—the solace of his dying hour, be fostered and cherished by a grateful country?

Thus has terminated, in the 84th year of his age, the life of one of the greatest and best of men—“His weary sun hath made a glorious set.” Let the rulers of nations profit

by his example—an example which points the way to the temple of true glory, and proclaims to the statesman of every age and every tongue.

Be just and fear not.

Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy country's,
Thy God's and truth's.

Then shall thy lifeless body sleep in blessings—and the tears of a nation water thy name.

Let his life be an instructive lesson also to us, my countrymen. Let us teach our children to reverence his name, and even in infancy to lisp his principles. As one great means of perpetuating freedom, let the annual recurrence of the day of our nation's birth, be ever hailed with rapture.

Is it not stamped with the seal of the divinity? How wonderful are the means by which he rules the world!—Scarcely has the funeral knell of our Jefferson been sounded in our ears, when we were startled by the death of another patriot—his zealous coadjutor in the holy cause of the Revolution—one among the foremost of those who sought his country's disenthralment—of ADAMS, the compeer of his early fame—the opposing orb of his meridian day—the friend of his old age—and his companion to the realms of bliss. They have sunk together in death, and have fallen on the same glorious day into that sleep which knows no waking. Let no party spirit break the rest of their slumbers—but let us hallow their memory for the good deeds they have done—and implore that God who rules the universe, to smile upon our happy country.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS,

July 16, 1826.

BY CALEB CUSHING.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—The choral strains of triumph, which cheered the fiftieth anniversary of our country's birthday, scarce yet have died away upon the listening ear. Hardly is the roar of cannon stilled in silence.—the merry bells have but just ceased to ring out their peals of joy, and the shouts of exulting freemen to rise from hill and vale, from city and hamlet, welcoming the glorious morn of our Independence. The trumpet of the jubilee still pours its spirit-stirring echoes throughout the land, proclaiming the thrilling sound of liberty to its inhabitants. But hushed prematurely is the voice of festivity. Sorrow and lamentation overflow the hearts, lately swelled with gratulation and gladness. The venerable patriots, whose years have proved one long line of honors, and whose lives are the history of the nation, are no more! They, the hoary sages, who half a century before that day, boldly urged upon their country the daring act which hallowed it forever;—he, who wrote in letters of fire the immortal Declaration of our Independence, and he, upon whose 'burning tongue' the accents of truth, freedom, and victory then hung;—they, whose prophetic eye pierced the darkness of futurity, and foresaw the coming glories destined to cluster about that memorable occasion;—they, who, tracing the splendid career of fame, fortune, and power in their country's service, lived to become patriarchs of the empire which then sprang into being;—they,

Boast of the aged, lesson of the young,

whose deeds were so recently remembered, and their names voiced by millions of their grateful fellow-citizens, have now restored their honors to the world, and their 'blessed part' hath ascended to heaven to repose in the bosom of their God!

How solemn, how awful, how marked in the annals of universal history, is this dispensation of all seeing Providence! The messenger of death descended among us at a season when the spring-tide of joy was at flood; and snatched from earth the living idols of the hour; but who, no longer creatures of time, have become the dwellers in eternity.

Yes, full of years and of honors, an illustrious pair of the august founders of the Republic have gone to their last long home. The spontaneous voice of their country singled out three from the galaxy of mighty minds, that illumined the troubled course of the revolution, to be the bright leading stars of our political firmament. Already five revolving lustres have elapsed, since Washington, the father of his people, the 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,' sank to his rest, and left an admiring world to canonize his memory, and vainly to emulate his example. Second only to him in station, second only in the patriotic energies of souls created for the achievement of a nation's independence, and stamped as it were in every lineament with the divine impress of liberty, the other two lived to enjoy, ere they died, that fame, which less fortunate men obtain only at the hands of posterity. But the dark portals of the tomb have closed at length over the earthly remains of Adams and Jefferson.

For the meanest member of the human family, whose name is blotted from the book of life, tears of sorrow are shed by the humble mourner in his hour of affliction; and when the chords of kindred are severed by death, for the highest there is the same heart-felt pang. By the departure of them, whose glorious lives we are this day assembled to commemorate, the dearest ties of affection are sundered. But when the fore-

most men of the world are deposited in the dust, and the features of immortality itself are obliterated by the fingers of decay, where shall individual griefs find place, how shall the note of private lamentation be heard? A wailing people celebrate their obsequies. A country is clad in the funeral garb of woe. Over the insensible marble, which inurns their ashes, a nation bows prostrate in the lowly attitude of mourning, a nation is scattering blessings on their names,—incense more grateful than the choicest myrrhs of Araby.

But while the pious tribute of sorrow is rendered to the memory of the great and good, no longer to be numbered among the living, let not the deep sense of our bereavement be unmingled with consolatory reflections. They have but paid the great debt of nature.

As the baseless fabric of a vision,
 The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 Yea, all, which it inherit, shall dissolve,
 And like the unsubstantial pageant faded,
 Leave not a rack behind! We are such stuff
 As dreams are made of, and our little life
 Is rounded with a sleep.

And though the language of inspiration fall from his lips, though the wisdom of ages be compressed beneath his brow, though the holiest aspirations of an elevated soul inform his bosom, yet shall man, the son of earth, the creature of the clay, shall man arrogate to himself an immunity from the sentence of instability and change engraven upon all terrestrial things? Oh, no. But thanks be to God that he granted each of the revered patriots to outlive the ordinary measure of humanity, and to die a death signal and extraordinary as his life.

They were not cut off in the morning or noon tide of their days, ere the opening promise of glory had reached its development. The burst of agonizing grief fills every heart, when a spirit, cast in nature's happiest mould, is extinguished ere its prime, and lightens up 'like a bright exhalation,' only to

disappear too soon, and leave the world again to darkness. But they lived to give their country the entire fruition of their masterly faculties, in the time of her utmost need. They lived to acquire a deathless renown, a name noble as the institutions, lasting as the iron-bound mountains of America. They lived to know that the voice of detraction, which had so often assailed them, was now soothed into silence by public gratitude; and that their countrymen, while they remembered their errors only as the errors incident to our imperfect nature, were just to their high and splendid qualities. They both lived to witness the accomplishment of their most sanguine anticipations, in the wealth, extent, and prosperity of their country, its unrivalled dignity among the nations, and the universal dissemination of the grand principles of civil and religious freedom, which it was their sole aim to establish. And one of them lived to see the mantle of his genius and fortunes descend upon his son; and the heir of his name raised to be the first successor in the supreme magistracy of the republic, to the patriots of the revolution. And they died, at last, when the 'wine of life' was drawn away, and its lees only remained. The ripe fruit has dropped to the ground, as the faded branches, that bore it, were yellowing beneath the dews of autumn. The harvest, bending by the weight of its complete maturity, has fallen before the sickle. The noble steed, who started betimes in the race of honor, has proudly run his career, and reached his appointed goal in triumph. The bright orb, which in its dawning shone luridly out from a stormy sky, having broken through the clouds which obscured his rising beams, and ascended to his full meridian lustre, has placidly descended along the tranquil horizon, and sunk amid a sea of glory. The apostles of liberty have fulfilled their mission, and leaving the scene of their generous toils below, are gone above to receive their reward.

And memorable, as suited the destinies of such men, were the moment and the manner of their exit to eternity. Of each it might truly have been written,

Nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it. He died
As one that had been studied in his death.

The jubilee of our Independence came upon the aged patriarchs, and found the light of life barely flickering in its socket. The myriads of their countrymen, whose freedom they aided to establish, were solemnizing 'the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion, with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other,'—in that manner, wherein, fifty years before, one of them foretold its anniversary would be celebrated thenceforth and forever. It was the day in which our fathers arose in the majesty of their strength to shake off the degradation of provincial servitude, and unfurling the standard of liberty, as they waved its star-spangled ensigns on high, pledged their 'lives, fortunes, and sacred honor,' to live free or die. It was the day on which the slumbering energies of Columbia were awakened, and she entered upon that career of glory, in which, bearing on her maiden front the garland of freedom instead of the coronet of kings, she still is marching superbly onward, the envy of the oppressed and enslaved people of Europe, and the exemplar of the emancipated nations of the New World. It was the day when three millions lifted up their voices to sound the banner-cry of independence, and pealed that shout, like a trumpet-call, through the skies, which as that of the Israelites beside the beleaguered city of old, shook the throne of the tyrant to its very foundations. And when the sun of that happy day was past his meridian, and declining into the west, the acclamations of rejoicing aroused them for a moment from the lethargy of approaching dissolution, to hail once more 'the great, the glorious occasion,' and their enfranchised souls instantly winged their flight to the realms of bliss, like a warrior dying in the lap of victory.

For one such man to die on such a day would have been an event never to be forgotten. But they, who side by side united their destinies with the liberty of the land, and side by side

pledged all they held dear in life to its cause, in signing the Declaration of Independence ;—they, who struggled in all the struggles, and rose with the rising glories of their country, to hold successively the highest offices in the gift of the nation to bestow ;—they, who, rivals for a time, and separated by the conflicts of party and the zeal of contending opinions, soon conspired to sacrifice their mutual resentments to their mutual admiration of each other's character ;—for them, on the anniversary of the day when the nation was born, and on its fiftieth anniversary too, to quit the scene of their earthly honors as it were in company,—oh never, never shall the lapse of ages or the annals of all time disclose a parallel for the affecting combination of admirable circumstances ! Felicitously was it said, that ' had the horses and the chariot of fire descended to take up the patriarchs, it might have been more wonderful, but not more glorious.'

And if there were nought else to sooth the heart and to reconcile us to the visitation of heaven in depriving us of the departed patriots, we might seek consolation in the contemplation of their manly virtues, and of the exalted characters, which they have given to posterity for imitation. They, who ever walk in the world's gaze leave a name behind them, to be powerful for good or for ill. Their influence dies not with their death. We cannot wipe the record of their actions from off the tables of our memory. The invading victor, to whom nations are playthings, and men the blind machines, which moved at his will, scatter misery and devastation along the path of his chariot wheels, inflicts a mass of moral injury by the contagion of his example, only surpassed by the physical ruin of his conquests. He leads in his leashes not merely the remorseless mercenary soldier, whose law is violence, and whose occupation is rapine ; but the young enthusiast also, and the grey-haired veteran of a hundred fights, the idol of whose earthly worship is fame. Captivated by the splendor of his exploits, they are allured into the same brilliant but destructive career, when their latent energies might otherwise

have been evoked to purer and nobler pursuits than the deadly trade of war. But it is not the blood-stained laurels of military triumph, which overshadow the temples of Jefferson and Adams. Their example is that of statesmen, who with Quincy could say,—blandishments will not fascinate us, nor threats intimidate; and who, in the tempestuous season of revolutionary discord, manfully seized the helm of the republic, and co-operated to guide her in safety to the haven.—Their monument is the liberty of their country. Their fame is the noble story of her prosperity and greatness.

Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war.

And theirs were the victories of mind; their conquests were won by intellectual and moral energies alone; and eternity stands beside their tombs, to sculpture there an epitaph for coming generations to read.*

In the brief limits of this passing and hasty effort, vain would be the attempt to relate minutely the history of their long career, crowded with striking incidents; and a pencil of light is needed to delineate their characters with spirit, fidelity, and truth. They require to be preserved in a more durable and exalted record than the transient effusion of the moment. A simple recital of the varied events of their lives, would be their best biography; and their illustrious deeds their own most appropriate eulogy. But the time and the occasion forbid;—and the humblest essay may have its use, in holding up their actions and their virtues to the applause of their assembled countrymen. Simply thus much is the only pretension of the ensuing remarks.

The distinguishing traits of their public character, their failings and their excellences, stand in the foreground of all the great national measures, in whose furtherance they participated. But before we fix our attention upon those quali-

*L'eternitate a l'improvviso apparve,
E nel sasso scolpi: Qui colui giace, &c.

Bernardo Tasse.

ties, which single them out as the subject of history, it is refreshing to contemplate and record the virtues of their private life. Spotless and exemplary as they were in the discharge of every duty of the citizen and the man ; unblemished in all the relations of domestic retirement ; of integrity, purity, and honor, which the venom of calumny itself could never attain ;—who but feels augmented veneration for men, who maintained the dignity of philosophers amid the corruption of war and courts, and never condescended to unworthy acts? Fearless of aught else, they dreaded only the contamination of dishonor, and the reproach of being wanting to themselves and their fame ; like the delicate ermine of arctic climes, to whom death is more tolerable, than to suffer the unsullied purity of her snow white vesture to be tarnished.— No remorseful thoughts disturbed the calm of their declining years ; and death was devoid of terrors for them, conscious of a life well spent, and possessing

A peace above all earthly dignities,
A still and quiet conscience.

During an age when profound learning was in vogue, and sciolism as rare, as it now is abundant, they were accounted ripe and accomplished scholars. In these times, the elements of knowledge are more widely diffused among the people. The waters of the sacred fount of Helicon have swelled over its sides, and its golden streams now meander through the land. The early writings of Adams bespeak a mind profoundly tinctured with the learning of the day ; and his latter ones prove that he kept pace with the progress of our own more busy and popular literature. His contributions to literary and political journals and other works, since his retirement from public duty, and his occasional letters, which the daily press has seized upon with avidity, are distinguished for acuteness of reasoning, ingenuity of conception, a lively imagination, and the most remarkable and striking felicity of language. At a prior period, not content with his exertions in the senate, and in foreign courts in aid of his country, he came forth as an able and

efficient champion of the revolutionary cause, in many controversial pieces, which would do honor to the mind or the pen even of one, whose genius and leisure were exclusively devoted to the cultivation of letters. It is sufficient to indicate the essays of *Nov-Anglus*, the *Discourses on Davila*, the *Defence of the American Constitutions*, numerous political documents, and his extensive private correspondence, all which exhibit indisputable marks of sterling genius, accomplished by the most elaborate study, and elevated to the dignity of the subjects he discussed and the majestic temper of the times.

These observations are equally applicable, in a great degree, to the writings of Jefferson. In them the same vigor of understanding, the same creative fancy, and the same peculiar happiness of diction,—*curiosa felicitas*,—are features, which impress the most careless observer. Jefferson's political compositions are less numerous than those of Adams, but the inquisitive mind of the former struck into a path where the latter did not follow him, and successfully cultivated philosophy and physical science, while Adams continued more devoted to moral and political studies. Of this, Jefferson's valuable and standard work, the *Notes on Virginia*, contains ample testimony. They were both alike imbued with an elegant and refined literature, which beautified and adorned their higher accomplishments, like the acanthus-leaves crowning the majestic proportions of the classic column. With Cicero they might not unbecomingly have professed, that they sedulously consecrated to these fascinating pursuits '*Quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum.*'

But their intellectual tastes were as happily contrasted in some things, as they were curiously blended in others. The vocation, for which they were evidently destined by nature, was the life of a statesman. Whatever different occupation they might have selected previously, the true bent of their

faculties was evidently thither ; and subservient to this guiding and governing principle were all their literary exertions. But in the compositions of Adams we may discern more of dignity, in Jefferson's, of grace ; of energy in the former, and refinement in the latter ; in this one, of Grecian elegance, in that of Roman power. Jefferson would seem desirous to persuade by the even but animated flow of sentiments and reflections ; Adams, to send conviction to the mind by the graphic illustration, the pointed argument, aimed, as it were, with unerring keenness, at the truth. Jefferson, in fine, wears something of the manner of one whose natural talents were assiduously cultivated in the closet, although still with a view to public usefulness ; and therefore his writings indicate more of originality, are of a more speculative cast, and more visibly traced with the footsteps of solitary investigation. Adams, on the contrary, shows you in every sentence, that his understanding, although richly stored by retired study, was yet trained by the severe discipline of extensive practice at the bar, and active exertion in popular assemblies ; and had thus acquired more of the habit of prompt and vigorous action, of decisive practical views, which the engrossing contests of the forum and the tribune necessarily impress upon a superior and highly cultivated genius, when subjected to their influence.

Had Jefferson left no other evidence of his talents for writing, the Declaration of Independence alone would serve to immortalize his reputation. Time was, when the character of this great revolutionary patriarch, seen through the distorted optics of party, was so grossly misrepresented, that men gravely denied him the capacity to compose the consummately beautiful lines of that splendid manifesto to the nations of the earth. But another generation has rightly appreciated his deserts. What tradition had uniformly asserted, but jealousy ventured to dispute, is now become matter of history. It was reserved for Adams himself to do full justice to the pre-eminent merits of his copatriot, no longer

viewed as his successful competitor for the palm of political distinction. That proud performance is now known to be the work of Jefferson. Adams was the bold and eloquent debater, who urged and defended the measure, big with the fate of empires ; Jefferson's was the unequalled skill, which embodied the principles of liberty in the language of inspiration, as an eternal monument and landmark for the guidance of posterity. Fortunate pair ! Could the imagination of man desire an occasion more auspicious than this, to confer on them a rare immortality ? Who, that burned with a sacred ambition to transmit his name down to remotest ages, associated with some signally meritorious intellectual effort, would choose a more glorious task than to be the head to conceive, or the hand to execute, the Declaration of American Independence ?

It is impossible to peruse, without admiration, the copious writings of the sages, nay of the warriors, of the revolution. How rich with brilliant and elevated thought, how skilful and irresistible in argument, how overflowing with the fervid illustrations of a mind impelled by overruling circumstances to the strongest efforts, nay, how beautiful in the pure and finished simplicity of a style, springing racy, fresh, and unsophisticated from a full-fraught soul and native taste, are not the sacred charters of our liberty, the exquisite compositions of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Quincy, Otis, Hamilton, and all the mighty growth of the virgin soil of freedom, the giant-progeny of our Independence,

Magna parens

Frugum—magna virûm !

The vivid fire of genius lightens from every line they left. And among these exalted names, there are none superior, none equal, to Adams and Jefferson, in scholastic attainments, and in their supreme dominion over

Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.

Adams and Jefferson were both educated to the bar. The talents of the latter were diverted at an earlier age into the

channel of politics ; for the former, being more advanced in life at the opening of the revolution, had previously continued for many years assiduously engaged in the duties of his laborious profession. It was the well known observation of Burke, that law is 'one of the first and noblest of human sciences, a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all other kinds of learning put together ;' and had he known or appreciated the distinction between the practice of it here and in England, he would not have denied its aptitude 'to open and liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion.' There it is a narrow study, limited to the barbarous technicalities of the common law ; and first-rate excellence in the profession has rarely been associated with general talents or conspicuous accomplishments as a politician. But far otherwise it is here, where the study of law is more a study of principles, and the profession is more closely blended with popular and political pursuits, and has proved, to a large proportion of the most exalted statesmen of our country, the chosen avenue to public usefulness and distinction. It was peculiarly so to Adams. Possessed of the happiest qualities for success at the bar, indefatigable industry, a sound discriminating judgment, a mind prompt to arrange and analyze, a retentive memory, acute and logical powers of reasoning, and a ready, ardent, impressive elocution, he rapidly ascended to the highest professional eminence.

One trait of his conduct at the bar is too characteristic of the man, to be left unnoticed. When the armed troops, quartered in Boston to quell and overawe the insubordinate inhabitants, had wontonly wounded and massacred a number of defenceless individuals, and they and their commander were brought to trial for this outrage, Adams and Quincy, the popular leaders of the patriotic party, undertook their defence and procured their acquittal. The unflinching grandeur of character which they manifested on this occasion, in attempting the protection of men, against whom the

whole country was justly exasperated to the highest degree, can never be sufficiently applauded. And the complete success, which, by their masterly ability and their magnanimous resistance to the passions of the people, they obtained, was not a more lofty triumph to themselves than it was to their countrymen. It demonstrated that no frantic anarchists were busy in a work of discord and destruction; but that high-minded men were determined to win their freedom, in a mode to ensure the world's approbation.

Had such a career satisfied his ambition, he might have discharged the first judicial functions of his native state. But his country had more imperious need of his commanding talents in a wider field of fame. When the earthquake of the revolution shook the land,—when the waves of civil commotion were lashed into fury by the wild edicts of the oppressor,—when the rights of an outraged people were trampled under foot by mercenary foreign bands, and our lives, nay our liberties, were at stake,—then it was that all men found their natural level, and the master minds of the nation, like Adams and Jefferson, were elevated, by the mere force of circumstances, into posts of difficulty and danger.

The turbulent but magnificent scene of the revolution was now opening upon the view. The distant flash, and the far off rumbling of the thunder had long boded its approach, and it was preparing to burst, from the overhanging clouds, upon the devoted heads of our fathers. Virginia and Massachusetts were the oldest of the colonies, and in disposable resources at least, and in moral influence, they were the most potent. In these free and foremost commonwealths, the note of preparation for resistance to arbitrary power had early been sounded. The trying and tremendous struggle was plainly at hand. Amid the raging elements of discord, there sprang up, in each of those colonies, and at the same moment, two men, whose genius fitted them to

Ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm.

Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and James Otis of Massachu-

setts, men whose fearless independence and whose vehement, overwhelming eloquence would have singled them out in a ancient Rome to be more undaunted tribunes than any that ever opposed the tyranny of her corrupt aristocracy, gave a simultaneous impulse to 'the ball of the revolution,' the second in the northern, and the first in the southern, quarter of the confederacy. When Massachusetts was prematurely deprived of her Brutus, the public voice called Adams into the service of the nation to supply his place, and he obeyed the call; and after a series of manly acts in the municipal meetings and legislature of his state, he was elected to the immortal congress of seventy-four. By a corresponding course of signal public exertions in Virginia, Jefferson had won the confidence and regard of his fellow citizens, and was appointed a delegate in the same congress. Patrick Henry remaining at home as governor of his state, Jefferson, although the youngest member of that august body, soon rose by his superior talents to be the leading representative of Virginia, as Adams was of Massachusetts. And thus these two great men were thrown directly in contact and contrast, as the champions of the holy cause of Independence.

How imposing was the spectacle of that assembly of the conscript fathers of America! The noble stand they took at the threshold of the temple of liberty; the glorious oath, which, like another Hannibal, each of them individually swore upon its altar; and their influence over the subsequent destinies of our country, will authorize us, on this solemn occasion, to pause and contemplate the men, the time, and the circumstances. Nothing could be more entirely appropriate to the present purpose, of illustrating the genius and character of Jefferson and Adams; because they were the organs of that body and the best examples of its spirit; and in its doings were their genius and character, as statesmen, fully developed.

The forms, under which the highest intellectual powers of man exhibit themselves, are as numerous and diversified as the subjects, to which his restless enterprise and insatiable curiosity impel his attention. The scope of mind is boundless as all space, and the duration of its efforts endless as time ; for there is no clime, nor country, nor age, nor circumstance, where the human soul cannot display the brightness of the celestial fire, with which it is warmed and animated. The frozen regions of the polar circles, where the soul would seem to be bound in fetters of ice, and the burning plains of the tropical zone, where all the organs and faculties of action are relaxed by the exuberant heat of an equatorial sun, even these extremities of climate afford a theatre for the exhibition of genius, ample enough to show that its operations are not wholly limited to those happy climes, where it shines forth in all the splendor of unimpaired grace and majesty. Nor is there any age in the records of history, nor any combination of incidents so unpropitious in the whole of time, that in it genius could not find space for developement. The arts of war and peace,—science, literature and invention,—our ambition, our avarice, our luxury,—all furnish motives to elicit the lights of intellect. For it is not in the sunblime flights of poetry alone, that this diversity of the subjects and manifestations of genius is to be found. The most inspired of the children of song has told us,—

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And, as imagination bodies forth,
The form of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

But it is not in poetry alone, that genius acquires 'a local habitation and a name.' Range through the universe, and you find in the beautiful things of earth and air subjects for it to embody forth. You find all the unnumbered objects

of the material creation,—of the invisible world of the imagination,—and of the mysterious and complicated passions of the human breast,—alike presenting you with combinations more countless than the sands of the sea, and all of them ministering to the developement of the genius of man.

Still there is one occasion more than all others propitious to the display of preeminent qualities of mind. It is when the stirring impulses of revolution pass through a refined and populous people ; and a great nation is struggling to be free. A poor and savage country produces no exhibition of talent, but cunning, stratagem, and courage, in hunting or in war ; or the rude effusions of bards and minstrels, mingling their irregular strains with the scene of barbarous manners around them, like the beautiful wild flower springing up with its gay and brilliant foliage in the midst of the desert. The Indian of South America, or the Asiatic Tartar, as he flies across the boundless savannas of his country, on steeds fleet as the viewless winds, devoted only to the pleasures of the chase, and moved to greater exertion in the tumult of warfare alone, has comparatively little to evoke his intellectual powers. But among a people who have attained the blessings of civilization, the various inducements, which awaken our dormant powers, are multiplied beyond all conception, and act with redoubled force in stimulating our thoughts and passions.— There, the soul soars on the wings of glory, to the ethereal regions of fancy. There, luxury and opulence spread a thousand temptations before the eye of taste and invention, and tax the resources of genius to the utmost, for the supply of innumerable complicated wants, unknown to a rugged untaught nation. There, when the foundations of society are unsettled by some mighty popular commotion, or the passions of men are acted upon in the mass by overpowering causes of excitement, and above all, if the conjuncture be one of those revolutionary movements, which occasionally agitate empires, then is the moment for the children of genius to rise, like a second earthborn progeny, to astonish the world by

their seemingly instantaneous growth, and by the stupendous effects of their intellect. Witness the constellation of talents, which on every such emergency, has poured a tide of glory, in reckless prodigality of profusion, over lands, that dared to claim and exercise the inalienable right of men, the right to be free. Witness the illustrious names, which, crowned with splendor in the conflicts of ancient Greece, have rested, in all succeeding times, upon every lip from lisping infancy to faltering old age. Witness the citizens of the noble democracies of modern Italy, who, less known to us because their history is not associated with the acquisition of a classical language, yet emulated the magnanimity of their Athenian models, and ought to be equally the study of statesmen in every republican country. Witness the transient brightness of the commonwealth of England, when Hampden and Cromwell, Milton and Vane, the companions and friends of our pilgrim fathers, trod the path of honor, and attained an eminence, which we, at least the heirs of their political and religious principles, should appreciate and applaud. And to abstain from examination of later events,—of the progress of the revolutionary spirit in Europe and in Spanish America,—witness the heroic and patriotic men, who shot upward in our sky, like a meteor. but not like a meteor to dazzle and expire,—called into life, as it were, by the all-creative energies of the war of our Independence. Such were the men, of whom the congress of seventy six was composed, and such the occasion, which elicited the masterly efforts of their genius.

Of the various measures of that body for the protection of the country, and for its preparation to enter upon a protracted contest, this is not the place to speak, nor would time admit of doing justice to the subject. Posterity will chiefly look to the first scene in the grand drama, the intrepid resolution, which committed the colonies forever, by declaring that they were, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and thus hurling the gauntlet of defiance at the metropolis.

It was on this occasion that Adams and Jefferson assumed and exercised the authority, which, in a popular assembly, is spontaneously deferred to intrepidity of character and commanding talents. They rose to distinction, not among small minds, but among the greatest, and—*primi inter pares*—none surpassing themselves in greatness. Adams carried into this more than Roman senate a perfect mastery over all the points in dispute between us and the mother country. He was one of those brave hearts, who had long been accustomed to ‘snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.’ He thought with Quincy, that life had no charms for him who lived not free; and was ready to exclaim that ‘wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die *freemen*.’ He felt with Warren, that one hour of glorious resistance to tyranny, though it ended in death, was sweeter than years sighed away in hopeless slavery. He believed with Henry, that however weak we might be, and however mighty the power we were challenging to battle, still ‘three millions of people, armed in the sacred cause of freedom, and in such a country as we possessed, were invincible by any power which our enemy could send against us; and that we should not fight our battles alone, because there was a righteous God, who presided over the destinies of nations, and who would raise up friends to fight with us in the cause of humanity.’ He was an apt exemplification of the character of the New England men of his day, ardent in season and out of season, zealous for liberty, but for a regulated liberty. His was the quick invention to devise, and the eloquent tongue to advocate, the measures necessary to secure Independence. When the Declaration was proposed to congress, the wise hesitated, the timid shrunk back, the boldest paused. Doubt and apprehension filled all hearts, until Adams, who, although well aware of ‘the toil, and blood, and treasure,’ which it would cost to maintain it, yet, in his own expressive language, through all the gloom could discern the rays of light and glory,—until Adams rose, and by the magic

~~of his eloquence dispelled every fear, inspired every bosom~~
 with a courage and determination as manful as his own, and
 carried the daring resolution by a unanimity, that frowned op-
 position dumb. We have the testimony of Jefferson to the
 fact, that 'he was the pillar of its support on the floor of con-
 gress.' And although Jefferson was destitute of talents for
 public speaking, yet he was not the less profoundly versed in
 the rights of the colonies, nor less determined to do all and
 dare all for the salvation of his country. His reputation as a
 writer was unrivalled; in consultation, he was 'prompt, frank,
 explicit, and decisive;' and in him Adams found an able, equal
 and worthy coadjutor. And to them, under heaven, and their
 compeers in the field and the senate, are we indebted for all
 the blessings of peace and prosperity we enjoy, for the ex-
 panding resources and ascending destinies of America.

Sublime assembly! Admirable men! But one alone of
 that band of choice spirits now survives, the modest and ven-
 erable Carroll, like a spared monument of other ages: and
 long may he live to enjoy the esteem of his country, as the
 last of its immortal fathers! Under the inspiring auspices of
 patriotic hope they neryed themselves to honorable achieve-
 ment. In these pacific times, nay, in any times, few are they,
 who are called upon to dare the terrors of death in the pitch-
 ed combat, where carnage walks at noon-day, and destruction
 is the ruling planet of the hour. And fewer still are they, to
 whose lot it falls, in the walks of civil life, to pass the trying
 crisis of fortitude in deliberating upon a resolution so fraught
 with interest, so big with impending consequences as the Dec-
 laration of Independence. In the councils of peace, they
 were encountering the hazards of war. Although seated in
 the temple of Janus, beside them they beheld the statue of
 Bellona. The senator, who spoke for that immortal conven-
 tion, might, like the Roman, and with more of truth and just
 pride, have said to the British monarch—I bear in the ample
 folds of my robe both peace and war; choose ye which ye
 will take. Their shield was the enthusiasm of honor true to
 its temper as thrice proved steel; their motto,

In native swords, and native ranks,
The only hope of courage dwells.

And although they themselves should fall in the coming struggle, they had confidence to believe that their children and their children's children to the latest generation would enjoy that promised land, of which they might only gain the distant prospect.

They knew themselves to be merely the pioneers of the great work of civil improvement. Theirs would be the task to strike out a rude and simple path in the newly discovered clime, to set up and establish the great land-marks of right, and to leave to those, who should follow after them, to gather the rich fruits and lovely flowers of freedom, which would spring from the prolific soil. Just as the first hunters, who penetrated into the western wilderness, did but make an imperfect opening into that unrifled garden of primitive luxuriance, while succeeding generations alone were enabled to reach in tranquillity and plenty, the secure fruition of its bounties. It was their fortune to pass anxious days and sleepless nights in camp or council, ours to reap the benefit of their vigils; theirs to wrestle, to suffer, to bleed in battle, ours to wear the silken vestments of peace; theirs to peril themselves, their present safety and their future fame, upon the hazardous cast of revolution, ours to possess the magnificent prize they won.

The desperate contest, in which they were about to embark, was a contest of principle. Their claim was a claim of right; and it was so urged and argued by them, and so considered and rejected by the metropolis. They could recognize no bond of subjection to that country: and no bond of union, other than entire equality of political condition. When our forefathers fled before the face of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny, they did not bring along with them the iron fetters, which had been eating into their frames in the mother land. Free, as the winds, which swelled their canvass to waft them over the ocean:—free as the wild waves, on whose bo-

som they sailed ;—free as the red chieftains, whom they found launching the canoe on our inland seas, or chasing the deer in our proud forests ;—they claimed the blessing of full emancipation from whatever was incompatible with the rights of man. Actuated by such feelings, Adams and Jefferson proposed and advocated the Declaration of Independence. For if they had not been deeply wronged by the metropolis, and if it was not their duty, in such case, to defend their imprescriptible rights by all the means, which ‘ Nature and Nature’s God’ had put in their hands,—then were they traitors against the king to whom they owed allegiance, and rebels against that parliament, which they were bound to obey. But they were not traitors,—they were not rebels. They were generous and public spirited patriots, who would not tamely yield up their birth-right to mere names, to the vain prejudices, with which the political wizards of Europe endeavour to prop up her decayed institutions. They were enlightened statesmen, who had penetration enough to discover that they could not belong to their enemies on the score of consanguinity, of allegiance, or of gratitude ; and that therefore no power on earth had a right to stand up resistingly between them and constitutional independence. And they were the sons of persecuted puritans, who could appeal from the tribunal of human laws to a higher one in their own consciencies, by which they would be justified in repelling intolerance and usurpation by the red right hand of embattled warriors, and by which they were assured that, if they fell in the unequal conflict, they might look for a glorious remuneration to God.

Actuated by these exalted motives, the patriots of the revolution resolutely entered upon the dangerous crisis, which was to end in their defeat and their subjection to the ignominious punishment of felons, or on the contrary to make them the glorious founders of a mighty Republic. It was for others, led by the peerless Washington, to maintain the cause of independence in battle. The taste, education, and habits of Jefferson and Adams conducted them into duties, where, if less of mere animal hardihood was needed, there was not less

of true courage and magnanimity of character. Jefferson, for a time, devoted himself to the task of consolidating the internal tranquillity and fixing the laws of Virginia, at whose head he was placed. During this period, his talents were constantly and actively engaged in furthering the progress of the revolution, to the extent of the means of his state. Adams, also, lent the aid of his standing and character to Massachusetts, in the establishment of her constitution, in whose construction he largely participated. But services, like these, which would create a brilliant reputation for ordinary men in ordinary times, are well nigh overlooked in the estimation of the distinguished fortunes of Adams and Jefferson.

Had the liberation of America depended solely upon her own resources, the struggle would have been far more doubtful in its issue. She might, by the very violence of despair, have sufficed to vanquish the disciplined fleets and armies, which the most opulent of modern nations was continually equipping for her subjugation. Still it must have been with wasting exhaustion of strength, and after a most protracted conflict. But happily the interests of the nation were advocated abroad by able, energetic, indefatigable ministers, who wrought, with perfect success, upon the cupidity or sympathy of European courts, or their jealousy of Britain, and obtained most seasonable and necessary succor for our bleeding country. Among these diplomatic agents, Adams was pre-eminent, as well for the importance of the objects he accomplished, as for the characteristic decision of purpose, ingenuity, and address, which he displayed in his various negotiations. He was employed in the most delicate embassies during the whole continuance of the war; and the noble termination of it, by the treaty of peace fully recognising our Independence, is mainly attributed to his talents and zeal. Search the journals of the continental congress, and in that venerable diary of our Independence, how grateful is the tribute which you read, to the diplomatic services of Adams! When the whole body of our foreign commissioners were censured by congress for their dis-

union and jealousies, Adams alone was exempted from the charge. And at the close of his long period of negotiations, he is warmly thanked,—and how proud may his posterity rightfully be of such a record,—he is thanked for ‘the patriotism, perseverance, integrity, and diligence, with which he ably and faithfully served his country.’ But for his vigor and penetration, the temporizing policy of Franklin might have produced the most pernicious consequences. Upon the restoration of peace, he was appointed our first minister to England, and Jefferson was also honored with a mission to France, in which employments they remained until the adoption of the constitution of the United States.

At this important epoch, Adams and Jefferson both returned from their foreign stations, to give stability by their personal weight, and efficacy by their talents, to the new constitution. The country was shaken to the centre by the contending parties, who urged or opposed its adoption. Each party contained men of the highest fame and character ; but the great bulk of those, who desired a well regulated order of things, and who were anxious for the national honor, were the warm friends of the constitution. Time has now set its seal upon this admirable instrument, and our established government, by having safely sustained the rudest shocks of war and civil animosity, has demonstrated at once its liberality and its solidity. In that day, ere its excellence had been proved by experience, men of the soundest patriotism were found among its opponents. But the influence of Washington, of Adams, and of a great majority of other tried patriots, and especially the victorious essays of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, rallied the suffrages of the country around the palladium of our liberties. Every eye was instantly turned upon Washington, as the only man, whose prudence, authority, and all-subduing fame could ably administer the government in its feeble beginnings ; and when he was elected president, he summoned around him all the first talents of the nation for his counsellors. The voice of the people had designated Adams, as second

only to Washington in public services, public gratitude, and public functions. And in accordance with his own sentiments and with the popular opinion, the chief magistrate selected Jefferson for the highest post of honor in his cabinet. The ardent love of country entertained alike by Adams and Jefferson, and the distinction they had acquired at home and abroad, entitled them to this elevation. They were both friends of the federal constitution; Adams more warmly and decidedly so than Jefferson, whose political opinions began to assume that popular and democratic complexion, which afterwards distinguished his party. Under these propitious auspices the first federal administration went into operation, with the anxious prayers of the nation, for the smiles of heaven to shine upon it. Although Adams was not constitutionally a member of the cabinet, his advice was taken, and his influence felt, in all its important measures. And Jefferson, also, for many years continued attached, in office and in principle, to the administration of the father of his country. Of the proclamation of neutrality, that leading act of Washington's presidency, which enabled America to remain 'the undismayed, undegraded, and unembarrassed spectator of the broils of Europe,' Jefferson was the firm and powerful defender, as he was, too, notwithstanding his decided partiality for France, of the indignation justly felt by Washington at the rashness of Genet. His elaborate official reports and correspondence attest his ability and faithfulness in the discharge of the important duties of his office. But at the second election of Washington, a growing rivalry was evidently becoming developed between men, whose genius and fame had hitherto won all hearts to their united support, but who soon came to be the rallying points of hostile parties. Upon the retirement of Washington, and the election of Adams to succeed him, the division was complete; and at the ensuing election the republican party triumphed, in the ascendancy of Jefferson over Adams.

To the leading features of their respective administrations, it is difficult, at the present day, to do impartial justice : and incompatible with the peculiar nature of a funeral oration. Would to heaven that no embittered feelings had ever sprung up to sharpen the contests of that period, and the recollections which they entailed upon the next generation ! Would to heaven that men, who were equally devoted to their country, and whose dearest blood had been poured out like water in her service, could have entertained differing opinions, and upheld adverse lines of public policy, without being betrayed into acts, which their cooler moments would disapprove ! But it could not be. The stormy elements of the revolution had not yet entirely subsided. Men still bore about them an ardent temperament, excited amid scenes of turbulence, of desperate resistance to foreign aggression ; and it was impossible that the conflict of opposing sentiments, which in the calmest times is too prone to degenerate into violence, should then be conducted with perfect equanimity. Europe, at the same time, was convulsed by the agonizing efforts of the oppressed to be free, and of crumbling dynasties to survive the crash of their power ; and, remote though we stood from the immediate scene of commotion, its billows broke too often upon our distant shore. Far be it from us on this occasion, resting, as it were, above the green sod of patriots scarcely cold in the grave, to rekindle the torch of discord, or to harbor thoughts unsuited to the solemn season. It would be sacrilege to indulge in the idea. Let others pursue the failings of greatness to the tomb ; let others regard only the dim specks in the broad and resplendent disk of their fame ; let others surrender their admiration of the high-souled deeds of a life of usefulness, to the dark temper, which cherishes no charity for human infirmity. Be ours, the more grateful task, to yield honor where honor is due and there alone ; but there to yield it freely and fearlessly. The voice of truth will assure us that posterity has much to applaud, and something to condemn in the political course of each departed patriot.

Adams fell upon evil days and evil tongues. A powerful party, scarcely repressed by the transcendent veneration entertained by the whole people for his predecessor, was prepared to coil itself around the movements of Adams. 'Too independent,' in the words of another, 'to wear the trammels of either side,' he was not cordially supported by the federal party, while he was zealously assailed by their antagonists.—Ardently attached to the constitution, and partial to England rather than France, he was ranked with those, who pushed the executive authority to extremes, and was made to bear undeservedly the odium of all their measures. High in the opinion of his party, and raised to dangerous influence around him were persons the most deeply committed in the sharp controversies of the day, whose unaccommodating counsels gave augmented vigor and vehemence to the ranks of opposition. If he yielded unqualified assent to the suggestions of one party, he exasperated the other; if he ventured to question the policy of his advisers, they broke into accusations of his 'ungovernable temper,' and his 'incorrect maxims of administration.' But surrounded as he was with difficulties, and the unregarded chief of a sinking cause, still unqualified applause is due to the attitude he assumed in our foreign relations. His conduct towards the arrogant directory, that giddy bubble blown up into transient elevation out of the impurest elements of the French revolution, was at once temperate and dignified, manly and conciliatory. Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute, was the unanimous cry of the nation then, as it ever should be on a like occasion. And who, in these more enlightened times, would reprobate, in the strong language of the past, his idea of maritime defence by a competent navy, or his reorganization of the judiciary, which it was among the first acts of the succeeding government to disturb! His faults of character were those of an open, frank, and decided temper; his errors in conduct were more the misfortunes of his position, than they were the fruit of false principles. His political tenets had, indeed, been acquired by the

study of the great models of ancient and modern times :— what wonder then, that he dreaded the licentiousness of anarchy, the weak side in every republic but ours, the first pure representative government, which the world was happy enough to behold ? He had lived a life of opposition to tyranny : what wonder if, as a consequence, he was free of speech, and his disposition was deemed chargeable with obstinacy, which Burke declares to be allied to ‘ the whole line of masculine virtues, constancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmness ?’

Unlike his competitor, Jefferson was firmly fixed in the enthusiastic attachment of a numerous body of men, united and guided by his genius. Dreading the influence of arbitrary power, they adhered to his party as the cause of entire and genuine democracy. Judging of the inherent character of the system by the unpopular opinions of some who aided in administering it, they apprehended, without adequate reason, as the event has shown, that freedom was jeopardized by the partial incorporation of the state sovereignties into the consolidated government of the union. They were just emerging from a war, waged nominally to gain immunity from illegal taxes, although really to secure emancipation from colonial servitude ; and they looked with needless and unfounded distrust upon the proposed financial plans of Hamilton, because they more than suspected his mind, capacious as it was, of harboring tendencies unfavorable to pure republicanism. They and their political successors afterward sanctioned the principle involved in those plans, by pursuing it in corresponding circumstances. They have sincerely and ardently fostered our victorious navy, whose flag has achieved new honors for our country, by conquering the freedom of the seas, and teaching a salutary lesson of moderation to that one too prevailing maritime power, who presumptuously claimed the dominion of the common highway of nations. They have also established a national bank. And by encouraging such measures, they have declared that the change of times, the increased

population and resources of our country, and the new position, which the last war gave it among empires, have produced a change in their sentiments upon those much disputed points of policy.

Of their individual measures, none is more memorable than the purchase of Louisiana, and the peaceful annexation of that noble region, now teeming with the fruits of freedom, to the limits of the union. It doubled the extent of our country, not by the violent operation of force, but by rightful and amicable cession. It spread over the broad valley of the Mississippi a hardy population of enlightened freemen, and thus converted a hostile territory into the abode of friends and fellow-countrymen. To Jefferson's wisdom must we, of the old confederation, attribute the security of our frontiers; and him the cultivated millions of the West may bless, for the free privileges and prosperity they enjoy. Of those acts of Jefferson's administration having reference solely to the success of his party, let history judge. They have perpetuated its ascendancy to this day in the national councils, and rendered his fundamental principle, of the immediate supreme sovereignty of the people, the almost universal sentiment of the nation. He was, like Adams, ambitious; but like him had ambition of a generous strain; for it was to establish the liberties of his country on what he conceived to be the foundations of eternal right. And if he had studied the precepts of history less profoundly than Adams, his political opinions were better adapted to the times and the condition of the country, and exhibited more of the original talent, prudence, and forecast of the true statesman.

The politicians of that day were compelled to tread no beaten path. It was conformable to the workings of a great mind, in such case, to trust to its own native sagacity, rather than to own the bondage of learned doctrine; and, in default of the light of experience for its guidance, to tread the onward march of self-relying genius. Such was the political course of Jefferson, as manifested in the principles of his par-

ty, and his administration of the government. Reposing implicit confidence in the integrity and sanity of unshackled public opinion, and in the final triumph of truth over error by the exercise of its own persuasive energies,—by the most glorious of victories, the victory of reason,—he unceasingly and successfully resisted the leading mistake of his opponents,—a disposition to strengthen the arm of authority, and coerce the minority into silence. He proclaimed freedom of the press, freedom of person, freedom of justice, freedom of elections, and freedom of religion, as the cardinal points of his political faith ; and these are now incorporated, like a second nature, into all our settled belief as a nation. Republicans and federalists, as such, have not become indented ; but they have learned to respect each other's motives ; to find many theories entertained by both in common ; and to embrace as countrymen and brethren. The character of the government has become immoveably fixed on the basis of liberty and equality. The principles of our confederate policy are unalterably established. They are the principles of the republican party ; and that discussion of them, which once shook the country to its centre, has given place to the discussion of men, of measures, and of expediency.

When such have been the happy fruits of the party strife, which divided Adams and Jefferson, and their respective friends, need we scruple to yield the palm to the most deserving, and throw the mantle of mutual forgiveness over mutual errors ? A candid posterity will disapprove the spirit of acrimonious recrimination, in which both parties were too ready to indulge. And they will not less condemn the tendency of each to regard a foreign power with undue partiality.—Let our attachments be confined to the cherished name of America. ' Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country '—be this the fundamental maxim of our public policy. But who can think of impugning the patriotism of either Adams or Jefferson, for any defects in his political principles or his conduct ? Who, at this day, will believe

that either of them was hostile to his country, or that either of them consciously did a single act adverse to her interest? Oh, shame on the ungenerous thought! Error is incident to human nature; but it is impossible for such men, men proved in the hours that tried the soul; men, too, whose fate it was

To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes,

to have been wilfully false to their fame and their country.—The voice of the nation bears testimony, as if by acclamation, to their spotless integrity, not less than to their generous sacrifices and their exalted talents; not because party spirit has become extinct, but because holier feelings fill the soul.—The purest gratitude for the legacy of liberty they have bequeathed us, and unadulterated admiration of their fame, subdue and repress every ungrateful emotion.

— But these exalted individuals have long since ceased to be regarded by the nation or by the world at large, as living characters. The estimation in which they have been held for the last ten years, has partaken more of posthumous veneration than of cotemporary respect. It was not the retirement, or fall from office, which produced this effect; nor did men wait for their death to sanctify their names. The long duration of their lives enabled their countrymen to appreciate them, as we should the great personages of distant lands, or of remote history. Withdrawn from the world, they were devoted to the cultivation of philosophy, enjoying that *otium cum dignitate*, which befitted their age, and the space they filled in the public eye. Their peaceful homes were the shrines, to which the lover of liberty and the admirer of genius, from every land, devoutly made his pilgrimage. Their conversational talents were of the highest order. Adams allured by his hearty frankness, his vivacity, and the dignified simplicity of his deportment, and urbanity of reception; Jefferson, by the fascination of his conciliating manners, and the munificent hospitality of his abode. And each freely poured out before their visitors the golden stream of poignant anec-

dote and rich reflection, acquired by their long experience in the greatest affairs of modern times, and their familiarity with polished learning. To them the scholar, panting after literary excellence, went for his dearest praise ; to them the politician, aspiring to future usefulness, looked as the guiding light of his path. Seldom, during the declining period of their lives, did obtrusive remembrances of party rancor arise in the minds of their fellow citizens, to dim the lustre and tarnish the purity of their consecrated reputation. And they themselves, as if in preparation for a future world, mutually extended to each other the feelings of esteem and friendship, which unhappy differences has suspended for a season.

But whilst, having each ascended the pinnacle of political rank, they dedicated the remainder of their days to repose; they were not wholly abstracted from the attention of the public as a nation. Not merely that they marked the progress of passing events with interest ; nor that they frequently charmed their country with the productions of their pens ; but too high for additional honor, they felt themselves not too old for additional services in the advancement of their country's weal.

When a convention was called for altering the constitution of Massachusetts, Adams was summoned from the seclusion of Montezillo to aid in amending the charter, of which, in less peaceful times, he was the principal framer. Elected president of that body by acclamation, a distinction which the infirmities of age induced him to decline, he received, in the spontaneous homage of his best fellow citizens, a conspicuous testimony of respect, unextorted by station, and yielded only to the majesty of the man. The vigor of mind, which, even at that advanced period of his life, he still manifested, and the memorable expressions of applause bestowed on him, almost simultaneously, by two of his most distinguished associates, and men of political sentiments not accordant with his, fixed upon him the eyes of the whole community. He seemed to be, not an earthly being, like ourselves, but one of the

creating and guardian spirits of the constitution, descended among us to watch over the preservation of its integrity.— This was his latest public exertion. But the brilliant career of his son augmented the interest which his character irresistibly attracted. Men, who were envious of the rise of the younger Adams, sought to impede his progress, and embitter the days of his venerable parent, by resuscitating the buried calumnies, which the lapse of twenty years had consigned to deserved oblivion. But their endeavors were as fruitless as their motives were unworthy. The accomplished statesman, the profound scholar, he whose virtues 'plead like angels trumpet tongued' for his elevation, stands in the post of merited honor;—and, as the garland encircled the bare temples of the great Julius, the aged head of the sire was protected from the shafts of detraction by the laurel wreath of victory and glory.

The declining age of Jefferson has been peculiarly distinguished by a course of useful exertions for the promotion of education. His active mind was unceasingly busy to the hour of his death in the establishment, organization, and success of a noble university in his native state. May the illumination of genuine philosophy descend upon it, and make it a seminary of science worthy of the cause of letters, worthy of Jefferson, and of Virginia!

With but a single cloud to shadow his setting, his last years have elapsed in sunshine and peace, in all his public relations. True it is, that some anonymous miscreant, too base to disclose his name, falsely accused him of a petty speculation,—him, who devoted a princely fortune to the cause of his country, and who, after having

Sounded all the depths and shoals of honor,
and spent a life in the national service, saw himself reduced to poverty in old age. But the triumphant vindication of his own purity, which the indignant patriot condescended to publish, and the scorn of all honorable men for the slanderer, crushed the calumny forever, and gave added lustre to the

fame of Jefferson. It was not this, which planted a thorn in his pillow. Had he luxuriated in hoards of ill gotten opulence, of riches gained by rapacity in office, he might have died dishonored and despised, instead of filling a whole people with affliction by his decease ; but he would have been saved the pang of appealing to his countrymen to preserve him from absolute penury. But his departed spirit has outstripped the tardy generosity of his nation ; and he is rescued from the sorrowful necessity of accusing the republic of ingratitude.

The many remarkable coincidences in the respective fortunes of Adams and Jefferson, would have placed them constantly in contrast, even if their Maker had not called them to himself on the same day, and thus rendered their funeral obsequies inseparable. Previous to the revolution each was a leading politician in his own colony ; they met together in the same congress ; they were both of the committee to prepare the Declaration of Independence, and one of them wrote what the other proposed and defended ; afterwards each of them was temporarily devoted to the establishment of law in his native state ; they next filled the highest foreign missions of their country, until both became members of the first constitutional administration ; they were rival leaders of the two great parties which divided the nation ; and one succeeded the other, first as Vice President, and next as President of the United States ; and after many years of seclusion, worthy of themselves, they both died upon the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Independence. Surely the finger of Providence is visibly stretched forth, in this long series of singular and unparalleled combinations of destiny.

The history and characters of the deceased patriarchs have now been traced, not with the energy and fullness which the occasion deserved, but with such imperfect fidelity as circumstances would permit. Should the contemplation of their departed excellence have communicated too warm a coloring to the language of panegyric, let the cause apolo-

gize for the consequence. They have nothing to gain by exaggerated eulogium, nor any thing to lose by the insidiousness of faint praise. Posterity will weigh their merits and their defects in the balance of strict and impartial justice.— But cold is the heart, and poor is the soul, that now, in the greenness of our untented sorrow at the catastrophe of their death, would stifle the manifestations of respect for their worth, which rise irrepressibly to the lips of enthusiasm.

Death is above, below, around us. The very vital air we inhale may be loaded with its fatal influences. In the midst of health as in sickness, in the gay moment of confident hope, as in the darkness of despair, he may cut short the frail thread of life, and blast its fairest prospects with a breath. We awake to the splendors of a summer's dawning; but the brightness of our sky may soon be overclouded.— We embark upon the smiling ocean of life, and favoring breezes waft us lightly across its waters; but the slumbering billow may rouse instantaneously to overwhelm us in the deep. A few years, months, days, hours, and the speaking eye may be quenched in the shadows of the grave; the lips, that now utter the warning words of grief, may be sealed with the signet of everlasting silence; and the frame instinct with motion, where the pulses of life are warmly beating, may be consigned, an unseemly corse, to lie buried in 'cold obstruction's apathy.' There is no age exempt from the inevitable doom, which falls, undistinguishing, upon the early bloom of beauty, and the brow blanched by the snows of seventy winters; no condition too lowly to be overlooked by the angel of death, nor too lofty for his unerring shafts to reach.

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Descend into its noiseless and gloomy chambers, and you behold the prince and the peasant, the proud and the humble, the wise and the weak, reposing side by side, their hopes, ambition, love, hate, all the wild passions, which animated their living breasts, rebuked and abased before the mighty

king of terrors: There the lips of the eloquent are speechless, the voice of patriot fervor is dumb. There is the banner of a thousand victories furled forever; the hero has fought his latest battle, and his purple robe of triumph is exchanged for the pall of death, and the vanquished conqueror is companion of the worm. And there lie the benefactors of their nation and their race, the statesmen, whose noble spirits stemmed the torrent of oppression when it rolled against their country, whose ardor nerved the arm of the warriors that defended her in the stricken field, and whose genius and wisdom championed and upheld her sacred cause. For mortality is the common lot of man.

The friends of the human family, the fathers of our Independence, are taken from us by Him, in whose grasp are the issues of life. We repine not at the privation. We inherit their fame; we possess their example; our civil privileges are a legacy from them; their memory is embalmed in our hearts; their names are eternally identified with our free institutions; and having accomplished the duty assigned them on earth, they have received the boon of immortality in heaven. Peace be to their manes! We offer them the humble oblation of our profound reverence, our heart-felt gratitude.

Fellow citizens, I have done; but ere I go hence, ere the voice of the speaker has ceased to fall upon your ears, let us all unite, on this momentous and affecting occasion, in aspirations to the just God, who holds kingdoms and states, principalities and powers, in the hollow of his hand, that he would cause his choicest blessings to descend upon our beloved country.

The nations have fallen, and we still are young;
Our sun is but rising, when others are set.

May he give our rulers wisdom to discern and firmness to pursue the measures, which are best calculated to promote the good of the land. May he inspire us all with emotions of gratitude for that we have the enjoyment of civil and reli-

gious freedom. May he continue to us the blessings of peace and of internal tranquillity. As he has enabled the American eagle to soar aloft with healing in his wings, may he give him strength to continue his flight through the heavens with unblenched majesty. May the bark of our national power, which he has launched upon the great deep, be fitted not to sail amid unruffled seas and summer skies alone, but to breast the rising surge and bear up against the sweeping blast. And as he has made our country the centre of the great solar system of civil freedom, may he not withhold his hand from fostering and protecting her, but enable her to flourish on, through many future ages, the ever-glorious and ever-free Columbia!

NOTE.

A few passages, omitted in the delivery of this Eulogy, are inserted in the printed copy.

Subjoined are the dates of the principal incidents in the lives of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, collected with some care, and believed to be substantially correct. Much information as to their diplomatic employments may be found in a valuable work lately published in Boston, entitled "Diplomacy of the United States."

JOHN ADAMS

was born at Quincy, in the State of Massachusetts, October 19th 1735, of John and Susannah Boylston Adams. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1755.

Afterwards he was teacher of the grammar school in Worcester, and studied law there under Col. James Putnam until 1758.

In 1758 he was admitted to the practice of law; and in 1761 to the degree of barrister.

In 1770 he was chosen a representative from the town of Boston in the legislature of Massachusetts.

The same year, he, assisted by Josiah Quincy, jun. and S. S. Blowers, defended Capt. Preston, and the soldiers, who fired, at his order, upon the inhabitants of Boston.

In 1774 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts council, and negatived by Gov. Gage. In this year and the next, he wrote the numbers called *Nov-Anglus*.

The same year he was appointed a member of the continental congress from Massachusetts, and become one of the most efficient and able advocates of liberty.

In July 1776 he was the adviser and great supporter of the Declaration of Independence. It was reported by a committee composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Philip Livingston, and Roger Sherman.

During the same year, he, with Dr. Franklin and Edward Rutledge, was deputed to treat with Lord Howe for the pacification of the Colonies.

In November 1777 he was appointed a commissioner to the court of France in place of Silas Deane, who was recalled.

In April 1779 Congress passed a vote tantamount to the censure on all the commissioners in Europe, excepting Adams alone.

In 1779, having returned from Europe, he was a member of the convention for framing the constitution of Massachusetts, and drafted a considerable part of it.

In August 1779 he was appointed to go to Europe as commissioner for a general peace.

In December 1780 congress passed a vote of thanks to him for his services in Europe.

In 1781 he negotiated a very favorable treaty with the Dutch Provinces.

In June 1781 he was associated with Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, in a plenipotentiary commission for concluding treaties of peace with the several European powers.

In 1783 he was associated with Franklin and Jay for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with Great Britain.

In 1785 he was chosen Minister to Great Britain.

In 1787 he published at London the *Defence of the American Constitution*.

In October 1787, at his request, he was permitted to return home, and a remarkable vote of thanks to him was passed in congress.

In 1789 he was elected first Vice President of the United States under the new constitution ; and was re-elected in 1793.

In 1797 he was elected President of the United States.

He retired into private life in 1801, Jefferson being elected President in opposition to him ;—and resided at his estate in Quincy until the time of his death.

In 1817 he was one of the electors of President, the year of the election of James Monroe.

1820 he was returned a member of the convention for revising the constitution of Massachusetts, and elected President thereof by a nearly unanimous vote. Upon this occasion on motion of chief Justice Parker, a series of resolutions was passed by this enlightened body, containing the highest praise of his patriotism. He declined the chair on account of his great age.

He died at Quincy late in the afternoon of July 4th, 1826.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

was born April 2d, O. S. 1743, at a place called Shadwell, in the county of Albemarle, and State of Virginia, a short distance from Monticello. His family were among the earliest emigrants from England. His father, Peter Jefferson, was known as one of the commissioners for determining the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, and left his son an extensive and valuable estate.

He was graduated at the College of William and Mary, and was educated for the bar, under the celebrated George Wythe, late Chancellor of Virginia, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

He continued in the practice of law but a short time. Soon after coming of age, he became a member of the Virginia legislature, in which he quickly attained distinction. Some of the best controversial political pieces of the day are attributed to his pen.

In 1775 he was made a member of the continental congress, of which he was one of the chief ornaments.

In July 1776 he wrote the Declaration of Independence.

In 1778 he was chosen by congress minister to France, with Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin, but declined accepting the office, and Arthur Lee was appointed in his place.

Between 1777 and 1779 he was employed, conjointly with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton, on a commission for revising the laws of Virginia, which was executed with much labor and ability.

In 1779 he succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia.

In 1781 he composed the Notes on Virginia.

In 1782 he was again member of congress; and the same year wrote the preamble to the constitution of Virginia.

In 1784 he was associated with Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens, in a plenipotentiary commission addressed to the several powers of Europe for the purpose of concluding treaties of commerce.

In 1785 he was elected minister to France.

In 1789 he was appointed the first Secretary of State under the new constitution, which office he resigned in December 1793.

In 1797 he was elected Vice President of the United States. While in this office, he composed his Manual of Parliamentary Practice.

In 1801 he was elected President of the United States in opposition to John Adams.

In April 1803 he procured the cession from France of the province of Louisiana.

In 1805 he was re-elected President of the United States.

He retired from political life in 1809, and has devoted his efforts for many years past to the establishment of the University of Virginia, of which he was visiter and rector.

He died at Monticello, about 1 o'clock, on the afternoon of July 4th, 1826.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

July, 17th 1826.

BY C. C. CAMBRELENG.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—We are about in common with millions of Freemen, to unite our sympathies at the tombs of our Illustrious Countrymen. I should be wanting in respect to their great names were I not to express my unaffected regret that the office of pronouncing their eulogium had not been assigned to one more familiar with their lives and characters. I have also to regret that the time allowed me has been brief—too brief for preparation, and I fear the kind anticipations which may have been indulged will not be realized; but I rely with some confidence on the inspiring nature of the subject. Humble indeed must be the mind that could not be elevated by the grandeur of the occasion, and feeble that eloquence which should entirely fail to touch the sympathies of an assembly where every heart glows with patriotism, and every bosom swells with the magnitude of a nation's gratitude and sorrow.

The events which have caused our assemblage, appear to belong to some wonderful age, and are calculated to revive the recollections of remote ages. We are reminded of the histories of nations which have long preceded ours in the march of time—whose palaces and monuments are mingled with the dust—of nations which believed themselves to be peculiarly under the protection of Divine Providence. If there ever was a people who might dare to indulge this pious and consoling hope, it is surely the American people. The evidences are scattered through our history. We are not dis-

posed to assume for ourselves special favor and protection—still less to be credulous; but if in the present instance we should yield something to a singular coincidence of events, our credulity must be pardoned: for the chronicle of a single day cannot but shake the most stubborn convictions of adamantine infidelity. It is but a few days since, that we were all assembled, commemorating our Independence and celebrating our 50th National Festival—the voice of our rejoicings reverberated from Maine to Orleans—from the ocean to the wilderness—the cannon of our Jubilee waked the spirits of the mighty dead—millions of freemen were offering up their gratitude—were chanting loud hosannas to the Most High God for his infinite and rich mercies—at this sublime moment, it would seem as if the trumpet of the arch-angel had sounded—as if the splendid mysteries of the heavens had been unfolded to man, and as if the Mighty Ruler of the Universe, from his radiant throne on high, had deigned to smile on their rejoicings and to bless their Jubilee. From among the multitude he summoned two of his faithful servants—of those instruments whom he had chosen to execute his great national work—he sent his heavenly messengers to announce to them that their race was run—their earthly labors were complete. Thus manifesting to us his special favor and protection, apparently revealing to all mankind that this is his chosen land, and stamping our glorious festival with heaven's seal of immortality.

Thus, Fellow Citizens, have our illustrious countrymen been miraculously gathered to their fathers: the inspired author, and eloquent advocate of our Declaration of Independence. They toiled together in the field—they lived to reap the most splendid harvest that man ever gathered upon earth—they died together—let them be forever united in our memories. What though they differed in their views of constitutional power—what though they were both competitors for the favor of the American people—though they ran the noble race of ambition, and one was perhaps swifter than the other

—the contest was momentary—it is long since past. We have in the instance of these illustrious men and in the spontaneous union of our sympathies on this occasion, an admirable comment on the happy influence of our free institutions, of that liberalizing toleration which allows full latitude to all our opinions, and teaches us to feel a mutual respect which triumphs over party colisions, and that generous friendship which outlives its storms. Our countrymen were together in patriotism and in death—those whom God hath so wonderfully united it would be impious to put asunder.

To transmit to posterity an account of the lives and characters of these illustrious men will be the office of the biographer. We can do little more than sketch a brief outline of some of their public services. The late venerable Adams, was early distinguished for his ardent defence of the principles of civil liberty and fearless resistance of oppression in Faneuil Hall.—In the Congress of '76, he was among the most eloquent and patriotic advocates of our Independence: and in enforcing the necessity of our Declaration of Independence, with prophetic vision, he foresaw the high destinies his country would reach. Subsequently, during the most eventful period of the revolution, he was engaged in a diplomatic capacity abroad, and honorably known as the indefatigable and faithful agent of his country in procuring the means for our defence and securing the friendship of European nations. But wherever this distinguished man appeared, whether in Faneuil Hall, in the Congress of '76, or in Europe, at home or abroad, he was ever the eloquent enthusiastic and incorruptible patriot, with Roman firmness and more than Roman virtue; and so long as the recollections of revolutionary services shall live in our memories, the names of John and Samuel Adams will not be forgotten. This venerable patriot lived to an advanced age—honored and respected. His powers were gradually declining for some time previous to his death. On the fourth, his faculties appeared to sink to eternal rest—nature was about to surrender her office to her God—the can-

non of our Jubilee waked the dying patriot to momentary life—he inquired and was told the cause—in the accents of death he articulated “It is a great and glorious day”—it was the last impulse of patriotism—the last flash of intellect—the attending angel guided his spirit to its immortal associate, which still rested mid-way in the air, poised upon the wing—the associate spirits took their flight to the footstool of the Great God, there to render together an account of their stewardship.

In turning to the immortal Jefferson—the patriot—philanthropist—philosopher and statesman, I feel how entirely inadequate are the powers of my poor pencil to sketch even a brief outline of his character, his virtues, and his public services. In his character were admirably blended, simplicity and dignity of manners, philanthropy and integrity of heart—with an intellect acute and discriminating, grand and comprehensive. His philosophical mind was alike familiar with the natural, political, and moral worlds. The naturalist was proud to claim him as an associate, and the moralist enrolled his name among the most original and profound thinkers : but in these regions, his excursions were but the involuntary, irrepressible operations of an expansive and vigorous mind. To us and to the world he appears as the political philosopher and statesman whose life was devoted to the rights, the interests and the happiness of mankind. As one of that small but illustrious family of men, who appear at times in the world to enlighten the age in which they live, to ameliorate the condition of their fellow men, to give impulse to public opinion, and to direct, in its onward course, the march of intellect, this great man appeared at a most interesting crisis.—A new world was rising—the affairs of men, of nations, and of governments, were about to be revolutionized—and re-adjusted upon more just principles and on a plan more accordant with the rights and happiness of mankind. He was designed by nature for our age and our country.—Profound in his knowledge of human nature, and familiar with the history of man through all ages, he had satisfied himself that the happiest and best plan of pro-

protecting person and property and of securing order and tranquillity, was, through a government of the people administered by agents chosen periodically, and frequently from the bosom of society. Reversing the ancient fiction that the *King* can do no wrong—it was a fundamental maxim of his political philosophy, that the *people* could do no wrong. His confidence was in them—his jealous eye was ever fixed on power, in whatever shape or form it might appear. His historical learning had satisfied him that there was no revolutionary propensity among the mass of mankind, and that the convulsions of civil society were owing more to the governing than the governed—that they were more likely to be excited by oppression than to be caused by a restless spirit of resistance.

To these sound political opinions we may trace the origin of that splendid catalogue of public measures, which at once immortalize their author and embellish the history of his country.

The morning of his life opened with the production of that imperishable instrument, which vindicated the rights of man, announced to the world the dissolution of the tie which bound us in our colonial vassalage, and proclaimed to all mankind, that we “are, and of right ought to be, free, sovereign and independent.” Had his life closed at this period he had secured for himself immortality—for wherever light and liberty shall drive ignorance and superstition before them, the name of Jefferson will be known as the benefactor of the human race.—Yes, Fellow Citizens, we may with confidence anticipate that the time will yet arrive when this great charter of the rights of man shall be translated into every living tongue—when the spirit of independence shall diffuse new life and energy throughout the world.

To his foresight and wisdom and to his principles are we indebted for that happy adjustment of power which we find in our constitutions. There were at that time, enlightened, great, and honest men, who sincerely believed that the only

method to secure the rights of the citizen and to preserve order and tranquillity, was to strengthen the arm of government with every power which the people could be persuaded to surrender. Confident of their error, he resisted all such plans of government and secured that just distribution of power between the Federal Government, the States, and the people, which is above all things calculated to insure durability to our institutions.

To his humane and just principles are we indebted for the measure prohibiting the importation of slaves—then an alarming and a growing evil—always a curse—happily for our country, not of our own creation, but a wretched inheritance from those who had governed us before the revolution.

To his exertions was his native state indebted, and the rest of the world through her example, for the abolition of entails and of the principle of primogeniture. A reform designed to prevent, as far as human laws could prevent, those accumulations of wealth, and that growth of aristocracy, which had been in other countries and might be in this, so destructive to civil liberty. To these may be added the measure dissolving the unnatural union between church and state, and securing to every man the sacred privilege of worshipping his God according to his faith.

The three measures to which I have referred, were limited in their sphere of operation, but their importance is not therefore diminished—they lie at the very foundations of liberty in every country. And were the enlightened statesmen of Europe to incorporate these three principles with their constitutions and laws, we should no longer be referred to the premature convulsion of France and the stifled efforts of Piedmont, Naples, and Spain, as the sad evidences that Europe is not prepared for our liberal form of government. Indeed, we have already some indications of the silent but irresistible influence of one of these principles. The principle of primogeniture was abolished in France—such was the effect, that government became alarmed. At a late session of the cham-

ber of deputies, the monarch recommended the restoration of the principle and the ministers advocated it; but the people resisted it—and the people triumphed. Happy will it be for France should they continue to triumph, but fatal to the power of the monarch.

Our country is largely indebted to the illustrious Jefferson, for having guided its councils in peace, and for having administered its government upon constitutional principles; next and next only, to the service rendered to a country by establishing a free and constitutional government, is the office of restoring it, after a lapse of years and an accumulation of power, (a result inevitable under every form,) to its original character and simplicity. He watched the growth of power with a jealous eye, and arrested its tide at the first flood. He brought legislation back within what he believed to be its constitutional boundaries, and restored power to its ancient distribution, between the government, the states and the people. He retired from the councils of the nation with his principles unchanged—power could not corrupt the man—nor its selfish sophistries seduce the philosopher and statesman—he retired from public life with the same confidence in the people, the same jealousy of power and the same reverence for the constitution.

He retired from office, but not to repose—he sought the shades of retirement—but not to resign himself like a Charles to Monkish superstition, not yet like others, who on leaving public life, seem at once to sink into oblivion, “the world forgetting, by the world forgot.” His ambition was not so selfish as to require the impulse of continued elevation—his life was devoted to the cause of mankind—and his labors were uniform, whether guiding the destinies of a nation, or seeking new lights amidst the speculations of philosophy. Freed from the anxieties of public life, he returned with all the alacrity of youthful ambition, to those paths of science from whence the public voice had called him. His evening was employed in explaining to his young countrymen the mysteries of sci-

ence—and in analyzing the principles of philosophy. The stranger visited him as one among the few monuments our country could boast, and shared the simple but refined hospitality of the Sage of Monticello. Near the close of his long and useful life, his physical powers gradually declined, but his vigorous mind retained all its faculties to the last. Sensible of his approaching dissolution, a day or two previous to our anniversary, he had communed with the members of his family, and directed that he should be buried without pomp or parade. The body had wasted away—but the energies of a powerful mind, struggling with expiring nature, kept the vital spark alive till the meridian sun shone on our 50th Anniversary—then content to die—the illustrious Jefferson gave to the world his last declaration. “I have done,” said he, “for my country, and for all mankind, all that I could, and I now resign my soul, without fear, to my God, my daughter to my country.” He was buried according to his directions—without pomp—without parade—no cannon announced the funeral march to his tomb—no muffled drum’s dead note—no dirge.—He was buried in all the simplicity becoming true greatness. He has followed a Washington and a Franklin—who with him will live in the gratitude of mankind, till the last of records shall have perished with the last of men.

There is perhaps, Fellow Citizens, no spectacle more instructing or grateful to mankind, none more sublime, than that of a nation of freemen lamenting the loss of two such illustrious men; both of whom had directed the councils of their country, and both of whom had retired to the bosom of private society and to the condition of private life. It is a nation of freemen mourns, and for no monarchs dead; but for those whose names will outlive in fame the glorious diadem, and imperial name. We see not around us the solemn pomp and pageantry of the Court, nor the sullen sorrow of the benighted vassal—we hear not the wild cry of the Cossac, the Calmuc and the Tartar,—it is liberty and intelligence, morality and devotion, weeping at the tomb of patriotism.

But why should we mourn. Our countrymen have been taken from among us on the day which of all others they would have chosen for themselves—on the only day when we should have been willing to part with them. Men never reaped on earth a harvest like theirs. They had lived to see the wilderness bloom with civilization—the hills and the vallies rejoicing—to see their country rising in power, wealth and population. They had seen the sons rivaling their gallant sires, and raising for themselves a monument rich with the inscriptions of naval and military glories. They had seen them engaged in four wars—with France, Tripoli, Algiers and England—and concluding all in triumph. The venerable Adams, who, fifty years ago, had seen one war commence with his neighbors' cottages blazing around him, with the slaughter of a brave but half armed yeomanry at Lexington, Concord and Breed's Hill, lived to see another war closed in a glorious triumph—to see the children avenge the father's wrongs, and the yeoman's blood avenged by yeoman's arms, on the plains of Orleans.

The illustrious Jefferson saw the great Valley of the West, pouring fourth her gallant legions in the public cause—and that new world which he had added to ours, become the theatre of our glory. They who had once seen this land in an infant, colonial and vassal condition, saw their country in less than half a century rising to the first rank among nations—nay (there is no vain glory in the truth) marching in the van of nations, the most powerful of all.—The most powerful—for in this revolutionized age the power of a nation is not to be measured by population, armies and fleets; but by its moral power; and where is that nation boasting a moral power equal to that of twelve millions of freemen? Tell me not of England's power—it is unsubstantial—it is artificial and declining. It never can revive till the children shall share the father's inheritance, till man shall be permitted to worship his God according to his faith—till the three kingdoms shall be confederated on the basis

of equal rights and privileges—till Ireland; persecuted Ireland, shall enjoy civil and religious liberty. It never can revive till England ceases to waste her millions in carrying war and desolation to the remote and unoffending Indies, while in the heart of her own empire the quivering lips of poverty supplicate charity and pale visaged famine announces approaching dissolution. We say not these things in bitterness—nor in derision—we are friends, and I trust we shall long continue so. But we say them in the hope that the enlightened ministers of that country, rejecting all ancient superstitions, will proceed fearlessly onward in their march of reform, till the land from whence our forefathers sprung shall be refreshed and invigorated, and become as free and as happy as is the land of their adoption.

Our illustrious countrymen lived to see the principles they had advocated in '76, spreading through the world—to see the plant they had watered in the morning, ere their evening closed in darkness, lifting its top to the heavens, and spreading its branches and overshadowing countries beyond the Andes. They had seen the Proclamation of Independence waking the nations of the South, and refreshing them with light and liberty. They heeded not the cloud which passeth o'er Colombia; for they knew the rallying word of every patriot Colombian would be Union and the Constitution. They saw the banner of freemen floating on the walls of Athens—the spirit of Independence warring with the crescent and rousing the long slumbering Greek to arms. They lived to sympathize with the sufferings of that devoted country; for their own had once been the theatre of revolutionary calamities and they knew how to sympathize. Yes, Fellow Citizens, we, of more modern times, may sketch imaginary scenes of war and of oppression—but would we know them, we must appeal to those who shared in the war of our Independence—we must appeal to the veteran remnant of other days, whom I see near me, for they have seen and felt what it is impossible for us ever to realize. They have seen a

country ravaged by an unsparing enemy ; they have felt the iron hand of oppression : they have felt that desolating feeling which borders on despair—the patriots despair of the public cause. When our illustrious countrymen heard of the sufferings of Greece, of the shrieks of women, the slaughter of children, and the dying groans of age—when they heard of Missolonghi's fall and Missolonghi's tears, and when they saw all Europe looking on this spectacle with folded arms, they might well have exclaimed with the eloquent Burke, " We thought ten thousand swords would have leaped from their scabbards to avenge their wrongs—but their age of chivalry is gone, that of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever." But these illustrious men despaired not of the cause of Greece for they had seen the hour when in the fluctuating fortunes of war we had lost all but our honor—still Independence triumphed—they lived to hope that the wrongs of Greece would yet be avenged, and that the day would come when the banner of freemen would wave triumphantly on the walls of Bizantium. Our countrymen had seen in half a century the new world revolutionized, and lived to hope that the old in another half century would follow its example—they saw their country, and they left her in peace with all the world—in the full tide of prosperity—in the steady march to higher and yet higher destinies—they could see no more—they died full of years, of honors and of glory—they sleep in peace.

Fellow Citizens, the monuments of other days are falling around us—but one solitary monument of the immortal Congress of '76 remains—long may he continue among us to receive the annual offerings of a nation's gratitude and respect. In a little time but few will be spared of that veteran and gallant band who were true to the cause of Independence in the darkest hour of our revolutionary storms—some yet remain with us : but like the illustrious Jefferson they devoted their lives and fortunes to the public cause, and like him they are

doomed in the twilight to feel the chills of poverty. There are few, and I now see some of them in this assembly, who fifty years ago braved summer and winter, the prison, the scalping knife and the sword—who toiled in blood for our Independence. The work of our ancestors is finished : ours is not, Fellow Citizens. We have their inheritance—it is great in power and glory—it is rich in wealth—let us make a pious and just use of it—let us not suffer the grey hairs of patriotism to go “with sorrow to the grave.”

And now, Fellow Citizens, let us recur once more to the last will and testament of the immortal Jefferson. “I have done for my country and for all mankind, all that I could, and I now resign my soul, without fear, to my God, my daughter to my country”—his soul to his God—his daughter to his country. This is no affair of private charity—however pious and patriotic the motive, it is repugnant to the dignity of a nation of freemen—this is no state concern—the patriotic Jefferson recognized no such distinction—“My daughter to my country”—Fellow Citizens, she is yours—she is the daughter of your adoption—she shall be cherished and protected by twelve millions of freemen.

Let us Americans, in closing our solemnities, again advert to this astonishing coincidence of events. How beautiful and sublime a feature will that day appear in the history of our country—how wonderful to those who come after us—how incomprehensible to others in some remote age, to whom these events will appear like the splendid fables of antiquity. They have given a new, a deeper, and a more solemn interest to our National Festival : and long after the last of our revolutionary Fathers shall have been gathered in immortal folds—in ages yet to come, shall we annually assemble round our council fires, not only to celebrate the deeds of our ancestors—not only in the language of the immortal Jefferson “to pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honors” to maintain our Independence forever inviolate—but to tell of the wonders of that day, on which our illustrious countrymen were summoned together to appear before their God.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,

July, 20th 1826.

BY SAMUEL SMITH.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens!—I have been selected by the constituted authorities to perform a duty this day. It had been my wish, and I expressed it from the sincerity of my heart, that some person more competent—some gentleman whose habits and education better fitted him for this melancholy duty—some man of real eloquence, should be requested to perform the duty upon this solemn occasion.—I was overruled—the importunity of friends prevailed, and the honor devolved on me—more from my having been a cotemporary of those illustrious men, whose deaths we mourn and whose acts we meet to commemorate, than from any other cause.

Fellow Countrymen ! Americans!—Wherefore this great assemblage ? Why this roar of cannon and dismal tolling of the bells ? Why these badges of mourning ? Are all these intended to commemorate the death of some Hero, as the ancient Romans did, who by his great victories had slain thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow men—had deluged the earth with blood—had spread desolation all around—had caused whole armies to pass under the yoke—and had reduced millions to slavery ? No ! we meet to mourn the death of two illustrious citizens—the Fathers of their country, and benefactors of mankind—men whose virtuous acts and noble deeds are deeply impressed upon the heart of every true American.

Fellow Countrymen!—Jefferson and Adams are no more! Holy Patriarchs of the Revolution! Conscript Fathers of the Republic! You are gone! You have fought the good fight, and have winged your flight from this field of your fame to the regions of eternal bliss, to receive your reward in Heaven! Twin sons of Liberty! Mighty Spirits! You have accomplished the task which was allotted to you—and if it be permitted to departed spirits to look back upon this world—seated on the left hand of the father of his country, you enjoy the outpourings of a nation's gratitude! What a spectacle! A mighty nation—a whole People, moving in solemn procession to the funeral of their sons—gathering as one family around their graves, raising with one voice the loud anthem to their praise—and joining with one heart in offering up a fervent prayer to the Almighty! The mighty spirit of party is laid! All the fierce passions of our nature are rebuked—and every other feeling is hushed into the deep, still sentiment of gratitude.

But do we mourn as those without comfort? As men deprived of all consolation? No, we ought rather and we do give praise and thanksgivings to that All-powerful Being who superintends and directs the destinies of men and of nations, for having spared them to us so long—for having endowed them with talents, with virtue, with eloquence, and all the high qualifications essential to the attainment of the great object—the Freedom and Independence of this great and glorious nation. For having inspired them with that love of country which burnt bright even in the last moments of their lives; and above all for that political firmness, which knew no change and feared no danger.

Fellow Countrymen!—It may be proper before I proceed to the consideration of the virtues and acts of these conspicuous men, to take a rapid view of the origin and progress of our beloved country, and the causes which led to its separation from the parent country. Parent, did I say? Yes, but to us, her conduct was that of a cruel step-mother—trammelling

our commerce—laying odious burthens upon our trade—restraining our intercourse with the world—and fixing every badge of slavery upon us. Yes, we were to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, for her more favored sons.—But to proceed—Let us look back and see how, from a little handful of adventurous spirits, who overburthened and persecuted at home, sought refuge and an asylum in this Western World—in America—destined to become the future abode of liberty—“the land of the free and the home of the brave,” we have sprung into a large and powerful nation. A little more than two centuries ago the first settlement was made in this country !

In the year 1607 the first permanent settlement was made at Jamestown, in Virginia. The second was made by the Pilgrims at Plymouth, in 1620.

The difficulties which the Virginians had to encounter, were many and great. An unhealthy situation, and surrounded by numerous tribes of Indians, under a great Sachem, whose actual powers extending from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Potomac, was bounded only by the mountains—and whose influence reached even to the waters of the Susquehanna. This mighty chief, who was friendly at first, soon became jealous and hostile when he found that the white man had come to settle permanently among them.—Pestilence and war made sad havoc among them, and the remaining few, inexperienced and not the best calculated for settling and cultivating a new country, made but slow progress. Not so, their brothers, the Pilgrims—these were a people of a different character. They had been the hardy cultivators of the soil in their own country—they had been inured to adversity—they had been persecuted and driven from their homes by the hard hand of political tyranny—and what they estimated (if possible) as still more grievous, by the spirit of religious intolerance. They too, were more fortunate in their situation, and more happy in their connexions. They were received with kindness by the natives, and formed a

peace with Massasoit, the great chief of that country, which lasted fifty years. New settlers of a similar character arrived—driven from their country by the turbulence of the times, and sat down at different points of the same territory.—These, with the natural increase, enabled them to extend themselves to the Connecticut, and along its waters. But these separate detachments, governed as they were in the patriarchal form, seemed incapable of defending themselves—they saw the necessity of union—they met by delegates in 1643, and formed a body for mutual defence. This was not only wise but fortunate—for Massasoit their great friend died—a new chief arose. Philip, a man of great personal bravery and much sagacity, became king of the nation. This wily savage secretly formed a combination of all the tribes, and fell suddenly on all their frontiers in 1675. The consequences you may conceive. But did the settlers despair? did they waver? No! they flew to their arms—not only defended themselves nobly, but prostrated the power of the savages, killed Philip their king, and restored peace to the settlement—and this too without the aid of a single man from the parent country—all was done by their own stout hearts—their own strong arms.—Peace and tranquillity being restored, their population and strength rapidly increased, and prepared them for new and greater trials.

Near the commencement of the last century, the French, jealous of our increase and prosperity, under that gallant leader, Count Frontenac, aided by the savage tribes, suddenly attacked the Colonies and carried death and devastation along all our borders. The frontiers were laid waste—the settlers murdered or driven from their homes. But did our ancestors despond? No! my fellow countrymen, despondence is no part of the American character. They flew to arms; met and defeated the enemy—carried the war into his own country, and took Nova Scotia, from whence they had been greatly annoyed. Did the parent country give them any assistance either in men or money?—No! none. And I men-

tion this that our youth may know that the assertion made by Great Britain, that they had at great expense nurtured us in our youth, and protected us from our enemies when unable to defend ourselves, was not founded in fact.

The crown foreseeing a war with France, passed orders in 1754 for the Colonies to depute delegates to Albany, to form some system under which the joint efforts of the whole might be brought to operate, as well for mutual defence as for offensive operations; for heretofore they had acted (except the New England Colonies) separately—each defending its own frontiers against the inroads of the Indians and the encroachments of the French. The delegates met and formed a system which was rejected as well by the crown as by the assemblies of the Colonies. The plan was—a general council of the Colonies, with a governor-general, who was to have a veto and be paid by the crown. The assemblies (already jealous) rejected it as giving too much power to the crown—and the crown refused it, lest it should show the Colonies their own strength when united, which at a future period might become inconvenient. The war of '56 (as it was called) terminated gloriously in 1763. During its continuance the Colonies furnished more than their proportion of both men and money—the crown acknowledged it—a part of the money was returned, and thanks were given to the Colonies for their gallant exertions. The New England Colonies and New York alone furnished fifteen thousand men, and expended more than a million of pounds sterling. Canada, and all the French possessions in America, being ceded to Great Britain, the Colonies deemed themselves happy. No enemy on their borders. No one to make them afraid—all dwelling in safety under their own vines. Alas! my fellow citizens, how transient was their joy! how short a time was allowed them to exult for their success and for the glory they had attained. The mother country instigated by a weak and misguided ministry, in less than a year after the peace declared that *—Parliament had the right to tax the Colonies—*and actually

did in 1764 impose duties on certain articles exported to the Colonies. Those duties being payable in Great Britain, the act was not actually opposed—but created no little discontent among the colonists. The claim of the right of taxation was the hinge upon which the revolution ultimately turned.

In accordance with that claim, and that policy, Parliament passed the famous Stamp Act. That act created one burst of indignation from Maine to Georgia. This wanton invasion of our rights was met at the threshold—was resisted with firmness and with effect. The act was repealed—but with the assertion of the right to tax us at pleasure—a claim which was put in practice again, by another act passed in 1767, imposing duties to be collected *in the Colonies*, on TEA, and various other articles. That act met with general opposition; a firm and vigorous resistance was made to it throughout the Colonies. The indignant colonists spurned from them luxuries, aye, even necessaries, which could not be obtained without degradation. The articles on which the duties were levied were not permitted to be landed. The *Tea* being the principal article, was sent back from some ports; and that which arrived at Boston, that cradle of the revolution, was cast into the sea, was thrown overboard. This spirited resistance caused parliament to pass other acts still more obnoxious; among others the odious and infamous Boston Port Bill. These acts however did not pass without opposition; the virtuous Lord Chatham frowned upon them; that enlightened statesman, in the love of his country, forgot not the rights of the Colonies. He told them in prophetic language what would be the consequences of their wild and mad administration; he told them that taxation without representation could not and would not be submitted to by Englishmen or the sons of Englishmen. That the Colonies ought, as free men and Englishmen, to resist by arms, if a milder course was not adopted. Every thing tended to an open rupture, and the Colonies, true to themselves, prepared for the consequences. They chose delegates to meet in Congress at Philadelphia; and they did meet on the 5th of September, 1774.

In that body Mr. Adams appeared ; his character was already well known, and was well suited to the times. To talents of the highest order, eloquence the most commanding, and an honest devotion to the cause of his country, he added that firmness of character, for which he was distinguished through life. Prior to that period, he had upon all occasions stood forth openly and boldly in defence of the rights of his country, and in opposition to the injustice and encroachments of Great Britain. He boldly opposed them by his advice, his actions and his eloquence ; and with other worthies, succeeded in spreading a proper alarm for their liberties among the people. Mr. Adams was placed upon the first, and most important Committees. During the first year, addresses were prepared to the king, to the people of England, of Ireland, Canada and Jamaica. The name of Mr. Adams is found upon almost all those important Committees. His firmness and eloquence in debate, soon gave him a standing among the highest in that august body.

The crown, deceived by the intrigues of designing men, lent a deaf ear to every entreaty ; the addresses of Congress were treated with contempt, and the most irritating and insulting answers returned ; submission, and submission alone, would be accepted, and troops were sent to Boston to enforce it.

In April, 1775, all hope of an honorable accommodation ceased with the battle of Lexington, and the Colonies flew to their arms. The people sustained the Congress ; and all was considered as submitted to the fate of war, in all the preparations for which, Adams was always found active, firm, and eminently useful. In June, 1775, Jefferson took his seat in Congress. He appeared in that august body with the character of an able writer, a profound politician—whose whole soul was devoted to the cause of his country. These two matchless men formed a sincere friendship for each other, which terminated only with their lives. They entered heartily into each others views, and side by side they moved steadily in the cause of their country. It is believed that Mr. Ad-

ams had early thought of Independence. Few, very few had—indeed Congress had declared that no such intention had been contemplated. Times and circumstances had changed, and both those great men had come to the conclusion that it had become now indispensable to strike for Independence. On the 15th May, 1776, a committee of which Adams was chairman, with Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Rutledge reported—“That it is irreconcilable to reason and good conscience, any longer to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and they recommend to the States to form governments competent to manage their affairs, independent of the crown.” This resolution was virtually a Declaration of Independence—and so the Colonies understood it—and they instructed their members to consent to such a Declaration. Congress having considered the subject, appointed Jefferson as Chairman, with Adams, Franklin, Sherman and Livingston, a committee to prepare the draft of a Declaration. It is stated by Adams, that he and Jefferson were appointed a sub-committee—that Jefferson presented a draft, which was adopted by the committee, and reported to Congress, where it was approved, after a few alterations, which all who will compare the original draft with the present Declaration, will agree, impaired the beauty and the force of that celebrated instrument. It passed Congress on the 4th July, 1776, and was signed immediately by all present, and being spread upon the table was signed by such as had been absent, as they took their seats in the House. The whole number of signers was fifty-six—all of them high in the estimation of their countrymen—most of them men of splendid talents—devoted to their country. Self-interest held no place in their bosoms. Love of country was their ruling passion; their governing principle. Never was there a time which called for greater fortitude—greater moral courage; and never did a body possess them in a higher degree, than the Congress of '76; almost every man is possessed of animal courage. Those of us, who armed in our country's cause, had no danger but that of battle to encounter.

Most of us would have been of too little consequence for public execution, in case we had failed in our struggle for liberty. But those great men who signed their names to the Declaration, did it under a knowledge that British vengeance would single them out, and fall most heavily upon them. Their lives would have been forfeited; their estates confiscated, and their families thrown penniless on the world. They boldly met all the consequences; and at what a time! one capable of appalling the stoutest heart! General Howe had arrived with the advanced guard of a large army, and on that very day, the 4th of July, 1776—when Congress, having before drawn the sword, had thrown away the scabbard—he landed at Staten Island. Curious coincidence! all were not prepared for so bold, so decided—I had almost said, so desperate a step as the Declaration of our Independence. Some of the best and the bravest in that more than Roman Senate, doubted its propriety at that time. But Adams in the ardor of his patriotism overleaped all difficulties—confirmed the wavering by his wisdom and firmness—convinced the doubtful by the force of his arguments, and enlisted all by his eloquence. He was indeed, as the great Jefferson said of him, when asked what was his character and conduct in that body—“The pillar of support of Independence on the floor of Congress—its ablest advocate against the multifarious assaults it had to encounter. No man merited more than Mr. Adams.”² One member particularly, of great moral worth, and possessing great influence, who had been an early and a warm assertor of his country’s rights, in the honesty of his heart, thought we ought not then to declare ourselves independent. He depicted in glowing colors the miserable condition we were in to meet the invading foe. A raw and undisciplined force; badly armed, badly clothed, and wanting almost all the materials for war, to meet a large army, highly disciplined, well commanded, and possessing all the necessaries of war. Mr. Adams met these arguments with eloquence, with firmness, and with success. The Declaration of Independence went

forth to the world. It was every where received by the people with joyful acclamation ; it pointed them to Liberty and Independence. They saw that it had now become a question whether they should remain in colonial subservience, or rise into the dignity of a free and independent people, and they hesitated not to risk their all upon the issue. The idea of Independence, before this, had not been thought of among the people ; but they knew in whom they had reposed their confidence—they bowed to the wisdom of Congress and sustained them. Some there were however among us, who could not reconcile themselves to a separation from the mother country.

It is not my purpose to take a view of the war—its conduct and its various fortune. It terminated gloriously.

Mr. Adams it was said, had been sent on a special mission to France before the close of the war ; he afterwards returned and assisted in the formation of a Constitution for his native State.

Our freedom achieved, our intercourse with the governments of Europe as an independent people commenced, and again Adams was sent to Europe, joined in a commission with the great Franklin and others, to make a treaty of peace. Great difficulties occurred. Spain demanded a boundary, which would have been inconvenient to us, and France, our best friend, was her ally. It required great firmness and not a little delicacy, to meet that demand ; but it was successfully met ; and to the firmness of Mr. Adams has been chiefly ascribed the procuring the boundary demanded by the United States. Another great difficulty arose. The fisheries destined to be the future nursery of our navy, were in dispute ; and to Mr. Adams, I believe great merit was due for obtaining the right established by the treaty. [Here the orator took a comprehensive view of the incalculable advantages derived to the United States by affirming the right of the Fisheries.] Mr. Adams was charged with a special duty to Holland, the obtaining money, in which he was successful, procuring large

loans which were all-important to the nation. Thence he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to London ; an honor conferred on him and due to him for his eminent services. There, though a stern republican, he was graciously received by the king, who told him frankly, that " he was the last man in his kingdom to acknowledge our Independence, and that he would be the last to do any thing to disturb it."

Mr. Adams returned to the United States, and was elected Vice-President, in which capacity he served for eight years. It was a situation which afforded no opportunity for a display of his talents. His conduct as presiding officer over the Senate, was dignified and impartial, and secured the respect of that body and of the country. After the term of General Washington had expired, Mr. Adams was elected President of the United States. His conduct in that high station is known to you all, and it is unnecessary for me to go into its details. We all know, that the strongest mind will sometimes yield to the influence and opinions of others. He retired, after four years, to private life, in which he continued to his death ; respected by all who knew him, and beloved by his neighbors.

Mr. Jefferson was born in 1743. Having received the most liberal education, he studied law, and soon became conspicuous at the bar. Elected to the Assembly of Virginia before he was twenty-five years of age, he took an active and distinguished part in that enlightened body, especially against the encroachments of the mother country on our rights and liberty. The elegance of his composition gave him celebrity as a writer. His splendid talents, his perfect knowledge of the rights of man and of his country, his able defence against the aggression of Great Britain, drew the attention of his fellow citizens to him, and he was elected at the early age of thirty-two to Congress. His fame had preceded him, and his talents, eloquence, and great ability, soon introduced him into the active business of that distinguished body.

Being placed upon all important committees, many oppor-

tunities occurred for the display of his fine talents. He it was who drafted the protest of Congress against Lord North's motion. This, and indeed every act which he did, seem to increase his reputation. He had been but a short time in Congress, before it became obvious to him that we should have to cut ourselves loose from the mother country—to become free and independent. The spirit which suggested Independence could not be quiet; those great men who first dared to think of it, could not conceal the noble thought, the mighty conception. It passed like electricity from bosom to bosom, until all became animated with the same hope, the same spirit, the same ardent longing after Liberty—and they resolved to be free. His distinction as a writer, his fine acquirements, his zealous patriotism, the active part which he had taken in arousing the country to the present feeling, all marked Mr. Jefferson for the author of the great Charter of our Liberties, the Declaration of our Independence. Immortal man! thou hast indissolubly united thine and thy country's honor! Thy fame is so closely interwoven with her's, that she cherishes it as her own! Eulogy has been exhausted upon this celebrated instrument. Fifty years have been added to its interest. Millions repeat it each revolving anniversary. It will be read and admired throughout all time. The name of its immortal author—of our beloved Jefferson, shall go down with it to posterity, and become familiar to future generations as the great benefactor of mankind.

Mr. Jefferson, ever laboring in the cause of his country, from 1777 to 1779, was engaged with Wythe and Pendleton, two distinguished Virginians, in revising the laws of his native state. In 1779, he was elected Governor of Virginia, succeeding the celebrated Patrick Henry, who was the first Governor of Virginia after our Independence. In 1781, while Governor of the State, he wrote his Notes on Virginia—a book which gave him great celebrity as a writer, a philosopher, and enlightened statesman. In 1782, while in Congress, his native state being engaged in forming a constitution, he wrote

one and sent it to a friend in Virginia—it arrived too late—another one had just been adopted ; but the preamble was considered so beautiful, that they attached it to their Bill of Rights. It increased his reputation as a writer, and was much admired for its sound republican principles.

In 1784, he was sent to France with Franklin and Adams, on a plenipotentiary commission for the purpose of forming treaties with the several powers of Europe.

He there formed an intimate acquaintance with the literati of Europe, from whom he met with distinguished attention. They were astonished to see a man from the wilds of America, perfectly acquainted with both ancient and modern literature, capable to meet them on any scientific subject, and to give them lessons on the true principles of well regulated liberty.

Jefferson obtained leave to return home in 1789. On his arrival, or shortly after, he was selected by Washington as his Secretary of State. In this station he had great difficulties to contend with. Subjects of very great delicacy occurred. Genet, whom France had sent as her Minister here, appeared to think and act as if he were a Prefect—as if he were to direct the affairs of our nation, and dictate our course of conduct. Jefferson's predilections were strong in favor of France. He remembered the eminent and all-important services rendered to us by that great nation, in our utmost hour of need. And he was grateful, as all were. But true to his own country, ever regardful of her character and dignity, he repelled the interference of Genet, rebuked his insolence, and placed the weakness, injustice, and impolicy of his conduct in so glaring a light, that his government recalled him. Difficulties occurred with Great Britain, and Mr. Jefferson met them with firmness, and discussed them with a temper and ability which showed to the British government the inferiority of their Minister. Indeed Hammond was a mere infant in the hands of Mr. Jefferson. He was recalled, and Liston, considered and justly considered the ablest diplomatist in Great Britain, was

sent over. But even he was not equal to the task. The discussions between Mr. Jefferson and the agents of these two powers do him immortal honor.

His Reports, whilst Secretary of State, on moneys, on weights and measures, on the fisheries, and on the restriction of commerce, are ample attestations of the enlarged views of the philosopher, statesman, and financier.

In 1797 he was elected Vice President, in which high station he presided with great dignity and impartiality. He wrote a manual for the Senate, which is considered its rule of conduct.

In 1800 he was elected to the high and responsible office of President of the United States. His general conduct while in that office you all know; his republican simplicity—his devotion to his public duties. There are some particular acts of his, however, to which I will draw your attention—for having been an actor myself during the whole of his administration, in habits of familiar and confidential intercourse with him, I believe I am acquainted with the motives which governed him on those subjects. To review all the important acts of an administration which will long be held in high estimation, would be endless. I shall confine myself to a few of them; the most prominent, which related to the internal policy of the nation.

I well recollect that many good men apprehended that Jefferson would introduce a wild system of government, which would lead to anarchy and confusion; and many wise men were alarmed, and actually believed he would destroy the credit of the nation, by either repealing the funding system, or lessening the value of the public debt. How little did they know that great man! Amongst the first acts of his administration, was a bill passed appropriating eight millions of dollars per annum, as a permanent fund, to be applied to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt, until the whole should be paid. This fund had the preference of all other appropriations. This act removed

all idle fears. The public credit was strengthened and affirmed; and all Europe was taught to know that whatever party might prevail, the credit of the nation would be sustained—her faith and her honor held sacred and inviolate. Our stock rose in consequence of the increased confidence in the government, and the debt of the revolution (the three per cents excepted) is extinguished.

I recollect, too, that great apprehensions had been entertained by a considerable portion of the people, that Mr. Jefferson would prove unfriendly to the navy; and yet his Notes on Virginia breathed a contrary spirit; viewing the navy as a necessary protection of commerce and defence of the country. It was true, that many of his friends were hostile to it. There were others of us, however, who were its uniform advocates; and his very first act, after having executed the law passed under his predecessor, for the sale of certain vessels and reducing the number of our naval officers, was to fit out a squadron for the Mediterranean. Tripoli had made some insolent demands, accompanied by threats in case they should be refused. Jefferson's doctrine was, "*not a cent for tribute.*" The squadron was despatched and appeared before Tripoli; the Dey was obstinate—war ensued, and he was severely chastised for his insolence. He sued for peace, and peace was granted him. The bravery displayed by the navy during that war raised the American character in Europe, giving to our officers confidence in themselves. Affording them much instruction and an opportunity of acquiring a practical knowledge of their profession, it prepared them for a future contest in which they crowned themselves and their country with glory—fought their way to popularity at home—to the admiration of the world, and to the affections of their countrymen. I know, (for I did the duty of Secretary of the Navy for a short time, and was perfectly acquainted with his opinion)—that no man was a greater friend to the navy than Jefferson. His acts brought it into notice—its own gallantry

and bravery have done the rest—it now occupies a proud station in the eyes of the world.

The next of his acts which I shall mention, I have always thought the most wise and important ever executed by him or any other of our great men. It showed his great political foresight—I allude to the purchase of Louisiana. He seized the lucky moment for its acquisition, which, had it been neglected, would never again have occurred. It was deemed by him, the strong link in the chain which was to bind the west and east together. An outlet to the ocean for our western brethren was the strong and durable link of interest. Spain it is true, had accorded New Orleans to us as a place of deposit. But that did not, could not satisfy our brothers of the West. The ties of natural affection could not hold us together—these bind neither nations nor individuals—all, all give way to the great absorbing principle of interest. Washington, the great Father of his country, thought so. He has told us, and his was the voice of wisdom, that, “every door to the western country should be left wide open, and the commercial intercourse with it rendered as free and as easy as possible—that this is the best and only cement to unite those people to us—and that our interest is in so much unison with this measure, and no obstacle ought to intervene.” Jefferson had long entertained similar views—and in his instructions to Mr. Livingston, he charged him to use his best endeavors to procure a cession of Louisiana, (I think) from Spain, through the influence of France. Early in the year (I think) 1803, I introduced a resolution in the House for the appropriation of two millions of dollars to defray any extraordinary expense attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations. A committee was raised, and the resolution adopted. The well known object of this appropriation was the purchase of the Island of New Orleans and West Florida. Mr. Monroe was sent to France to act with Mr. Livingston, but before he reached his destination, he received a letter from Livingston informing him,

that he doubted whether any thing short of the *ultima ratio* would effect their object. It had become known that Spain had secretly ceded all Louisiana and West Florida to France. This was appalling indeed ! France—all-powerful France, in possession of the only outlet from the West to the ocean, and of a boundless territory in our vicinity ! What had been our situation ? It would have been no easy measure to have dispossessed her, and the West would have been a mine of inexhaustible wealth to her. But fortunately Bonaparte wanted money—a tempting offer was made him, and he accepted it. And thus the United States obtained a possession great in a pecuniary point of view, but incalculably great in a political view. Had Mr. Jefferson done no other act, this great stroke of policy would have handed down his name to posterity as a great benefactor of his country. Another important act, promoted by Mr. Jefferson, which tended much to bind the West and the East together, was the Cumberland road—a work which does honor to the nation. Affording an easy communication from the Western Waters to the Atlantic States, it forms a strong band of political union.

The economy introduced by Jefferson in the public expenditures ; the introduction of specific appropriations, and the excellent arrangements in our financial system, made what was before difficult and confused, clear, simple, and easy to be comprehended.

There were certain acts adopted in Virginia, of which Mr. Jefferson was the author, in which he took perhaps more pride than in any thing else he ever did. These were, “ The prohibition of the Slave Trade ; the abolition of entails, and the right of primogeniture ; the subversion of a dominant religion, commenced by him, and completed by Mr. Madison.”

It required the bold and original genius of Jefferson, to break down a hierarchy supported upon the deep-rooted and strongest prejudices of man. It required the republican spirit of a Jefferson to break the unnatural fetters of primogeniture,

and nip aristocracy in the bud. One other act was wanting to fill up the measure of this great man's usefulness. Employing the evening of his days in the same great cause to which the morning of his youth and the noonday of his life had been devoted—the cause of his country and mankind; he has erected an imperishable monument to his own glory, and conferred a lasting benefit on his country, in the University of Virginia.

Thus, in the service of his country, he expended sixty-one years—more years than are allotted to the usual life of man!

What a train of curious coincidences is remarkable in the lives, the acts, and the deaths, of these two great men—Jefferson and Adams. Both prominent in the act of Independence; both Ministers sent to France together—both returning about the same time—both selected about the same time to the highest offices—both Vice-Presidents—both Presidents of the United States—and most wonderful of all! both closing their mortal careers on the same day—the 4th of July—the Fiftieth Anniversary of the day on which both had signed the Declaration of Independence.

The last words of the venerable Adams were, “*Independence forever.*” The last words of our beloved Jefferson, (and let not his country forget them,) were, “*I resign my Soul to my God, and My daughter to my country!*” and I humbly hope that his country will watch over and guard her, aid and cherish her: and I feel a proud confidence that they will thus evince their gratitude to the Patriot.

Had such a coincidence occurred in the days of ancient Greece, to two of their great men, they would have placed them among the lesser deities. If in the days of our ancestors—they would have believed and exclaimed, that the hand of God was visible in it. And may we not believe that an All-seeing Providence, as a mark of approbation of their well spent lives, has been mercifully pleased to grant their last prayer—“That they might be spared until the Fourth of

July—the anniversary of our Independence, and the great Jubilee of Freedom.”

The only remaining one of that galaxy of worthies who signed the Declaration of Independence, the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, joins us this day in our last sad duties to the illustrious dead. The melancholy ceremonies of this day must bring fresh to his memory the stormy period, when, together with his illustrious compatriots, he risked his all in the cause of Freedom. The name of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, will ever be held dear by the citizens of Maryland—by the people of the United States—and they will fondly cherish him as the last of the immortal Congress of '76.

Few of you know the influence his name had in his native state. But I can tell you that a gentleman of his cultivated mind and princely estate, throwing his all into the scale of his country, influenced many a wavering mind. He was appointed by Congress, with Franklin and Chase, to proceed on a special mission to Canada, and at the special request of Congress, he prevailed on the late venerable Arch Bishop Carroll to accompany them. They proceeded, but found our army on their retreat from Canada. And on the 4th of July, 1776, he was elected to Congress. He took his seat on the 18th, and immediately signed the Declaration of Independence. Heaven has spared him yet a little longer to us, and he lives among us beloved, respected and venerated by all.

Only the term of three such lives as my own, and these states were a wilderness, inhabited by savage beasts and still more savage men. Now! inhabited by ten millions of Freemen, from Maine to the Sabine, and from the St. Lawrence to the Missouri—studded with flourishing cities, towns and villages—covering the seas with their commerce, and shewing to the world that man is capable of self-government.

A few more years, and all those of the Revolution will have descended to the silent grave. On my left you see my venerable brother in arms, the Hero of the Cowpens, and a few

of those who fifty years ago fronted every danger, breasted the bayonet, and faced the cannon's mouth—their heads now whitened with age! In the course of nature, it will ere long be my fate to close this mortal career. I am far advanced in life—and this may be the last time I shall ever address you. Let me, then, my countrymen, implore you to imitate the bright example held out to your view in the long and well-spent lives of Jefferson and Adams. Like them, keep at all times the brilliant star of Liberty steadily in view. Like them, love your country, and be ever ready to make any sacrifice for her welfare. Cherish the Constitution. It is the ark which will bear you through every adversity. Be moderate in your partialities for men. But let there be no limits to your zeal for those hallowed principles bequeathed to you by those illustrious men who marshalled you to Freedom.

May God of his infinite mercy protect you, and your descendants, in the enjoyment of that liberty which has been handed down to you by your ancestors.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT BUFFALO, NEW-YORK,

July, 22d, 1826.

BY SHELDON SMITH.

WHEN VIRTUE FALLS, HUMANITY MOURNS.—In all ages of the world, man has been, both the medium, and the object, of divine goodness.

When the Eternal Mind has been about to bestow on the human race great and signal blessings, he has brought upon the stage of action individuals, fitted to be, at once the instruments of his dispensations, and the bright example of their fellow beings. Blessed is the age in which such men live ; and happy the nation that receives the benefit of their labors. It has been the peculiar privilege of the present generation, to witness a constellation of intellectual luminaries, such perhaps, as the world never before beheld : Whose united wisdom has produced a change in the temporal condition of man, the blessings of which, we confidently trust, will be as lasting and as extensive, as the existence of the human race.

The two great leaders of this brilliant cluster have just closed their mighty labors, and gone to rest. They have fallen, full of years and full of glory. Their pure spirits have been permitted to take their exit on the brightest day the sun has ever lighted ; and be wafted back to the great fountain of life, on the grateful aspirations of millions of their fellow beings.

Never, never has an event occurred, which called more loudly for the emotion of the heart to break forth, in pub-

lic demonstrations of mingled grief and gratitude. It is due to the memories of the illustrious dead. It is due to the cause of virtue and of humanity.

Deathless be the names of Jefferson and Adams. Looking retrospectively through the lapse of half a century, we behold those stern patriots ardently engaged in the great work of political reformation. Until then, the human mind, shackled and awed by the insignia of power, had remained unconscious of its own noble faculties. Until then, man had failed to enjoy that exalted character designed in his creation. Until then, he had yielded to the dictates of usurpation and the arrogant pretensions of self-created kings. Political and civil liberty, like a fancied elysium, had long been sighed for, but no nation had been able to possess the happy boon. Here and there the rays of mental light had burst upon the earth; but like the flashes of the midnight storm, they had passed away, and all again was darkness.

The history of man was one continued tragedy; one perpetual series of calamities and woe, at which philanthropy wept and humanity recoiled. It exhibited ambition, haughty and cruel, mounting the car of victory and wading to power through fields of slaughter and death. It displayed the fairest portions of the globe, defaced and blighted through the ceaseless broils of different branches of royalty, contending for empire. Predatory warfare, like the raging tempest, swept along the earth, spreading in its train, ruin and desolation. In its rear stalked superstition, blind and infuriate, holding high the blazing torch, and igniting the faggots of persecution, on which expired liberty of conscience, an unlamented martyr.

Fifty centuries had rolled away, when it pleased the Almighty to open to view a new world: to people it with a new nation, and bring about a new and better order of things. The time for the accomplishment of these great designs had arrived, when that immortal band of chosen patriots assembled in Congress, at Philadelphia, in 1776. Their delibera-

tions were in the midst of peril and alarm. War in its most direful shape, was raging on every side. An invincible British fleet frowned upon, and darkened the eastern coast; whilst the western wilderness poured forth myriads of hostile savages, frantic with rage and thirsting for blood and plunder. A Washington was indeed in the field, but destitute of the means of resistance. The few faithful patriots that lingered about his standard, reduced to extremities, were compelled to fly before the conquering enemy. The country seemed sinking beneath its load of calamities. Still the Congress remained firm and undismayed. Day after day, they sat in solemn consultation. Absorbed in the momentous subject before them, they heeded not the din of war, nor the tokens of ruin that rose around them. Ah, when will the world again behold another such an assembly. If indeed the angels of heaven are permitted to take an interest in terrestrial affairs, surely they must have stooped from the bright abodes of felicity, to watch the proceedings of that august and memorable body.

On the result of their deliberations hung the fate of their distracted country, and the political salvation of the world.—Nor was there ever a body of men more worthy of such a trust. A Jefferson, an Adams, a Franklin, a Livingston, a Hancock, and a Lee, were numbered among them. They spoke, and the fetters of slavery became ‘like burnt flax.’ Their voice was the voice of freedom, proclaiming to the world the emancipation of man.

Appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for the rectitude of their intentions, and the justice of their cause, they devoutly implored His aid, in their arduous and perilous struggle.

Victory at length crowned their efforts, and peace was restored, but the great work which they were to perform was but half accomplished. They had indeed declared their country free and independent, and had inspired their countrymen to defend that declaration against the assaults of a for-

midable foe. But to form a government which should secure and perpetuate that independence was an untried and doubtful experiment.

The records of the world furnished them no precedents.— The history of governments, ancient and modern, was a history of wrongs, oppression and failure.

Again they resorted to the fountain of wisdom. The learning and experience of ages were collected and concentrated; a liberal and enlightened philosophy was called to their aid; the rights of man were canvassed, ascertained and defined; and that heaven-born principle of the Christian religion, which declares all men equal in the sight of the Creator, was made the corner stone of the Temple of Liberty.

They formed a system of government, and a code of laws, such as the wisdom of man had never before devised.

After the formation of the new government, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson continued to serve their country with unabated zeal and fidelity. Their best talents were displayed in the public assemblies of their several states; in the councils of the nation; and at foreign courts, in negotiating treaties of peace and commerce, with the several powers of Europe.

By the voice of a grateful people, they were severally and in succession called to preside over the nation which owed so much to their wisdom and virtue.

They became rival candidates for the same exalted station. Yet each maintained a steady eye to his country's glory.— No hostile armies backed their pretensions. No civil war spread ruin around them. Both had high claims upon their country, and they cheerfully submitted those claims to the free decision of their fellow citizens.

Let it never be alleged as an accusation against the memory of those sages, that they were the leaders of the two great parties which once divided the American Republic. They contended, not for different systems of government, but for different modes of administering the same system. With equal sincerity their hearts were alike devoted to the same

glorious cause, and fired by the same unceasing love of country. Their collision, like that of the steel and the flint, produced the true promethean spark of liberty, which kindling to a flame, served to illuminate that stupendous fabric which had risen from their united and friendly labors.

Following the example of their illustrious predecessor, they resigned the powers, the honors, and emoluments of office, to the people who bestowed them ; and retired to the peaceful shades of private life, conscious of having acted well their parts in the great drama of the day.

Rarely will the historian be permitted to record the lives of two such men as Jefferson and Adams. The course of time will hardly bring upon the stage of action individuals possessing the means and opportunity of rendering such important services to their country and to the world.

To them and a few worthy compatriots, were reserved the signal honors of broaching a new theory ; of solving that, until then mysterious problem of self government ; of opposing successfully the blasphemous doctrine of the divine right of kings ; of redeeming the rights of man from the chaotic accumulations of ignorance, superstition and prejudice ; of unfolding to the world the true source of temporal enjoyment, and the legitimate object of human society ; of emancipating the human mind from the thralldom of ages, and restoring man to his proper dignity in the great scale of being.

Eventful and glorious has been their career : wonderful and providential has been its termination ! For fifty years they were permitted to witness the unexampled prosperity resulting from the successful operation of their institutions ; and finally, to behold the great semi-centennial Jubilee of their country's Independence : and on that bright auspicious day, to die amid the hosannas and grateful benedictions of a numerous, happy, and joyful people.

The same individual, who fifty years before, with the eye of a prophet foretold the glories of that day, was suffered to see his prediction verified, and with the last accents of his

breath, to pronounce the confirmation, "IT IS INDEED A GREAT AND GLORIOUS DAY!"*

Let no cold calculating philosophy attempt to ascribe such an unheard of coincidence to the natural causes. Let not the tongue of infidelity presume to tax us with superstition, when we consider this event as a special dispensation. Stupid must be the mortal who does not see in the death of Jefferson and Adams, the hand of that Being, who controls the destinies of man ; who placed the bow in the heavens as a sign and a token ; who tamed the ferocity of the lion in the presence of a Daniel ; and who flung the mantle of safety around a Washington when fighting the battles of his country, exposed to the shafts of death and a thousand dangers. Let it be forever remembered, that the two great champions of popular rights, from whom proceeded the great charter of liberty, (they having been the sub-committee who reported it,) just fifty years from its promulgation, simultaneously closed their earthly existence.

To them, this auspicious dispensation is the confirmation of that unfading immortality to which their lives entitle them.— To the cause of freedom, it is the seal of perpetuity, stamped by the hand of Omnipotence.

The venerated ADAMS and JEFFERSON are no longer among us. Their toils are over, and they have gone to rest. Their labors, their precepts and examples of virtue, they have left us, as a legacy, far more valuable than treasures of gold.

Consecrated to freedom, their names shall be its talismanic watchword ; they shall dwell forever on the tongue of lisping infancy and be the rapturous theme of ' narrative old age.'

* Farewell great souls,
 If virtue's votary, if freedom's friend
 Be worthy of the palm and robes of white,
 Then ye have place eternal with the blessed."
 Adieu, adieu, your country mourns !

*The last words of Mr. Adams.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA,

[July 24th, 1826.

BY JOHN SERGEANT.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,—Time, in its course, has produced a striking epoch in the history of our favored country ; and as if to mark with peculiar emphasis this interesting stage of our national existence, it comes to us accompanied with incidents calculated to make a powerful and lasting impression. The dawn of the fiftieth Anniversary of Independence beamed upon two venerable and illustrious citizens, to whom, under Providence, a nation acknowledged itself greatly indebted for the event which the day was set apart to commemorate. The one was the author, the other “the ablest advocate,” of that solemn assertion of right, that heroic defiance of unjust power, which, in the midst of difficulty and danger, proclaimed the determination to assume a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth, and declared to the world the causes which impelled to this decision. Both had stood by their country, with unabated ardor and unwavering fortitude, through every vicissitude of her fortune, until “the glorious day” of her final triumph crowned their labors and their sacrifices with complete success. With equal solicitude, and with equal warmth of patriotic affection, they devoted their great faculties, which had been employed in vindicating the rights of their country, to construct for her, upon deep and strong foundations, the solid edifice of social order and of civil and religious freedom. They had both held the

highest public employments, and were distinguished by the highest honors the nation could confer. Arrived at an age when nature seems to demand repose, each had retired to the spot from which the public exigencies had first called him—his public labors ended, his work accomplished, his beloved country prosperous and happy—there to indulge in the blessed retrospect of a well-spent life, and await that period which comes to all. But not to await it in idleness or indifference. The same spirit of active benevolence, which made the meridian of their lives resplendent with glory, continued to shed its lustre upon their evening path. Still intent upon doing good, still devoted to the great cause of human happiness and improvement, neither of these illustrious men relaxed in his exertions. They seemed only to concentrate their energy, as age and increasing infirmity contracted the circle of action, bestowing, without ostentation, their latest efforts upon the state and neighborhood in which they resided. There, with patriarchal simplicity, they lived, the objects of a nation's grateful remembrance and affection; the living records of a nation's history; the charm of an age which they delighted, adorned and instructed by their vivid sketches of times that are past; and, as it were, the embodied spirit of the revolution itself, in all its purity and force, diffusing its wholesome influence through the generations that have succeeded, rebuking every sinister design, and invigorating every manly and virtuous resolution.

The Jubilee came. The great national commemoration of a nation's birth. The fiftieth year of deliverance from foreign rule, wrought out by the exertions and sufferings and sacrifices of the patriots of the revolution. It found these illustrious and venerable men, full of honors and full of years, animated with the proud recollection of the times in which they had borne so distinguished a part, and cheered by the beneficent and expanding influence of their patriotic labors. The eyes of a nation were turned towards them with affection and reverence. They heard the first song of triumph on that

memorable day. As the voice of millions of freemen rose in sounds of gratitude and joy, they both sunk gently to rest, and their spirits departed in the midst of the swelling chorus of national enthusiasm.

Death has thus placed his seal upon the lives of these two eminent men with impressive solemnity. A gracious Providence, whose favors have been so often manifested in mercy to our country, has been pleased to allow them an unusual length of time, and an uncommon continuance of their extraordinary faculties. They have been, as it were, united in death, and they have both, in a most signal manner, been associated with the great event which they so largely contributed to produce. Henceforward the names of Jefferson and Adams can never be separated from the Declaration of Independence. Whilst that venerated instrument shall continue to exist, as long as its sacred spirit shall dwell with the people of this nation, or the free institutions that have grown out of it be preserved and respected, so long will our children, and our children's children to the latest generation, bless the names of these our illustrious benefactors, and cherish their memory with reverential respect. The Jubilee, at each return, will bring back, with renovated force, the lives and the deaths of these distinguished men; and history, with the simple pencil of truth, sketching the wonderful coincidence, will, for once at least, set at defiance all the powers of poetry and romance.

The dispensation which has thus connected itself with the first Jubilee of our Independence, mingling with our festivities the parting benediction, and the final farewell of our two illustrious countrymen, cannot fail to bring with it the most serious reflections. Marked, as it is, by such an extraordinary coincidence, methinks it seems to announce, with solemn emphasis, that henceforward the care of their great work is committed to our hands; that we are to guard, to protect, and to preserve the principles and the institutions which they, at such an expense, have established for our benefit, and for

of our posterity ; and may I not add, for the common benefit of mankind. Of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but one now remains. Health and peace to the evening of his days! The single representative on earth, of the Congress of 1776, he seems to stand between two generations, and to be the visible link that still connects the living with the mighty dead. Of all, indeed, who had a part in the achievement of Independence, "whose counsels aided, or whose arms defended," few and feeble are they who survive. Day by day their numbers are reduced ; yet a little while, and they will have followed their illustrious compatriots. Not a foot-step will be heard throughout this land, of all who rushed to danger in their country's cause,—not an eye will beam, that borrowed prophetic light from afar to illumine the hour of darkness,—not a heart will beat, whose pulsation was quickened by the animating hope of a glorious triumph.

To this effect we are admonished by the event we are met to commemorate. Here then let us pause! The point of time at which we have arrived, marked by a concurrence of circumstances so impressive, demands our earnest attention. It stands forth, I repeat, with commanding dignity, and seems to say, Behold! fifty years have gone by. The altar of freedom raised by your fathers—the sacred fire they lighted upon it—are now, at the appointed time, delivered to you. To you belongs the great trust of their preservation, until another generation shall in turn succeed to occupy your places, from you to receive the invaluable deposit, and with it to receive its guardian spirit, the spirit of the Revolution. Shall we, my friends and Fellow Citizens, be able to acquit ourselves of this high trust? Shall the next Jubilee find the altar pure and undefiled, the fire still burning with a steady flame? And shall every succeeding Jubilee, like that which has passed, be at once an evidence and an acknowledgment of the continuing efficacy of the great truths promulgated in the Declaration of Independence? These are indeed affecting questions.

To commemorate the event which has here brought us together, and at the same time to invigorate our virtuous resolutions, let us, for a moment, look back upon the lives of our two illustrious fellow citizens, who walked hand in hand through the struggle of the Revolution, and hand in hand have descended to the tomb, as if, with one voice, to deliver their parting blessing to their beloved country.

Mine is not the task of the biographer or the historian. I am not to enter into a detail of their lives, nor to attempt to spread before you a history of the great events in which they acted. These are for abler hands, for simpler opportunity, and more extended labor. Nor is it at all consistent with the duty I owe to the occasion, or to you, if it were in accordance with my own inclination, or within the scope of my humble capacity, to disturb the harmony of feeling that prevails, by attempting a comparative estimate of their uncommon merits. It is not my office, nor is it your desire, to weigh them against each other—to bring them into conflict, when death has sealed forever the friendship which, in their latter years, they so delighted to cherish. A rapid, and it necessarily must be a hasty and imperfect sketch, of some of the principal points in their public career, will be sufficient to show how strong is the claim of both to our warmest admiration, and to our most affectionate gratitude. Extend to me your indulgence, of which I stand so much in need, while, in obedience to your commands, I endeavour, however feebly, to present such a sketch.

The attempt of Great Britain to visit these colonies with an exercise of power inconsistent with their just rights, found our two eminent fellow citizens, each in his native state. Mr. Jefferson, a young man, already a distinguished member of a legislature, which has never been without the distinction of patriotism and talents. Mr. Adams, a few years older, successfully engaged in the practice of the law, with established reputation and extensive influence. They were among the first to discern the character of this arrogant attempt; to re-

their countrymen to a sense of the danger of submission; to animate them to the assertion of their rights; and to embark, fearlessly, in resistance to the first approaches of arbitrary power. They did not hesitate. They never paused to count the cost of personal sacrifice, but with a resolution as determined as it was virtuous, placed at once their lives, their fortunes, and all their hopes upon the issue of their country's cause.

When these colonies, for mutual support and counsel, resolved to convene a general Congress, Mr. Adams was appointed one of the deputies from Massachusetts. He took his seat on the 5th of September, 1774, the memorable day of the first meeting of that august assembly whose acts then were, and since have been, the theme of universal admiration. Indeed, it may be truly averred, that as long as wisdom, constancy, unconquerable resolution,—as long as patriotism, and contempt of every danger, but that which threatens one's country—as long, to sum it all up at once, as generous and disinterested devotion, guided by talents of the highest order, shall be esteemed among men, so long will the old Congress continue to retain the first place among human assemblies, and spread its lustre over the age in which it acted.

In this same body, Mr. Jefferson took his seat on the 21st June, 1775, elected a deputy from Virginia, in the place of Peyton Randolph. Of the estimation in which Mr. Jefferson was held, in that more than Roman Senate, though still a young man, probably the youngest in Congress, sufficient evidence will presently appear. But in the mean time let me mention to you a fact which preceded, a few days, the coming in of Mr. Jefferson, and deserves to be remembered with gratitude to his illustrious associate. It was John Adams, who, on the 15th June, 1775, nominated George Washington, “to command all the continental forces raised, and to be raised, for the defence of American liberty.” It was upon that nomination the father of his country was unanimously

electd. What a train of reflections here presents itself ! But we must not now indulge in them.

This interesting circumstance does not appear on the printed Journals of Congress. It would seem to have been the practice not to give the names of those who made either nominations or motions. But it is stated upon the most respectable authority, whence also are derived some particulars which it may not be uninteresting to mention. The person who had been previously thought of for this high station, was General Ward of Massachusetts. As he was of the same colony with Mr. Adams, it must have been a sacrifice of feeling thus to pass him by. He generously and readily made it to advance the great, good cause. A striking example of disinterestedness !—Washington, not aware of the intention of Mr. Adams, was in his seat in Congress at the time of the nomination. The instant it was made, he rose and left the hall. A beautiful instance of unaffected modesty !

But we must not dwell too long on these particulars, however delightful and refreshing. The march of events was rapidly disclosing the important truth, that submission, unconditional submission, or victory, were the only alternatives. Already had blood been shed at Lexington, at Concord, and at Bunker's Hill. Already had the freemen of America, as if guided by a common impulse, met the veteran troops of Great Britain in the field, and encountered them with a determined courage which nothing but a deep conviction of their rights could have inspired. Already too, as we have seen, had the Congress appointed the immortal Washington to command the troops raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty. Already had they declared with the utmost solemnity, "We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." Our cause was armed with the triple armour of justice, but as yet it wanted, perhaps, a more definite purpose, a visible standard and a character that should give us a station among the nations of the earth.

On the 7th June, 1776, resolutions were moved respecting Independence.* On the 10th June a committee of the whole reported a resolution; 'That these united colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.' On the same day the consideration of this resolution was postponed to Monday, the first of July; and it was resolved, that in the mean while, that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of this resolution.³ On the following day, a committee was appointed of which Mr. Jefferson was the first named, and Mr. Adams the second. The remainder of the committee were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and R. R. Livingston.— The duty of preparing the draught was by them committed to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams. Thus were they associated in that immortal labour. On the 2d July, the resolution of Independence was adopted, and on the ever memorable 4th July, 1776, the declaration reported by the committee, with some slight alterations, was agreed to and promulgated. It is now a nation's creed.

There is a point of resemblance, in the lives and characters of these illustrious men which must not be overlooked in its bearing upon the present subject. To the natural gift of great talents, they had both added the advantages of constant laborious culture. They came forward, disciplined and prepared by previous study, for the service and the ornament of the country. The deep and extensive learning of Mr. Adams is familiar to all, and none of us are ignorant of the varied and uncommon acquirements of Mr. Jefferson. The late venerable

* This motion was made by Richard Henry Lee, in pursuance of instructions from the Convention of Virginia and is understood to have been in the terms reported by the committee of the whole.

Charles Thompson, a chronicle of the times of the revolution, has told me, that he well remembered the first appearance of Mr. Jefferson in Congress, that he brought with him the reputation of great attainments, particularly in political science, which he always well sustained. They had both diligently studied the history of man and of government. The examples of generous devotion in ancient times, inspired their hearts with lofty patriotism. The records of ages since, showed them how accident, and fraud, and force, had sunk the great body of mankind under grinding oppression, justified at length by maxims essentially false, but which the solitary speculations of writers, however undeniably true, were unable to correct. Here then, with prophetic wisdom they perceived, and blessed be God who put it into their hearts to perceive—here they perceived was the great occasion which the patriot and the philanthropist had rather wished than hoped for, at once to fix the end and aim of the revolution by raising the standard of the rights of man.

It was no longer a mere contest for separation. National Independence was indissolubly connected with civil and religious liberty. The same venerated instrument that declared our separation from Great Britain, contained also the memorable assertion, that 'all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' This was the text of the revolution—the ruling vital principle—the hope that animated the patriot's heart and nerved the patriot's arm, when he looked forward through succeeding generations, and saw stamped upon all their institutions, the great principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It is not a charter—we hold by no charter. Freedom is coeval with our national existence, derived to us from no man's grant or concession, but received from the Author of our being, and secured by the valour, and toil, and blood of our ancestors.

These sacred principles, thus solemnly inscribed upon the banner of the revolution, are still borne aloft by the strength of increasing millions. They have not been defaced nor obliterated, nor even their lusture dimmed, by lapse of time or change of circumstances. When the war of the revolution was ended, and the God of battles had crowned our country's cause with victory, the gallant soldier who had endured every privation, and exposed himself to every hazard in the field, laid down his arms in submission to their acknowledged authority. An armed nation which had conquered peace in a seven years war, was changed in an instant into a nation of citizens ; and the men who had fought and bled in the cause of their country, were seen in the walks of private life confessing by their conduct, their voluntary allegiance to the truths which had been proclaimed on the great day of Independence.

When, from the experience of a few years, the inefficacy of the articles of confederation had been demonstrated, these sacred principles were solemnly reiterated in the introduction of the Constitution of the United States. They are the basis of every state constitution : and like the air that we breathe, they belong to our very existence. He would be justly deemed an apostate, and a traitor, who should seek to destroy or weaken them. He would be held up to opprobrium and scorn, as the enemy of his country, and the enemy of mankind.

Nor has their kindly influence been confined to our own country. Throughout the world, the friends and advocates of human freedom and of human rights, have found consolation and encouragement in the example thus set before them. The standard was raised for ourselves—but it was raised on high, and it has floated in triumph, visible to the nations of the civilized world, for their assurance that man is competent to self government. Long established error, has been rebuked by their practical excellence. Systems apparently consolidated by ages, have been modified by their influence. A

knowledge of the rights of man has been universally disseminated. Whenever, and wherever, by any crisis in affairs, the people for a moment recover a portion of their lost power, their eager demand is for the acknowledgement of first principles in written constitutions. Whenever a sovereign, alarmed by foreign menace or pressure, would rouse his people to uncommon exertion, he appeals, not to the obsolete errors which he loves too well to renounce them, whilst their preservation is possible ; but, in such an exigency, he is obliged to speak to their own sense of their own rights, and to promise to secure them by written constitutions. This we have witnessed in our day. Monarchs and their subjects have marched forth together under this assurance, animated with unwonted energy. The last, the greatest, the most powerful incentive to vigorous exertion, has been found in that knowledge which the principles of the Declaration of Independence have diffused so extensively. Such promises, it is true, have often proved delusive. "Ease would retract vows made in pain." But the knowledge exists—the feeling is there—it cannot again be smothered or subdued. It will go on, conquering and to conquer. At this moment, such has been its mighty progress, that no man will dare to assert, even though a princely diadem surround his brow, what, fifty years ago it would have been thought impious to dispute. That 'governments are instituted for the benefit of the people,' is already established—"that they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," cannot fail soon to follow, to the utter extirpation of the absurd heresy of the divine right of kings. In this hemisphere, a 'fraternity of freedom' has been founded. The colonies of Spain, afflicted by ages of oppression, have looked upon the standard of our revolution, and been healed. They have achieved their Independence ; and have taken their station among the powers of the earth, as members of a family of free republics. Such has already been the spread of the light which issued from yonder hall on the fourth July, 1776.

In contemplating the part which these illustrious men performed in the great work of that day, it is delightful to recur to the generous and conclusive testimony they have borne to each other's merits. Of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Adams says, "he came into Congress in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent for composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for their peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive on committees, (not even Samuel Adams was more so,) that he seized upon my heart." Of Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson says, in a letter, written in 1813, to an artist, who was about to engrave the picture of the Declaration of Independence. "No man better merited, than Mr. John Adams, a most conspicuous place in the design. He was the pillar of its support on the floor of Congress—its ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious attacks it encountered." Assaults it did encounter—resistance it did suffer—not from the enemies only, of our country, but from her most sincere friends. The timid were alarmed; the minds of men of ordinary constancy were possessed with doubts and hesitation, at this final and ir retrievable step. Heroic courage and patriotism were what the occasion demanded, and what—let us be thankful for it!—the occasion found. We have seen that the resolution engaged the attention of Congress, from the 7th June, when it was moved, to the 2d July, when it was adopted. "The arguments in Congress," says the late venerable Governor M'Kean, a man of revolutionary stature and strength, himself one of the signers of the declaration, "The arguments, for and against the Declaration of Independence, were exhausted, and the measure fully considered." And so they, doubtless, were, with all the deliberate gravity and solemn earnestness which the momentous occasion required.—It was, indeed, a fearful question. At the last moment when the question was about to be put, a celebrated member of the Congress, of undoubted patriotism, a man whose mem-

ory is still cherished with grateful affection for his contributions to the service and the honor of his country, rose and spoke against it. "He stated the consequences in alarming colours." Silence and doubt ensued. John Adams, "the pillar of its support," as Mr. Jefferson has styled him, rose in reply. His fervid eloquence silenced every doubt. The question was settled, and the vote of the states was unanimous. In what language he made this last and powerful appeal, we may judge from the triumphant burst of patriotic exultation and pious emotion with which he wrote to a friend on the following day.* "Yesterday the greatest question was decided that was ever debated in America; and greater perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without one dissenting colony, 'that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.'—The day is passed. The fourth of July, 1776, will be a memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated, by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward forever. You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states; yet, through all the gloom, I

* There can be no doubt that the date of the letter was the 3d July, 1776, though in recent publications, it has appeared with the date of the 5th. The resolution of Independence was adopted on the 2d July—the declaration was not agreed to till the 4th. The former is the "resolution" referred to by Mr. Adams. Inattention, to this distinction has probably led to the change of date in the printed copies. The error is pointed out, and corrected in a very satisfactory manner, in the Democratic Press of the 12th instant.

can see the rays of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means ; and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not."

The authorship of the splendid record we have been considering belongs to Mr. Jefferson. To him is justly due the merit of preparing a paper, which has elevated the national character, and furnished a perpetual source of instruction and delight. That Mr. Adams, his colleague, entered deeply into his sentiments, is equally certain. To the last he retained his attachment to the original draught prepared by Mr. Jefferson, and thought it had not been improved by the slight alteration it underwent, in expunging a few passages or parts of passages.

Placed by their talents and virtues in this elevated and commanding position, these two distinguished champions of the rights of their country and the rights of mankind, were thenceforward looked to for every arduous service. In December, 1777, Mr. Adams was appointed a commissioner to France, an appointment, as all who are acquainted with our history well know, of great hazard, but of the highest importance.

Struggling for existence, with comparatively feeble means, against a powerful enemy, who assumed the tone of an insolent and vindictive master, but struggling with a constancy of resolution, which already conciliated the regard of nations, our country looked abroad for countenance and aid. But the fleets of England covered the ocean, and the tower where Laurens was so long confined, with no prospect beyond it but the scaffold, was the almost certain reward of the daring rebel (for so they would have styled him) who should fall into their power. This hazardous employment he instantly and fearlessly accepted. He embarked soon after, and, through many imminent perils arrived in safety. Of the signal advantages derived from that commission you are well aware. A treaty was made with France, and, in the year 1778, our great countryman Franklin, was received by that nation as

the acknowledged minister of a sovereign and independent power. †

Mr. Adams was afterwards sent to Holland, where he successfully negotiated a loan.

Whilst Mr. Adams was serving his country abroad, Mr. Jefferson was rendering equal service at home. Being elected governor of Virginia, he gave the most effectual aid to the cause of the Revolution. This rests upon no doubtful or questionable authority. Twice, in the course of the year 1780, were resolutions adopted by Congress, approving his conduct, in aiding their military measures in the south. In the same year Congress instructed a committee "to inform Mr. Adams of the satisfaction they received from his industrious attention to the interests and honor of these United States abroad." Thus did they both deserve, and thus did they both receive, the highest rewards that could be bestowed upon them.

Not to fatigue you by too much detail, let me simply mention, that Mr. Adams was appointed sole commissioner to negotiate peace with Great Britain in 1779,—that he was one of those who negotiated the provisional articles of peace with Great Britain in November, 1782,—who made the armistice for the cessation of hostilities in January, 1783,—and who finally negotiated the definitive treaty of peace in September, 1783.

The thirteen United States, sovereign and independent by their own exertions and the favor of Providence, from the fourth July, 1776, were now universally acknowledged as such, and admitted by all to their place in the family of nations. They chose, for their two principal representatives

†The treaty was signed at Paris, the 6th February, 1778, by B. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. The Congress of the United States desired the suppression of the 11th article, consenting in return that the 12th should likewise be considered of no effect. The acts rescinding these two articles were signed at Paris 1st September, 1778, on the part of the United States, by B. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams. Dr. Franklin was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France, on the 14th September, 1778.

abroad, the illustrious men whose death we are here met to commemorate. Mr. Jefferson succeeded Dr. Franklin in France; Mr. Adams was sent to England. They were joined also with Dr. Franklin, in a plenipotentiary commission to negotiate treaties of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the principal powers of Europe.

The first treaty with Prussia, the only fruit at that time of the commission, bears the names of Franklin, of Jefferson, and of Adams. What a splendid constellation of talent! Sufficient of itself, to shed unfading lustre on a nation—more than sufficient to refute the exploded European doctrine of the degeneracy of man in America.

Our history from this period is familiar to you all. When the present constitution was framed, Mr. Jefferson was still in France. Ever alive to the welfare of his beloved country; ever watchful of those sacred principles of human right, which it had been the labor of his life to vindicate and maintain, he looked with intense anxiety upon this interesting movement. To his suggestion, it is understood, that we are indebted for the ten original amendments to the constitution, embodying such restrictions on the authority of Congress, and such assertions of the fundamental rights of the citizen, as were thought necessary to the preservation of the just power of the states, and the security of civil and religious freedom.

Upon the organization of our present government, the voice of the nation assigned the highest place to Washington. He was elected President of the United States. The illustrious men whom we now commemorate, were second only to him who had no equal. The one was elevated by the choice of the people; the other by the choice of Washington.

Mr. Adams was elected Vice-President of the United States; or rather, let me say, he was the second choice for President. As the constitution then stood, two were voted for as President, and he who had the smallest number of votes was the Vice-President.

Mr. Jefferson was called home by the father of his country, to fill the high and arduous station of Secretary of State.

the acknowledged minister of a sovereign and independent power. †

Mr. Adams was afterwards sent to Holland, where he successfully negotiated a loan.

Whilst Mr. Adams was serving his country abroad, Mr. Jefferson was rendering equal service at home. Being elected governor of Virginia, he gave the most effectual aid to the cause of the Revolution. This rests upon no doubtful or questionable authority. Twice, in the course of the year 1780, were resolutions adopted by Congress, approving his conduct, in aiding their military measures in the south. In the same year Congress instructed a committee "to inform Mr. Adams of the satisfaction they received from his industrious attention to the interests and honor of these United States abroad." Thus did they both deserve, and thus did they both receive, the highest rewards that could be bestowed upon them.

Not to fatigue you by too much detail, let me simply mention, that Mr. Adams was appointed sole commissioner to negotiate peace with Great Britain in 1779,—that he was one of those who negotiated the provisional articles of peace with Great Britain in November, 1782,—who made the armistice for the cessation of hostilities in January, 1783,—and who finally negotiated the definitive treaty of peace in September, 1783.

The thirteen United States, sovereign and independent by their own exertions and the favor of Providence, from the fourth July, 1776, were now universally acknowledged as such, and admitted by all to their place in the family of nations. They chose, for their two principal representatives

†The treaty was signed at Paris, the 6th February, 1778, by B. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. The Congress of the United States desired the suppression of the 11th article, consenting in return that the 12th should likewise be considered of no effect. The acts rescinding these two articles were signed at Paris 1st September, 1778, on the part of the United States, by B. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams. Dr. Franklin was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France, on the 14th September, 1778.

Is there a man among us, who, upon this occasion, consecrated to the indulgence of virtuous emotion, would consent to disturb the harmony that breathes in the common acknowledgment to the illustrious dead? To obscure the glorious light of the Revolution, by seeking to render permanent every cloud that is raised in the gusts of momentary excitement? Let the truth be told. It is replete with salutary counsel, and it exalts the character of the departed sages. Be it, that they appeared to be rivals. Be it, that they were, for a time, separated and placed in opposition, the leaders of the two great parties in the nation. Did they, therefore, love their country less? Were they less influenced by the sacred ardor, that animated their hearts in the darkest hour of the revolutionary contest? Were they not patriots still, the same lofty and incorruptible patriots, who, on the 4th July, 1776, had pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor?" Did either of them admit a thought, or would either of them, for all the honors the world could bestow, have countenanced a design unfriendly to his country's interests? Let them answer for themselves, or rather let each answer for the other. The healing influence of time soon allayed the little irritation which conflict had produced. They looked upon their country, and they saw that she was prosperous and happy. They saw, perhaps, that even the contests of party, angry as they seemed at times to be, yet governed by the spirit of patriotism, were over-ruled for her permanent advantage; that eager discussion had elicited truth, and the solid good sense of a reflecting people had seized and secured whatever was valuable and worthy to be preserved. Both had triumphed in the triumph of their country's welfare. The aged patriots felt that they still were brothers. Their ancient friendship revived. Nothing remained but the remembrance of the scenes in which they had acted so mighty a part. Nothing was heard from either but heartfelt acknowledgments of the other's worth and services. If it had been in the order of Providence to permit one of these illustrious citizens to witness the departure of his associate, the survivor would have been the first whose

honored voice would have been heard to pronounce the eulogy of the departed patriot.

To form an estimate of the merits and services of these distinguished men, far more would be necessary than has been now attempted, or the occasion will allow. I have only selected for reflection some of the principal incidents of their public lives. But let me remind you, that they are characteristic incidents. If you follow them into their respective states, if you follow them into their retirement, whatever may be their employments or pursuits, they are all stamped with the same ardent love of country, the same unaffected reverence for the rights of mankind, the same invincible attachment to the cause of civil and religious freedom.

Great are their names! Honored and revered be their memory! Associated with Washington and Franklin, their glory is a precious possession, enriching our annals, and exalting the character of our country.

Greater is the bright example they have left us! More precious the lesson furnished by their lives for our instruction! At this affecting moment, then, when we are assembled to pay the last tribute of respect, let us seriously meditate upon our duties—let us consider, earnestly and anxiously consider, how we shall best preserve those signal blessings which have been transmitted to us—how we shall transmit them unimpaired to our posterity. This is the honor which would have been most acceptable to these illustrious men. This is an appropriate mode of commemorating the event we this day mourn. Let the truths of the Declaration of Independence, the principles of the revolution, the principles of free government, sink deep into our hearts, and govern all our conduct.

National independence has been achieved, once and forever. It can never be endangered. Time has accumulated strength with a rapidity unexampled. The thirteen colonies, almost without an union, few in numbers, feeble in means, are become in a lapse of fifty years, a nation of twenty-four states, bound together by a common government of their own choice, with a territory doubled by peaceful acquisition, with ten

millions of free inhabitants, with a commerce extending to every quarter of the world, and resources equal to every emergency of war or peace. Institutions of humanity, of science, and of literature, have been established throughout the land. Temples have risen to Him who created all things, and by whom all things are sustained, not by the commands of princes or rulers, nor by legal coercion, but from the spontaneous offerings of the human heart. Conscience is absolutely free in the broadest and most unqualified sense. Industry is free; and human action knows no greater control, than is indispensable to the preservation of rational liberty.

What is *our* duty? To understand, and to appreciate the value of these signal blessings, and with all our might and strength, to endeavor to perpetuate them. To take care that the great sources from which they flow, be not obstructed by selfish passion, nor polluted by lawless ambition, nor destroyed by intemperate violence. To rise to the full perception of the great truth: "that governments are instituted among men to secure human rights, deriving their authority from the consent of the governed," and that with a knowledge of our own rights, must be united the same just regard for the rights of others, and pure affection for our country, which dwelt in the hearts of the fathers of the revolution.

In conclusion, allow me to remind you, that with all their doings was mingled a spirit of unaffected piety. In adversity they humbled themselves before Him, whose power is almighty, and whose goodness is infinite. In prosperity they gave Him the thanks. In His aid, invoked upon their arms and counsels with sincerity of heart, was their reliance and their hope. Let us also be thankful for the mercies which as a nation, we have so largely experienced, and as often as we gratefully remember those illustrious men to whom we are indebted—let us not forget that their efforts must have been unavailing, and that our hopes are vain, unless approved by Him; and in humble reliance upon His favor, let us implore His continued blessing upon our beloved country.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT ALBANY, NEW-YORK,

July 31st, 1826.

BY WILLIAM ALEXANDER DUER.

NEVER, AMERICANS, since we became a people, has any portion of our countrymen convened on an occasion more impressive and interesting than the present. But a few weeks ago, we united with our Fellow Citizens from one end of this vast continent to the other, to celebrate in our respective spheres, the Jubilee of our Freedom; and whilst in the temple of the living God, we poured forth our thanks to him for the blessing; or at the festive board, recalled the names, and recounted the deeds, of the men most instrumental in producing it; the two veteran statesmen, the most eminent among the surviving patriarchs of the Revolution; who, next to Washington, had in succession held the highest station in the Government; each, in his turn, like him, receiving it, as the best reward the people could bestow; both these illustrious patriots on the same day, within a few hours of each other, and at the completion of the fiftieth year, since they had together signed that Declaration, from which their country dates its Independence; both in extreme old age, (as if their lives had been preserved to consecrate that day,) were, by the gentlest and most similar transitions, removed from this earthly scene, and with equal tranquillity, each yielded his immortal spirit to the HAND that gave it.

In this splendid coincidence of events, my countrymen; in this unparalleled concurrence of stupendous circumstances; what candid and enlightened mind, what grateful and ingenuous heart, hesitates to acknowledge an omniscient and

benignant Providence? Or who fails to perceive, from the position or prospects of his own, or of some other country, a purpose worthy the interposition of a superintending Deity? Had either of these great and venerable men been summoned to the world of spirits, on the day that both departed; or had they, on any other day, expired together; it would, in either case, have seemed sufficient to excite our wonder. By some, it would have been hailed as an omen of good fortune; and received by others, as a demonstration of divine regard.—But is there one among us, who, when he heard it rumoured, that the two most conspicuous of the three remaining signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the last survivors of those deputed to prepare it; that Adams and Jefferson had both died on the jubilee anniversary of the day that Declaration issued: Is there one, I ask, who did not distrust the rumour as too marvellous to be true? And when the report was in every minute particular confirmed, is there one here, who believed these combined occurrences to be the effect of chance? No! Fellow Citizens! There is not one; there are none such here, or elsewhere to be found. The coldest sceptic must have ceased to doubt, and the daring infidel must have begun to fear, that there is an eternal, self-existent God, who, with wisdom inscrutable, and immeasurable power, controuls the fate of individuals, and overrules the destiny of nations.

Under the influence of such feelings, friends and fellow countrymen, have we assembled in this sacred place; not to lament, but to commemorate our dead; to contemplate the example of their lives: and to expatiate on the sublime moral their lives and deaths have both afforded us.

No true American, capable of reflection, can meditate upon the events of the last half century, without feeling that his country has enjoyed the peculiar favor of the Supreme Governor of the world. At the commencement of that period, our immediate ancestors began to reap the fruits of that constancy and perseverance by which their fathers “in the

old time before them," had been induced to seek, in the wilds of this newly discovered continent, an asylum from religious and political intolerance.

They had subdued the forest in the vicinity of the shores where their forefathers had landed. They had explored the rivers piercing the interminable hills which seemed ranged as barriers against their progress to the West. They had penetrated to the fertile plains beyond the sources of those rivers, and had discovered others emptying into inland seas connected with each other, skirting the Northern borders, and stretching to the Western confines of the land ; and they had visited the mighty cataract, where the accumulated waters have overthrown the mountain wall, and forced their passage to the ocean.

Apprised thus of the natural benefits of their situation, they had not merely become reconciled to their lot, but rejoiced that their fathers had taken refuge in this land of promise. Even the good old pilgrims of the former race, had confessed that their "lines had fallen in pleasant places," and had ceased to regret the comforts and refinements of European civilization. Their sons had never known their sacrifices or their privations ; and Time the great peacemaker, had obliterated the remembrance of their fathers' wrongs. For themselves they enjoyed a complete toleration in all matters of religion, and the essentials of political and civil liberty had in practice been allowed to them.

Rapidly increasing in numbers, they were already strong enough to defend themselves against the hostile tribes still lurking within their territories ; and to repel the invasions of more civilized enemies, from a bordering province.— They had acquired experience in war. At home, they had secured peace, and were steadily advancing in agriculture and all the useful arts of civil and domestic life. Abroad they had pursued a commerce, which, though restricted by the jealous spirit of colonial monopoly, was the more profitable from their free intercourse with their sister colonies in

the islands, and from their almost exclusive possession of the great fisheries on their own coasts.

To improve these advantages, they were blessed with industry, frugality, enterprise and intelligence ; and with equal probity and skill, they availed themselves of all their physical and moral resources, to acquire wealth and honor, prosperity and happiness. Nor were their efforts fruitless ; for they had already become rich and powerful enough to excite the cupidity, and alarm the jealousy of the mother country. A revenue was attempted to be drawn from them, by the paramount authority of a British Parliament. But though well disposed to bear their fair proportion of the public burdens, when constitutionally required, the future founders of the American Republic were as resolute to withhold the contribution even of a nominal sum when exacted by a legislature in which they were not represented. It was the principle for which they contended. The inseparable connection between taxation and representation, was maintained by them as a fundamental axiom ; and sooner than compromise their unalienable right to the enjoyment of their private property without surrendering the smallest portion of it for public purposes, except by their own consent ; the descendants of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sidney, and the disciples of Milton, of Harrington and of Locke, were prepared to stake all they possessed on the issue of resistance.

The great Charter of English liberty they claimed as their birth-right ; its immortal vindicators, as their ancestors ; and notwithstanding their affection for the land to which they owed their origin and laws ; notwithstanding their attachment to the nation with whom they claimed a common language and descent ; they deliberately resolved, rather than submit to usurpation, to sever the ties which held them in allegiance to a parent government, and connected them in friendship with a kindred people.

In the struggle which ensued, it was soon apparent upon whom the mantles of the great Apostles of English liberty had fallen ; for in the American Congress were collected in-

dividuals not only worthy of the blood of the martyrs from which they had sprung, but whose wisdom and fortitude, whose virtue and eloquence would have shed a lustre on the brightest days of Greece or Rome. So true is it, that great occasions produce the talents equal to their exigencies ; or, rather so true is it, my countrymen, that the all-bounteous Ruler of the Universe, whenever he purposes to exalt a nation, calls forth the faculties of his intellectual creatures in correspondence with the great design.

In this august assembly, Adams and Jefferson were among the most conspicuous. They came as the respective delegates of the two Provinces at that time the most important in the Confederacy ; and the most forward and resolute in the assertion of their rights. Hand in hand they had approached the contest ; and hand in hand, and in the foremost rank, appeared their chosen sons, worthy and fit to represent them. The one descended from intrepid sufferers for conscience-sake ; the other sprung from a gayer and chivalric race of bold adventurers for fame and freedom. Both were in " the prime and vigor of their manhood," and each was distinguished for natural endowments, as well as for extensive acquirements ; for strength of understanding, solidity of judgment, firmness of principle, liberality of sentiment, and rectitude of intention and of conduct. They met on high, but equal ground ; and seem to have been drawn together by sympathy of character as well as of opinions. They were members of the same profession, and had pursued it in that liberal and honorable spirit, by which the study and practice of the law tends to enlarge the capacity of the mind, as well as to sharpen and invigorate its faculties. From principle, both were inflexible, devoted patriots ; by intuition, if not by education, statesmen. The one was an orator ; the other a philosopher : and if Adams had attained more celebrity for eloquence, Jefferson was more highly estimated for the written productions of his genius. If the former possessed greater practical knowledge of affairs, the latter was richer in the resources of speculative wisdom ; and whatsoever quality

or acquisition appeared deficient in the one, was to be found in the character or talents of the other ; so that between them they combined every requisite which, at the impending crisis, could render their services so useful, so inestimable, to their country.

And most auspiciously were those services united on that momentous occasion, when Congress, having drawn the sword, determined to throw away the scabbard, and were about to resolve that "the United Colonies" were, "and of right ought to be free and Independent States." Then it was that Jefferson and Adams were associated with Franklin, Sherman and Livingston, to prepare a solemn Declaration, announcing and justifying that determination to the world.—The two former were deputed by their colleagues to perform the office ; and an amicable contest ensued between them ; in which they pressed upon each other, the honorable task of drawing up the document. Adams finally prevailed ; and thus the duty of composing it, devolved on Jefferson.

Never was public trust more ably or more satisfactorily performed. The Declaration thus produced, established the lasting fame of its author, as a scholar, a statesman, and a patriot : for its principles were sound and enlightened ; its statements forcible and clear ; its style animated, nervous, and impressive ; its tone calm, dignified and firm ; and above all, it responded in language and sentiment to the voice and feelings of the nation. As a public measure its immediate effects were decisive ; and its beneficial consequences are not yet to be estimated. It disarmed the treacherous ; it rallied the faithful and the bold ; it encouraged the timid ; confirmed the dubious ; and it pledged the lives and fortunes, and the sacred honor of the people, as well as of their representatives, to maintain the rights and principles it had asserted. It secured our own freedom ; and offered to the oppressed of other nations, and of other times, an example, as well as precepts, which never will be lost on them. It gave the first impulse to the protracted struggle for liberty

in France. Its spirit once animated the patriots of Spain ; and will awaken them again. It still lives in their descendants in our Southern continent, and cheers the last lingering hopes of Greece ; and will yet revive them ! Yes, Fellow Countrymen ! the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of American Independence, have not only produced their fruits on this wide continent, and been disseminated on the wastes of Europe ; but before the revolution of another jubilee, they will take root and flourish in every soil and climate under Heaven ! The march of Light, of Knowledge, and of Truth, is irresistible, and Freedom follows in their train ! Well, then, did your Adams, at that time, predict the rising glories of the day it issued ; and well did your Jefferson, on his bed of death, pray but to witness once more its recurrence, and with his latest sigh, breathe forth his gratitude for the unexampled blessing !

Such, Fellow Citizens, is the imperfect sketch the occasion permits, of the connected services of Jefferson and Adams, at the era of Independence ; and such the transient view that time allows, of the effects and promise of their joint exertions. Although afterwards transferred to different scenes, their separate efforts were in proportion honorable to themselves as individuals, advantageous to their country, and important to mankind. For the residue of the war, Adams was employed as the representative of the infant Republic, at various European Courts ; in negotiating loans to provide sustenance for its armies, and in forming alliances to aid the cause in which they were engaged. In both these objects he was successful ; nor were his labors intermitted until he had co-operated in concluding that treaty by which the Independence of this country was finally acknowledged by Great Britain ; and the two nations, who had been declared "enemies in war," had "in peace" become "friends."

During this interval, Jefferson had returned to his native state ; and after having been engaged by public authority in revising and digesting its laws, and conforming them

sions to the liberal spirit of the new government, he was, at a most critical period, elected its chief magistrate. Having successfully co-operated with our national friend, and late national guest, La Fayette, in delivering his state from invasion, he returned at the expiration of his executive office, once more to its legislature, and devoted what leisure the intermission of his public duties allowed him, to the composition of his "Notes on Virginia"—that work on which his reputation in literature and science is principally founded. It was not long, however, before he was again delegated to the Continental Congress; and that body, with its characteristic discernment, soon resolved to engage the talents of Jefferson as well as of Adams, in the diplomatic service of their country. By another of those remarkable coincidences which have distinguished their public lives, both were named in the commission to negotiate the peace with Great Britain; and Jefferson was only prevented by an accidental detention, from uniting with Adams in the signature of the treaty. They were, however, subsequently joined in arranging terms of commercial intercourse, with the maritime powers of Europe, and were ultimately settled as resident Plenipotentiaries, at its two principal courts; Adams at London, and Jefferson in France.

In these respective stations they remained, until, upon the adoption of the present Constitution, they were both recalled from Europe. The one to occupy, under Washington, the second office in the national government, and the other to superintend the important department of its foreign affairs. During his residence in England, Adams had published his "Defence of the American Constitutions," in answer to the attacks of certain British writers, on those of the states severally, and upon the old confederation. From some of the doctrines advanced in this work, Jefferson was supposed to dissent; but as the new Constitution had been formed in their absence, they had neither of them taken part in the public discussions to which it had given rise, and which had not yet

subsided. Their personal feelings, therefore, had never been implicated in that controversy ; although it was well understood that they entertained different views in regard to the new Confederation ; and subsequent events rendered it more clearly manifest, that, whilst the Vice-President fully approved of the federal system as it had gone into operation, that scheme of government was not, in every respect, conformable to the opinions of the Secretary of State. The latter, nevertheless, as well as the former, gave a fair and efficient support to the administration of Washington : and the official correspondence, which he conducted upon the most embarrassing and delicate questions which arose under it, afforded the complete vindication of its most important and most contested measures. Apprehensive, however, of future disagreement with his colleagues, Jefferson honorably withdrew from his office before Washington had left the government ; and carried with him into a retirement which he long had coveted, the undiminished confidence of the Father of his country, the unbounded attachment of his friends, and the universal respect and esteem of his fellow citizens. Nor was he drawn from his retreat, until called to the chair which Adams had left vacant, upon his elevation to the seat of Washington.

The former colleagues and associates had now become rivals, and were claimed as the respective heads of the two great parties into which their country was divided. The relative strength and numbers of these parties were nearly ballanced ; their confidence was equal ; their zeal unabated : and though Adams had prevailed in the first general contest between them, Jefferson was successful in the last. A complete transfer of political power was the consequence. But notwithstanding the warfare between the parties had seemed to threaten the peace of the nation, no violent change of measures or of system followed, to put to hazard its permanent welfare : and those who had apprehended this result, if not blinded by fear or prejudice, were soon persuaded that neither the existence of the government was to be endangered.

security it afforded impaired, nor its essential principles of administration altered.

So far as the prevailing differences of opinion had arisen from a contrariety of views in regard to the Federal Constitution, so far indeed were they founded in a difference of principle. But much of this original discord had been harmonized by compromises in the frame and structure of the government itself, by the spirit in which it was administered, or by actual changes of sentiment wrought by the convictions of experience; whilst the more violent and direct conflict of political sentiment bore reference to the war existing at the time in Europe, and being thus temporary in its nature, subsided with the cause in which it had originated. Before the close of Jefferson's administration, Adams had expressed his approbation of the course of policy pursued by his successful competitor; and the disciples and successors of Jefferson recurred to those measures of his predecessor, of which experience had demonstrated the wisdom of the necessity. Between the venerable chiefs themselves, a mutual confidence was re-established, and from their respective retirements they maintained at intervals a friendly correspondence, terminating only with their lives.

Thus these illustrious statesmen not only survived the causes by which they had been so long and widely separated, but lived to revive the sympathies, and realize the hopes, which had united them in early life; to witness the triumph of those principles for which they had mutually contended; and to enjoy in the reputation, prosperity, and union of their country, the reward of those services, which, whether in concert or apart, they both had rendered it. And when they died, as if Heaven had deigned to approve those services, and hallow that reward, they died together! How mysterious! yet how merciful the event! And what an instructive spectacle do not we, my countrymen, present, who are here with one accord assembled, to pay the last sad tribute to their worth! We, who participated in the exasperated passions

and fierce contentions by which they were once separated and estranged ; who were arrayed under their respective banners, friend against friend, and brother against brother, now here united heart and voice, to solemnize with equal rites, their common obsequies !

Such deaths as theirs, indeed, we cannot mourn ; but come to celebrate, in joy for the mercy they reveal, in thankfulness for the admonition they impart. The commemoration of events like these—the contemplation of a scene like this, elevate our thoughts from Earth to Heaven, lead us to look more reverently on the ways of Providence, and points us to the source of every temporal good. They serve to endear the more to us our public institutions, and to assure us of their excellence and stability. They inculcate lessons of forbearance and moderation to regulate our own future conduct, and enforce those precepts of good will and charity to others, which bear the impress of divine authority. Nor are they intended for ourselves alone : the events we celebrate, the spectacle we here present, will have their influence in another land, and swell the bosoms of another people. If these signal coincidences in the lives and deaths of our departed sages—if the prolonged existence of their sole remaining colleague—of him who hazarded the richest venture on our Independence, and still survives, its living monument ; if these be deemed to indicate a divine approval of the cause of freedom, they hold forth a beacon of encouragement to deserted Greece, sufficient to rouse her from despair ; and though abandoned by surrounding Christendom, the descendants of the warriors of Constantine, will discern afar off in the west, a sign as palpably revealed from Heaven, as that which led their ancestors to victory.

But while we indulge these fervent wishes for the success of others, let us not foster a presumptuous hope, my countrymen, in favor of ourselves. Let us never forget, that in proportion to the benefits bestowed on us, are our obligations and responsibility increased ; and let us endeavor to avoid the

dangers incident to too strong a confidence of security. Let us resolve to convert every benignant dispensation to its obvious ends of practical improvement; and whilst we draw a veil over the frailties of the dead, and cherish the remembrance of their virtues, let us frequently recur to the examples of their lives, and advert to the union of their souls in death. Should the institutions of our country be assailed by intestine violence, or their existence threatened by local jealousies and geographical distinctions, let us revert to the national principles and catholic feelings of the two great chieftains of the North and South; and remember the auspicious day that blended their kindred spirits in one admonitory death. And whilst thus studious to repress the germs of rising animosities, let the remembrance of our past dissensions be buried in the graves of ADAMS and of JEFFERSON.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA,

July 20th, 1826.

BY HENRY POTTER.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,—“*How are the mighty fallen,*” was the song of lamentation, by the immortal Hebrew lyric Poet, over the remains of a devoted friend and an insidious foe. But we have met this day to express our sorrow and sympathies, for the loss, not of enemies, nor of *ordinary* friends, but of two illustrious patriarchs and founders of American freedom. It becomes us then, especially, in the spirit of lamentation, to exclaim, “*how are the mighty fallen.*” The immortal spirits of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams have taken their flight from this world, and have winged their way to their God and our God—to return no more forever. And though their material parts shall moulder in the silent tomb, till the morning of the resurrection, yet their deeds shall live in the hearts of their countrymen, and their fame shall survive as long as history lasts.

From the death of Noah, the life of man began gradually to decrease, till it shrunk into its present little measure of three score years and ten. But let it not be said, that because an all-wise and gracious Providence hath seen fit to lengthen out the lives of these distinguished men beyond the ordinary term, they have outlived their usefulness, and that their disease, long expected, is not a subject for sorrow. As an aged father is to his little domestic circle, so are these worthy patriots to the whole nation. And if the affections (or weakness if you

please) of dutiful children for a revered and departed parent, however aged and enervated, manifest themselves in grief for the bereavement, why should not the same affections, from the same human nature, flow in sorrow for two departed political fathers and benefactors?—But it must be apparent to all who have marked the character of societies, and “caught the manners living as they rise,” that man, while he lives *respected*, retains much of his influence, even to the greatest age. And it is well known that the names of Jefferson and Adams, were, to their last moments, held in the profoundest respect and veneration. And their minds, though much worn, and even dethroned of the fancy and corruscations of youth, were yet active and sound. Their opinions were highly respected by an intelligent community, and all their conversations and letters were lessons of instruction. They were, indeed, like cities set on a hill, which could not be hid—and the American people were in the habit of looking up to them as the living epistles of practical liberty, to be read of all men. But when we look at the letter of Thomas Jefferson written but a few days before his death, and while he was languishing, who can doubt the energy of his mind? I should look around, perhaps in vain, for a man of *any* age, who, on such an occasion, could write with more perspicuity and force.—And here we might adopt the sentiments of an eminent poet :

The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
Lets in new light through chinks that time has made.

And now let us pause.—For whom are we sorrowing? Whose eulogy are we attempting to speak? What means your sable altars and your badges of grief? Ah, my friends, they are the mute emblems of woe—they represent the feelings of the nation. And while we are employed in rendering our public demonstrations of honor and respect for the deceased, we are persuaded that the whole “American people are sympathizing with us : for as in water, face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.” It is a national calamity. ▲

nation mourns a nation's loss. Liberty weeps over her favorite sons, and ages yet to come will bow with reverence and gratitude before the lofty monument which their labors have erected.

Neither time nor opportunity permits me to attempt any thing like a chronicle of these two great men; but as some allusion to their public characters is expected of me I shall cursorily notice some of the leading characteristics and facts in their eventful lives.

John Adams, the venerated patriot and statesman, was born the 19th of October, 1735—he graduated in 1755—commenced the study of the law in 1759, and continued in his profession until 1774, when, his reputation for talents, independence, and Roman energy, attracted public notice and brought him into the public service. As a legislator and as a diplomatist, his talents shone conspicuously; and his stern and unyielding integrity, Fabricius-like, elevated him above all suspicion, and commanded the respect even of his political enemies. His diplomatic services in Europe, in the most critical and trying times, and on the most delicate subjects, were enough, of themselves, to wreath his brow with never withering laurels: but we are to look to Congress Hall for his greatest achievements. There we see the displays of his eloquence and the manifestations of his undaunted patriotism. There we behold him bearing an honorable and conspicuous part in laying the chief corner-stone in the great temple of liberty. And so bold and conclusive were his arguments, enforced by a resistless eloquence, that the wavering were fixed, the timid encouraged, and all were resolved to support the independence of their country, on the pledge of "*their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.*" In this hour of terror and of darkness, his genius penetrated the gloom, and with a prophetic glimpse through the dim light of distant futurity, foretold the coming glories of his country—and was suffered to witness, at the lapse of half a century, the fulfilment of his prophecy. He entered Congress in '74, was on the Commit-

tee that drafted the Declaration of Independence—supported it with all the powers of his mind, and signed it as an earnest of the pledge it contains. He was the first Vice-President of the United States, in '89, and succeeded Washington as President in '96—exhibiting in every station, superior talents and virtue. And at the protracted age of 91 years and upwards, covered with honors, the good old patriarch literally sunk under the weight of his years. On the morning of the 4th of July, he rose without any marked increase of debility, rejoicing that he had been spared to witness the Jubilee of his country's freedom, but became quite ill about noon, and then gradually grew worse, and at 6 o'clock fell asleep, to wake no more in this world. But the angel of death was not permitted to call him hence until his heart was cheered with the loud acclamations of the Jubilee—a day precious in his memory—a day hallowed by its mighty deed, and by its mightier consequences—the day with which the name of the venerable patriot will ever be identified. With the descending sun he departed.

His defence of the American Constitutions, is a fair specimen of the powers of his mind, and of his talents as a writer—a work, which, considering the time and circumstances under which it was written, places the author in the highest ranks in political science. He is said to have been a most interesting object even in his last days. His extreme old age, though feeble, was still manly and spirited. He conversed with apparent satisfaction, with intelligence, and with a copious memory of events and agents. He had not lost his patriotic fire, nor even the characteristic earnestness of his concern in the affairs of his country. The general effect of his presence was powerful, and almost unique, when to the impressions produced by those circumstances, was added the recollection of the eminent, perilous, intense part which he had borne in proposing and achieving the National Independence; of the various exalted and arduous public stations which he had filled; of his extensive learning, his sound mor-

als, his simple personal habits, his warm affections, and his thorough, inflexible *Americanism*. And the great Mr. Jefferson, his political rival, but private friend, in 1816, emphatically remarked, that his federal predecessor was the very life of the Congress of '76—that he urged the assertion of Independence, privately and officially, with incredible zeal and eloquence, and that no man could love his country more, serve her with keener perseverance, or act with more general rectitude than John Adams.

Thomas Jefferson was born the 2d of April, 1743. He received the highest honors at William and Mary College, (his Alma Mater) and studied law under the celebrated George Wythe. Before the age of 25, he was a distinguished member of the legislature of Virginia, and took an active part in all the measures they adopted in opposition to the usurpations of Great Britain. In the Congress of '75, he is said to have been the author of the protest against the offensive propositions of Lord North. He drew the preamble to the Declaration of Rights adopted in Virginia—but above all, he was the author of the *Declaration of Independence*. And here, perhaps, we ought to stop; his measure of fame appears to be full—all his other brilliant deeds are merged in this colossal act. Here is a sort of epic point in the great political drama. To be the author of this immortal instrument—this great charter of the rights and liberties of man—this bold and decisive, but wise and necessary exploit, is far more honorable than the conquest of nations; and, in the moral estimate, infinitely more grand than the subjugation of the world. All the chivalrous deeds and heroic achievements of your Alexanders, your Cæsars, and your Buonaparte's, when compared with this, dwindle into nothing.

But I am not permitted to end here; important facts and events press upon me; and the foremost in the train is, the act of religious toleration—drawn up and carried through the Legislature of Virginia, by this great and good man. The world had for centuries been groaning under the burden of

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security it afforded impaired, nor its essential principles of administration altered.

So far as the prevailing differences of opinion had arisen from a contrariety of views in regard to the Federal Constitution, so far indeed were they founded in a difference of principle. But much of this original discord had been harmonized by compromises in the frame and structure of the government itself, by the spirit in which it was administered, or by actual changes of sentiment wrought by the convictions of experience ; whilst the more violent and direct conflict of political sentiment bore reference to the war existing at the time in Europe, and being thus temporary in its nature, subsided with the cause in which it had originated. Before the close of Jefferson's administration, Adams had expressed his approbation of the course of policy pursued by his successful competitor ; and the disciples and successors of Jefferson recurred to those measures of his predecessor, of which experience had demonstrated the wisdom of the necessity. Between the venerable chiefs themselves, a mutual confidence was re-established, and from their respective retirements they maintained at intervals a friendly correspondence, terminating only with their lives.

Thus these illustrious statesmen not only survived the causes by which they had been so long and widely separated, but lived to revive the sympathies, and realize the hopes, which had united them in early life ; to witness the triumph of those principles for which they had mutually contended ; and to enjoy in the reputation, prosperity, and union of their country, the reward of those services, which, whether in concert or apart, they both had rendered it. And when they died, as if Heaven had deigned to approve those services, and hallow that reward, they died together ! How mysterious ! yet how merciful the event ! And what an instructive spectacle do not we, my countrymen, present, who are here with one accord assembled, to pay the last sad tribute to their worth ! We, who participated in the exasperated passions



and fierce contentions by which they were once separated and estranged ; who were arrayed under their respective banners, friend against friend, and brother against brother, now here united heart and voice, to solemnize with equal rites, their common obsequies !

Such deaths as theirs, indeed, we cannot mourn ; but come to celebrate, in joy for the mercy they reveal, in thankfulness for the admonition they impart. The commemoration of events like these—the contemplation of a scene like this, elevate our thoughts from Earth to Heaven, lead us to look more reverently on the ways of Providence, and points us to the source of every temporal good. They serve to endear the more to us our public institutions, and to assure us of their excellence and stability. They inculcate lessons of forbearance and moderation to regulate our own future conduct, and enforce those precepts of good will and charity to others, which bear the impress of divine authority. Nor are they intended for ourselves alone : the events we celebrate, the spectacle we here present, will have their influence in another land, and swell the bosoms of another people. If these signal coincidences in the lives and deaths of our departed sages—if the prolonged existence of their sole remaining colleague—of him who hazarded the richest venture on our Independence, and still survives, its living monument ; if these be deemed to indicate a divine approval of the cause of freedom, they hold forth a beacon of encouragement to deserted Greece, sufficient to rouse her from despair ; and though abandoned by surrounding Christendom, the descendants of the warriors of Constantine, will discern afar off in the west, a sign as palpably revealed from Heaven, as that which led their ancestors to victory.

But while we indulge these fervent wishes for the success of others, let us not foster a presumptuous hope, my countrymen, in favor of ourselves. Let us never forget, that in proportion to the benefits bestowed on us, are our obligations and responsibility increased ; and let us endeavor to avoid the

dangers incident to too strong a confidence of security. Let us resolve to convert every benignant dispensation to its obvious ends of practical improvement; and whilst we draw a veil over the frailties of the dead, and cherish the remembrance of their virtues, let us frequently recur to the examples of their lives, and advert to the union of their souls in death. Should the institutions of our country be assailed by intestine violence, or their existence threatened by local jealousies and geographical distinctions, let us revert to the national principles and catholic feelings of the two great chieftains of the North and South; and remember the auspicious day that blended their kindred spirits in one admonitory death. And whilst thus studious to repress the germs of rising animosities, let the remembrance of our past dissensions be buried in the graves of ADAMS and of JEFFERSON.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA,

July 20th, 1826.

BY HENRY POTTER.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,—“*How are the mighty fallen,*” was the song of lamentation, by the immortal Hebrew lyric Poet, over the remains of a devoted friend and an insidious foe. But we have met this day to express our sorrow and sympathies, for the loss, not of enemies, nor of *ordinary* friends, but of two illustrious patriarchs and founders of American freedom. It becomes us then, especially, in the spirit of lamentation, to exclaim, “*how are the mighty fallen.*” The immortal spirits of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams have taken their flight from this world, and have winged their way to their God and our God—to return no more forever. And though their material parts shall moulder in the silent tomb, till the morning of the resurrection, yet their deeds shall live in the hearts of their countrymen, and their fame shall survive as long as history lasts.

From the death of Noah, the life of man began gradually to decrease, till it shrunk into its present little measure of three score years and ten. But let it not be said, that because an all-wise and gracious Providence hath seen fit to lengthen out the lives of these distinguished men beyond the ordinary term, they have outlived their usefulness, and that their disease, long expected, is not a subject for sorrow. As an aged father is to his little domestic circle, so are these worthy patriots to the whole nation. And if the affections (or weakness if you

in connexion some plain reflections upon the nature, extent, and effects of their labors.

We inquire not who were the progenitors of such men.—No ancestry could add to that lustre, which will gild their descendants for ages to come.

As their celebrity is derived from their intellect, it would be most interesting, if time permitted, to trace the early cultivation and the whole training of their minds. Both received their education at public colleges, and both studied the profession of the law.

Mr. ADAMS made such distinguished progress in this profession that, at an early age, the office of Chief Justice of his native State was tendered to him ; but he declined its acceptance. His successful defence of the British officers tried for murder at the time of the Boston massacre, when popular indignation against them had been excited almost to fury, shows at once his power and independence of mind, and his high sense of justice and professional duty.

Mr. JEFFERSON rendered a most important service to his State, by aiding in the revisal of all the Colonial and British statutes in force in Virginia, and reducing them, with a part of the comon law, to one code. He divested them of their aristocratical features and feudal barbarisms ; and by abolishing entails, and the rights of primogeniture, decreed the equal distribution of estates among children—the true agrarian law of republics, beneath which the greatest masses of wealth soon melt away.

Their course of legal study and professional exertion was admirably adapted to prepare them both for their destined career ; to strengthen, enlarge and liberalize the mind ; to give clear views of natural rights, and the violations of them by human institutions. I know it is said that this profession tends to narrow and contract the sphere of thought. It does so, where the attention is fixed with microscopic vision, upon its rigid forms and the artificial processes of mere technical deduction ; where precedents, like the decrees of Fate, de-

mand a blind submission, and inveterate absurdities are bowed down to, with superstitious awe, which holds the intellect in bondage, and shrinks from improvement as impiety. But those of whom we speak regarded law in its true exalted character; the rule of human action founded on right and reason, designed for the security and happiness of all rational beings—the fountain of all human societies and human enjoyment. Its origin and its objects: the foundation and the fabric, were by them viewed with a comprehensive eye, and examined with an unyielding scrutiny; calling into exercise the most enlarged comprehension and the most vigorous grasp of intellect.

In 1770, Mr. Adams began his political career as representative from the town of Boston. In 1774, being elected to the council, he had the honor of being negatived by Governor GAGE on account of his political conduct.

Mr. Jefferson was scarcely more than twenty-one years of age when he was elected a member of the legislature of Virginia. Thus, like the father of his country, he was called early into the public service. While they were yet scarcely hardened into manhood, to Washington as a military commander; Virginia entrusted the lives of her citizens and the safety of her frontier; and Jefferson mingled his counsels among the reverend and the grave in her halls of legislation. Such was the policy of Virginia, which has nourished her great men, and clustered around her so many brilliant names, and gave her, for a time, such preponderating sway in the national council. Whenever a new luminary was discovered emerging from her horizon, she scattered no mists of prejudice nor clouds of distrust before him, but courted his earliest beams and gloried in his meridian splendor.

Adams and Jefferson in the colonial assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia, and in the Continental Congress, were among the earliest and most strenuous opposers of British aggression. They were conspicuously active in the measures which led to, and maintained our Independence. They

knew well the magnitude of the undertaking, but they knew also the immense importance of our severance from the mother country. They early foresaw that it was to be a contest of blood ; but they saw too that the object was worth all the cost of sacrifices and dangers, through which it was to be attained. It is for the essential part they took in the great work of our Revolution that we owe them our profoundest gratitude. A work, the magnitude of which, cannot be exaggerated—its value can never be estimated.

There are those indeed, who, dazzled by the glory of Britain, are apt to think that there is nothing so forbidding in a connexion with her, and that there could not be much danger under the dominion of so brave, so free, and refined a nation. We may concede to them all that is asked for her arts, her literature, and her science ; for the measured freedom which she enjoys, and the watchfulness and vigor with which she guards and maintains her rights. But we are not to forget the principles of human nature, and that history, and observation teach us that those who are most jealous of their own freedom, are often the most ready to bind the yoke and wield the lash of servitude upon others. The refined Athenian and the lofty Roman had their slaves, and the invincible Spartans, their helots ; and even in a portion of our own thrice blessed country, we see the high-minded, the free, and the chivalric, holding their fellow men in bondage. But why do we seek other illustrations when the example of Britain herself is before us ? Look at her treatment of her colonies, hardly excepting even those now remaining on this side the Atlantic, from whose poverty she can filch no wealth, and who, being contiguous to us and in full view of our unrestrained happiness, are held by so feeble a tie, that, if she attempt to straighten, she must sunder it.

Look at Ireland—whose green fields have been scorched by oppression, and where the fruits of Heaven are blasted by the breath of man ! See her emaciated sons ; with starvation on the one hand, and the gibbet on the other—they

crawl into their low, mud-built huts to carry to famishing children only a communion of wretchedness ! Look at India—where Ambition has reddened his hands in the blood of millions ; and Rapine has rioted on their spoils !—where Avarice has been sent to glean the fields which War and Desolation had reaped !

I trust that I speak from no prejudice, much less from any narrow spirit of hostility towards England. But I would have you appreciate the freedom you enjoy, and the merits of those who gave it. I know that much, very much, of the wrong, which Britain inflicts upon others, results inevitably from her own condition. Her sense of justice yields to the necessities of her own excessive population. But this renders not her connexion the less disastrous. The Lion is indeed of noble nature, but when his own whelps cry out for hunger, let all beware of his embrace.

It is mere delusion to suppose that we should have escaped the deadly effects of England's unrestrained dominion, if our fathers had not resisted. Had they yielded to her claim of right "to bind us in all cases whatsoever," it is vain to say that our Independence would only have been for a short time delayed. She *would* have bound our infant-giant limbs in fetters, and stinted them forever of their fair proportions. Our people would not have multiplied as now—our commerce would not have covered every sea, nor our extended fields gloried in their harvests ;—but the forest would still have frowned around us, and poverty, and weakness, and dependence have been our portion. This is the thralldom—such are the miseries from which Adams and Jefferson have redeemed us, and honored and blessed be their names forever.

The Continental Congress was the theatre of their severest trials and highest glory. Among the measures of that august assembly, the Declaration of our Independence stands pre-eminent. Every thing connected with it excites deep and acute interest. The motion "that these States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," was made by Rich-

ard Henry Lee, and, as it has been asserted, at the instance of Mr. Adams. The committee on this motion consisted of Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman and Livingston, by whom Jefferson and Adams were appointed a sub-committee, and then the making of the original draught of the Declaration was devolved on Mr. Jefferson alone. That which he presented was approved by Mr. Adams, then by the whole committee, and reported to the Congress without the change of a single syllable. Some portions of the original were stricken out by that body before its adoption. Among which was a most eloquent and impressive invective against the king, for having introduced negro slavery into the Colonies, and still continuing the slave trade; which Mr. Jefferson's friends would not permit to remain, but they could not deprive him of the honor of having proposed it.

The Declaration, in its present form, was adopted by vote of the Congress, and subscribed by its members, on the 4th of July, 1776, the most important day, politically speaking, that the world has ever seen. Our admiration of this instrument is raised, not merely by the unequalled elegance and elevation of its style, but by the matchless thoughts that strike so forcibly upon the heart—by the principles it developes, and that firmness of purpose, which gives form and vigor to those principles; and that spirit, which breathes them into life, and energy, and action. But it is as a great, solemn *political act*, that it demands our highest veneration. What had the world ever seen that was equal, that approached to it? Go to antiquity—to Greece, to Rome—travel over France, Spain, Germany, and the whole of modern continental Europe. All was comparative gloom: political science had not risen. Go to the isles of the sea—to Britain, then the most free of nations: and Englishmen would proudly point you to their *Magna Charta*, as their most valuable birthright, and the greatest bulwark of liberty which any nation had raised. It was so. And yet how does it dwindle in the contrast with our Declaration of Independence, which was a greater era in the history of

mankind, than Magna Charta was, in the history of England. The latter was a concession, extorted by armed barons from their Sovereign. It was, what it is called, a *charter*, from the King, as the fountain of all right and power. He was their lord and master—the ultimate owner of all the soil in the kingdom; and this was a *grant*, forced it is true, but still a *grant*, from his grace and favor, allowing the exercise of some rights to his subjects, and consenting to some limits to his royal prerogative.

The former is not a grant of privileges to a portion of a single nation—it is a Declaration, *by a whole people*, of what before existed, and will always exist, *the native equality of the human race*, as the true foundation of all political, of all human institutions. It was an assertion, that we held our rights, as we hold our existence, by no charter, except from the KING of Kings. It vindicated the dignity of our nature. It rested upon this “one inextinguishable truth, which never has been and never can be wholly eradicated from the human heart, placed as it is, in the very core and centre of it by its Maker, that man was not made the property of man—that human power is a trust for human benefit, and that when it is abused, resistance becomes justice and duty.”

This great truth was proclaimed to the world, with a voice that reached over oceans and continents, and found an instant response in every human breast. I cannot exaggerate to myself the effects it will produce, not merely upon this country, but upon the future condition of the human race. Its power was soon felt in the tremendous revolutions of France, and the convulsive throes for liberty throughout Europe.

But it may be asked, how could those scenes, of horror and of crime, have flowed from the pure and beneficent principles of that Declaration? The answer is ready. The soil of France was not prepared for the seeds of liberty, and falsehood, impiety, and unbridled passion sprung up. The immense populace were there sunk in the depths of brutal ignorance. It had been for ages the policy of the civil rulers and the clergy

to keep the people in profound darkness, as the means of perpetuating their own power. The mind and the body were both held in thralldom. An arbitrary government had prostrated them to the earth, and a catholic priesthood had thrown over them the pall of bigotry, through which no ray *from above* could penetrate. Ground into the dust, they *felt* like men, though they could not see like men. They knew that they were wronged, but knew not the means of redress; and, rising in their wrath, were indiscriminate in their vengeance. The *people*, there, were the *strong man*, who had been shorn of his locks, and bound in fetters, and his eyes sealed up from the light of Heaven, and his toil and agony were made the profit and the sport of lords and nobles! No wonder, that in his blindness and his rage, he laid hold of the pillars of the fabric, which sustained them, and buried himself and his oppressors in undistinguished ruin.

But the convulsions and miseries of Europe, since our revolution, have not been in vain. They afford lessons to rulers and subjects which cannot be forgotten. Inquiry has been excited, knowledge is extending, the rights and duties of man are becoming better understood, and must in their progress be universally asserted and exercised. By the effects of our Declaration of Independence, South America has been emancipated, Europe enlightened, and Greece, unhappy Greece, aroused from her lethargy of centuries.

Mr. Adam's participation in this great measure is not less honorable than that of his illustrious colleague. His whole soul seemed wrapt up in the issue. His efforts were unremitting. "Instantly in season and out of season"—in the Congress, and out of it—in conversation and in debate, he exerted all his powers of persuasion, and poured forth his highest strains of eloquence; and by the aid of Him, who "touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire," he moved the heart and convinced the mind, and his glorious purpose was accomplished. To have been, the one the author, and the other the most efficient advocate of that Declaration; is fame enough for both.

It has placed them on the highest pinnacle of human greatness, and their names will go down with unfading glory to future ages.

But it was not by this act alone that Jefferson and Adams were distinguished in the Continental Congress. In that assembly of glowing patriots, they were always among the most ardent: with the daring and fearless, they were among the boldest: with the unyielding—among the firmest: and with the sagacious—the wisest. And when we say that they were eminently conspicuous in the old Congress at Philadelphia, in order to understand the full merit of such distinction, we must recollect who were the men that composed that body. If we examine their individual characters, their state papers and their public acts, we shall, with the celebrated Chatham, yield them collectively our unqualified admiration. It is difficult to speak of them with simple justice, without appearing to use the language of extravagant eulogium. For all, who have not well considered, will think it incredible that they should have been men of such overshadowing greatness. But it should be remembered that great occasions make great men. That it is amidst political revolutions that powerful minds are formed and called into action. The sparks of genius are struck out by the concussion, and the fury of the blast but increases the intensity of its fires. In the calm of peace, intellect may be torpid, or the inferior and unworthy, by the little arts of intrigue, may rise to place and power. But when the storm rages, and all feel that they are embarked together upon the waves—then, when the timid quail, and the feeble tremble, and the short-sighted are confounded—none but the strong hand, and the firm heart, and the unblenched eye, can hold the helm and direct the course. It is amidst the war of the elements that the master spirits rule.

Mr. Adams was removed from the Congress to other scenes of important duty and usefulness. In August, 1779, he was sent to Europe as a Commissioner of peace. The public ship, on board which he embarked, was commanded by the gallant

Commodore Tucker, now living, and a citizen of this State, who took more guns from the enemy, during the revolutionary war, than any other naval commander, and who has been far less known and rewarded than his merits deserved. One occurrence on their passage is worthy of relation, as illustrating the characters of both. Discovering an enemy's ship, neither could resist the temptation to engage, although against the dictates of prudent duty. Tucker, however, stipulated that Mr. Adams should remain in the lower part of the ship as a place of safety. But no sooner had the battle commenced than he was seen on deck, with a musket in his hands, fighting as a common marine. The Commodore peremptorily ordered him below, but, called instantly away, it was not until considerable time had elapsed, that he discovered this public minister still at his post, intently engaged in firing upon the enemy. Advancing, he exclaimed, why are you here, Sir? I am commanded by the Continental Congress to carry you in safety to Europe, and I will do it: and, seizing him in his arms, forcibly carried him from the scene of danger.

Mr. Adams remained in Europe during the remainder of the war, and for some time after, and went from court to court unceasingly exerting himself for the benefit of his country. He succeeded in negotiating a loan at Amsterdam; and a treaty of amity and commerce, and also a convention with the Netherlands, both of which were signed in October, 1782. He was engaged in negotiating the treaty with Great Britain which terminated the war, and his name is subscribed to the provisional articles of peace of November, 1782; the armistice declaring a cessation of hostilities, of January, 1783; and the definitive treaty of peace of September of the same year. He was subsequently Ambassador to the court of St. James, and one of the negotiators of the treaty of 1785, with Prussia.

Mr. Jefferson remained in the United States, continuing his efforts for the general good, in the several capacities of Delegate to Congress, a Member of the Legislature and Gov-

ernor of Virginia. In 1784 he was associated with Adams, Franklin, Jay and Laurens, in a plenipotentiary commission to the several powers of Europe, and in July, 1785, signed the treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia.

In 1781, Mr. Jefferson composed his Notes on Virginia, and in the years 1786 and 1787, Mr. Adams wrote his Defence of the American Constitutions. Both are works of great and deserved celebrity.

Under our present federal constitution, Mr. Adams was twice elected to the Vice-Presidency, and succeeded Gen. Washington in the office of President.

Mr. Jefferson successively filled the stations of Secretary of State, Vice-President, and President of the United States.

The terms, for which they had severally been elected, having expired, both retired from the highest offices and greatest honors which this, or any country could afford, to the retreats of private life : in which they were exemplars of purity, hospitality and usefulness. Mr. Jefferson, at Monticello, devoting his time to the University of Virginia ; and Mr. Adams, at Quincy, holding up the lamp of his experience for the guidance of others.

Mr. Adams was of an ardent temperament. His intellect was marked with great fervor and great strength. Sometimes rapid almost to precipitancy, yet immoveably fixed in its purposes. Of untiring industry, and unyielding perseverance, he was characterized by active moral courage. Scenes where others were appalled, but nerved him to greater energy.

Mr. Jefferson was constitutionally calm, circumspect, and philosophic. His views were clear and comprehensive. He investigated closely and reflected much before he proceeded to action, and having marked out his course with extensive knowledge and deep thought, advanced in it with undeviating step.

The minds of both seized their subjects with a giant's power; but one seemed to embrace the most, and the other to grasp the closest. They were both learned; but yielded to no dogmas, and were trammelled by no systems. Enriched by the spoils of ages, they did not bend beneath the weight of their own wealth; but it increased their inborn independence—they stood more firmly erect, and fearlessly surveyed the Heavens and the earth. Wherever truth would lead, they dared to follow: and they cared not if they shook the world with their opinions, if they but scattered the clouds, and let in light upon the mind.

I propose not to dwell upon that period of their lives when they were at the head of contending parties. I would not on this day strike a single chord that may not be attuned to harmony. In the awful silence of the tomb, passion is hushed, and its fires burn not amid the damps of death. Whatever we may think of the correctness of their respective opinions, or the policy of their measures, we may at least accord to each of them honesty and singleness of intention.—In this we shall but follow their own example, who in later life have born willing testimony to the merits of each other—Adams proclaiming the services of Jefferson, and Jefferson asserting that Adams was emphatically *the great man* of the Congress which declared our Independence. While we lament their temporary alienation, we have the consolation to know that personal friendship, and harmony of political views were fully restored long before the close of life.—It was grateful, it was ennobling, to see those great and good men, whose hearts, in early time, had been bound and knit together, but who, for a while, had been estranged from each other, again unite in the cordial embrace, and the strong sympathy, which death itself was not to sunder, but in which, they were to pass together to another world. The streams of their lives were united near their sources, and joined in one current, had forced their way through mounds of earth, and swept over appalling barriers—but, at length, divided in their course, by a rough island of rock, they rushed by its

opposing sides with turbulent and emulous rapidity—until, at last, their waters were commingled in peace, and flowed on, tranquil and majestic, into the ocean of eternity.

We contemplate their departure without any thing of the bitterness of despair, and with little even of the poignancy of grief, but with a soothing sadness and a melancholy pleasure. We mourn indeed ; but it is with the feelings in which we view the closing of the year, when nature herself is falling to decay, and seems to be putting on the shroud of death. We must be solemn ; for it is a memento, which comes home to our own hearts, and tells us, that however bright the tide or proud the waves on which we ride, they bear us swiftly to silence and night.

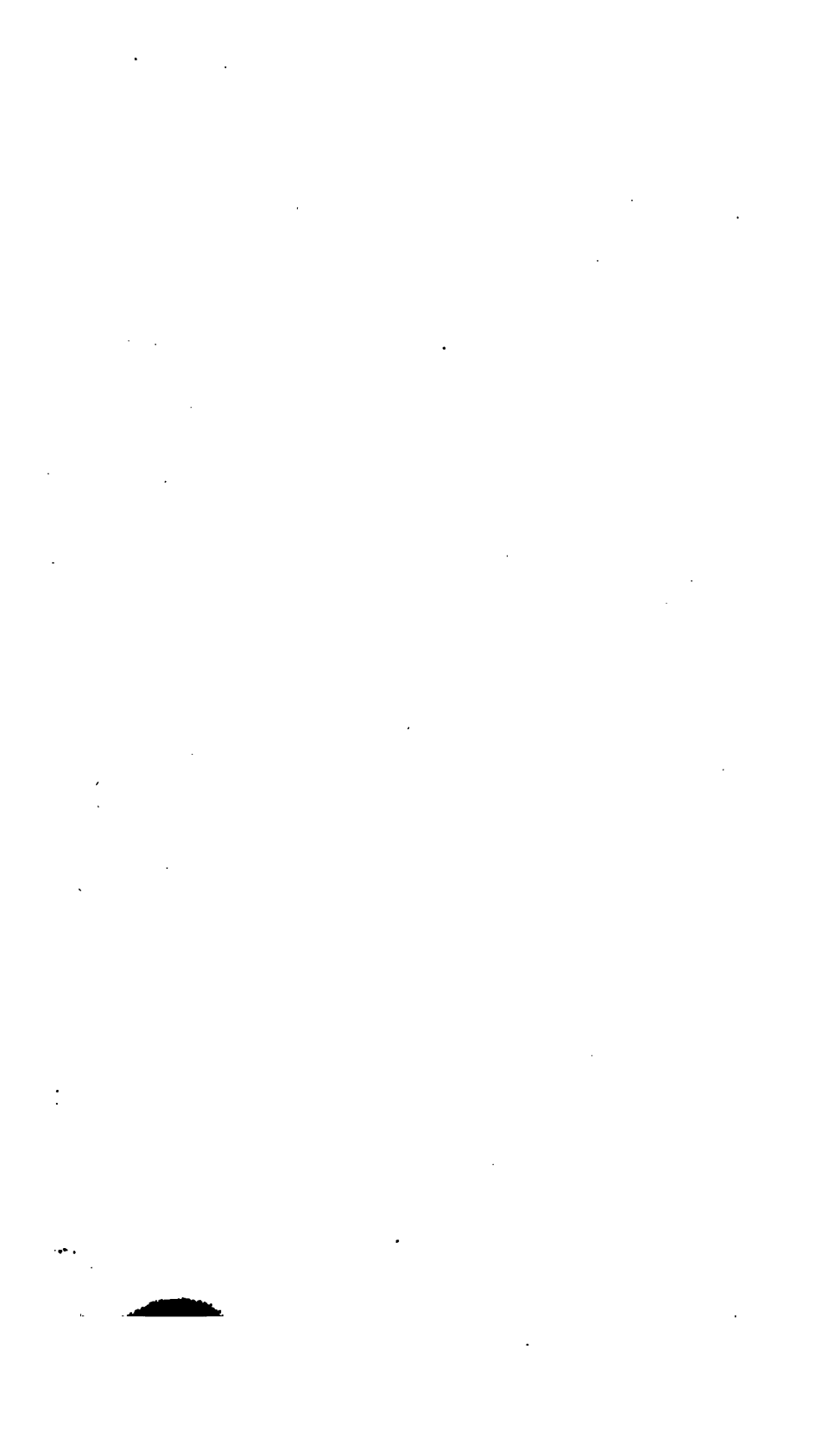
They had lived to reap the richest of earthly rewards in the abundant success of all their labors. They had seen the institutions, which they had established, survive the violence of internal excitement, and the shock of foreign war ; and our country rich, powerful and populous, beyond what the most glowing visions of their youth had dared to depict. They had seen the expansion of the soul, when the pressure of bigotry and tyranny was removed ; and the free spirit go forth in its majesty—penetrating the dark recesses of Spanish oppression in the South ; and invading the strong holds of Turkish despotism in the East ; and iron thrones melting before that fire whose early flame their breath had fanned. They had lived to become the patriarchs of America, and saw their children in the land of promise ;—and one of them beheld the destinies of this far extended and enlightened people, safely reposing in the hands of his own Patriot Son, pre-eminent for wisdom and virtue. The men of other days—their companions and their friends, had passed away ; and new generations had risen up to call them blessed. Their labors were finished—the number of their days was full—they had lived enough for themselves, for their country, and mankind. It only remained to them, that their last prayer should be answered in the wonderful, we may almost be permitted to

say, the miraculous coincidences of their departure, which have given new interest to a day, which was before above all days of political celebration. They passed indeed through the valley of the shadow of death, but it was lighted up by the brightness of their own day of Jubilee—their spirits arose upon the songs of joy, and the prayers of gratitude of millions, whom they had made free—and had the prophet lent his “chariot of fire,” and his “horses of fire,” their ascent could hardly have been more glorious!

It remains to us to cherish their memory, and emulate their virtues, by perpetuating and extending the blessings which they have bequeathed. So long as we preserve our country, their fame cannot die, for it is reflected from the surface of every thing that is beautiful and valuable in our land. We cannot recur too often, nor dwell too long upon the lives and characters of such men; for our own will take something of their form and impression from those on which they rest.—If we inhale the moral atmosphere in which they moved, we must feel its purifying and invigorating influence. If we raise our thoughts to their elevation, our minds will be expanded and ennobled, in beholding the immeasurable distance beneath, and around us. “Can we breathe the pure mountain air, and not be refreshed; can we walk abroad amidst the beautiful and the grand of the works of creation, and feel no kindling of devotion?”

Our country has been sometimes reproached for not erecting monuments and statues to her departed worthies. But what avails the monument of brass and stone? Sink its foundations deep; raise it as high as human ken; when the rolling years press on—it falls—they sweep over it, and leave not a trace of its gloomy grandeur. Erect the statue of marble; it is cold and lifeless—Time clasps it—and it becomes dust in his hands. But the patriot-statesmen and philanthropists, like those whom we this day commemorate, who have been the instruments of Providence in adding to the numbers and happiness of the human race; who have peopled and

gladdened new regions—their memorials are every where ! Their *statues* are man ; living, feeling, intelligent, adoring man ; bearing the image of his maker ; having the impress of divinity. These shall endure, by constant succession, through countless ages, and vigorous in the embrace of Time, become more and more abundant. Their *monuments*, are the everlasting hills which they have clothed with verdure—their praises, are sounds of health and joy, in vallies which they have made fruitful—to them incense daily rises, in the perfumes of fragrant fields, which they have spread with cultivation—fair cities proclaim their glory—gorgeous mansions speak their munificence—their names are inscribed on the goodly habitations of men ; and on those hallowed temples of God, whose spires ever point to the Heaven, which, we trust, has received them.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS,

August 2d, 1826.

BY JOHN A. SHAW.

CLOSELY allied to love of country, is gratitude to its benefactors. How can we survey the blessings which throng around us, which endear to us our native land, without grateful emotions towards those men, by whose exertions they were acquired. When our fathers are withdrawn from the scene of their earthly labors, does not the heart dictate, that those, who are enjoying the fruits of their services, should pay a tribute of respect to their memory? Yes, fellow citizens, we have come together to indulge in a few reflections, on reviewing the eventful lives and valuable services of JOHN ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Were we to permit the departure of these venerable men to pass unnoticed, we should seem ungrateful to Heaven for the favors which it has granted us, through their instrumentality. No circumstance ought more forcibly to draw our attention to the great work, in which Providence was the guide and the shield of our fathers, than the removal of those men who were his agents in effecting it. When we call up in review the incidents of their lives and the result of their labors, we bring into remembrance the most signal dispensations of Heaven.

Though the fathers of our Independence have gone from mortal view, and a respectful notice of this event is due to the illustrious deceased, can we call it a mournful dispensation? Is there not rather cause of devout exultation, that two distinguished survivors of the revolutionary struggle have

been spared so long ; two who have successively held the highest office in our republic ? I would call this a sacred rather than a mournful season. The event which has brought us together, ought to arrest the busy thoughts of man, and fill the soul with admiration of the wondrous and beneficent works of God. Is it not rather a day when it becomes every man, who values the blessings of civil and religious freedom, to commune with his own heart, and form some faint conception of what Heaven has done for the land of his birth ?

These aged pilgrims asked not for lengthened life. After laboring long in the cause of man, after bearing the burthen and heat of the day, they had received every reward the world could give. Having themselves held the highest posts of honor, they had lived to see their children also elevated by the spontaneous voice of their fellow-citizens. They had lived to behold their children's children commencing their career in the happiest land, on which the beams of Heaven ever fell ; a land powerful and happy by their exertions.— More than this, they had lived to behold a complete fulfilment of their sanguine hopes, in the expanded greatness and consolidated strength of a pure Republic. What more could be asked for these venerable patriarchs, who had far outlived nearly all the associates of their active days, than that their freed spirits might be released from the bondage of the flesh, on that august hour when millions were remembering, with grateful hearts, their revolutionary services ; when a great nation were celebrating the day dear to freedom, the day which will ever be the festival of liberty ?

The present occasion forbids us to speak at length of the public course of these great men. For this would require no less than a history of our country. I will therefore touch briefly on what the circumstances, under which we are assembled, seem to require.

This section of our country has the honor of having been the birth-place of John Adams. He was born on the 19th of October, O. S. 1735, in that part of Braintree, which has

since been incorporated by the name of Quincy. He was the fourth in descent from Henry Adams, who settled in that neighborhood, near two centuries ago. It appears that he, like many of our forefathers, left his native land, to follow unmolested the dictates of a purer faith, and enjoy the privileges of a purer government. The following is from the inscription on his tomb stone in the Quincy burial ground.—“ In memory of Henry Adams who took his flight from the Dragon Persecution, in Devonshire, Eng. and alighted with eight sons near Mt. Wollaston.” He was also descended, in another line, from John Alden, one of the pilgrim founders of the Plymouth Colony, in 1620. He received his education at Cambridge. His professional calling was that of the law. So eminent was his standing at the bar, that, at an early age, he was appointed chief-justice of the State, which office he declined. He was distinguished for his talents, decision, firmness, and deep sense of official duty, by the part he took, in conjunction with Josiah Quincy, jr. in defence of the British soldiers who perpetrated the “ Boston Massacre” in 1770. But his profession was soon sacrificed to the political interests of his country.

He was one of the earliest friends of liberty ; was one of the first, if not the very first of those that acted in the revolution, who foresaw the independence and power of what now forms the United States. In the Congress of 1776, he was known as the ablest advocate of independence. When the decisive step was determined on, the following was moved by Richard H. Lee of Virginia, and seconded by Mr. Adams, “ Resolved that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; and that all political connexion between them and G. Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.” This was on the 7th of June. While the resolution was under debate, Mr. Adams enforced its necessity by an eloquent and resistless argument which bore down all opposition. Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. R. R. Livingston, were

appointed a committee to prepare a Declaration of Independence, in conformity with the resolution. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams were deputed by the committee, and the instrument, as is well known, was drafted by Mr. Jefferson.

The Declaration, after the omission of about a fifth, and some other slight amendments, was unanimously adopted on the 4th of July, 1776. Mr. Adams put a just estimate on the importance of this favorite measure. On the 5th, he writes to a friend, "Yesterday was decided the greatest question which was ever decided among men. A resolution was passed unanimously, 'that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.' The day is passed. The 4th of July '76, will be a memorable epoch in the history of America. *I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations, as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God."— Venerable Apostle of Liberty! and didst thou live to behold what then filled thy mighty soul with enthusiastic hope!— Well mightest thou exclaim on its fiftieth anniversary, with thy expiring breath, "this is a great, a good day!" Yea it was indeed a great, a good day; and with it will be forever associated the name of JOHN ADAMS.

He did not remit his exertions on the adoption of this measure, but continued active in the work he had fearlessly begun. While his countrymen at home were struggling in the embattled field, his services were no less important abroad. He was sent a commissioner to France in '78, and returned in '79. He recommended to Congress every step that might tend to strengthen the alliance with that country; but such was his jealousy of every thing hostile to the principles of liberty, that he advised them, invariably, "to guard against their principles in government, and the manners that were so opposite to the constitution of America, and the character of a young people, who might hereafter be called to form establishments for a great nation." In '82 Mr. Adams

negotiated a treaty with the Republic of Holland, and by obtaining a loan, rendered his country essential service ; for it was at a crisis when their resources had been drained by a long and expensive war, their paper currency become useless, and no foundation laid for public credit. He was shortly after this negotiation directed by Congress to repair to Paris and assist in concluding a peace between Great Britain and her revolted Colonies, then standing on the equal ground of Independent States. In '84 he was united with Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Franklin in a commission to treat with nearly all the powers of Europe. In '85 he was sent as an ambassador to Great Britain.

On the adoption of our constitution he was elected Vice-President, and received the full confidence of General Washington, then President. In '97 he succeeded the Father of his country as President. It was a stormy season. The public mind, throughout the civilized world, was in a state of high excitement. A fermentation was at work among the political elements, which set calculation at defiance. Whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to the measures of his administration ; the uniform tenor of his conduct in those times, when patriotism was no cheap commodity, shew at this day beyond a doubt that he was at all times the ardent friend of liberty. At the close of the term for which he was elected, Mr. Jefferson by a small majority was preferred to him. In 1801 he retired to the ancient residence of his fathers at Quincy, from which he did not permit politics to call him, except for a short time in two instances. Having been the principle author of the constitution of this state, when the convention was called to revise it in 1820, he was elected a member and unanimously chosen its president. On his declining this latter honor from the infirmities of age, resolutions were unanimously passed by this great assembly, expressing their deep sense of his merits and public services. He was also the same year an elector of President and Vice President.

In private life his character was pure. He was a steadfast believer in the religion of Christ. He scrupulously performed all the duties of private and domestic life ; and no stain can attach to his memory, as a man and christain. To his paternal instructions we are chiefly indebted for the services of that illustrious statesman, who is now at the head of our nation. The weaker traits of his character were such as are seldom separated from an open, bold, confiding, and independent spirit. In his advanced age his mind was vigorous. He was serene and tranquil to the last.

About four weeks before his death, his native town invited him, as usual, to join them in the observance of the late anniversary. The following was his reply. " June 7th.— The present feeble state of my health will not permit me to indulge the hope of participating, with more than by my best wishes, in the joys and festivities and the solemn services of that day, on which will be completed the 50th year from its birth, the Independence of the United States. A remarkable epoch in the annals of the human race, destined in future history to form the brightest or the blackest page, according to the use or the abuse of those political institutions by which they shall, in time to come, be shaped by the human mind."

Mr. Adams was the author of an interesting and able work in defence of the American constitutions, published a short time before the adoption of our present form of government.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, on the 2d of April, O. S. 1743. He received the highest honors at the College of William and Mary in his native state, and was bred to the bar. By the age of twenty-five, he was a distinguished member of the Virginia legislature. Being a devoted friend to equal rights, he labored, and with success, to give to the laws of his state a more republican character. A law forbidding the further importation of slaves, a law for the abolition of entails, which broke in upon the hereditary aristocracy of the state, also a law to abolish the principle of primogeniture, a law giving equal inheritance

to sons and daughters, and a law for the security of religious freedom, were all prepared by him, and carried chiefly by his efforts. In '75 he was sent to the general Congress at Philadelphia. Although he put in no claim to the palm of eloquence, he was distinguished for the firmness of his sentiments, and the felicity and vigor of his compositions. Of the committee appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence, he was elected by a higher vote than any other member. It has already been said, while speaking of his illustrious associate, that he was the author of the imperishable document which declared us "free, sovereign and independent states." In '79 and '80 he was governor of Virginia. His "Notes on Virginia," which were written in '81, are an able specimen of his talents for composition, and evince the correctness of his political opinions. In '84 he was appointed minister to France. In October '89 he obtained leave to return home. While on his passage, he was nominated by President Washington, Secretary of Foreign Affairs. His correspondence with the French and English ministers while in this station, is a proud monument of his genius. This office he resigned on the last day of '93. In '97 he was made Vice President, and four years after, President. In 1803 a treaty under his instruction was negotiated with France, by which the extensive territory of Louisiana was annexed with the United States. Whatever may be thought of some measures of his policy, the acquisition of a territory equal in extent to the former United States, and which alone could secure to us the undisturbed navigation of a river, whose branches are spread through a fertile country equal to the half of Europe—this acquisition by peaceful means, had he no other claim on posterity, would render his name memorable, so long as our Republic shall endure. He retired from office in March, 1809. Since that time he has been engaged in a work, on which, in his declining days, he reflected with peculiar satisfaction. "My whole labors," to repeat his own words, "have now for many years been devoted to the

University of Virginia. I claim some share in this great work of regeneration, and I stand pledged to follow it up, through the remnant of life remaining to me." This venerable statesman and philosopher, who had helped to lay the foundation of a mighty nation, thought the work but half accomplished, till the best means of education were made accessible to his countrymen. Let it bring home to our minds the obvious truth, that only an enlightened people can be free.

On the 24th of June, a few days before his death, he returned an answer to an invitation from the City of Washington to unite with them in celebrating the 50th anniversary of American Independence. It is proper on this occasion to repeat an extract from it, not only because it is one of the last paragraphs he ever penned, but because it shews the vigor of his mind at that late hour, and is replete with such sentiments as republicans should ever cherish. "It adds sensibly," he writes, "to the sufferings of sickness to be deprived by it of a personal participation in the rejoicings of that day: but acquiescence is a duty under circumstances not placed among those we are permitted to control. I should indeed with peculiar delight, have met and exchanged their congratulations, personally, with the small band, the remnant of that host of worthies who joined with us on that day, in the bold and doubtful election we were to make for our country, between submission and the sword; and to have enjoyed with them the consolatory fact that our fellow-citizens after half a century of experience and prosperity, continue to approve the choice we made. May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all,) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessing and security of self-government. The form which we have substituted restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of

man. The general spread of the lights of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others ; for ourselves let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and undiminished devotion to them."

These venerable men, of whose public course I have now attempted to sketch an outline, died as they had lived ; their country to the last, dear to their hearts, and its Independence the darling theme which lingered on their quivering lips. They have gone. But the remembrance of their glorious deeds will never die. Poor is the pittance of renown which the world's conqueror receives, empty as the idle wind, transient as the shooting star, compared with that gratitude which embalms in the hearts of the free, the patriot's never-dying name. Their days were lengthened out far beyond the common age of man ; for Heaven had destined them to behold during half a century, the success of that cause in which they had spent the prime of their days ; the progress of that work which has beat down principalities and powers, going on conquering and to conquer, and which will one day efface every vestige of usurping power from an emancipated world. Heaven has already set its seal to their revolutionary services. When was the hand of Providence more clearly seen than in the close of their eventful lives ? But on a subject which has filled, and will continue to fill, all hearts with devout wonder and amazement, I need not enlarge. When centuries shall have rolled away, and the mists of time shall have shed around our revolutionary conflict the guise of a romantic age—when the fancies of the poet shall have mingled with the truths of history, scarcely will the world refrain from classing this act of Heaven with the prodigies and marvels of a fabled era.

To what distinguished period of eighty or ninety years can we be referred, fellow citizens, which can bear any compar-

ison, if we except the rise of Christianity, with the times of these great men? What a catalogue of wondrous deeds would be unfolded, were there to be spread before us, not a full record of its strange events, but of those transactions only, in which they bore a conspicuous part? They had seen their own generations pass away, and a new race of men raised to fill the places of their fathers. They had seen most of the civilized world transformed by revolution. In their day many of the monuments of the bigotry and tyranny of former times had crumbled to the dust. A world they had seen on the march of improvement. What period can exhibit such advances in science, arts, and useful inventions, in a development of the true principles of civil and religious liberty, in exertions for the spread of Christian truth, and in every thing that tends to meliorate, refine, and exalt the condition of mankind? The human mind is too feeble in its powers, too narrow in its compass, to form a just, a comprehensive view of this stupendous age. And is it too much to say that the fathers of American liberty have held the foremost place in these great transactions? Are we transported beyond the bounds of probability, when we say that our own revolution was made the moving cause in this amazing series? That the illustrious men of whom we are now speaking were important agents in the design of Providence, compared with the Napoleons, Alexanders, and Wellingtons, who have followed them on this vast theatre? Was not our revolution the shock which first roused the slumbering nations, taught them they had rights, and urged them to assert them? Of one thing we are certain: it has presented the first form, the first successful experiment of a well balanced Republic; the fairest page in the history of government.

So peculiar is the condition of our country compared with any state which ever rose beyond the ocean, that it was doubtless designed to present to the world's admiring view, the first model of a great and pure Republic. It was destined to begin the work of political regeneration. And let us, let every

generation which shall follow us, be induced to carry forward the good work, not only by what we owe to the memory of our fathers and the claims of posterity, but by the animating thought, that, so long as our free institutions shall remain, a standing monitor will be before the nations of the earth, to warn them of the evils of arbitrary power, and to teach them the lesson of republican happiness. To us is assigned the van in the march of free institutions; and these venerable men, whose memories we this day cherish with grateful hearts, together with their illustrious compatriots, have prepared the way.

Hail happy period! when civil liberty joined with Christian faith, shall emancipate the world from the fetters of despotism and the galling chains of sin. Freedom must rest on the basis of public information and public virtue. This proposition, though often repeated, is no oftener advanced than its obvious importance requires. And what so efficacious as the sanctions of eternal truth, as that light from above, which gilds alike the lowly roof and vaulted dome, to animate, to cheer, to purify, and guide us in the way of virtue, peace and equal rights? The politician may rear his well proportioned fabric, but unless the light of Christianity be there, unless its purifying spirit shed around its holy power, degeneracy and corruption will sap the foundation. Not that it interferes with forms of government, for its kingdom is not of this world. Its powerful influence is a moral influence. It designs no reforms but those of personal character. It exalts a people, only by its power on the hearts of those who compose it. In proportion as pure Christianity prevails—I mean the religion taught by Christ, not that which has falsely assumed its name, not that which has been made “a pick-lock to a place,” not that which, in unholy league with civil powers, has tyrannized over both the body and the soul—in proportion as divine philosophy prevails, man will respect the rights of his brother man, and be ready to obey the easy rule of liberty. The Christian raises in his mind no structure of the future happi-

ness and glory of the world, without resting it on the firm and broad foundation of gospel truth. He who is the servant of sin cannot be the Lord's freeman ; and he is as little qualified to be a good citizen of a free Republic. A corrupt community must ere long be an enslaved community.

To form a correct estimate of the value of those services which Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson rendered to their country, look back to the circumstances under which they asserted its independence. The story of the unarmed and defenceless state of our fathers, and of the formidable power of their oppressor, has been again and again repeated. Destitute were they of a treasury, navy, well appointed army, and foreign allies ; destitute of every munition of war which the gigantic power of Britain made necessary for the struggle. At such a period, with a disaffected minority in the middle colonies, these men resolved to lead the way in declaring their country free. They did not wait to follow in the track of others. They were governed by no time-serving policy, but stood forth in the foremost rank, to encourage the faint hearted and uphold the weak. They were no needy adventurers who had nothing to hazard ; they were not men of ruined fortunes seeking to repair their loss by the chances of civil war—they were not desperate spirits embarking in a desperate enterprise, because no change could make their condition worse. They had both honorably entered on their professional course. The road to wealth and distinction was already opened before them, and the favor of a monarchy ready to visit them with its dazzling honors. Had they consulted fear instead of duty, the love of ease in preference to love of country, their names would never have adorned the charter of our rights. Indeed had the influence of but a few such men been thrown into the opposite scale, the insidious encroachments of ministerial policy would have gone too far for successful resistance. But they chose to meet oppression at the threshold, and hazard all for liberty. They were ready to brave suffering and death

in every form that tyrannic power contrives for those who despise its sway. They trusted, that, whatever might be their own lot, Heaven was just, and would one day establish the liberties of that people who dared to assert and defend them. One of these patriots thus writes on the [B.] 5th of July, '76. "I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure it will cost to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States; yet through all the gloom I can see a ray of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means: and that posterity will triumph." Yes, fellow citizens, it is owing to the wisdom and firmness of men like these, that "reason, faith, and conscience are all our own," that our country is the strong hold of freedom, and the hope of the world.

In shewing our respect for the memory of these benefactors, it is not necessary to exhibit them as faultless: for they were subject to like passions with ourselves. But although they may have had their faults, both as men and politicians, what does not our country owe to the founders of its liberties? What American heart will not warm at the name of men who embarked all in the cause of American freedom? And whatever may be thought of some few measures of their respective administrations, while they were at the head of our government; what country, during those twelve years, was so well governed, what land was so prosperous and happy as ours? When we have allowed all that principle, or even prejudice, can suggest; how grateful to the heart of an American, is the history of that period, compared with the corruptions, oppressions, burthensome exactions, and absurd wars of hereditary governments? Let it also be borne in mind that our constitution was then in its infancy. It had been but eight years in operation when Mr. Adams succeeded to the presidency. And surely it was no easy task to satisfy public expectation, when following that man who was "first in war, first in peace," first in every thing which makes man good

and great. It ought likewise to be observed, that, during the administration of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, the wars of Europe gave the world a different aspect from what it ever had before, from what it may be expected ever to present again. Many of you heard the distant roar of that political tornado which shook the old world to its centre, and scarcely spared the new. We have lived to see the storm dispersed; and though we cannot say that no cloud now dims the horizon of the world, we can rejoice that the cheering beams of independence, peace, and equal rights, shed their full radiance on the favored shores and plains of America. Encouraged by the example of those men whose memories we honor, nearly a whole continent has risen to the rank of freemen: and the work, though discouraged and opposed by the potentates of the old world, is every where proceeding with silent but resistless energy. Nations have been born in a day; and if we reflect how slow is the work of reform, every reasonable wish of the philanthropist must be realized, should it require even centuries to bring other countries to a condition like ours.

How can we show our respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, so well, as by remaining firm to the principles which guided them? They acted on the belief that Americans are able to govern themselves; that the people are the fountain of power; that hereditary rank, and entailed or exclusive privileges, are inconsistent with the rights of man; that government is designed for the benefit of the governed, not that posts of honor and trust are established to gratify the ambition and pride of those who seek to hold them. What then can be said of factions formed to raise or depress individuals, without regard to our country's interest, what of opposition to wholesome measures merely because they proceed from a certain source, what of combinations formed without regard to principles, only for the purpose of perpetuating power in certain hands? What can be said of designs like these, but that

they are inconsistent with the doctrines of our republican fathers? Will Americans derive no instruction from the example held out by the latter days of those revolutionary patriots, who had been rival candidates for the highest elective office on earth? Will those who equally love their country, who are equally attached to its independence and its free institutions, will they permit themselves to be broken into factions by party feuds, and thus dispirit the friends and encourage the enemies of free government in other countries? These great men conscious that they designed the same end, however they might have differed or erred in their course, when the perplexities and irritations of the day had gone by, returned to their former intimacy. With this example before us, as the legacy of our departed fathers, shall the cry of faction break in upon our peace, to drive from the nation's confidence the able and the faithful? Forbid it, illustrious shades! Such is not the voice which speaks from the tombs of Jefferson and Adams.

Let it not, however, be understood that we are silently to acquiesce in measures which we disapprove. Public opinion should circulate free as air. The measures of public men should be fearlessly discussed. Rulers should feel their responsibility. The first encroachment of power should be promptly met. So thought the men who led the way to independence, and by acting as they thought, became our political saviours. But the resistance which may be sometimes required of their posterity, needs not the weapons of carnal warfare. Mind is the moving, the controlling power of free institutions. For so long as the purity of elections shall be preserved, and the qualifications of candidates impartially weighed, little can be feared from mal-administration. As our rulers are but a deputation of the people, it is not possible, if the people are awake to their own duties, that any policy to their disadvantage can be long pursued. Every thing depends on a free exercise of the elective right. It is the

lever which will never fail to throw incapacity or corruption from its centre.

The discouragement of sectional jealousies, was also a sentiment they cherished. They would not that we should hear of opposing interests in the North and in the South, of interfering claims from the East and the West; but that all men should rally round the standard of their common country. Of all parties, those formed by geographical lines would soonest weaken the national compact. Our constitution was formed in a spirit of conciliation and compromise; and let the same spirit preserve it.

No, venerable Fathers, your American children can never be so ungrateful as to trifle with the rights secured by your prompt resistance, your manly firmness, by your toils and sacrifices. They cannot with sacrilegious hand profane that temple of liberty, which was founded in your wisdom, and cemented by the blood of the brave; that temple in which all nations will one day worship. We will revere your memory: we will cherish the sentiments which guided you to freedom. When we look around on the expanding greatness of our powerful Republic—on its inexhaustible resources, when our hearts glow at the happiness which lights the smile of joy in every corner of our land; your names shall be associated with all its glory.

Happy men! to have been the instruments of Heaven in such a cause. Happy, to have been spared so long as to behold the success of your toils, and the accomplishment of all your hopes. Happy in the gratitude of favored millions, happy in the august scene which closed your earthly course on that memorable day, and bore the testimony of Heaven to your exalted services! Your memory is embalmed in the hearts of your countrymen. The waves of time, in their resistless course, will bear down the names of heroes and of kings; but the glory of your deeds shall rise above the flood, enduring as the everlasting hills, and on it shall rest the light of ages.

Poor is the tribute we can bring. Your monument is the freedom of your country ; and your eulogy, the praise of ransomed millions.

NOTE A.

The resolution for the Declaration of Independence was passed unanimously, only as it regarded *States*. Individuals of the convention opposed it. A majority of the Pennsylvania delegation had previously opposed it ; but the absence of two of their delegates on the final vote, left a majority in its favor. It was opposed because it was thought to be premature.

B.

The letter of Mr. Adams is quoted as it is usually printed. It was, in reality, dated the 3d of July, and referred to the adoption of the *resolution* of Independence. The *Declaration* was not signed and published till the 4th. The quotation on the 158th page is from the same letter.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,

August 2, 1826.

BY SAMUEL L. KNAPP.

It is recorded of an orator of antiquity, that when he was about to speak in public, he addressed a prayer to the gods, "that not a word might unawares escape him, unsuitable to the occasion." Be that prayer in my liturgy this day.

Young Gentlemen of Boston : I come at your request, not with a basket of sweet-scented flowers, to deck the bier of virgin loveliness fallen with a broken heart ; nor to raise loud lamentations over the youthful warrior, sleeping in his shroud ; or to breathe a people's feverish despondency at the sudden death of a great man, taken from us in the midst of usefulness, while the cares of a nation were upon him.— But to lead you to meditate at the grave of two departed patriarchs, who, having borne the heat and burthen of the day, and enjoyed in repose the cool of the evening of life, quietly sunk to rest, full of "*immortal longings*."

To commemorate the illustrious dead, is a dictate of nature, and has been the practice in all ages, especially among an enlightened people ; who, fearful that the fleeting breath of praise would not be sufficient to preserve the names of their great men, erected tombs, monuments and pyramids, to perpetuate the fame of those who had benefitted mankind.— The Egyptians sat in judgment upon those who died, and decreed the sort of burial and sarcophagus the deceased had merited. From this people came the most rational disposi-

tion of departed souls that ever imagination formed, and one which revelation has since in part sanctioned. The Athenians not only pronounced funeral orations, and publicly mourned individuals as they deceased, but once a year held a solemn festival in honor of the *mighty dead*. The Romans were still more careful to pay funeral honors where they were deserved. Every great man had his orator to speak at his funeral, from Junius Brutus to Julius Cæsar, and the memory of their virtues was preserved by the balmy breath of friendship and love. The Holy Bible, to which we turn for precepts and examples, abounds with eulogies on the dead. The Psalmist of Israel pronounced an imperishable panegyric upon the untimely fate of Saul and Jonathan, in which their virtues only were named in the hallowed strain of affection ; other things were left to the chronicles of the day. This was not the momentary burst of grief, but was intended for permanent effect. It was an epic record of the virtues of "*the mighty who had fall-n,*" "the measure of which he ordered to be taught to the children of Judah."

In a republic like ours, it is peculiarly proper to pay funeral honors to those who assisted in giving us freedom and fame. Their reputation is identified with our national history, and it can never be fully understood without an acquaintance with the motives, the talents and deeds of our fathers.

The actors in our revolutionary conflict have been falling away, one after another, like the leaves of autumn, until the number left were but few, and those scattered through the country. The list of our provincial congress is nearly a full starred catalogue, and of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but three only remained when the fiftieth year had come, and the jubilee was sounded through the land.— On that memorable day, demonstrations of joy were extended through a great and happy country—twelve millions of people raised their united voices to God, in gratitude and thanksgiving for all his manifold kindnesses to our nation, and

for preserving the lives of three venerable patriarchs, who had survived to see the prosperity of their country, after half a hundred years from the hour of doubt and danger in which they were called to act. The festivities and the day were ended—the next morning's sun arose—the public knell was struck and the cry was, that the sage of Quincy died yesterday. Singular occurrence! Wonderful event! What a happy hour in which to leave the world!—were the ejaculations from every tongue. The mathematician was calculating the chances of such a death, the superstitious viewed it as miraculous, and the judicious saw in the event the hand of that Providence, without whose notice *not a sparrow falls to the ground*. While this knell was still vibrating on our ears, and wonder was still sitting on the countenances of all, that death-note was struck again; it came from city to city, on the southern breeze, and told a tale of still greater wonder—that at the noon-tide of the jubilee, the angel of death had summoned the great philosopher and philanthropist of Monticello to immortality. The hand of God was seen by all; and a whole people are now falling upon their knees to acknowledge HIM the wise ruler of the universe, who in the midst of his chastenings, shows his love for the beings he has created; and we are now at the altar, as it were, with the ashes of these patriarchs before us, to express our gratitude that they lived so long and expired as they did.

At the funeral solemnities we can do but little more than show a few of the garments the deceased made for a naked land, and pluck as we follow the funeral car, a sprig or two of evergreen to drop into the fresh made grave; and as the earth closes over them, put down a head and a foot stone, in order to show the future architect where to place the monument, when the materials shall be collected for the purpose. It is seldom that the mourner at the grave writes the inscription on the marble that covers it.

Only one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence now survives—the venerable Charles Carroll, of Maryland,

is the last of that sacred band. But he is not alone in the world, for millions claim kindred to him, and new-born generations wear him in their hearts, and support him in their arms ; and if their prayers can avail, he will tarry a little longer, to receive the affectionate attentions of a grateful people.

But, however, to show the justice of the praise we may bestow, it is necessary to narrate some of the events of their lives but is impossible, in a short discourse, at this time, to do but little more than go from date to date in their annals, and to offer a few remarks as we pass along ; leaving it to the future historian and biographer to delineate their characters in the minuteness the subjects demand.

John Adams was born at Quincy, then a part of Braintree, October 19th, 1735. He was educated at Harvard University, and graduated in 1755. While at college he was distinguished for all those characteristics which mark the future great man. His learned and evangelical friend and class-mate, the Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, often spoke of the honesty, openness and decision of character which he displayed while an under-graduate, and illustrated his opinions by numerous anecdotes. From Cambridge he went to Worcester, and for a time instructed in the grammar school in that town ; and studied the profession of the law with Mr. Putnam, a barrister of eminence. By him he was introduced to the celebrated Jeremy Gridley, then Attorney General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. At the first interview they became friends. Gridley at once proposed Mr. Adams for admission to the bar of Suffolk, and took him into special favor. Soon after his admission, Mr. Gridley led his young friend into a private chamber, with an air of secrecy, and pointing to a book case, said, sir, there is a secret of my eminence, and of which you may avail yourself if you please. It was a pretty good collection of treatises on the civil law, with the institutes, of Justinian. It was, indeed, a field which had not been very widely opened to the lawyers of the day. In this

place Mr. Adams spent his days and nights, until he made himself a good master of the code. It may seem strange to us of the present time, to find that there was so much empiricism in a profession now so far from mystery. Yet it was, unquestionably, the case in that day. And those acquainted with the urbanity of the present judges in our country, can hardly imagine how difficult it was for a young lawyer to go on against the overbearing and austere manner of every creature, great or small, then called a judge. Mr. Adams first discovered his lofty spirit of independence, by breaking in upon these encroachments of arbitrary power. The learning and spirit of the young advocate were soon taken notice of by the bar and made known to his clients. As early as 1765, he was associated with Otis and others in the great cause of liberty, in appearing before the Governor and Council to argue with them upon the stamp act, and to insist, at all events, "*that the courts should administer justice without stamped paper.*" He had been about twelve years at the bar when he was called upon to act as of counsel for Captain Preston and his soldiers, who were to be tried for an alleged murder of certain citizens of Boston. Mr. Adams was well aware of the popular indignation against these prisoners, and he was at this time a representative of Boston in the general court, which office depends entirely upon popular favor; but he knew what was due to his profession and to himself, and hazarded the consequences. The trial was well managed. The captain was severed in his trial from the soldiers, who were tried first, and their defence rested, in part, upon the orders, real or supposed, given by the officer to his men to fire. This was, in a good measure, successful. On the trial of Capt. Preston, no such order to fire could be proved. The result was as it should have been, an acquittal. It was a glorious thing that the counsel and jury had nerve sufficient to breast the torrent of public feeling. It showed Britain that she had not a mere mob to deal with, but resolute and determined men, who could restrain themselves. "*Such men are*

dangerous to arbitrary power." At this time, Gridley was dead, and the intellectual lamp of Otis was flickering and decreasing, if, indeed, the ray of reason was partially left ; and Mr. Adams had but few to contend with him in the race. Sewall and Leonard, were leaning to the side of power, and were supporting the ministry in the papers of the day. Mr. Adams appeared under a feigned name, as was the usual mode of discussing subjects at that time, and met the crown writers with great vigor and success. He soon saw that the question must be settled by arms, and calmly made up his mind for the event, even to martyrdom. He knew the spirit of New England and her resources ; and he insisted that the former could never be destroyed, however long the struggle might last. Not a single word ever escaped him that looked like doubt or despair. When the question of Independence was agitated in the continental congress, he was fully prepared—his soul was lighted up by its fires, and his mouth was filled with the arguments it inspired. So full and so forcible was his reasoning on this subject, that when he had finished his speech on some previous motion, which involved the merits of this question, even his friends were astonished that he had matured the subject so well.

In 1780, Mr. Adams was sent to Holland, with full powers from congress to negotiate for a loan, for that body had seen the pernicious effects of a paper currency without some of the precious metals to redeem it, in part, if not to a full extent. Money at all events must be had. The sword-arm of the nation would have soon fallen from its socket, without this sinew of war. Holland was rich, and, as we hoped, kindly disposed to these colonies, for she had once redeemed herself from a foreign yoke, and had, of course, a sympathy for those making similar exertions ; still she was a cautious merchant, and although not without patriotic sentiments, made shrewd calculations upon the chances of our success in the struggle, and of our future ability to refund the loan, if successful. The minister saw at a glance the disposition of the au-

thorities, and the course to be pursued, and set about it without delay. It was to make them acquainted with us; to develop our resources and capacities, if we were successful; to explain the extent of our country; the nature of the soil and its productions; the hardihood, enterprise and industry of the people; their frugal habits, their simplicity and purity of manners, and the rapid increase of population. All these were to be made clear before the vaults of the bank could be opened. That we had no money at that time, was nothing to them, for their mercantile and financial sagacity had established some new axioms in political economy. Nations had been considered rich in proportion to the sums in the treasury; they thought a nation wealthy when the people had industrious habits and ready means of business, and could pursue it without shackles. Mr. Adams spared no pains to give them correct information. The Dutch were convinced, and the loan effected. A courtier with flexible principles and polished manners, with sufficient means for display, and for less honest purposes, may gain fame as a negotiator, at an easy price; but to leave a country almost unknown to the great mass of Europeans, and in a state of revolutionary war, and under these circumstances to ask for money—the worst of all matters of negotiation—and to obtain it by intelligence, and energy of character, has no parallel in the history of diplomacy.

Mr. Adams was one of the commissioners who signed the treaty of peace in 1783. His share in that great business will hereafter be more fully known, but it is not improper to say at this time, that to him we are indebted for the preservation of the fisheries.

As our first minister to England, he conducted with so much judgment, dignity, and courtesy, as to exalt himself and his country, and to conciliate the feelings and to gain the respect and confidence of the one he was nigh.

As Vice President of the United States, he presided over the senate with impartiality, readiness, dignity and intelligence; never yielding his rights to obstreperous contumely,

for party purposes, or ever infringing the rights of others, by petulant assumptions of prerogative.

Of him as President we shall say nothing, for fear of bringing up, in the minds of some, an allusion to politics, which are banished from these consecrated walls on this day ; but it can give no pain to any one to hear it said, that in his administration, Truxton, Preble, Shaw, and others, ushered in the dawn of our naval fame.

Thomas Jefferson was born in Virginia, on the second day of April, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary College, and on leaving this seminary he went into the office of Chancellor Wythe, a gentleman of great celebrity in his day. Mr. Jefferson commenced practice quite young, and soon acquired distinction in his profession. In 1769 he was found in the legislature of Virginia, as an active member. He took an enlarged view of the principles of a free government, and expressed them with great boldness. In 1774 he wrote and published his "summary view of the rights of British America," which gave him no small share of fame, which was still greatly increased by his reply, prepared as one of the committee of the assembly, to the propositions of the British Minister to the Governor of Virginia. In 1775 he took his seat as a member of the general congress, at Philadelphia.— Virginia had then felt but little of the encroachment of arbitrary power, but Mr. Jefferson saw that yielding principles would invite aggressions. In this august body he soon became conspicuous. The fame he had acquired in his native state followed him to Philadelphia, and his exertions there were well calculated to secure and enhance it. It was his good fortune while in this body to draft the *Declaration of Independence*. The subject had been privately discussed and settled, and the remaining question then was, on the form in which it should come before the world in justification of the procedure.

In 1779 Mr. Jefferson was made Governor of Virginia ; and during his administration, that "traitor-fiend," Bene-

dict Arnold, made an incursion into Virginia, with a formidable force, and the Governor had no troops to oppose him.—Some of the Hotspurs of the day thought he might have done something to have checked the progress of the enemy, but time has settled the question in favor of the course Mr. Jefferson pursued, as wise and correct. In 1761, when we had hardly seen an American book upon statistics, Mr. Jefferson wrote his Notes on Virginia, to answer and refute the assertion, “*that man was belittled in America,*” as had been stated by some prejudiced travellers from Europe. In 1782 he was appointed to join our envoys in France, but before he could get ready to sail, a treaty of peace had been signed; and on hearing of this news, he considered his voyage unnecessary. In 1784 he was a commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, to attend to our national affairs in Europe, with full powers to make treaties with such nations as should be thought advisable. A treaty was at this time made with Prussia. When Dr. Franklin returned to America, Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor in France. The political feuds in that country, at that time, prevented any further negotiations with the government, and gave the American Minister an opportunity to enjoy the society of the learned men who then figured at Paris. In 1789 he returned to his native country, and instantly on his arrival was appointed Secretary of State under President Washington, which office he resigned in 1794. In 1797, he was elected Vice President of the United States, and in 1801, President, in which office he continued eight years, and then retired to private life. He lived in a period, as his cotemporary did, of difficulty and trial, with friends and enemies, calmly pursuing his own course. When his advocates and his opposers are gone, the future historian will discuss the merits of his administration. Since his retirement from the duties of office, he has been constantly engaged in some plan for the good of mankind.—Being one of the early converts to the efficacy of vaccination, as a preventative of that awful scourge of mankind, the small

pox, he not only labored to extend the blessing throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia, but also to the aborigines of our western wilds, to whom this pestilence was even more dreadful than to civilized society. The medical skill of the natives of the forest did not reach even an assuagent of this malady. They opposed flight or moral courage to the dread of an attack of this disease. Whole tribes were swept away at once. This philanthropist exerted himself to bring the Indians to a belief in this preventative ; and coming from so great and kind a father as Mr. Jefferson, they thought that it must have been sent him from the Great Spirit, and they yielded to the process of inoculation without opposition.

The first continental congress, of which Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were members, was an assemblage of truly great men. In times of danger, all eyes rest on the most able and worthy. It is only in times of party and animosity, that we trust our dearest interests with those, who, forgetting their own dignity, will act only on narrow principles, for selfish purposes. It was a band of men who wore no concealed dagger for their enemies, but which spoke a thousand, in their calm, cautious, and manly proceedings. The fate of unborn millions was in their charge. With them every talent found its appropriate use. Danger and responsibility seemed to purge their mental vision with *euphrasy*, to ken the peculiar traits of character each possessed. The martial air, the spotless integrity, and the well tried ability and courage of Washington, pointed him out for a leader of the armies to be raised in support of the measures which had been, or were about to be adopted. They wisely acted in conclave on all important questions, that the world at large, nor even their own friends around them, should witness any disagreement among the members of that body. Franklin, that great reader of the characters of men, and of the disposition of nations, was early sent abroad to conciliate, to examine, to report, and to act, when it should be thought wise and expedient so to do. Lau-

rens and Lee were sometimes with him, before Adams was sent to join him—men of fashion and honor, and who represented an important portion of our country. To show the wisdom of that body, from those who first assembled at Philadelphia to those who acted at the close of the war, we need only examine their journals, manifestos, and other state papers. They contain no boastings, no furious denunciations of those stung to madness, whose fury increases their weakness; no overwhelming joy at success; but those calm remonstrances, those dignified upbraidings, those cautious expressions of self respect, which carried with them the soul of high resolve and unyielding purpose. The gaze of the world was upon them. The friends of freedom were wishing them success, and the advocates for powers, dominions, and thrones, loading them with imprecations, and denouncing them as rebels. Such, amidst all these things, was the firmness of their step, and the rapidity of their march, that their friends increased and their enemies were diminished. The great nations of Europe were directly engaged in the struggle, and hope grew fresher every hour, as the conflict proceeded. The little fluctuations of hope and fear, at home, were carefully concealed from those at a distance. At length success crowned their labors, and peace came with some of its blessings and many of its dangers. It required as much talent, or more, to form a government suited to our wants, capacities and interests; one which would contain principles sufficiently expansive for present purposes and for our future growth, as it did to resist oppression and to direct the means to the ends in obtaining freedom. All was achieved, and the leading men in every part of our country who exerted themselves in this second Herculean labor, ought to be remembered as well as those who performed the first. In truth, they were nearly all the same persons, a few only had grown up to assist them.

It is common in the history of man, to find those who for years had been rivals for power and fame when living, become co-heirs of glory when dead. Ancient and modern times are

full of such instances. The two great rival statesmen, Cimon and Pericles, who alternately swayed the volatile opinions of the Athenians, and wielded the thunder of that important Republic, found the same honest historian, who freely discussed their several merits, and left it on record; and the great warriors of Rome, Cæsar and Pompey, have been united, and compared in all ages succeeding that in which they lived. In more modern times, Holland and Chatham have come down to us together, and their sons, Fox and Pitt, who for more than twenty years were the theme of admiration of one party or the other in England, are now placed side by side in their graves, and their eloquence, and their deeds, are written on the same page of history; so it has been, so it will be. If ordinary men chance to die in high places, the eulogist is constrained to cull from the *barren heath* of their lives, here and there a flower to make up a garland for their hearse, but when truly great men leave the world, we may speak of them before their ashes are cold, as if they had been dead a century. The men whose decease we have met to commemorate, were great men. Adams was a man of robust intellect and of martial feelings; he had in his elements much of the old New-England hardihood, and that quickness which they had to feel an insult. Jefferson was shrewd, quick, philosophical and excursive in his views, and kept at all times such a command over his temper, that no one could discover the workings of his soul. The deep discerner of character of ancient days, if he had studied these men, would probably have said, the former belonged to the school of Socrates, and the latter to that of Seneca. Their minds were not only different in their elementary properties, but education had made the difference still wider. Adams was born and educated on the seaboard, and practised law in a seaport 'whose merchants were princes, and whose traffickers were among the honorable of the earth.' He entered deeply into the views of this class of men—and commerce, and its protector, a navy, were the desire of his heart from the first dawn of the Revolution.

Jefferson was a planter, the son of a planter, and his first impressions were of extended lands and literary and philosophical ease. Agricultural pursuits had more charms for him than commerce. The productions of their pens also mark the difference in their mode of thinking and reasoning. Adams grasped at facts drawn from practical life, and instantly reasoned upon them. Jefferson saw man and his nature through generalities, and formed his opinions by philosophical inductions of a more theoretical cast. In the writings of Adams, you sometimes find the abruptness and singularity of the language of prophecy; in those of Jefferson, the sweet wanderings of the descriptive, and the lovely creations of the inventive muse. When these great men first met, the subject was so important they were called to consider, that not only they, but most of their compeers, seemed made with similar feelings and dispositions. There was such a necessity of concert and harmony, that the lights and shades of character could not be minutely displayed. When the great labor was finished, there was more leisure to compare opinions on subjects which were minor in their nature and effect.

In a few years after our constitution was established, but when the machine was hardly in operation, in all its parts, an event happened which divided the opinions of the wise, and shook many of the settled axioms in politics. This was the French Revolution. Adams, reasoning from the nature of man as he had practically found him, had fears from the first, that freedom would gain but little by the throes and struggles for liberty in France. The note of joy for deliverance, to his ear, contained the fearful tone of delirium. His letter to Dr. Price, an enthusiastic believer in the success of the lovers of freedom, contains a view of the subject that seems bordering upon that prescient wisdom which belongs to superior beings. He had seen France, when she 'before the cross believed and slept,' and had watched her *encyclopedists* and *illuminees*, and beheld them silently laying their trains and maturing their plans for the awful explosion. He feared that in breaking

their chains, the limbs they bound would be lacerated and destroyed. Jefferson lived with these men of letters, and saw them through the lovely medium of literature and the sciences, and discovered so many of them to be honest and amiable, and wishing for no more than every good man could ask, and defending their theories with all the beauties of rhetoric and the charms of eloquence, he believed with these disciples of liberty, that after a few spasms of frenzy, France would enjoy the blessings of an ameliorated government. In this opinion he was supported by many politicians of great experience in every civilized country, and it was too delightful a vision for a philanthropist suddenly to give up. Every thing done in France had a bearing upon the U. States. The coal was taken from our altar by which the fire was kindled there, and we were proud to think that it first descended from heaven to us. Gratitude to the French nation for assisting us in our struggle, united to an inborn love of freedom, blinded the eyes and influenced the judgments of many honest and fair minded men. Every politician cast his horoscope and made his own astrological calculations at the birth of the French revolution, and this country was bewildered in the disagreement of results.

I rejoice for my country that these great minds assimilated in so many things, and differed in so many others. There was much to be done for the growth of the country in every department of a great Republic. No mind could embrace all branches of duty. No one individual could think of every thing necessary to be done. While Franklin was stealing the lightning from the clouds, Washington was taking lessons from British generals. If Fulton and Perkins had been village politicians, it would have been, in all probability, a long time before we should have seen a stereotype check-plate, or witnessed the rapid movements of a steam-boat. If Adams had been a midland agriculturalist, our navy, of which he is now justly styled the father, might to this day have consisted of a few small vessels fit only for coasting about our waters, and perhaps with the addition of a few feeble floating batteries for sea coast defence. Or if Jefferson had been a great military

commander, food of the *pomp, pride, and circumstances of war*, Louisiana might not have been ours to this day. It is true, that we might have possessed it by conquest, after a waste of lives and treasure; but such possessions are always uncertain. The territory won by war, is always ready to change masters, and never loses its thirst for blood, and a disposition to convulsions; but when obtained by fair purchase and common consent, its landmarks are permanent, its disposition quiet, and the title deeds are recorded in the annals of history, and considered legal by all nations.

In many opinions and acts these great men resembled each other; both labored incessantly in their native States; each assisted in framing the Constitution of the Commonwealth in which he resided. There is hardly an institution in Massachusetts, for the improvement of the arts, sciences and letters, to which Mr. Adams did not largely contribute—and Jefferson's name is a synonyme of the University of Virginia; and to him are we indebted for the charter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which he brought from Germany, an Alpha of which is extended to six colleges in the United States. It is an admirable incentive to literary ambition. Both were free from that disease so incident to old age—that malady which checks the best impulses of the heart, and in time impairs the mind by deadening the moral sense—avarice. Jefferson after all his opportunities to amass wealth, died poor, and Adams was not rich. They labored for others, and forgot themselves, in that prosperous period in our history, when it almost literally rained gold. In another instance they were alike—in youth they had the gravity of years, and in old age the freshness of youth. The elixir they drank to give an imperishable bloom to their minds, was the rich and varied literature of the day; they kept pace with the rapid current of knowledge as it flowed along, and seized every new publication with the eagerness of a fresh appetite. Their lives prove to us that the method of embalming the mental faculties is not lost: it is to keep them in the perpetual sunshine of vigorous intellects, and

braced up by the outpourings of kindred spirits. The extensive correspondence, their numerous acquaintances and their rank in society necessarily brought upon them, and of which, at times, they complained as onerous, probably did much to keep up a healthy mental action. They were obliged to think on such a variety of subjects, and condense their thoughts in giving pertinent answers to a thousand questions, that their faculties could not slumber. They were often teased by repeated intrusion, but no querulous expression ever escaped them. Nothing of that drivelling about the virtues and intelligence of a former age, and its superiority over the present ever came from their pens. Every day, visitors from all parts of the world thronged to their hospitable mansions, and were honored with a cordial reception. The politicians of every party were seen in their saloons, and men of every religious creed came to them for counsel and assistance in building up their establishments. No two men in this, or any other country, have done so much for religious freedom as Adams and Jefferson—and, without this, all liberty is a mockery. Thus blessing and being blessed, these patriarchs marched on to the confines of time, and united in eternity. Their reputations are now the common property of the nation, and the care of preserving them for future generations is now committed to this—to the young, in a particular manner; for they have come forward since the bitterness of party distinctions has been lost. Alive to every thing which is connected with the honor and prosperity of their country, they feel none of the irritations which existed with their fathers. The feuds of former days are matters of history, not of remembrance to them. It is affectionate, pious and patriotic, to cherish the memories of those who left us this goodly heritage—this land of liberty, of knowledge, of free institutions, and of glorious prospects—this land where no exclusive orders exist, except those created by virtue, wisdom and genius. To the dead of our country we are not only indebted for our places and our social and moral habits, but for the fountains of thought and

lessons of wisdom which they have transmitted to us. While their precepts are before us, their example should not be forgotten. Their characters should be traced on the walls of the house of God, and written on monuments of stone.

How full of interest is the thought, that many, very many, of you who are present this day, will live in health and vigor until the next Jubilee shall come, and a century shall have been completed since the birth day of our nation; and not a few of those now in active life, and well acquainted with the history of the past fifty years, not from books alone, but from living chronicles, may also see that day. The youth of this age have caught the spirit of their fathers, and will carry a double portion of it to transmit to the next. The first builders of this grand political fabric are gone, or gathering themselves in their beds to die; those who now support the great work of freedom will soon follow them; and you, young men, must be prepared to take the burden upon yourselves. But be not impatient for the task; rather be anxious to qualify yourself for it when it comes. When in the course of nature and Providence you must take the places of your fathers, bring to your high destinies lessons of wisdom drawn from those gone before you. Your advantages are of a much higher grade than those your ancestors enjoyed. They found the way through the forest by the blazed trees and the faint trails of those who had pioneered the way, and sometimes were obliged to go on when there was no track of civilization to be seen. Public high-ways are now prepared for you to travel, and mile-stones are placed all along the road, to guide and cheer you on the journey. In the morning of life, all is pleasant and peaceful; but as you advance, you will find that it is the fate of man, to *act*, to *suffer*, and to *mourn*; but knowledge, virtue, philosophy and religion, will teach you how to sustain yourselves in every part you have to perform in life. Be true to yourselves, and your country will be safe.

The youths of Rome, once a year, left the sacred groves of Egeria, to visit the tomb of Numa, the founder of the reli-

gious rites, the civil institutions, and literary taste of the country. On that hallowed ground, they caught the inspiration of virtue and the love of learning, and returned with a fonder relish for the fountains of knowledge and a quickened devotion to the god of wisdom. Go, ye young men of my country, oftener than once a year, to visit the tombs of your fathers. No man ever was great who did not live much among the dead. To gather true lessons of experience, we must travel back through every age of time to the birth of creation, and contemplate the progress of each succeeding generation. The youthful soldier braces his nerves and warms his soul by thinking on those who fell in the cause of liberty, from the battle of Marathon to that which closed the last scene of the great drama of our Revolution. The youthful speaker kindles his genius at the perpetual lamps which are burning in the tombs of the orators of antiquity; and the young statesman draws his maxims of wisdom and prudence from the codes and commentaries of the master spirits of former ages. We are no longer the new men of the new world. We have a noble inheritance in the fame of our ancestors. To value this possession justly, we must imitate their virtues, by raising the standard of information and purifying the currents of freedom. Some Plutarch, we trust, will soon arise in our country, gifted with all the requisites of the biographer, who will weave in one bright wreath of glory, the great men we have mourned as they rested from their labors.

On the page sparkling with gems of rare merit, set by such a hand, shall appear other worthies than those we are this day called to commemorate. On the ample page, by such a hand, the Cato of that age, the elder Adams, shall be found shining in the adamantine firmness of his stern virtues. There shall be minutely traced the effects of a religious character upon the turbulent waves of popular commotion, and the tones of liberty, so appalling to an oppressor's ear, shall be preserved in thought to be thundered in the ears of tyrants to the end of time. There too, shall be seen the quick and intelligent eye

of Paine, flashing with the fires of an indignant spirit, as when he put his hand to the Declaration of Independence, and swore, on his country's altar, to die in defence, or live to enjoy the blessings of freedom. High up the escutcheon, and boldly on the emblazonment, shall polished Hancock stand, wearing the triple wreath of honor—for his services as a statesman—for his munificent donations to public institutions—and for his constant exertions as a patron of literature and the arts, united to a fostering care of genius and merit of every description. There also the youthful President of the Continental Congress, full of heroism, adorned with the charms of literature and the graces of eloquence—fierce to his enemies as the chafed lion, but to those engaged in the same cause with him, 'sweet as summer,' shall stand forth, radiant in imperishable glory, and be hailed in every coming age as the first great martyr of liberty. The value of the sacrifice shall not be forgotten when the *bust shall crumble and the column fall*, and those gods of the earth who trusted to 'pyrimidic pride' for immortality, shall be remembered no more. By his side shall stand, crowned with unfading laurels, the hero of Bunker Hill, who raised the first redoubt of liberty, and laid each sod with an invocation to the spirits of the brave provincials sleeping in their beds of glory on our frontiers.* This little mound was watered by the blood of the brave, and from it sprang such deathless flowers to bind the warrior's brow, as grow on Grecian plains and Helvetian hills.

Not only in prose, but in verse shall they be celebrated; for some future Homer shall arise and erect in epic glory, and by the magic of numbers, another Pantheon of mind, and place in his proper niche each worthy of the Revolution, from aged

*Colonel Prescott, during the night previous to the battle of Bunker Hill, while erecting the redoubt, frequently reminded his officers and men of the reputation the provincials had won at Lake George and Ticonderoga, at which places he had been with several of them, and earnestly entreated them not to tarnish that fame so nobly acquired.

Nestor to fierce Ajax, and all accomplished Hector. There by the sublimity, the fire, the sweetness, the elegance, and the truth of his poetry, shall those who reasoned and those who fought, find eternal fame in the faithfulness of his delineations. From these youths of the schools, now with us, may the biographer and the poet come—they have caught the spirit of this, and will breathe it to another age.

The light shining on one ancient grave, will reach to another, until their commingled radiance will form a pillar of fire to guide posterity through every night of danger that may come upon our nation. If darkness should gather around and shroud us, the brave defenders of their country will be enabled by its blaze to whet their swords on the tombs of Washington and Greene, and the statesmen to read their duty in the epitaphs of Adams and Jefferson.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

August 2, 1826.

BY DANIEL WEBSTER.

THIS is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, Fellow-Citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated, so long ago, to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles, and rung with the shouts of earliest victories, proclaim, now, that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow, and the honors that are paid, when the Founders of the republic die, give hope that the republic itself may be immortal. It is fit, that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings, early given and long continued, to our favored country.

ADAMS and JEFFERSON are no more; and we are assembled, Fellow-Citizens, the aged, the middle aged and the young, by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government, with the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth, and others its official representatives, the university, and the learned societies, to bear our part, in those manifestations of respect and gratitude, which universally pervade the land. Adams and Jefferson are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of National Jubilee, in the very hour of public re-

joining, in the midst of echoing and re-echoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight, together, to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives ; if that event which terminates life, can alone crown its honors and its glory, what felicity is here ! The great epic of their lives, how happily concluded ! Poetry itself has hardly closed illustrious lives, and finished the career of earthly renown, by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished, the drama was ready to be closed ; it has closed ; our patriots have fallen ; but so fallen, at such age, with such coincidence, on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that that end has come, which we knew could not be long deferred.

Neither of these great men, fellow-citizens, could have died, at any time, without leaving an immense void in our American society. They have been so intimately, and for so long a time, blended with the history of the country, and especially so united, in our thoughts and recollections, with the events of the Revolution, that the death of either would have touched the strings of public sympathy. We should have felt that one great link, connecting us with former times, was broken ; that we had lost something more, as it were, of the presence of the Revolution itself, and of the act of Independence, and were driven on, by another great remove, from the days of our country's early distinction, to meet posterity, and to mix with the future. Like the mariner, whom the ocean and the winds carry along, till he sees the stars which have directed his course, and lighted his pathless way, descend, one by one, beneath the rising horizon, we should have felt that the stream of time had borne us onward, till another great luminary, whose light had cheered us, and whose guidance we had followed, had sunk away from our sight.

But the concurrence of their death, on the anniversary of Independence, has naturally awakened stronger emotions. Both had been presidents, both had lived to great age, both were early patriots, and both were distinguished and ever honored by their immediate agency in the act of Independence. It cannot but seem striking, and extraordinary, that these two should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act ; that they should complete that year ; and that then, on the day which had fast linked forever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once. As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination, as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country, and its benefactors, are objects of His care ?

Adams and Jefferson, I have said, are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and fearless advocates of Independence ; no more as on subsequent periods, the head of the government ; no more as we have recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there, of the great and good, which can die ! To their country they yet live, and live for ever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth ; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example ; and they live, emphatically, and will live in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when Heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, burning bright for a while, and then expiring, giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common

mass of human mind ; so that when it glimmers, in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died ; but the human understanding, roused, by the touch of his miraculous wand, to a perception of the true philosophy, and the just mode of inquiring after truth, has kept on its course, successfully and gloriously.— Newton died ; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on, in the orbits which he saw, and described for them, in the infinity of space.

No two men now live, fellow-citizens, perhaps it may be doubted, whether any two men have ever lived, in one age, who, more than those we now commemorate, have impressed their own sentiments, in regard to politics and government, on mankind, infused their own opinions more deeply into the opinions of others, or given a more lasting direction to the current of human thought. Their work doth not perish with them. The tree which they assisted to plant, will flourish, although they water it and protect it no longer ; for it has struck its roots deep, it has sent them to the very centre ; no storm, not of force to burst the orb, can overturn it ; its branches spread wide ; they stretch their protecting arms broader and broader, and its top is destined to reach the heavens. We are not deceived. There is no delusion here. No age will come, in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is, one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come, in which it will cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the 4th of July, 1776. And no age will come, we trust, so ignorant or so unjust, as not to see and acknowledge the efficient agency of these we now honor, in producing that momentous event.

We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed with calamity by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the Repub-

lic, by the untimely blightings of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years, over long protracted public service, over the weakness of age, and over life itself, only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose, slowly and steadily, amidst clouds and storms, in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian, to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow descending, grateful, long lingering light; and now that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car!"

There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and had pursued its studies and its practice, for unequal lengths of time indeed, but with diligence and effect. Both were learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the colonies, which, at the revolution, were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the colonies became, in some degree, united, by the assembling of a general congress, they were brought to act together, in its deliberations, not indeed at the same time, but both at early periods. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it, by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted, for the purpose of exposing the encroachments of the British parliament and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early friends of independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; where others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the sub-committee, appointed by the other members to make the

draught. They left their seats in the congress, being called to other public employments, at periods not remote from each other, although one of them returned to it, afterwards, for a short time. Neither of them was of the assembly of great men which formed the present constitution, and neither was at any time member of congress under its provisions.— Both have been publick ministers abroad, both Vice-Presidents, and both Presidents. These coincidences are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died, together ; and they died on the anniversary of liberty.

When many of us were last in this place, Fellow-Citizens, it was on the day of that anniversary. We were met to enjoy the festivities belonging to the occasion, and to manifest our grateful homage to our political fathers.

We did not, we could not here, forget our venerable neighbor of Quincy. We knew that we were standing, at a time of high and palmy prosperity, where he had stood, in the hour of utmost peril ; that we saw nothing but liberty and security, where he had met the frown of power ; that we were enjoying everything, where he had hazarded everything ; and just and sincere plaudits rose to his name, from the crowds which filled this area, and hung over these galleries. He whose grateful duty it was to speak to us, on that day, of the virtues of our fathers had, indeed admonished us that time and years were about to level his venerable frame with the dust. But he bade us hope, that “ the sound of a nation’s joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, might yet break the silence of his aged ear ; that the rising blessings of grateful millions might yet visit, with glad light, his decaying vision.” Alas ! that vision was then closing forever. Alas ! the silence which was then settling on that aged ear, was an everlasting silence ! For, lo ! in the very moment of our festivities, his freed spirit ascended to God who gave it ! Human aid and human solace terminate at the grave ; or we would gladly have borne him upward, on a nation’s outspread hands ; we would have accompa-

nied him, and with the blessings of millions and the prayers of millions, commended him to the Divine favor.

While still indulging our thoughts on the coincidence of the death of this venerable man with the anniversary of Independence, we learn that JEFFERSON, too, has fallen ; and that these aged patriots, these illustrious fellow laborers, had left our world together. May not such events raise the suggestion that they are not undesigned, and that Heaven does so order things, as sometimes to attract strongly the attention, and excite the thoughts of men ? The occurrence has added new interest to our anniversary, and will be remembered, in all time to come.

The occasion, fellow-citizens, requires some account of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. This duty must necessarily be performed with great brevity, and in the discharge of it I shall be obliged to confine myself, principally, to those parts of their history and character which belonged to them as public men.

John Adams was born at Quincy, then part of the ancient town of Braintree, on the 19th day of October, (Old Style) 1735. He was a descendant of the Puritans, his ancestors having early emigrated from England, and settled in Massachusetts. Discovering early a strong love of reading and of knowledge, together with marks of great strength and activity of mind, proper care was taken by his worthy father, to provide for his education. He pursued his youthful studies in Braintree, under Mr. Marsh, a teacher whose fortune it was that Josiah Quincy, Jr. as well as the subject of these remarks, should receive from him his instruction in the rudiments of classical literature. Having been admitted, in 1751, a member of Harvard College, Mr. Adams was graduated, in course, in 1755 ; and on the catalogue of that Institution, his name, at the time of his death, was second among the living Alumni, being preceded only by that of the venerable Holyoke. With what degree of reputation he left the University, is not now precisely known. We know only that he was distinguished,

in a class which numbered Locke and Hemenway among its members. Choosing the law for his profession, he commenced and prosecuted its studies at Worcester, under the direction of Samuel Putnam, a gentleman whom he has himself described as an acute man, an able and learned lawyer, and as in large professional practice at that time. In 1758, he was admitted to the bar, and commenced business in Braintree. He is understood to have made his first considerable effort, or to have attained his first signal success, at Plymouth, on one of those occasions which furnish the earliest opportunity for distinction to many young men of the profession, a jury trial, and a criminal cause. His business naturally grew with his reputation, and his residence in the vicinity afforded the opportunity, as his growing eminence gave the power, of entering on the larger field of practice which the capital presented. In 1766, he removed his residence to Boston, still continuing his attendance on the neighboring circuits, and not unfrequently called to remote parts of the Province. In 1770 his professional firmness was brought to a test of some severity, on the application of the British officers and soldiers to undertake their defence, on the trial of the indictments found against them on account of the transactions of the memorable 5th of March. He seems to have thought, on this occasion, that a man can no more abandon the proper duties of his profession, than he can abandon other duties. The event proved, that as he judged well for his own reputation, so he judged well, also, for the interest and permanent fame of his country. The result of that trial proved, that notwithstanding the high degree of excitement then existing, in consequence of the measures of the British government, a jury of Massachusetts would not deprive the most reckless enemies, even the officers of that standing army, quartered among them, which they so perfectly abhorred, of any part of that protection which the law, in its mildest and most indulgent interpretation, afforded to persons accused of crimes.

Without pursuing Mr. Adams' professional course further, suffice it to say, that on the first establishment of the judicial tribunals under the authority of the State, in 1776, he received an offer of the high and responsible station of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. But he was destined for another and a different career. From early life the bent of his mind was towards politics; a propensity, which the state of the times, if it did not create, doubtless very much strengthened. Public subjects must have occupied the thoughts and filled up the conversation in the circles in which he then moved; and the interesting questions, at that time just arising, could not but seize on a mind like his, ardent, sanguine and patriotic. The letter, fortunately preserved, written by him at Worcester so early as the 12th of October, 1755, is a proof of very comprehensive views, and uncommon depth of reflection, in a young man not yet quite twenty. In this letter he predicted the transfer of power, and the establishment of a new seat of empire in America; he predicted, also, the increase of population in the colonies; and anticipated their naval distinction, and foretold that all Europe combined, could not subdue them. All this is said, not on a public occasion, or for effect, but in the style of sober and friendly correspondence, as the result of his own thoughts. 'I sometimes retire,' said he, at the close of the letter, 'and laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above.*' This prognosti-

* Extract of a letter written by John Adams, dated at Worcester, Massachusetts, October 12, 1755.

'Soon after the reformation, a few people came over into this new world, for conscience sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. It looks likely to me; for, if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century, become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say all the naval stores of

cation, so early in his own life, so early in the history of the country, of Independence, of vast increase of numbers, of naval force, of such augmented power as might defy all Europe, is remarkable. It is more remarkable, that its author should live to see fulfilled to the letter, what could have seemed to others, at the time, but the extravagance of youthful fancy. His earliest political feelings were thus strongly American; and from this ardent attachment to his native soil he never departed.

While still living at Quincy, and at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Adams was present, in this town, on the argument before the Supreme Court respecting *Writs of Assistance*. and heard the celebrated and patriotic speech of JAMES OTIS.— Unquestionably, that was a masterly performance. No flighty declamation about liberty, no superficial discussion of popular topics, it was a learned, penetrating, convicting, constitutional argument, expressed in a strain of high and resolute patriotism. He grasped the question, then pending between England and her Colonies, with the strength of a lion; and if he sometimes sported, it was only because the lion himself is sometimes playful. Its success appears to have been as great as its merits, and its impression was widely felt. Mr. Adams himself seems never to have lost the feeling it produced, and to have entertained constantly the fullest conviction of its important effects. ‘I do say,’ he observes, ‘in the most solemn

the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain a mastery of the seas; and the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us.

‘Be not surprised that I am turned politician. This whole town is immersed in politics. The interests of nations, and all of the dire of war, make the subject of every conversation. I sit and hear, and after having been led through a maze of sage observations, I sometimes retire, and laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above.’

manner, that Mr. Otis' Oration against Writs of Assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life.'

In 1765 Mr. Adams laid before the public, what I suppose to be first printed performance, except essays for the periodical press, a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law.—The object of this work was to show that our New England ancestors, in consenting to exile themselves from their native land, were actuated, mainly by the desire of delivering themselves from the power of the hierarchy, and from the monarchical and aristocratical political system of the other continent; to make this truth bear with effect on the politics of the times. Its tone is uncommonly bold and animated, for that period. He calls on the people, not only to defend, but to study and understand their rights and privileges; urges earnestly the necessity of diffusing general knowledge, invokes the clergy and the bar, the colleges and academies, and all others who have the ability and the means, to expose the insidious designs of arbitrary power, to resist its approaches, and to be persuaded that there is a settled design on foot to enslave all America. 'Be it remembred,' says the author, 'that liberty must, at all hazards, be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we had not, our fathers have earned it, and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estate, their pleasure and their blood. And liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings, and a desire to know; but besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible right to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the character and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees of the people; and if the cause, the interest and trust, is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority, that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute other and better agents, attorneys and trustees.'

The citizens of this town conferred on Mr. Adams his first political distinction, and clothed him with his first political trust, by electing him one of their representatives, in 1770.— Before this time he had become extensively known throughout the province, as well by the part he had acted in relation to public affairs, as by the exercise of his professional ability. He was among those who took the deepest interest in the controversy with England, and whether in or out of the Legislature, his time and talents were alike devoted to the cause. In the years 1773 and 1774 he was chosen a counsellor, by the members of the General Court, but rejected by Governor Hutchinson, in the former of those years, and by Governor Gage in the latter.

The time was now at hand, however, when the affairs of the colonies urgently demanded united councils. An open rupture with the parent State appeared inevitable, and it was but the dictate of prudence, that those who were united by a common interest and a common danger, should protect that interest and guard against that danger, by united efforts. A General Congress of Delegates from all the colonies, having been proposed and agreed to, the House of Representatives, on the 17th of June 1774, elected JAMES BOWDOIN, THOMAS CUSHING, SAMUEL ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, and ROBERT TREAT PAINE, delegates from Massachusetts. This appointment was made at Salem where the General Court had been convened by Governor Gage, in the last hour of the existence of a House of Representatives under the provincial Charter.— While engaged in this important business, the Governor having been informed of what was passing, sent his secretary with a message dissolving the General Court. The secretary finding the door locked, directed the messenger to go in and inform the speaker that the Secretary was at the door with a message from the Governor. The messenger returned, and informed the secretary that orders of the House were that the doors should be kept fast; whereupon the secretary soon after read a proclamation, dissolving the General Court upon

the stairs. Thus terminated, forever, the actual exercise of the political power of England in or over Massachusetts.—The four last named delegates accepted their appointments, and took their seats in Congress, the first day of its meeting, September 5, 1774, in Philadelphia.

The proceedings of the first Congress are well known, and have been universally admired. It is in vain that we would look for superior proofs of wisdom, talent, and patriotism.—Lord Chatham said, that for himself, he must declare, that he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master states of the world, but that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress. It is hardly inferior praise to say, that no production of that great man himself can be pronounced superior to several of the papers published as the proceedings of this most able, most firm, most patriotic assembly. There is indeed, nothing, superior to them in the range of political disquisition. They not only embrace, illustrate and enforce every thing which political philosophy, the love of liberty, and the spirit of free inquiry had antecedently produced, but they add new and striking views of their own, and apply the whole, with irresistible force, in support of the cause which had drawn them together.

Mr. Adams was a constant attendant on the deliberations of this body and bore an active part in its important measures. He was of the committee to state the rights of the colonies, and of that also which reported the address to the king.

As it was in the Continental Congress, fellow-citizens, that those whose deaths have given rise to this occasion, were first brought together, and called on to unite their industry and their ability in the service of the country, let us now turn to the other of these distinguished men, and take a brief notice of his life, up to the period when he appeared within the walls of Congress.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, descended from ancestors who had been settled in Virginia for some generations, was born near the spot on which he died, in the county of Albemarle, on the 2d of April, (O. S.) 1743. His youthful studies were pursued in the neighborhood of his father's residence, until he was removed to the college of William and Mary, the highest honors of which he in due time received. Having left the college with reputation, he applied himself to the study of the law, under the tuition of George Wythe, one of the highest judicial names of which that state can boast. At an early age he was elected a member of the Legislature, in which he had no sooner appeared, than he distinguished himself, by knowledge, capacity, and promptitude.

Mr. Jefferson appears to have been imbued with an early love of letters and science, and to have cherished a strong disposition to pursue these objects, to the physical sciences, especially, and to ancient classic literature, he is understood to have had a warm attachment, and never entirely to have lost sight of them, in the midst of the busiest occupations. But the times were times for action, rather than for contemplation. The country was to be defended, and to be saved, before it could be enjoyed. Philosophic leisure and literary pursuits, and even the objects of professional attention, were all necessarily postponed to the urgent calls of the public service. The exigency of the country made the same demand on Mr. Jefferson that it made on others who had the ability and the disposition to serve it; and he obeyed the call; thinking and feeling, in this respect, with the great Roman orator; *Quis enim est tam cupidus, in perspicienda cognoscendaque rerum natura, ut, si ei tractanti contemplanti que res cognitione dignissimas subito sit allatum periculum discrimenque patriæ, cui subvenire opitularique possit, non illa omnia relinquat atque abjiciat, etiam si dinumerare se stellas, aut metiri mundi magnitudinem posse arbitretur?*

Entering, with all his heart, into the cause of liberty, his ability, patriotism, and power with the pen, naturally drew

upon him a large participation in the most important concerns. Wherever he was, there was found a soul devoted to the cause, power to defend and maintain it, and willingness to incur all its hazards. In 1774 he published a Summary View of the Rights of British America, a valuable production among those intended to show the dangers which threatened the liberties of the country, and to encourage the people in their defence. In June 1775 he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, as successor to PEYTON RANDOLPH, who had retired on account of ill health, and took his seat in that body on the 21st of the same month.

And now fellow-citizens, without pursuing the biography of these illustrious men further for the present, let us turn our attention to the most prominent act of their lives, their participation in the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE.

Preparatory to the introduction of that important measure, a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Adams, had reported a resolution, which congress adopted the 10th of May recommending, in substance, to all the colonies which had not already established governments suited to the exigencies of their affairs, *to adopt such government, as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.*

This significant vote was soon followed by the direct proposition, which RICHARD HENRY LEE had the honor to submit to congress, by resolution, on the 7th day of June. The published journal does not expressly state it, but there is no doubt, I suppose, that this resolution was in the same words, when originally submitted by Mr Lee, as when finally passed.— Having been discussed, on Saturday the 8th, and Monday the 10th of June, this resolution was on the last mentioned day postponed, for further consideration, to the first day of July; and at the same time it was voted, that, a committee be appointed to prepare a DECLARATION, to the effect of the resolution. This committee was elected by ballot, on the follow-

ing day, and consisted of THOMAS JEFFERSON, JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ROGER SHERMAN, and ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

It is usual when committees are elected by ballot, that their members are arranged, in order, according to the number of votes which each has received. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, had received the highest and Mr. Adams the next highest number of votes. The difference is said to have been but of a single vote. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, standing thus at the head of the committee, were requested, by the other members, to act as a sub-committee, to prepare the draft; and Mr. Jefferson drew up the paper. The original draft, as brought by him from his study, and submitted to the other members of the committee, with interlineations in the hand-writing of Dr. Franklin, and others in that of Mr. Adams, was in Mr. Jefferson's possession at the time of his death. The merit of this paper is Mr. Jefferson's. Some changes were made in it, on the suggestion of other members of the committee, and others by Congress while it was under discussion. But none of them altered the tone, the frame, the arrangement, or the general character of the instrument. As a composition, the Declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the production of his mind, and the high honor of it belongs to him, clearly and absolutely.

It has sometimes been said, as if it were a derogation from the merits of this paper, that it contains nothing new; that it only states grounds of proceeding, and presses topics of argument, which had often been stated and pressed before. But it was not the object of the Declaration to produce any thing new. It was not to invent reasons for Independence, but to state those which governed the Congress. For great and sufficient causes it was proposed to declare Independence; and the proper business of the paper to be drawn, was to set forth those causes, and justify the authors of the measure, in any event of fortune, to the country, and to posterity. The cause of American Independence moreover, was now to be presented to the world, in such manner, if it might so be, as to

engage its sympathy, to command its respect, to attract its admiration ; and in an assembly of most able and distinguished men, THOMAS JEFFERSON had the high honor of being the selected advocate of this cause. To say that he performed his great work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title deed of their liberties devolved on his hands.

With all its merits, there are those who have thought that there was one thing in the Declaration to be regretted ; and that is the asperity and apparent anger with which it speaks of the person of the king ; the industrious ability with which it accumulates and charges upon him, all the injuries which the colonies had suffered from the mother country. Possibly some degree of injustice, now or hereafter, at home or abroad, may be done to the character of Mr. Jefferson, if this part of the Declaration be not placed in its proper light. Anger or resentment, certainly, much less personal reproach and invective, could not properly find place, in a composition of such high dignity, and of such lofty and permanent character.

A single reflection on the original ground of dispute, between England and the Colonies, is sufficient to remove any unfavorable impression, in this respect.

The inhabitants of all the colonies, while colonies, admitted themselves bound by their allegiance to the king ; but they disclaimed, altogether the authority of parliament ; holding themselves, in this respect, to resemble the condition of Scotland and Ireland, before the respective unions of those kingdoms with England, when they acknowledged allegiance to the same king, but each had its separate legislature. The tie, therefore, which our revolution was to break, did not subsist between us and the British parliament, or between us and the British government, in the aggregate ; but directly between us and the king himself. The colonies had never ad-

mitted themselves subject to parliament. That was precisely the point of the original controversy. They had uniformly denied that parliament had authority to make laws for them. There was, therefore, no subjection to parliament to be thrown off.* But allegiance to the king did exist, and had been uniformly acknowledged ; and down to 1775 the most solemn assurances had been given that it was not intended to break that allegiance, or to throw it off. Therefore, as the direct object, and only effect of the Declaration, according to the principles on which the controversy had been maintained, on our part, was to sever the tie of allegiance which bound us to the king, it was properly and necessarily founded on acts of the crown itself, as its justifying causes. Parliament is not so much as mentioned, in the whole instrument. When odious and oppressive acts are referred to, it is done by charging the king with confederating, with others, ' in pretended acts of legislation ;' the object being constantly, to hold the king himself directly responsible for those measures which were the grounds of separation. Even the precedent of the English revolution was not overlooked, and in this case, as well as in that, occasion was found to say that the king had *abdicated* the government. Consistency with the principles upon which resistance began, and with all the previous state papers issued by congress, required that the Declaration should be bottomed

*This question, of the power of parliament over the colonies, was discussed with singular ability, by Gov. Hutchinson on the one side, and the house of representatives of Massachusetts on the other, in 1773. The argument of the house is in the form of an answer to the governor's message, and was reported by Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Hawley, Mr. Bowers, Mr. Hobson, Mr. Foster, Mr. Philips, and Mr. Thayer. As the power of the parliament had been acknowledged, so far at least as to affect us by laws of trade, it was not easy to settle the line of distinction. It was thought however to be very clear, that the charters of the colonies had exempted them from the general legislation of the British parliament. See *Massachusetts State Papers*, p. 351.

on the misgovernment of the king ; and therefore it was properly framed with that aim and to that end. The king was known indeed to have acted as in other cases, by his ministers, and with his parliament ; but as our ancestors had never admitted themselves subject either to ministers or to parliament, there were no reasons to be given for now refusing obedience to their authority. This clear and obvious necessity of founding the Declaration on the misconduct of the king himself, gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation.

The Declaration having been reported to congress, by the committee, the resolution itself was taken up and debated on the first day of July, and again on the second, on which last day it was agreed to and adopted, in these words.

Resolved, That these united colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

Having thus passed the main resolution, Congress proceeded to consider the reported draft of the Declaration. It was discussed on the second, and third, and fourth days of the month, in committee of the whole ; and on the last of those days, being reported from that committee, it received the final approbation and sanction of Congress. It was ordered at the same time, that copies be sent to the several States, and that it be proclaimed at the head of the army. The Declaration thus published, did not bear the names of the members, for as yet it had not been signed by them. It was authenticated, like other papers of the congress, by the signatures of the President and Secretary. On the 19th of July, as appears by the secret journal, Congress '*Resolved*, that the Declaration, passed on the fourth, be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America ; and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress.'—

And on the second day of August, following, 'the Declaration, being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members.' So that it happens, fellow-citizens, that we pay these honors to their memory, on the anniversary of that day, on which these great men actually signed their names to the Declaration. The Declaration was thus made, that is, it passed, and was adopted, as an act of Congress, on the fourth of July; it was then signed and certified by the president and secretary, like other acts. The fourth of July, therefore, is the Anniversary of the Declaration. But the signatures of the members present were made to it, being then engrossed on parchment, on the second day of August. Absent members afterwards signed, as they came in; and indeed it bears the names of some who were not chosen members of Congress, until after the fourth of July. The interest belonging to the subject, will be sufficient, I hope to justify these details.

The Congress of the Revolution, fellow-citizens, sat with closed doors, and no report of its debates was ever taken.—The discussion, therefore, which accompanied this great measure, has never been preserved, except in memory, and by tradition. But it is, I believe, doing no injustice to others, to say, that the general opinion was, and uniformly has been, that in debate, on the side of independence, John Adams had no equal. The great author of the Declaration himself has expressed that opinion uniformly and strongly. 'John Adams,' said he, in the hearing of him who has now the honor to address you, 'John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and of expression, which moved us from our seats.'

For the part which he was here to perform, Mr. Adams doubtless was eminently fitted. He possessed a bold spirit, which disregarded danger, and a sanguine reliance on the goodness of the cause, and the virtues of the people, which led him to overlook all obstacles. His character, too, had been formed

in troubled times. He had been rocked in the early storms of the controversy, and had acquired a decision and a hardihood, proportioned to the severity of the discipline which he had undergone.

He not only loved the American cause devoutly, but had studied and understood it. It was all familiar to him. He had tried his powers, on the questions which it involved, often, and in various ways; and had brought to their consideration whatever of argument or illustration the history of his own country, the history of England, or the stores of ancient or of legal learning could furnish. Every grievance, enumerated in the long catalogue of the Declaration, had been the subject of his discussion, and the object of his remonstrance and reprobation. From 1760, the colonies, the rights of the colonies, the liberties of the colonies, and the wrongs inflicted on the colonies, had engaged his constant attention; and it has surprised those, who have had the opportunity of observing, with what full remembrance, and with what prompt recollection, he could refer, in his extreme old age, to every act of Parliament affecting the colonies, distinguishing and stating their respective titles, sections, and provisions; and to all the colonial memorials, remonstrances, and petitions, with whatever else belonged to the intimate and exact history of the times from that year to 1775. It was in his own judgment, between these years, that the American people came to a full understanding and thorough knowledge of their rights, and to a fixed resolution of maintaining them, and bearing himself an active part in all important transactions, the controversy with England being then, in effect, the business of his life, facts, dates and particulars made an impression which was never effaced. He was prepared, therefore, by education and discipline, as well as by natural talent and natural temperament, for the part which he was now to act.

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic; and such the crisis required. When public

bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable, in speech, farther than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it, they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments, and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked, and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then, patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, out-running the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence; or rather it is something greater and higher than eloquence, it is action, noble, sublime, god-like action.

In July 1776, the controversy had passed the state of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress, then, was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent State, was to be severed at once, and severed forever. All the colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And sure-

ly, fellow-citizens, never, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest ; if we look at it now, and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears in still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly, which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors, and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and care-worn countenances, let us hear the firm-toned voices, of this band of patriots.

Hancock presides over the solemn sitting ; and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence, is on the floor, and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the Declaration.

‘ Let us pause ! This step, once taken, cannot be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer colonies, with charters, and with privileges ; these will all be forfeited by this act ; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people, at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard ; but are we ready to carry the country to that length ? Is success so probable as to justify it ? Where is the military, where the naval power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England, for she will exert that strength to the utmost ? Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people ? or will they not act, as the people of other countries have acted, and wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression ? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputable to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions further, and set up for absolute Independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have

solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing, from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground, of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious subjects. I shudder, before this responsibility. It will be on us, if relinquishing the ground we have stood on so long, and stood on so safely, we now proclaim Independence, and carry on the war for that object, while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged Declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness and atoned for our presumption, on the scaffold.'

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

'Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand, and my heart, to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning, we aimed not at Independence. But there's a Divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till Independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why then should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life, and his own honor? Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair, is not he, our venerable colleague near you, are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you

be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone Independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of parliament, Boston port-bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men, that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here, who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you, that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defence of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver, in the support I gave him. The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself, will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of Independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded, by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our Independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why then, why then, sir, do we not as soon as possible, change

this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously, through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts and cannot be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire Independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered, to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker-Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly through this day's business. You and I indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time, when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die, colonists; die, slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready, at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour

may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood ; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present, I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in Heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it, with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it ; and I leave off, as I begun, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and by the blessing of God it shall be my dying sentiment ; Independence, *now* ; and INDEPENDENCE FOREVER.'

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot ! so that day shall be honored, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

It would be unjust, fellow-citizens, on this occasion, while we express our veneration for him who is the immediate subject of these remarks, were we to omit a most respectful, affectionate, and grateful mention of those other great men, his colleagues, who stood with him, and with the same spirit, the same devotion, took part in the interesting transaction. Hancock, the proscribed Hancock, exiled from his home by a military governor, cut off, by proclamation, from the mercy of the crown, heaven reserved, for him, the distinguished honor of putting this great question to the vote, and of writing his own name first, and most conspicuously, on that parchment which

spoke defiance to the power of the crown of England. There, too, is the name of that other proscribed patriot, Samuel Adams; a man who hungered and thirsted for the Independence of his country; who thought the Declaration halted and lingered, being himself not only ready, but eager, for it, long before it was proposed; a man of the deepest sagacity, the clearest foresight, and the profoundest judgment in men. And there is Gerry, himself among the earliest and the foremost of the patriots, found, when the battle of Lexington summoned them to common councils, by the side of Warren; a man who lived to serve his country at home and abroad, and to die in the second place in the government. There, too, is the inflexible, the upright, the Spartan character, Robert Treat Paine. He, also, lived to serve his country through the struggle, and then withdrew from her councils, only that he might give his labors and his life to his native State, in another relation. These names, fellow-citizens, are the treasures of the commonwealth; and they are treasures which grow brighter by time.

It is now necessary to resume, and to finish with great brevity, the notice of the lives of those, whose virtues and services we have met to commemorate.

Mr. Adams remained in congress from its first meeting, till November 1777, when he was appointed minister to France. He proceeded on that service, in the February following, embarking in the Boston frigate, on the shore of his native town, at the foot of Mount Wollaston. The year following, he was appointed commissioner to treat of peace with England. Returning to the United States, he was delegate from Braintree in the convention for framing the constitution of this Commonwealth, in 1780. At the latter end of the same year, he again went abroad, in the diplomatic service of the country, and was employed at various courts, and occupied with various negotiations, until 1788. The particulars of these interesting and important services this occasion does not allow time to relate. In 1782 he concluded our first treaty with Holland.

His negotiations with that Republic, his efforts to persuade the States-General to recognize our Independence, his incessant and indefatigable exertions to represent the American cause favorably, on the Continent, and to counteract the designs of its enemies, open and secret; and his successful undertaking to obtain loans, on the credit of a nation yet new and unknown, are among his most arduous, most useful, most honorable services. It was his fortune to bear a part in the negotiation for peace with England, and in something more than six years from the Declaration which he had so strenuously supported, he had the satisfaction to see the minister plenipotentiary of the crown subscribe to the instrument which declared that his 'Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States, to be free, sovereign, and independent.' In these important transactions, Mr. Adams' conduct received the marked approbation of Congress, and of the country.

While abroad, in 1787, he published his *Defence of the American Constitutions*; a work of merit, and ability, though composed with haste, on the spur of a particular occasion, in the midst of other occupations, and under circumstances not admitting of careful revision. The immediate object of the work was to counteract the weight of opinions advanced by several popular European writers of that day, Mr. Turgot, the Abbe de Mably, and Dr. Price, at a time when the people of the United States were employed in forming and revising their systems of government.

Returning to the United States in 1788, he found the new government about going into operation, and was himself elected the first Vice-President, a situation which he filled with reputation for eight years, at the expiration of which he was raised to the Presidential chair, as immediate successor to the immortal Washington. In this high station he was succeeded by Mr. Jefferson, after a memorable controversy, between their respective friends, in 1801; and from that period his manner of life has been known to all who hear me. He has lived, for five-and-twenty years, with every enjoyment that

could render old age happy. Not inattentive to the occurrences of the times, political cares have yet not materially, or for any long time, disturbed his repose. In 1820 he acted as elector of President and Vice-President, and in the same year we saw him, then at the age of eighty-five, a member of the convention of this Commonwealth, called to revise the Constitution. Forty years before, he had been one of those who formed that Constitution ; and he had now the pleasure of witnessing that there was little which the people desired to change. Possessing all his faculties to the end of his long life, with an unabated love of reading and contemplation, in the centre of interesting circles of friendship and affection, he was blessed, in his retirement, with whatever of repose and felicity, the condition of man allows. He had also other enjoyments. He saw around him that prosperity and general happiness, which had been the object of his public cares and labors. No man ever beheld more clearly, and for a longer time, the great and beneficial effects of the services rendered by himself to his country. That liberty, which he so early defended, that Independence of which he was so able an advocate and supporter, he saw, we trust, firmly and securely established. The population of the country thickened around him faster, and extended wider, than his own sanguine predictions had anticipated ; and the wealth, respectability, and power of the nation sprang up to a magnitude, which it is quite impossible he could have expected to witness, in his day. He lived, also, to behold those principles of civil freedom, which had been developed, established, and practically applied in America, attract attention, command respect, and awaken imitation, in other regions of the globe : and well might, and well did he, exclaim, ' Where will the consequences of the American Revolution end !'

If any thing yet remain to fill this cup of happiness, let it be added, that he lived to see a great and intelligent people bestow the highest honor in their gift, where he had bestowed

his own kindest parental affections, and lodged his fondest hopes. Thus honored in life, thus happy at death, he saw the Jubilee, and he died ; and with the last prayers which trembled on his lips, was the fervent supplication for his country, ' Independence forever.'

Mr. Jefferson, having been occupied in the years 1778 and 1779, in the important service of revising the laws of Virginia, was elected Governor of that State, as successor to Patrick Henry, and held the situation when the State was invaded by the British arms. In 1781 he published his *Notes on Virginia*, a work which attracted attention in Europe as well as America, dispelled many misconceptions respecting this continent, and gave its author a place among men distinguished for science. In November 1783, he again took his seat in the Continental Congress, but in May following was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, to act abroad, in the negotiation of commercial treaties, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams. He proceeded to France, in execution of this mission, embarking at Boston ; and that was the only occasion on which he ever visited this place. In 1785 he was appointed minister to France, the duties of which situation he continued to perform, until October 1789, when he obtained leave to retire, just on the eve of that tremendous Revolution which has so much agitated the world, in our times.—Mr. Jefferson's discharge of his diplomatic duties was marked by great ability, diligence, and patriotism ; and while he resided at Paris, in one of the most interesting periods, his character for intelligence, his love of knowledge, and of the society of learned men, distinguished him in the highest circles of the French capital. No court in Europe had, at that time, in Paris a representative commanding or enjoying higher regard, for political knowledge or for general attainment, than the minister of this then infant republic. Immediately on his return to his native country, at the organization of the government under the present Constitution, his talents and experience recommended him to President Washington, for

the first office in his gift. He was placed at the head of the Department of State. In this situation, also, he manifested conspicuous ability. His correspondence with the ministers of other powers residing here, and his instructions to our own diplomatic agents abroad, are among our ablest State Papers. A thorough knowledge of the laws and usages of nations, perfect acquaintance with the immediate subject before him, great felicity, and still greater facility, in writing, shew themselves in whatever effort his official situation called on him to make. It is believed, by competent judges, that the diplomatic intercourse of the government of the United States, from the first meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774 to the present time, taken together, would not suffer, in respect to the talent with which it has been conducted, by comparison with anything which other and older States can produce; and to the attainment of this respectability and distinction, Mr. Jefferson has contributed his full part.

On the retirement of General Washington from the presidency, and the election of Mr. Adams to that office, in 1797, he was chosen Vice-President. While presiding, in this capacity, over the deliberations of the senate, he compiled and published a Manual of Parliamentary Practice, a work of more labor and more merit, than is indicated by its size.— It is now received, as the general standard, by which proceedings are regulated, not only in both Houses of Congress, but in most of the other legislative bodies in the country.— In 1801, he was elected President, in opposition to Mr. Adams, and re-elected in 1805, by a vote approaching towards unanimity.

From the time of his final retirement from public life, in 1807, Mr. Jefferson lived, as became a wise man. Surrounded by affectionate friends, his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished, with uncommon health, and unbroken spirits, he was able to enjoy largely the rational pleasures of life, and to partake in that public prosperity, which he had so much contributed to produce. His kindness and hospital-

ity, the charm of his conversation, the ease of his manners, the extent of his acquirements, and especially the full store of revolutionary incidents, which he possessed, and which he knew when and how to dispense, rendered his abode in a high degree attractive to his admiring countrymen, while his high public and scientific character drew towards him every intelligent and educated traveller from abroad. Both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson had the pleasure of knowing that the respect, which they so largely received, was not paid to their official stations. They were not men made great by office ; but great men on whom the country for its own benefit had conferred office. There was that in them, which office did not give, and which the relinquishment of office did not, and could not, take away. In their retirement, in the midst of their fellow-citizens, themselves private citizens, they enjoyed as high regard and esteem, as when filling the most important places of public trust.

There remained to Mr. Jefferson yet one other work of patriotism and beneficence, the establishment of a University in his native state. To this object he devoted years of incessant and anxious attention, and by the enlightened liberality of the legislature of Virginia, and the co-operation of other able and zealous friends, he lived to see it accomplished.— May all success attend this infant seminary ; and may those who enjoy its advantages, as often as their eyes shall rest on the neighboring height, recollect what they owe to their disinterested and indefatigable benefactor ; and may letters honor him who thus labored in the cause of letters.

Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas Jefferson. But time was on its ever-ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man.— He saw its approach, with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments, as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand, which he had helped to make immortal. One wish, one hope—if it were not presumptuous—beat in his fainting breast. Could it be

so—might it please God—he would desire—once more—to see the sun—once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on the great day of liberty. Heaven in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. He saw that sun—he enjoyed its sacred light—he thanked God for this mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. “*Fel x, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.*”

The last public labor of Mr. Jefferson naturally suggests the expression of the high praise which is due, both to him and to Mr. Adams, for their uniform and zealous attachment to learning, and to the cause of general knowledge. Of the advantages of learning, indeed, and of literary accomplishments, their own characters were striking recommendations, and illustrations. They were scholars, ripe and good scholars; widely acquainted with ancient, as well as modern literature, and not altogether uninstructed in the deeper sciences. Their acquirements, doubtless, were different, and so were the particular objects, of their literary pursuits; as their states and characters, in these respects, differed like those of other men. Being also, men of busy lives, with great objects, requiring action, constantly before them, their attainments in letters did not become showy, or obtrusive. Yet, I would hazard the opinion, that if we could now ascertain all the causes which gave them eminence and distinction, in the midst of the great men with whom they acted, we should find, not among the least, their early acquisition in literature, the resources which it furnished, the promptitude and facility which it communicated, and the wide field it opened, for analogy and illustration; giving them, thus, on every subject, a larger view, and a broader range, as well for discussion, as for the government of their own conduct.

Literature sometimes, and pretensions to it much oftener, disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down, by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in ar-

chitecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament, without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach.— Men have seen that it might exist, without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But, in such cases, classical learning has only not inspired natural talent ; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of preception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armour to native strength, and render its possessor, not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished, also, for action, in the affairs of life, and especially for public action. Those whose memories we now honor, were learned men ; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars not common, nor superficial ; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist ; forgetting or not knowing, that classical learning, in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt, where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually, because it is not seen at all.

But the cause of knowledge, in a more enlarged sense, the cause of general knowledge and of popular education, had no warmer friends, nor more powerful advocates, than Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. On this foundation, they knew, the whole republican system rested ; and this great and all-important truth they strove to impress, by all the means in their power. In the early publication, already referred to, Mr. Adams expresses the strong and just sentiment, that the

education of the poor is more important, even to the rich themselves, than all their own riches. On this great truth, indeed, is founded that unrivalled, that invaluable political and moral institution, our own blessing, and the glory of our fathers, the New-England system of free schools.

As the promotion of knowledge had been the object of their regard through life, so these great men made it the subject of their testamentary bounty. Mr. Jefferson is understood to have bequeathed his library to the university, and that of Mr. Adams is bestowed on the inhabitants of Quincy.

Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, fellow citizens, were successively Presidents of the United States. The comparative merits of their respective administrations for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people, for the highest office. This contest, partly the cause, and partly the consequence, of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our government. We may naturally regret, that any thing should have occurred to create difference and discord, between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions, they were canvassed, when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted ; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that when the Constitution of the United States went first into operation, different opinions should be entertained, as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful, that that event, about contemporary with our government, under the present Constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought,

by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity ; and that the early measures, adopted by our government, in consequence of this new state of things, should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away, to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the meantime, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures, which, whether right or wrong, have ceased, with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect, either on the Constitution, or on the general prosperity of the country. This remark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception, in one measure, the alteration of the Constitution, as to the mode of choosing President ; but it is true, in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France, in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial restriction, commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away, and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both administrations, which were of durable importance, and which drew after them interesting and long remaining consequences, have received general approbation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation, of the navy, in the administration of Mr. Adams ; such the acquisition of Louisiana, in that of Mr. Jefferson.— The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve, or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any, administration. The dictate of reason and of justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points of difference, we imitate the great men themselves, in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual

respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate.

No men, fellow-citizens, ever served their country with more entire exemption from every imputation of selfish and mercenary motive than those to whose memory we are paying these proofs of respect. A suspicion of any disposition to enrich themselves, or to profit by their public employments, never rested on either. No sordid motive approached them. The inheritance which they have left to their children, is of their character and their fame.

Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead.— Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be performed within the limits of this occasion. Their heighest, their best praise, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up, beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains ; for with American Liberty it rose, and with American Liberty only can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, "*Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore.*" I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, "*Their name liveth evermore.*"

Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only CHARLES CARROLL. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer, after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the dust. Venerable object ! we delight

to gather round its trunk, while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction, one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections must fill his elevated and devout soul ! If he dwell on the past, how touching its recollections ; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope, which his ardent patriotism indulged ; if he glance at the future, how does the prospect of his country's advancement almost bewilder his weakened conception ! Fortunate, distinguished patriot ! Interesting relic of the past ! Let him know that while we honor the dead, we do not forget the living ; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray, that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions.

And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion, without a deep and solemn conviction of duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours ; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past, and generations to come, hold us responsible for this sacred trust. Our fathers, from behind, admonish us, with their anxious paternal voices, posterity calls out to us, from the bosom of the future, the world turns hither its solicitous eyes—all, all conjure us to act wisely, and faithfully, in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us ; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and to leave it unimpaired to our children. Let us feel deeply how much, of what we are and of what we possess, we owe to this liberty, and these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil, which yields bounteously to the hands of industry, the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigor. But what are lands, and seas, and skies,

to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture ; and how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent, and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government ? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us, there is not one of us here present, who does not at this moment, and at every moment, experience, in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him, the influence and the benefits of this liberty, and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and powerfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain ; the great hope of prosperity, let it not be blasted.

The striking attitude, too, in which we stand to the world around us, a topic to which, I fear, I advert too often, and dwell on too long, cannot be altogether omitted here. Neither individuals nor nations can perform their part well, until they understand and feel its importance, and comprehend and justly appreciate all the duties belonging to it. It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge this consideration of our position, and our character, among the nations of the earth. It can not be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era, commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by Free Representative Governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened, and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests.— If they fall, we fall with them ; if they stand, it will be be-

cause we have upholden them. Let us contemplate, then, this connexion, which binds the prosperity of others to our own ; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path. Washington is in the clear upper sky. These other stars have now joined the American constellation ; they circle round their centre, and the Heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination, let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine Benignity.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS,

August 10, 1826.

BY JOSEPH E. SPRAGUE.

THE greatest talents and the most powerful eloquence of the age, have already poured forth the libations of national feeling, to the memories of the illustrious dead, in Faneuil Hall, the Cradle of Liberty, and at the foot of Bunker's consecrated Hill. An attempt on our part to add any thing to these distinguished services, would be equally unavailing and presumptuous. But, fellow-citizens, it is our duty to bring our humble offering to the memories of our common political fathers. The rivulet unites with the majestic river in its tribute to the deep ; and although our notes should be as low as the last reverberation of an echo, still they should be sounded.

Public sentiment exerts arbitrary control over human actions. The sanctions of religion and law are but Lilliputian ties to restrain its operation. We frequently see the most distinguished men assume the arm of the assassin, and expose themselves to deadly weapons, in contests, which their reason and their consciences condemn, and do acts, which the laws of heaven and society stamp as murder ; because public opinion in their country requires it, to vindicate and preserve unsullied that fame, which is justly dearer to man than life itself. If such is the arbitrary influence of public sentiment how important is it, that it should be properly regulated, and that every opportunity should be seized to give it a right direction. What occasion so appropriate, what so effectual, as to hold up to society for imitation, those whose actions were models for human conduct, and whose lives illustrated every

virtue. The greater respect you pay such men, the higher the veneration you inspire for their characters. If you can induce men to admire the virtues personified, they will most surely practice them. They will not abuse what they love. It is preposterous to suppose that any person devoted to a virtue, can fall a victim to its opposite vice. Exalted virtues and public services demand our highest gratitude ; and this gratitude is the greatest incentive to others. They merit, that they too may receive it. One of the strongest motives to a virtuous life, is the desire implanted in our bosoms, to live after death in the memory of posterity.

These, fellow-citizens, are the reasons which should induce us to pay every tribute of gratitude and every mark of respect to those virtuous and distinguished patriots to commemorate whose departure we are now assembled. Search history from creation to the deluge, and from the deluge until the present day, and where can we find men whose lives have been more virtuous, patriotic or useful, or who better deserve to be exhibited as models for mankind ? If the moral virtues gave proportion to the form, here Phidias might sculpture perfection, and Stuart know that his models surpassed those of ancient Greece.

The solid foundation of our liberties rests on the system of Christianity. Although in its first promulgation, its maxims opposed sudden violent and unavailing opposition to those in authority, yet, in its general tenor, it teaches the natural equality of man, and of course his equal rights, not only to life, and the bounties of nature, but also to liberty and self-government. The same book which enjoins on "slaves to obey their masters," at the same time directs masters "to give that which is *just* and *equal* to their slaves," for that they also have a master in heaven, "who hath *no respect to persons*." It teaches those who would rule, that governments are instituted not for their gratification, but for the benefit of their subjects. "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." It declares that in the day of desq-

lation, it shall be "as with the slave, so with the master."—It brings the master and his servant to the same communion, and teaches them that each has an immortal spirit under the protection of one who knows no distinction of rank. It depresses the proud, the haughty, and the elevated, by declaring to them that their honors and elevation cease with their breath; that they can carry nothing with them beyond the grave; that their honors and elevation on earth give them no title to rank in heaven; that they will be judged there by the single standard of moral worth. It elevates the low and depressed with the assurance, that if they act well their part on earth, no distinction of rank this side the grave can bar their advancement to the highest posts in heaven. Such principles are utterly subversive of all right to enslave our fellow-creatures, and of the "dark ribaldry" of a divine right to hereditary rank.

These, fellow-citizens, are the republican doctrines of your religion, when it is understood in its simplicity, and purified from the absurd commentaries of those, who have erected religious establishments, and connected them with their political systems. To unite Church and State, and make them mutually support each other, it is necessary to give to the Scriptures an unnatural and servile interpretation.

It was in the Holy Scriptures that the Puritans learnt their lessons of civil and religious liberty. Equally averse to the slavery of the mind and person, they fled at the same time from the Hierarchy and the Aristocracy of the old world, and commenced the settlement of the new. Here for ages they were permitted, without interruption, to enjoy a degree of liberty unknown in the mother country. At last their prosperity excited the avarice of the parent state. The colonies had always voluntarily contributed most liberally* to the

*Mr. Otis, in a speech in the legislature, September 9, 1762, says, "This province has since the year 1754, levied for his majesty's service as soldiers and seamen, near thirty thousand men, besides what have been otherwise employed. One year in par-

prosperity of the mother country. But now her cupidity sought to relieve her own burthens, by imposing them on the colonies ; to bind them without their consent, by the acts of a body in which they were not represented. The principles of liberty implanted by the Puritans in their descendants, had taken too deep root to be easily shaken. They denied the authority thus to bind them. They resisted it, and this resistance produced the American revolution. The taxes imposed on them were light, and much easier to be borne than the cost of any opposition. But they regarded not the amount. They saw in the principle, the arbitrary principle of tyranny, and they determined to risk property, honor, and life, rather than submit to it.

It was amid the scenes of the American revolution, that the two patriarchs, whose memories we would now embalm, acted their first and most distinguished parts.

The American revolution, and the erection of free governments consequent to it, form the most important era in history ; the most appalling to hereditary rank and aristocratic pride. Our systems of government approximate to perfection, and are susceptible of but little improvement. They unite the greatest strength in the government with the most entire liberty in the people. They afford such an example to the world, that if we are true to our ancestors, true to ourselves, they must eventually be universally adopted. It was the part taken by ADAMS and JEFFERSON, in disenthraling us from colonial servitude, and erecting governments, which will always be considered as "stupendous fabrics of human wisdom," that calls us at this time to pay the homage of ceaseless gratitude to their memories.

The history of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson is the history of their country during its most critical and interesting

ticular, it was said, that every fifth man was employed, in one shape or another. We have raised sums for the support of this war, that the last generation could hardly have formed an idea of. We are now deeply in debt."

periods. To do them full justice, is the duty of the historian ; it is our task merely, to give a bold outline of their proportions. Their private virtues and exalted moral worth are proper topics for the sacred desk. The discussion of their literary character belongs to the learned societies, of which they were the members and the heads. It was their patriotism and political character which connected them with society ; and these are the proper themes for our present discussion.

The most appropriate manner of pursuing this discussion would be to group these illustrious and venerable men in the different scenes in which they have acted together, and to show the similarity of their services. But this field has been already occupied by the eloquent advocate of Greece. It will not answer for the lesser lights to follow in the path of the Sun ; that our course may be seen, we must pursue it below the illuminated horizon.

THOMAS JEFFERSON* was educated at William and Mary, the College of his native State, and to the profession of the law, under the celebrated Chancellor Wythe, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1764, being then only twenty-one years of age, he was elected a representative of his native county in the Legislature of Virginia ; of which he soon became a distinguished member. He was peculiarly fortunate in most of the events of his life. Like the celebrated Addison, he held the pen of the ready and accomplished writer, without the ability to distinguish himself as a debater. Those who have had any experience in public assemblies, know the difficulties which the most talented encounter, if they are unable to speak in public. Yet this circumstance formed no barrier to Mr. Jefferson's advancement. His mind was richly stored with legal and political science, and from every source of miscellaneous learn-

* He was born April 13 (2), 1743, in Albemarle county, Virginia.

ing. His powers of conversation were unequalled. He fascinated all who approached him, and such was the magic power he possessed over men's minds, that whilst they were imbibing his opinions, they imagined he was advocating theirs. He took an early, open, and decided part in favor of the revolution. In 1774, he published a "Summary View of the Rights of British America;" and in 1775, the duty was assigned him by the Legislature of his state, of replying to Lord North's propositions. On the 21st of June 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, in place of Peyton Randolph, the first President, who died the ensuing autumn. Whilst a member of Congress, he was placed on many important committees, particularly those in which the aid of an able writer was required. Before he had been a week in Congress, he was placed on the committee to prepare the Declaration to be published by Washington on his taking command of the army. On the 10th of May, 1776, Congress passed a resolution, and a preamble to it on the 15th, which is considered by the historians of Europe and America as the assumption of Independence. On the 28th of the same month, it was "Resolved, That an animated address be published, to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of now stepping forward to save their country, their freedom, and their property." Mr. Jefferson was appointed chairman of the committee to prepare this address. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee moved the resolution for Independence. On the 10th a committee was ordered to draft a Declaration. The same evening Mr. Lee was summoned home by sickness in his family; and on the 11th, when the committee was appointed, Mr. Jefferson was placed at its head. The Declaration is his draft, without material alteration; and this charter of our liberties, which announces to the world the commencement of the American era, will wreath his brow with imperishable lustre. On the 26th of September, 1776, he was appointed Commissioner to France. The situation of his family compelled him to de-

cline this appointment. In October, 1776, he resigned his seat in Congress, and was elected a member of the House of Delegates. From 1777 to 1779, he was employed with Wythe and Pendleton in framing a code of laws for Virginia. In 1779 he succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia, and was re-elected to that office the succeeding year.— During his administration the state was invaded by Benedict Arnold. Mr. Jefferson's conduct was impeached, and an enquiry ordered. He was furnished with interrogatories by the gentleman [Mr. Nicholas] who moved the enquiry.— To meet the accusation, he went into the House of Delegates, in place of a member who resigned to give him the opportunity. To Mr. Nicholas, his accuser, he sent his justification. Mr. Nicholas was satisfied, he acknowledged his error, and refused to go on with the enquiry. Mr. Jefferson, however, read in his place, the interrogatories and his justification.— A vote of thanks unanimously passed for his “impartial, upright, and attentive administration, whilst in office.” In 1781, he wrote his celebrated Notes on Virginia. The story of Logan was denied, and he was most severely censured by the heirs of Col. Cresap; but his vindication was most complete, and he established the fact beyond dispute. In 1782 he was appointed a Commissioner to treat of peace with Great Britain, but before he sailed, the news of the signature of the treaty arrived. In 1783, he was again elected, and took his seat in Congress in November. In 1784 he was joined in a commission to the several Courts of Europe, and sailed from Boston in July of that year. He remained abroad, as Minister to France, until 1789. On his return that year, he was appointed first Secretary of State under the Constitution. In this department he continued during the whole of the first and part of the second terms of Washington's Presidency. Differing in opinion with the other members of the Cabinet, he resigned that situation and retired to his seat at Monticello. Whilst he continued in this department, the foreign affairs of the country were much embar-

raised, particularly our relations with France and England.— His correspondence with the ministers of those powers is voluminous, distinguished for its ability, and that felicity of composition which characterises most of the productions of his pen. Amongst his labours in this department, were elaborate Reports, on Money, on the Fisheries, on the Restrictions on Commerce, and on Weights and Measures.

According to the provisions of the Constitution, no elector can vote for two candidates belonging to the same State. Washington being a Virginian, Mr. Jefferson therefore was not brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency at the two first elections. During Washington's administration, the operations and construction of the Constitution, the French revolution, the treaty with England, and local causes divided the country into two great parties. After Washington resigned, these parties rallied around Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson as their candidates for the presidency; and so equal was the contest, that Mr. Adams was chosen in 1796, by only three votes more than Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson, under the provisions of the Constitution, became Vice-President. In this office he presided with great dignity, and during his continuance in it, compiled his Manual, the text-book of all our legislative bodies. At the ensuing election, these great men were again rivals, and again the people were equally divided between them; Mr. Jefferson, in this contest, although successful, having only four votes more than Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson's administration was peculiarly successful, and he was re-elected by a vote nearly unanimous—a unanimity under our form of government, and at such a period, most extraordinary. The vote subsequently given to Mr. Monroe, although more nearly unanimous, was not so extraordinary. The last vote was given in one of those calms which always succeed violent storms; the other during the fury of the tempest.

A view of the administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson is not within the compass of a single discourse. If it was, we could not enter on it. We have been too deeply en-

gaged as actors, yet to be able to pass a candid judgment upon their merits. To discuss them, would open wounds which have not yet healed, and excite feelings which should have no existence here. As early, constant and devoted friends of Mr. Jefferson's administration, we fearlessly commit it to history ; touching only on two of its measures, the Embargo, and the purchase of Louisiana. In relation to the Embargo, the most odious measure of that administration, we have neither hope nor wish of making converts to our opinion. But for ourselves, we thought it at the time a wise expedient to avoid the barbarous and desolating conflicts of war. We were happy that the experiment was made before a resort to war. It was the appeal of humanity against a savage custom. We are satisfied that it is an experiment which should never be repeated ; it might give to the desperate enterprise of our citizens an unfortunate direction. The acquisition of Louisiana is the most important measure since we became a nation. It would alone perpetuate the fame of any administration. It has been objected that our country was already sufficiently extended, and that by this step its bonds would be weakened, and its union and Constitution endangered. But Mr. Madison, to whom, more than any other individual, we are indebted for our present Constitution, has demonstrated in the *Federalist*, that our government is stronger in, and better adapted to, an extended empire, than a small state. That factions are the great enemies of free governments ; that the most fruitful sources of factions are sectional feelings ; and that the more extended a nation, the less powerful is any section or any faction.

Mr. Jefferson has been the great benefactor of his own State. He has successfully contended against the aristocratic laws of entail and primogeniture, and in favor of the equal distribution of estates. He contended also against the church establishment, until it was overthrown. And expecting that a Convention would be holden to form a constitution for Virginia, in 1783, he drafted a Constitution to be proposed to them. Nor did his labors end here ; he contended, without

success however, against the aristocratic and unequal features in the Constitution of Virginia, by which "the majority of the men in that State who pay for its support are unrepresented;" and the unequal manner in which the State is districted for senators and representatives; and the concentration in the same hands of all the powers of government, legislative, executive and judiciary. But his noblest effort, though unsuccessful, has been for the emancipation of slaves, and the abolition of this standing reproach to our country and human nature. Had his measures been successful, instead of numbering slaves by millions, they would now be reduced to a few thousands. The following eloquent paragraph on this subject, was reported by him as part of the Declaration of Independence, but stricken out by Congress:

"He (the King of England) has waged war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no distinguishing dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

The last act of his life was the establishment of the University of Virginia, of which he was Rector. History affords no example of a private individual, by the force of his influence, having commenced and carried so near to perfection such an establishment. Such, fellow-citizens, was Thomas

Jefferson, the statesman, the philosopher, and the patriot, the friend of his own country, and the benefactor of mankind. The measures of no other individual in our country have ever acquired equal popularity. He lived to see his name used as an epithet to designate a popular and correct administration of government; and died on the day which his own act had consecrated.

John Adams* stood next to our venerable Holyoke on the catalogue of our University. He had already acquired celebrity, and was a distinguished barrister at the commencement of our revolution. He was early employed to contest the validity of the Stamp Act, and to deny in the courts of law the necessity of using Stamps. From the first moment of the contest, he embarked earnestly in it, and during this perilous period stood in the midst of the furnace. A direct descendant of the Puritans, he possessed all their virtues; an invincible courage, and an inflexible love of civil and religious liberty. Before 1765, he was a distinguished writer in the public newspapers in favor of the rights of the colonies, and that year he published a dissertation on the feudal and canon law, which attracted so much attention as to be republished in England. It breathes throughout the purest spirit of liberty.† His talents, and the course he pursued, soon rendered him conspicuous as a most dangerous opponent to the government; and with a view to silence him, Gov. Barnard offered him in 1768, through his friend Sewall, the office of Advocate General‡ in the Court of Admiralty; this office he promptly declined. In 1770 he was elected a representative from Boston. During the same year, he was called upon to perform a duty which

*John Adams was born in Braintree, October 30 (19,) 1735; he graduated in 1755. Edward A. Holyoke graduated in 1746, and is 98 years old.

†See Note A.

‡“An office very lucrative at that time, and a sure road to the highest favors of Government in America.”

demonstrated the elevation of his character, and his high sense of justice and professional duty. The people of Boston becoming exasperated at being made a military garrison, made an attack on the soldiery; the soldiers fired in self-defence, and several persons were killed. What an opportunity this for a demagogue to inflame the passions, and raise himself to popularity by joining in their extravagance. But this was not John Adams' character. He chose to vindicate the justice of his country, as well as to proclaim her wrongs. The soldiers were indicted for murder—he undertook their defence—was most successful in it—and nothing which occurred during the revolution, is more honorable to our character than this act of justice. Whilst he continued in the legislature of Massachusetts, he took an active part in their proceedings, and in writing those elaborate documents, the Massachusetts State Papers.* It 1773 and 1774, he was elected Counsellor, but negatived both years by the Governor.† During the same year, he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. After his election, his friend Mr. Sewall, the King's Attorney General, requested a private interview, and remonstrated against his going to Congress. He told him "that Great Britain was determined on her system; her power was irresistible, and would be destructive to him, and all those who should persevere in opposition to her designs." Mr. Adams replied to him, "I know Great Britain has determined on her system, and that very determination determines me on mine; that he knew I had been constant and uniform in opposition to her measures; that the die was now cast; I had passed the Rubicon—swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country, was my unalterable determination."

With such feelings and principles he took his seat in Congress, the first day of their session, September 5, 1774, and continued constant in his attendance during all their sessions until November 1777, a fortnight only before he was appoint-

*Note B.

†Note C.

ed commissioner to France. In 1776 he was appointed Chief Justice of Massachusetts, but preferring the post of danger he declined the office. At the close of the first session, November 1774, on his return to Massachusetts, he found his friend Sewall employed in writing in support of the Crown side of the controversy, under the signature of *Massachusettensis*; to him he replied in twelve elaborate numbers, under the signature of *Novanglus*. Thus his time in Congress and at home, was devoted to his country.* To estimate the nature of Mr. Adams' labors in Congress, it is only necessary to turn over the journals. He was on more committees than any other member; almost every measure of importance, in some stage, was committed to him. He was chairman of the board of war; also of the board of appeals; he was on the committees to give instructions to foreign ministers—to give commissions and instructions to the military officers—on committees to prepare various addresses—on the medical department—on the post office. His duties must have been more laborious than those of any officer under any government on earth.†

The Independence of the Colonies, was Mr. Adams' early and constant aim. With a prophetic spirit, he foretold it in a letter from Worcester in 1755, when only 19 years old.‡

*Massachusetts at this period, by the advice of Congress, (to whom they had applied) had assumed to act independently of the Royal government. The House in July chose a Council, who exercised the authority of the old Council and of the Governor. Mr. Adams was chosen a member of this Council, and took his seat during the recess of Congress. He was again chosen the next year, but declined.

†He served on ninety committees—twice as many as any other member, except Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams. And although it was the policy to put Virginia generally at the head, he was chairman of twenty-five committees. In September 1776, he was appointed, with Franklin and Rutledge, to meet Lord Howe, and learn his authority and propositions.—Note D.

‡Note E.

§Note F.

So thoroughly satisfied were they in the other Colonies that Mr. Adams and his colleagues were for Independence, that before they reached Philadelphia in 1774, they were warned by the most respectable men of the middle states, that they must not in Congress or in private conversation utter a word concerning Independence;—that it was as unpopular as the stamp act itself; that they were so much suspected of aiming at Independence, that they must not attempt to lead; but that as Virginia was the largest state, and was not suspected, they must yield the lead to her. Actuated by no personal motives, he was willing to sacrifice his own consequence, and that of his section, to the common good; and to allay all jealousy, he consented to perform a subordinate part, in those scenes in which he was really the great actor.

All the delegates from the other Colonies* at this time believed that England would be brought to terms without resorting to Independence. It was early rumored in the city of Philadelphia, that John Adams was for Independence. Those opposed to it, represented him in the most odious point of light—and he was pointed at as he passed the streets, and avoided like a pestilence. Still he persevered—every day he gained proselytes to his belief—and at last, on the 6th of May, 1776, he moved a resolution, which was adopted on the 15th, that the Colonies should form governments independent of the Crown. This act is justly considered in history as the assumption of Independence, and to him it owed its passage. Between that day and the 7th of June, many of the States had expressed opinions in favor of Independence. Virginia had given instructions to her delegates; in conformity therewith, Richard Henry Lee, designated for that purpose by his colleagues, on that day moved a resolution for Independence, which was seconded by John Adams. On the 11th of June, the committee to prepare the Declaration was appointed. The committees of Congress were then chosen by ballot, the

*Note G.

one who had the highest vote being chairman. Mr. Adams says, that Mr. Jefferson was so frank, prompt, explicit, and decisive on committees, that he seized upon his heart, and that on this occasion he gave him his vote, and did all in his power to procure him the votes of others. It was important not only to get a vote in favor of Independence, but that the vote should be unanimous. The policy of great Britain was such as Mr. Adams predicted that it would be—to divide and conquer.* If they could have prevented a few of the States from joining in the Declaration of Independence, it would have been unavailing. Its whole strength depended on the unanimity with which it should be adopted. It was a fearful day of darkness and doubt. Some of the delegates continued to oppose Independence. Two or three Colonies had not yet been heard from; and to give time to hear from them, the subject was postponed until July 1. On that day, instructions had been received from all the Colonies; still they were discretionary, and the measure was yet opposed. It was a great and eventful day, for our country and mankind. The eloquent and polished Dickenson made a solemn appeal against the measure. To all objections, John Adams replied with a resistless and overpowering eloquence. He is said never to have spoken as he did on this occasion. It was a speech of unexampled energy. He threw his whole soul into the subject—

“Crowds rose to vengeance as his accents rung,
And INDEPENDENCE thunder'd from his tongue.”

When the question was first taken, it is said that even Dr. Franklin did not vote for it; and when on this day it was decided in committee of the whole, Delaware was divided, and Pennsylvania opposed. The question was taken on the next day in the House, and a similar decision occurred.† The

*Note F.

†John Adams, in his letter to his wife, dated July 3, 1776, says the vote passed without one dissenting colony the day previous. A letter of Gov. M'Kean states, that the vote was not unanimous until the 4th, and that he sent an express for Mr. Rodney, who did not arrive until that day.

Declaration was then debated until the 4th. Mr. Rodney having arrived from Delaware, and two of the Pennsylvania delegates being absent, the vote then passed unanimously. Without the ardent, persevering and undaunted support of John Adams, our Independence might have been lost. In the language of Mr. Jefferson, he was "the Colossus of that Congress—the pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and defender." In that day of darkness, he stood first among the foremost, and in his own emphatic language, "breathed into that body the breath of life."

"In his eye

The inextinguishable spark, which fires
The souls of Patriots, whilst his brow supports
Undaunted valor, and contempt of death."

This was not the only act of that period which entitles him to our gratitude. A commander-in-chief of the Army was to be appointed. Gen. Ward, of his own State, then had the chief command—the New-England delegation were united for him. At a meeting with them, Mr. Adams opposed their views, and proposed Gen. Washington—he was resisted, and he left them, declaring that the next day Washington should be nominated. It was done accordingly at his instance by Gov. Johnson of Maryland,* and he was unanimously chosen.

In 1777 Mr. Adams was appointed Commissioner to France. He sailed in the winter, and a fleet was despatched to intercept him.† Before he arrived in France he had to run the gauntlet through three hostile fleets, and endured the hazard of as many tremendous storms. If he had been captured, he would like Laurens‡ have been confined to the tower, with no companion but his warder, deprived of all means

*The paternal uncle of the lady of John Q. Adams. †Note I.

‡ On his passage to Holland, in 1779, as minister from the United States, he was captured, and confined more than fourteen months in the tower. See Note K.

of correspondence, with his friends, and without any prospect of liberation, until like Sidney he was led to the block. He was superceded by a plenipotentiary commission to Franklin. This course was taken because in the language of Congress, "suspicions and animosities existed among the commissioners, highly prejudicial to the honor and interest of the United States." This vote of censure was passed in April 1779. It was reported in general terms including all the commissioners, but was amended so as to name five of them, and except John Adams. Thus he was acquitted from all participation in these dissensions. On his return, he was chosen a member from Braintree of the Convention to frame our Constitution. The Constitution of our State was one of the earliest of the present Constitutions, and it has served in its leading features and principles as a model for the United States and State Constitutions. John and Samuel Adams were designated as a sub-committee to draft the Constitution.—The Constitution is the draft of John Adams, the address to the people, of Samuel Adams. After remaining at home a few months, in September 1779 he was appointed sole commissioner to conclude a treaty of peace. In 1780 he received a vote of thanks from Congress, for his "industrious attention to the interest and honor of the country." He remained abroad until after the treaty of peace, associated in various commissions. Whilst in Holland, by a most laborious course he wrote our country into credit, and by his replies on the resources and prospects of our country, to Dr. Calkoen, he procured a recognition of our Independence, a treaty of commerce, and a loan. But his great and most distinguished negotiation was in relation to the treaty of peace. Our commissioners were instructed to consult with France in their negotiation, and Dr. Franklin felt bound by the instructions.—But Adams and Jay, finding that France was acting against us; that she wished to deprive us of the navigation of the Mississippi, and the fisheries; to bound us by the Ohio, and to cause us to treat before a recognition of Independence;

resolved no longer to consult the Count de Vergennes, the French minister, and he knew nothing of their having agreed with the British minister, until they produced to him the treaty already signed. * It is impossible without seeing their correspondence to estimate the services of Adams and Jay at that period. But the part then acted by Mr. Adams was only second to his course in relation to Independence.

In 1785, he was appointed first minister to London. In his introduction to the King, his genuine character appears most conspicuous. It was a most interesting scene, delicate for the minister, and humiliating to the King. The richest jewel had been reft from his crown, and one of his rebel subjects was to be received by him as the representative of his severed dominion. The King was disposed to act magnanimously. He knew that Mr. Adams was disgusted with the intrigues of the French Court. When he was presented, he complimented him by expressing his pleasure at receiving a minister who had no prejudices in favor of France, the natural enemy of his crown. What, fellow-citizens, would have been the reply of one of the courtiers of the old world?—He would have said, “Your Majesty has judged rightly—my prejudices are all in favor of our mother country, to whom, although circumstances have led to a separation, we are yet allied by the strongest ties of affinity.” Not such, however, was the answer of John Adams—his honesty could assume no mask. His reply was, “May it please your majesty, I have no prejudices but for my own country.” In 1787, while yet in London, he published his most elaborate work, in three volumes octavo; a Defence of our Constitutions against the multifarious attacks on them.† In October of that year, at his own request, permission was given him to return after February 1788. At the same time, Congress adopted the

* Note L.

† In 1790 Mr. Adams published his celebrated Discourses on Davilla, which make a volume of 250 pages octavo.—Note M.

following resolution : " Resolved, that Congress entertain a high sense of the services which Mr. Adams has rendered to the United States, in the execution of the various important trusts which they have from time to time committed to him ; and that the thanks of Congress be presented to him for the patriotism, perseverance, integrity and diligence with which he has ably and faithfully served his country." Such was the testimonial of his country, at the termination of his revolutionary and diplomatic career.

The Constitution was now to go into operation. Two candidates were to be voted for by each elector for the two first offices, without any designation of office. The two successful candidates were Washington and Adams. That Washington might be elected President, many of the electors withheld their votes from Adams. Why were these votes kept back from Adams, and given to other candidates ? Why this fear of having an equal vote with Washington ? He was a distinguished civilian—the office was a civil office—and the services of the other candidate had been principally military. The answer, fellow-citizens, is to be found in the nature of their employments. There is a halo lustre which surrounds military services, which captivates the sense and enchains the judgment. The pomp and circumstance of war impose a dread and reverence, and the Military Chief is commonly considered a demi-god. Every one in the country knew the virtues of Washington ; they had seen his patriotic devotion to his country ; his forbearance against the most malignant attacks, and his fortitude under every trial.— They saw in him, not only these virtues, and a host of others which marked his character, but they also attributed to him, merits, to which he had no claim—those which, with his characteristic modesty, he would have been the first to disavow. In the various actions in which he was engaged, much must have been due to those who co-operated with him ; but it is almost universally the case, that the commander-in-chief engrosses the whole glory of his troops. How different is the

case of the civilian. Look at the labors of Adams, of which we have given you but a defective and imperfect view. Not an hundred men in the country could have been acquainted with any part of them—they appeared anonymously, or under assumed titles; they were concealed in the secret conclaves of Congress, or the more secret cabinets of Princes.—Such services are never known to the public; or if known, only in history, when the actors of the day have passed from the stage, and the motives for longer concealment cease to exist.

In the office of Vice President, Mr. Adams presided with great dignity. He was uniformly consulted by Washington as if he had been a member of the cabinet. At the close of Washington's administration, when he left the Senate to assume the Presidency, as his successor, he states in his address —“It is a recollection of which nothing can ever deprive me, and it will be a source of comfort to me through the remainder of my life, that on the one hand, I have for eight years held the second situation under our Constitution, in perfect and uninterrupted harmony with the first, without envy in the one, or jealousy in the other, so on the other hand, I have never had the smallest misunderstanding with any member of the Senate.”

The same motives which induced us to pass over the administration of Mr. Jefferson, direct us to a similar course with that of his predecessor. Nothing however can be more unjust, than to charge any President with the whole odium of the measures adopted by Congress during his administration. When Congress is divided into parties, and at all other times, many measures will pass, to which the President (although he disapproves them) must give his signature.—The Constitution, indeed, gives the President in the first instance equal power in the enactment of laws, with either House of Congress. But this power no President has yet exercised, unless he considered the measure as trenching on the Constitution. Of those measures which rendered Mr. Adams'

administration unpopular, some yet remain unrepealed, some have been adopted by his successors, and others are said to have passed contrary to his wishes. No one will now question his enlightened policy in relation to the navy, of which he is justly styled the father. None can now doubt the necessity of a different organization of the Judiciary. When the curtain is withdrawn which conceals the motives of human conduct, it may be seen, that Mr. Adams has deserved most where he has been most severely censured.

No other individuals have held both of the first offices in the country, except Jefferson and Adams. None have held them for so long a period. Each was three times elected by the people, and each continued twelve years in these offices. After Mr. Adams' retirement to private life, the foreign relations of our country were again very much involved. But with true magnanimity he came forward and advocated her rights, although at the same time he knew he was yielding support to the administration of his successful rival. With his nervous pen he sustained our commercial rights, but most of all the rights of our mariners. His letter on the inadmissible principles of the British King's proclamation, is an argument against impressment which cannot be answered. It is an act of justice to his political opponents to state that they became sensible of his merits, and solicited him to become the Governor of this Commonwealth. In 1820 he was President of the Electoral College. The same year he was elected almost unanimously President of the Convention for amending our Constitution; and in this assembly of the first men of all parties, a spontaneous tribute was paid to his exalted worth, in a series of resolutions which were unanimously adopted.*

Such, fellow-citizens, have been the services of John Adams, and such are the solid foundations of his fame. As we ascend the mount of history, and rise above the vapors of party prejudice, which floating at its base, refract the rays of light, and give to every thing a colored hue, we shall all

* Note N.

acknowledge that we owe our Independence more to John Adams than to any other created being, and that he was the GREAT LEADER of the American Revolution.

Of all the enjoyments heaven allots to man, none exceeds that of a parent at the prosperity and virtues of his child.— How full then must have been Mr. Adams' cup, at seeing those who opposed him, elevate his son to the most exalted station on earth, and at witnessing that son's administration.

In paying the tribute of justice to John Adams, we cannot forget that most heroic, accomplished and excellent woman, who cheered him through the dark hours of the revolution, and supported him under all the trials of life, whose name he could never hear repeated without his eyes being suffused with tears, and his heart swelling so as to choak his utterance. In no way can we do more justice to her heroic spirit than by presenting you an extract from her Spartan letter to a gentleman in London, dated on her husband's birth-day, 1777. "Heaven is our witness, that we do not rejoice in the effusion of blood or the carnage of the human species; but having forced us to draw the sword, we are determined never to sheathe it slaves of Britain. Our cause, Sir, is, I trust, the cause of truth and justice, and will finally prevail, though the combined force of earth and hell shall rise against them. To this cause I have sacrificed much of my own personal happiness, by giving up to the councils of America one of my nearest connexions, and living for more than three years in a state of widowhood."

In private life, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams were the delight of all those who visited them. Between them all rivalry had ceased, and given place to the purest friendship.— What a sublime lesson to rival partizans! Each in turn had been the subject of the most gross misrepresentations, and the whole vocabulary of slander had been exhausted on each, by supporters of the other. Still it did not for a moment interrupt their harmonious intercourse. When we look back on the vehemence of party, and see how it assails without

cause the most exalted virtues, we should always distrust its guidance. It is but too often the expedient of worthless men to raise themselves into notice for the most selfish purposes. We have seen men of the most estimable characters, and correct ideas on other subjects, looking on each other as monsters, and the charities of life dissolved between the most genial spirits, merely from jealousy and suspicion, each imputing to others, opinions which neither entertained, and which both disclaimed. Such is the effect of viewing objects through the false mediums of passion and prejudice. Hence, let all learn that the characters of men in free states are not to be judged by what is said of them amid the canvass of elections.

Fellow-citizens—The work for which your fathers toiled is accomplished. He who stood foremost in the hour of peril, with his expiring breath has pronounced it good. Cherish the memories of your fathers. Imitate their virtues—practice their charities—sacrifice at their shrine party animosity—judge men more by their actions than by their professions—if others differ from you in opinion, learn also that you differ from them, and that “every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.” If you thus act, you will not only insure the perpetuity of your institutions, but their universal adoption.

The Independence of his country was the ruling passion of Mr. Adams, and “he felt his ruling passion strong in death.” His last sentiment to his countrymen was “INDEPENDENCE FOREVER.” And his last words show that when he was sensible that the scene was closing, his thoughts still lingered on this subject—“JEFFERSON SURVIVES.” This is unquestionably the translation of this sentence: “I am going—but Jefferson, he who acted with me on the great day of our country’s deliverance, outlives me.” Heaven, however, had otherwise ordered it, and Jefferson was first summoned to his rewards within the hour that Adams thus spoke of him, and at the same hour in which the Declaration of Indepen-

dence was adopted. But Adams survived—and his career too terminated on the same day, and at the hour of the publication of that Declaration. Wonderful coincidence!*

Of all the conscript fathers whose names are enrolled on the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll alone survives. To him is due all the honors which the great actors of that day merit, but he was not one of those who voted for our Independence. He was then the richest man in the Colonies, and a Catholic. In February 1776, he was associated as a commissioner to Canada with Franklin and Chase, and he was requested to take with him his brother, the venerable Catholic Archbishop, (for they possessed great influence) in order to induce the Catholics in Canada to join us. He was elected to Congress after he returned from Canada, July 4, 1776, and he took his seat on the 18th. The Declaration of Independence was not engrossed or signed until August 2, when he signed at the same time with those who had voted for its adoption.†

On the Jubilee of our Independence, then, only two of those, by whose vote it had been decreed, were among the living, Jefferson and Adams—the two who had been selected to draft the Declaration. At noon, he whose mind had conceived and produced that instrument, was summoned by the angel of death. Adams then, its great advocate and defender, and the pillar of its support, alone survived; but the decree had gone forth, and he too was called on high. On the 4th of July 1776, the Heavens were covered with weeping clouds—but beyond those clouds these patriots discerned the sunshine of their country's triumph. On the 4th of July 1826, the Heavens again wept—but it was at the departure

* James Otis, the great Leader at the commencement of the revolution, who was deprived of his reason by the brutal attack of a band of ruffians, headed by a Commissioner of the Customs, for his patriotic course, was killed by lightning.

† Note O.

of those patriots. As they ascended, the artillery of the skies responded to that of earth ; and the radiant bow which then spanned the arch of heaven, gave assurance that the offerings of these patriots had been accepted, that their prayers had been heard, and that the freedom which they had purchased should endure forever.

Fellow-Citizens—We mourn not the departure of these illustrious men. Could they have chosen the day of their death, it would have been the one decreed by Providence. Could their friends or their country have chosen otherwise ? When youth is cut down amidst its bloom and fragrance, we cannot withhold the tears of regret ; but when the golden bowl is broken and the silver cord is loosed, when life is spun out to the last moment of enjoyment, and the cup of honor is full ; then death comes a welcome messenger to release us from suffering, and to unbar to us the gates of immortality.

“ To live with fame,
The Gods allow to many ; but to die
With equal lustre is a blessing Heaven
Selects from all her choicest boons of fate,
And with a sparing hand on few bestows.”

Had their deaths occurred on any other day, monuments and statues might have been erected to them, and their memories would have been consecrated in history. But monuments and statues decay, and in the revolutions of time, history itself becomes obscure and lost. But Heaven designed them a nobler memorial ; it inscribed their names on the forehead of time, and encircled them with sun-beams. As long as time shall endure—as long as the sun shall mark the year in his circuit through the heavens—whenever the Fourth of July arrives, mankind will see in his rising beams the rays of liberty, and in his meridian path the names of the two Patriots, who consecrated the day to freedom, and ascended to their rewards on its Jubilee.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

To show the opinions maintained and advocated by John Adams before he was thirty years old, and eleven years before the Declaration of Independence, the following extracts from his treatise on the Canon and Feudal Law, were quoted in the Eulogy :—

“ It was the great struggle between the people and this confederacy of temporal and spiritual tyranny, that peopled America. It was not religion alone, as is commonly supposed, but it was a love of *universal* liberty, and an hatred, a dread, an horror of the infernal confederacy before described, that projected, conducted and accomplished the settlement of America.”

“ They saw clearly, that of all the nonsense and delusion which had ever passed through the mind of man, none had ever been more extravagant than the notions of absolution, indelible characters, uninterrupted successions, and the rest of those fantastical ideas, derived from the canon law, which had thrown such a glare of mystery, sanctity, reverence, and right reverend eminence and holiness around the idea of a priest, as no mortal could deserve, and as always must, from the constitution of human nature, be dangerous in society. For this reason they demolished the whole system of Diocesean Episcopacy, and deriding, as all reasonable and impartial men must do, the ridiculous fancies of sanctified effluvia from Episcopal fingers, they established sacerdotal ordination, on the foundation of the Bible and common sense.”

“ The adventurers [the Puritans] had an utter contempt for all that dark ribaldry of hereditary indefeasible right—the Lord’s anointed—and the divine miraculous original of government—with which the priesthood had enveloped the feudal monarch in clouds and mysteries, from which they had deduced the most mischievous of all doctrines, that of passive obedience and non-resistance. They knew that government was a plain, simple and intelligible thing, founded in nature and reason, and quite comprehensible by common sense. They detested all the base services and servile dependencies of the feudal system, and they thought all such slavish subordinations were equally inconsistent with the constitution of human nature, and that religious liberty with which Jesus had made them free.”

“ Be it remembered, however, that liberty must at all hazards be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we had not, our fathers have earned and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estates, their pleasure, and their blood. And liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right from the frame of their nature to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings and a desire to know ; but besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, indefeasible, divine right to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the characters and conduct of their Rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, trustees of the people—and if the cause, the interest and trust is insidiously betrayed, or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents, attorneys and trustees. And the preservation of the means of knowledge, among the lowest ranks, is of more importance to the public, than all the property of all the rich men in the country. It is even of more consequence to the rich themselves and to their posterity.”

This work is spoken of by Mr. Hollis, of London, as the best American work that had then crossed the Atlantic. This remark is in a copy owned by Hon. Edward Everett, which Mr. Hollis sent to Andrew Elliot, D. D.

NOTE B.

In 1769, he was chairman of the committee that was chosen by the town of Boston, who drew up the instructions to their representatives to resist the encroachments of the crown. His colleagues on this committee were R. Dana and Gen. Warren. The same year he drew up similar instructions from the town of Braintree to their representatives. In the Legislature he served on many important committees. He was on the committee that reported the address and protest to the Governor against the General Court being holden at Cambridge. When the House finally consented to go on with business, notwithstanding the Governor refused to adjourn them to Boston, he was one of the minority who voted against the measure. He was chairman of the committee who drew up the answer to the Governor's message in relation to the enacting style of laws ; in which he contended, that by omitting the words “ *in General Court assembled,*” it was intended to reduce the province to the footing of a little corporation in England, and by degrees to pare away not only the appearance, but the substance of authority in the General Court of the Province. He was appointed on a committee to prepare a plan for the encouragement of arts, agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and on another committee to correspond with the agent in Eng-

land, and with the other Colonies. Hancock and Samuel Adams were associated with him. In 1774 he was one of the committee of the town of Boston on the Port Bill.

NOTE C.

In 1773 two others were negatived as Counsellors with him—in 1774 eleven others. "The ministerial regulation for paying the salary of the Judges, which rendered them wholly dependent on the Crown, was the occasion of a learned and able discussion in the public papers, by William Brattle, senior member of the Council, and John Adams, who had already taken an active part in support of civil liberty, and was distinguished for his great talents and legal acquirements. Mr. Adams' essays were written with great learning and ability, and had a happy effect in enlightening the public mind on a question of very great importance. It subjected him, indeed, to the displeasure of Gov. Hutchinson and the ministerial party; and at the next election in May, when chosen by the Assembly into the Council, the Governor gave his negative to the choice. These essays were published in the *Boston Gazette*, of February 1773, under Mr. Adams' proper signature, and would make a pamphlet of 50 or 60 pages."—*Bradford's Massachusetts*.

NOTE D.

"Some time after the Declaration of Independence, Lord Howe requested an interview with some members of Congress. The proposition was a considerable time in agitation: Mr. Adams voted against it—it was however carried in the affirmative, and he (Mr. Adams) was himself chosen one of the committee to wait on his Lordship. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Rutledge were the two other commissioners. The choice of such characters indicated plainly enough that the Americans were not inclined to give up any part of the essential point of Independence. His Lordship immediately sent as a hostage one of his principal officers, but the three commissioners were generous enough to bring him back with them. Lord Howe, having come to the place of landing, could not help expressing to them how pleased he was at this extreme confidence, and to confess that he had never received any mark of honor that had so much gratified him. The three commissioners walked through an army of 20,000 men: and it was observed, that this threatening show, which was doubtless affected to give a more imposing idea of the British forces, did not excite the least alteration in the countenances of these three illustrious characters—they walked through the army as if they had been the Generals of it.

"After those insinuating civilities of which his Lordship was master, he opened the conversation, by observing that he could not

view them as commissioners from Congress, but that as he was authorized to confer with any individual, of any influence in the Colonies, on the means of restoring peace, he was happy in the present occasion. The Delegates replied, that as they were sent only to hear what his Lordship had to say, he might consider them as he pleased, but that, as to them, they could not look upon themselves in any other character except in that which they had received from Congress. "*You may view me in any light you please,*" said Mr. Adams, "*except in that of a British subject.*" This so confounded his Lordship, that the business could not even be entered upon, and the three commissioners returned."

NOTE E.

To show how early Mr. Adams' thoughts were turned to the subject of Independence, we subjoin some interesting extracts from his letters. He considered that James Otis was the great leader at the commencement of the revolution, and that next to him came Oxenbridge Thatcher. Mr. Adams thus speaks of him : — " I speak from personal knowledge. From 1758 to 1765, I attended every superior and inferior court in Boston, and recollect not one, in which he did not invite me home to spend evenings with him, when he made me converse with him as well as I could, on all subjects of religion, morals, law, politics, history, philosophy, belles lettres, theology, mythology, cosmogony, metaphysics, &c. But his favorite subject was politics, and the impending threatening system of parliamentary taxation and universal government over the Colonies. On this subject he was so anxious and agitated, that I have no doubt that it occasioned his premature death. From the time when he argued the question of writs of assistance, to his death, he considered the King, ministry, parliament and nation of Great Britain, as determined to new model the Colonies from the foundation, to annul all their charters ; to constitute them all royal governments ; to raise a revenue in America by parliamentary taxation ; to apply that revenue to pay the salaries of governors, judges, and all other crown officers ; and after all this, to raise as large a revenue as they pleased, to be applied to national purposes at the exchequer in England ; and further to establish Bishops, and the whole system of the Church of England, tythes and all, throughout all British America. This system, he said, if it was suffered to prevail, would extinguish the flame of liberty all over the world ; that America would be employed as an engine to batter down all the miserable remains of liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, where only, any semblance of liberty was left in the world."

Speaking of the arguments in Salem on writs of assistance, he says, after consultation the court ordered the question to be argued at the next February term, in Boston, in 1761. After going

through the other actors, he says—but “ Otis was a flame of fire ! With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE WAS THEN AND THERE BORN. The seeds of patriots and heroes to defend the *Non Sine Diis Animosus Infans*, to defend the vigorous youth, were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away AS I DID, READY TO TAKE ARMS AGAINST WRITS OF ASSISTANCE. THEN AND THERE WAS THE FIRST SCENE OF THE FIRST ACT OF OPPOSITION TO THE ARBITRARY CLAIMS OF GREAT BRITAIN. THEN AND THERE THE CHILD INDEPENDENCE WAS BORN. IN FIFTEEN YEARS, VIZ. IN 1776, HE GREW UP TO MANHOOD, AND DECLARED HIMSELF FREE ! ”

“ The first Charter, the Charter of James I. is more like a treaty between independent sovereigns, than like a charter of grant of privileges from a sovereign to his subjects. Our ancestors were tempted by the prospect and promise of a government of their own, independent in religion, government, commerce, manufactures, and every thing else, excepting one or two articles of trifling importance.”

“ Independence of English Church and State, was the fundamental principle of the first colonization, has been its general principle for two hundred years, and now I hope is past dispute.”

“ Who then was the author, inventor, discoverer of Independence ? The only true answer must be, the first emigrants, and the proof of it is in the charter of James I. When we say that Otis, [S.] Adams, Mayhew, Henry, Lee, Jefferson, &c. were authors of Independence, we ought to say they were only awakers and revivers of the original fundamental principle of Colonization.”

NOTE F.

“ Worcester, Oct. 12, 1755.—Soon after the reformation, a few people came over into this new world, for conscience sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. It looks likely to me, if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England herself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas ; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves, is to disunite us. *Divide et impera*—Keep us in distinct colonies, and then some great men in each colony, desiring the monarchy of the whole, they will destroy each

other's influence, and keep the country in equilibrio. Be not surprised that I am turned politician; the whole town is immersed in politics. The interest of nations, and all the *dira* of war, make the subject of every conversation. I sit and hear, and after having been led through a maze of sage observations, I sometimes retire, and by laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above."

NOTE G.

Patrick Henry agreed with Mr. Adams (1774) that the measures that had been adopted would have no effect, but would be totally lost on the government—"Washington only was in doubt. The other delegates from Virginia returned to their State in full confidence, that all our grievances would be redressed. The last words that Richard Henry Lee said to me, when we parted, were, *"we shall infallibly carry all our points—you will be completely relieved—all the offensive acts will be repealed—the army and fleet will be recalled, and Britain will give up her foolish project."*

J. Adams.

NOTE H.

That this was considered the decisive step, and that involving the deepest responsibility in the members, will be seen in Rees' Cyclopaedia, Annual Register, Marshall, Botta, Gordon, &c. The representatives, in voting on this subject, acted on their own responsibility; in voting for Independence, they acted on the instructions of the Colonial Legislatures, and with the assurance of their support. Gordon says, the Pennsylvania Assembly withdrew from its union with Congress, upon the Congressional resolve of May 15, for suppressing all authority derived from the Crown of Great Britain, in the United Colonies. The committee of Philadelphia apprehended that by this step an appeal was made to the people; they called a Convention to bring about a re-union, and to form a government. The deputies of the people assembled, and in full provincial conference, June 24, unanimously declared their willingness to concur in a vote of Independence. A change in their delegates followed. Mr Dickinson opposed openly and upon principle, the Declaration, and was therefore removed. The Maryland Convention had instructed their delegation in December to oppose Independence. These, therefore, having given their vote against it, withdrew. Judge Chase was strongly attached to it; he returned from Congress to Maryland, procured County instructions to the members of the Convention, by which they were induced to alter their own instructions. Judge Chase sent an account of it to his friend in Congress, (John Adams) as follows :

“Annapolis, June 28—Friday evening, nine o'clock. I am this moment from the House to procure an express to follow the post, with an unanimous vote of our convention for Independence, &c. See the glorious effect of county instructions; our people have fire, if not smothered.”

NOTE I.

An anecdote of Mr. Adams' conduct on this passage, is going the rounds, which is incorrect. The correct account is this: Tucker saw a large English ship showing a tier of guns, and asked Mr. Adams' consent to take her; this was granted. Upon hailing her, she answered by a broadside. Mr. Adams had been requested to retire to the cock-pit—but Tucker looking forward, *observed Mr. Adams among the marines, with a musket in his hand, having privately applied to the officer of the marines for a gun, and taking his station among them.* At this sight, Capt. Tucker became alarmed, for he was responsible for the safety of Mr. Adams, and walking up to the ambassador, desired to know how he came there; upon which the other smiled, gave up his gun, and went immediately below. Nor was this the only time he had shouldered the musket. After the Boston massacre, he says, “We were all upon a level; no man was exempted. I had the honor to be summoned in my turn, and attended at the State House with my musket and bayonet, my broad-sword and cartridge box, under the command of the famous Paddock. I know you will laugh at my military figure; but I believe there was not a more obedient soldier in the regiment, nor one more impartial between the people and the regulars. In this character I was on duty all night in turn.”

NOTE K.

Mr. Laurens, then late President of Congress, and minister to Holland, aged fifty-six, was captured, and confined to the tower, until the British Government being desirous of peace, Lord Shelburne solicited him to go over to France, and assist in the scheme of pacification with America. He signed the treaty with Adams, Jay, and Franklin. His commitment was accompanied with orders “to confine him a close prisoner—to be locked up every night—to be in custody of two warders—not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day or night—to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him—to deprive him of the use of pen and ink—to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him.” In this situation, worn down by the gout, and other diseases, the offer was made to him, if he would “barely say he was sorry for what had passed, that a pardon should be granted to him;” he answered, I will

never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonor of my children. In 1781, his son was minister to France; he was requested to write to his son, if he would withdraw from that Court, it might procure his father's release. His reply was—"My son is of age, and has a will of his own. If I could write to him as you request, it would have no effect. He would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had intimidated and overcome me. I know him well. He loves me well, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure nothing would tempt him to sacrifice his honor, and I applaud him."

NOTE L.

Mr. Adams having been for fifteen months one of the commissioners of the war department, and a principal suggester of the terms to be offered to France for forming a treaty of alliance, was in 1777 elected one of the commissioners to the Court of Versailles. The dignity and consistency that he exhibited, and his integrity and high idea of virtue, were inauspicious to the intrigues of that Court. The subtle Vergennes, aware of this, exerted all his influence to procure his recall. When the office of commissioners was superceded by the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary, Mr. Adams returned to America. Congress at length judged it expedient to come to the choice of a commissioner to reside in Europe, vested with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Mr. Adams and Jay were proposed, and twice the votes were equally divided. Mr. Jay was at that time President of Congress, and in addition to the influence which the chair must have given him, Mr. Adams was opposed by the whole influence of the French minister. The balloting was adjourned, and in the mean time Congress agreed to send an envoy to his Catholic Majesty, and Mr. Jay was appointed. Mr. Adams was then elected minister for negotiating the peace. In 1781, Mr. Adams was commissioned minister plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces, and empowered to negotiate a loan. The ability with which he executed this commission, defeated the intrigues of the British minister, and secured to this country a powerful ally. The measures pursued by Mr. Adams in Holland, were displeasing to M. Vergennes, as they counteracted his manœuvres, and he strove to have the whole business of peace taken out of Mr. Adams' hands. Congress were too faithful to their trust to comply with this, but to get rid of the importunity of that Court, joined Franklin, Jay and Laurens in the commission with him. The acquisition of territory and the fishery, obtained by the treaty of peace, is known to have been in great measure owing to the well directed exertions of Adams and Jay. And in this they were traversed at every movement by the minister of the Court of Versailles. It seems strange, but it is true, that it was

the policy of Vergennes, to secure privileges not only to *Spain*, but to *Great Britain* also, rather than the *United States*.

NOTE M.

“The professed intention of the work is to refute the opinions of M. Turgot, the Abbe de Mably, and Doctor Price, who had declared themselves dissatisfied with the constitutions of the different States of America. M. Turgot had observed in his letter to Dr. Price, that the Americans “have established three bodies, viz. a governor, council, and house of representatives, merely because there is in England, a king, a house of lords, and a house of commons, as if this equilibrium, which in England may be a necessary check to the enormous influence of royalty, could be of any use in republics founded upon the equality of all the citizens.” M. Turgot recommends collecting all authority into one centre; meaning that one single representative assembly, should have the entire control of the lives, liberty, and property of the people. These gentlemen were all of high reputation, and likely to make an impression on the minds of the Americans. This was a gloomy period in our history—without an efficient federal government—without revenue—without public credit. At this time our faithful Ambassador, attentive to the honor as well as the interests of his country, produced the defence of the American Constitutions—a performance calculated to prevent his fellow-citizens being misled by mistaken philosophers, or their own passions and prejudices; to inculcate upon them the true principles of freedom and laws; and to give the American character, and the republican system, that respectability in the eyes of Europe, of which they were then grievously deficient.”

NOTE N.

IN CONVENTION—Nov. 15, 1820.

Whereas the Honorable JOHN ADAMS, a member of this Convention, and elected the President thereof, has for more than half a century devoted the great powers of his mind and his profound wisdom and learning, to the service of his country and mankind:

In fearlessly vindicating the rights of the North American provinces against the usurpations and encroachments of the superintendant government:

In diffusing a knowledge of the principles of civil liberty among his fellow subjects, and exciting them to a firm and resolute defence of the privileges of freemen:

In early conceiving, asserting and maintaining the justice and practicability of establishing the independence of the United States of America:

In giving the powerful aid of his political knowledge in the formation of the Constitution of this his native State, which Constitution became in a great measure the model of those which were subsequently formed :

In conciliating the favor of foreign powers, and obtaining their countenance and support in the arduous struggle for independence :

In negotiating the treaty of peace, which secured forever the sovereignty of the United States, and in defeating all attempts to prevent it, and especially in preserving in that treaty the vital interest of the New England States :

In demonstrating to the world in his defence of the constitutions of the several United States, the contested principle, since admitted as an axiom, that checks and balances in legislative power, are essential to true liberty :

In devoting his time and talents to the service of the nation in the high and important trusts of Vice President and President of the United States :

And lastly, in passing an honorable old age in dignified retirement, in the practice of all the domestic virtues, thus exhibiting to his countrymen and to posterity an example of true greatness of mind and of genuine patriotism :

Therefore, *Resolved*, that the members of this Convention, representing the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do joyfully avail themselves of this opportunity to testify their respect and gratitude to this eminent patriot and statesman, for the great services rendered by him to his country, and their high gratification that at this late period of life, he is permitted by Divine Providence to assist them with his counsel in revising the Constitution which forty years ago his wisdom and prudence assisted to form.

Resolved, that a committee of twelve be appointed by the chair to communicate this proceeding to the Hon. John Adams, to inform him of his election to preside in this body, and to introduce him to the chair of this Convention.

NOTE O.

Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, commissioners to form a union between the people of the United Colonies and those of Canada, left New York in the beginning of April, on their way thither. As the priests have been prevailed upon to refuse the sacrament to those of the Canadians who are deemed rebels, and as it acts powerfully against the American interest, a priest is gone from Maryland to perform all the needful services of the Romish religion.—*Gordon*.

FAMILY, WILLS, &c.

As every thing relating to these great men, will be interesting to the world, we subjoin at the request of a friend whose judgment we value highly, all we can learn (in season for this publication) of their families, &c.

Mr. Jefferson was married January 1, 1772, to a daughter of Mr. Wayles, an eminent lawyer in Virginia. Mrs. Jefferson died in the autumn of 1782, leaving two daughters. One of these daughters married John W. Eppes, a distinguished member of Congress from Virginia. Mrs. Eppes died, leaving two children, one of whom alone survived in 1817—who we believe has died since. Mr. Jefferson's other daughter married Thomas Mann Randolph, late Governor of Virginia. Gov. Randolph possessed an estate near Monticello, but his family generally formed part of that assembled at Monticello. Mrs. Randolph "has had, I understand, eleven children, two or three of whom have died. She had two daughters married; she lost a married daughter last winter, Mrs. Bankhead. Her son, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the executor of his grandfather, is about 24 or 25 years old; he has, I think, but one brother." Mr. Jefferson mentions in his will, two grand-sons-in-law, Nicholas P. Trist, and Joseph Coolidge of Boston.

Mr. Jefferson gave his Library to the University of Virginia, and his valuable manuscripts and papers to his grandson and executor, Thomas Jefferson Randolph.

The University of Virginia has requested permission to erect a monument over Mr. Jefferson's remains.

None of our Presidents have had sons, except John Adams and his son John Q. Adams. Neither Washington nor Madison had any children. Jefferson and Monroe only daughters.

John Adams was married in 1764, to Abigail, the second daughter of the late Rev. William Smith, the respectable clergyman of Weymouth. She died Oct. 31, 1818.

Their eldest child was a daughter now deceased. She was married in England in 1785, to Col. William Stevens Smith, who had served in the army as assistant inspector general and Aid to Washington, but was then Secretary of legation. Three of their children survive, two sons, and one daughter, the wife of John P. Dewint, of Fishkill, N. Y.

Their second child was John Q. Adams, married in London in 1797, to Louisa Katharine, daughter of Joshua Johnson, Esq. of Maryland, then Consul at London. They have three sons, George Washington, now representative from Boston in our Legislature, and two younger sons. The second son, John Adams, private secretary to the President, was born July 4.

Their third child was Charles Adams, now deceased. He married the sister of Col. Smith, now living, and left two daughters.

The one the wife of Alexander B. Johnson, Esq. of Utica, N. Y. who has several children ; the other, the widow of Charles T. Clark, Esq. who has a daughter, and who resided with her grandfather.

Their youngest child was the Hon. Thomas Boylston Adams, late Judge of the Common Pleas, and member of the Executive Council, who married the daughter of Joseph Harrod, Esq. of Haverhill, and has six children, all minors, two daughters and four sons. They lived in the family with the late President after the death of Mrs. Adams.

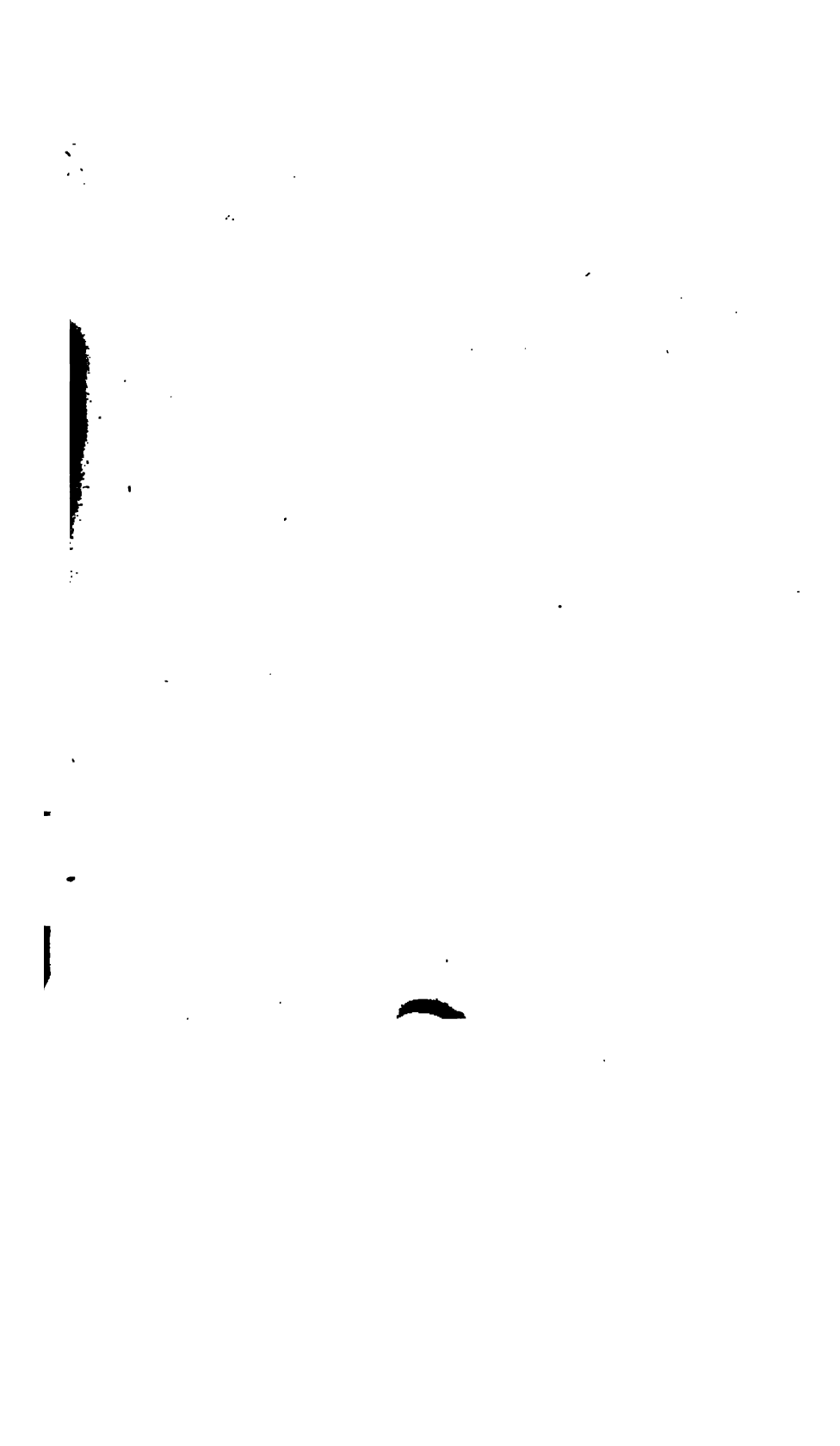
Mr. Adams bequeathed to his son John Q. Adams, his mansion house and valuable papers. He gave to the town of Quincy a valuable lot of land, estimated at 10,000 dollars, to erect a granite house, for the church of which he was a member for sixty years. He also bequeathed another lot of land to the town for an Academy, and his Library of more than 2000 volumes for the use of that Academy.

LETTER

From Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Adams, on the death of his Wife.

MONTICELLO, November 13, 1818.

The public papers, my dear friend, announce the fatal event of which your letter of October 20th, had given me ominous foreboding. Tried myself in the school of affliction, by the loss of every form of connexion which can rive the human heart, I know well, and feel what you have lost,—what you have suffered,—are suffering,—and have yet to endure. The same trials have taught me, that for ills so immeasurable, time and silence are the only medicines. I will not therefore, by useless condolences, open afresh the sluices of your grief, nor, although mingling sincerely, my tears with yours, will I say a word more, where words are vain ; but that it is of some comfort to us both, that the term is not very distant, at which we are to deposit in the same cerement, our sorrows, and suffering bodies ; and to ascend in essence, to an ecstatic meeting with the friends we have loved and lost, and whom we shall still love, and never lose again. God bless you and support you under your heavy affliction. THOMAS JEFFERSON.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT PORTSMOUTH, NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

August 10th, 1826.

BY EDWARD TURNER.

We have assembled, my Friends and Countrymen, to discharge duties of no ordinary character ; duties, which concern not only ourselves, but our children, and our country, even to the most distant generations. We have convened, to render to the illustrious dead, the public honors, which liberal feeling and lively gratitude demand. We have come to this place, to transcribe from the roll of fame the names of two of the most eminent men of our country, and register their characters on the tables of our hearts. We are here to offer them a tribute, which to withhold would be a criminal neglect, the guilt of which would bear a direct proportion to the civic virtues they possessed, and to the political blessings they were instrumental in procuring for, and confirming to the land of their birth. To eulogize departed worth, is not to be considered as an act of mere ostentation, or as an unmeaning or unimportant service ; nor do we engage in it from a servile compliance with custom. Our obligations are of a higher character ; we have nobler ends ; we are actuated by purer motives. The voice of reason, and of the nation commands, that the record of the deeds of our sages and patriots should not perish, when their bodies are consigned to the earth ; and the period, when the public sensibility is most powerfully excited, is justly considered the most favorable to those impressions, which it is a nation's honor to receive and retain.

Scarcely had the cheerful peal, that proclaimed our national jubilee, ceased to sound, than the knell of death an-

nounced the departure of the valued and venerated men, whose virtues, labors and services we have assembled to commemorate. The intelligence of the decease of JOHN ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON embraced circumstances, which, though at first, they seemed to forbid belief ; yet being confirmed, are to be regarded as striking instances of the exercise of that all-directing power which presides over life and death. Surely, the special providence of God was never more apparent nor more affecting, than in the events of which we are speaking. The distinguished individuals, who, at the commencement of the train of events, which led to a separation of the American Colonies from the parent country, entered together the field of their common exertions, shared the deep solitudes, which the most inauspicious circumstances must have often inspired, encountered the obstacles and dangers, which interposed between them and the objects of their great designs, lived to behold their united efforts crowned with complete success, to participate the honors, which a grateful people conferred, and were then, in the full maturity of their years, gathered to their fathers on the same day, the day, on which fifty years before, they gave their suffrages to that memorable instrument, which declared our country "free, sovereign and independent." They did not just ascend the mount, and survey at a distance the good land ; but they partook liberally of its fruits, and long enjoyed the solacing pleasures of its peaceful shades. They died in the land, the inheritance of which they had done so much to obtain ; their sepulchres are with us ; they are known, and will be distinguished to the latest periods of time.

In following these men of renown through the long course of labour, of duty, and of care, which they fearlessly and un-deviatingly pursued, and in bringing into view the protracted toils that they sustained, the cruel dangers with which they were menaced, and the immense magnitude of the objects, which engrossed the action of their powerful minds, we cannot but admire and adore that perfect wisdom, which adapts

all means to their appointed ends, bringing forth the instrument of its work, when they become necessary, and by calling into exercise, talents and powers, undiscovered before, perfects its plans and accomplishes its purposes. The supporting promise, "as thy day is, so shall thy strength be," is not solely applicable to individuals, or small communities; nations, when engaged in a righteous cause, may appropriate the declaration to themselves, without incurring the charge of perverting the words of inspiration. When Israel had borne the oppressions of Egyptian tyranny, till the evils with which they were afflicted could no longer be endured, Moses was raised up, and qualified by a proper course of education and discipline, to be the deliverer and ruler of the chosen tribes. The eye of the Omniscient God, which traces minutely all causes to their remotest effects, had marked him out, as necessary to the temporal salvation of the covenant people.— It was foreseen, that the talents and instrumentality of that eminent person would be requisite; and the same power that gave them their direction, associated with their possessor, other important characters, whose counsels and efforts, in their respective departments, would add weight to his authority, and contribute to promote and secure the welfare of the whole nation. When the American Colonies were first roused to a sense of their wrongs, where were the men, who were to form their deliberative bodies, preside in their counsels, and give efficiency to the measures, that might be proposed for the common security? Where were the military chieftains, who were to conduct their armies to the field, stimulate them to deeds of noble daring, and lead them to victory? Whom had this nation "to comfort her, among all the sons she had brought up?" Where was Patrick Henry? Where were Jefferson, the Adamses, and Hancock? Where was Washington? Yet, when the crisis of our country's destiny approached, the men, whose services were most important to promote the benevolent intentions of Providence, sprang forth, invested with all the attributes, which should

claim a nation's confidence, and secure its gratitude. It is thus, that by a wise constitution of the human mind, splendid talents are elicited by new, untried and momentous events.—Great men are produced for great occasions. Inauspicious circumstances, that would deter others from action, are, with such men, of small account. The perils which dishearten the weak, the terrors that alarm the timid, have no influence on great minds except to inflame their zeal, animate their powers, and fix their resolution. What an instructive lesson do we receive from such examples. Even in this hour of mournful visitation, we are cheered with the most enlivening hopes. America ! Though thy sages and heroes sleep in dust, let no cloud of doubt obscure thy future prospects, “instead of the fathers shall be the children :” and should an enemy again assail thy dearest rights, and attempt to wrest from thee thy highest privileges, future Jeffersons, Adamses, and Franklins shall rise up to assert thy dignity and to plead thy cause, and future Washingtons, to unsheath the sword, to repel the ruthless invader !

The elevated characters, that we have convened to contemplate, were formed under circumstances, which demand particular consideration, to prepare us to make a just estimate of their merits. Jefferson and Adams had been engaged in the practice of an honorable profession, before the commencement of the revolution ; they had attained a degree of celebrity, which the laudable ambition they possessed was daily increasing. In addition to the fact that their country opened a wide and promising field for the exertion of their splendid abilities, it is natural to suppose, that the parent government would seek in the profession of the law, for such to aid their measures and forward their views, as, from the course of their studies, the nature of their pursuits, and the characters of their minds, would be most likely to exercise a commanding influence on public sentiment. The efforts of such men were courted with promises, with gifts, with offices. The inducements to loyalty to the throne of Britain, could not

have been few in number or small in magnitude. The records of the transactions connected with the revolution, will show of how little weight these circumstances were considered in the view of men, whose political virtue was proof against all the allurements that are held out, to induce them to denounce or desert the holy cause in which they engaged.

The Declaration of Independence was draughted by Jefferson, and warmly supported by Adams, as an act induced by a deep sense of duty to their bleeding country. This celebrated instrument was not the production of a restless, factious spirit ; it was not the work of a noisy demagogue ; nor was it the mere ebullition produced by the contending elements which form, and often annihilate a party. This instrument was not the wild conception of a needy, desperate adventurer, who might possibly gain something by an experiment, while certain he had nothing to lose ; it was the result of cool and careful deliberation, assisted by enlightened reason, and sanctioned by sound judgment. The Declaration of Independence was designed to exhibit the injuries, that our country had so long borne with patience, to assert in the face of the world, the inalienable rights of man, and to lodge a solemn appeal to all nations for the correctness of its principles, and to the Searcher of hearts, for the rectitude of the intentions of its framers. The boldness of proposing and advocating this measure with the strength of mind, the fearlessness, and the decision of character, necessary to an act of this nature, cannot but strike us with admiration. Probably, at the distance of time between that transaction and the period in which we live, we may not all be able to enter fully into the feelings of the immediate agents ; and hence, we may not be prepared to refer their conduct to any settled rule of action with which we are acquainted. When the patriots, who are the subjects of our present reflections, were so ardently engaged in their important exertions, were they, or were they not actuated by the feelings, the solitudes, and the hopes, that appear to be common to our species ? When they placed their

signatures to an instrument, which, seemed to be nothing less than a bold challenge to the wrath of a king, and to ministerial vengeance to do their worst, had they no conceptions of the value of the objects which they put at hazard? Were their well earned fame, their property, whether inherited or acquired, of no account? They had families; had they forgotten the blandishments of domestic society? And when they trod amidst the dangers of their dark and perilous course, did not the mild, but persuasive voice of feminine affection arrest their steps, with the pathetic appeal to conjugal and paternal sensibilities:

“Thy wife, thy infants in thy danger share?”

We are not to suppose, that their affections were extinguished, or completely neutralized. Those eminent men thought and acted, as all others in similar circumstances would have done when influenced and governed by the spirit of true patriotism. Though the exercise of this noble and generous spirit, may, like charity, begin at home, yet it will not end there. Patriotism associates the interests of an individual, and of his family, with those of his country. With his country, the true patriot is contented to stand or fall. We can never too much admire, or to closely imitate this ennobling, godlike principle. The men whose memories we have assembled to honor, had foreseen the sacrifices, which the momentous crisis demanded; the altar was erected; they knew that their country would expect from them a liberal contribution; they had counted the cost; they had disciplined their hearts to a surrender of every inferior object. They not only brought their part of the oblation with a willing mind, but were ready to officiate at the offering. It was this spirit which actuated our deceased worthies; it was this which procured your liberty and independence; and such were the circumstances in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted and proclaimed, that nothing which it contains appears more true, or more affecting, than the concluding sen-

timent of its framers, that in defence of the principles which they have asserted, "they mutually pledged to each other, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

But those distinguished patriots were not raised up by Providence to kindle a flame, which they possessed not the disposition or the power to feed; from the commencement of their generous efforts, they gave themselves unreservedly to their country, recognizing her right to their continued services, to support and perpetuate whatever their previous exertions had acquired. When the revolution had been two years in progress, Adams received the appointment of commissioner to the court of France, where his conduct was honored with the approbation of his country. Having returned from Europe, he was a member of the convention for framing the Constitution of Massachusetts, a considerable part of which he draughted. We next find him associated with Franklin, Jay, and Laurens, in a commission with full powers for concluding a treaty of peace with Great Britain. He negotiated a treaty with the Dutch provinces, and obtained a loan, on terms no less creditable to his diplomatic wisdom, than advantageous to the American States. After this, he was appointed with Franklin and Jay to form a treaty of commerce with England. When the measure of sending a Minister to the Court of St. James, was deemed expedient, Adams was chosen to the distinguished office. He was elected the first Vice-President under the new Constitution, was re-elected to the same office, and discharged its duties with fidelity. He was then elected President of the United States. In these brief notices, we do no more, we attempt no more, than just to run the eye along the luminous path which the patriot trod, to mark the testimonials that strike us at every step, of his abilities, and of his country's confidence.— But it was not in the councils of the nation only, or in the arduous and perplexing duties of foreign missions, or the elevated stations that he filled at home, that the attachment and fidelity of Adams to our interests were exhibited. He, who

had so often raised his voice to explain and enforce the great principles, that were to form the basis of the national compact, afterwards wrote an able "defence of the American Constitutions;" thus transmitting to posterity a record of political wisdom, worthy to be read and admired, when the eloquent tongue of the author should be silent in death.

Jefferson, as we have seen, was early in the field, where his eminent talents were exhibited, with the greatest effect.—Engaged with his co-patriot in every prominent and important measure, that occupied the attention, and distinguished the character of the continental congress, he was destined to a similar career of future public service, to equally high responsibilities, and to the same honors and rewards of a grateful republic. In the third year of the revolution, Jefferson was chosen by congress, minister to France, with Dean and Franklin; but he declined the office. His native state next demanded his services, conjointly with those of Wythe and Pendleton, in revising her laws; and the business of this commission was executed with much labour and great ability. He was then elected governor of Virginia; and three years after, was again chosen a member of congress. When the war had closed, a plenipotentiary commission was appointed, addressed to the several European powers for the purpose of concluding treaties of commerce, in which Jefferson was associated with Franklin and Adams. He succeeded Franklin as minister at the court of France. Under the new Constitution, he was appointed the first secretary of state in which office he continued four years. At the close of this term, he was elected Vice-President of the United States.—The sense which the country entertained of the past services of Jefferson, was expressed by twice electing him to the high and responsible office of chief Magistrate of the Union. The writings of Jefferson give evidence of vigorous intellect, of extensive reading, and of deep reflection. His "Notes on Virginia," display a mind devoted to philosophical research and physical science, while they are distinguished by chasteness

of style and classic taste. It is greatly to the honor of this venerable sage, that he devoted the closing period of his life, which had been filled with usefulness, to the establishment of the University, which was long, with him, an object of the deepest interest; and the success, which Providence gave to his unremitting efforts, must have contributed to render tranquil his last hours, and to shed the rays of peace on his departing spirit.

The sound principles which Jefferson advocated were considered by him, as applying equally to religious as to civil freedom. Accordingly, we find him employed with the utmost engagedness, activity, and perseverance in endeavoring to diffuse a tolerant spirit among the inhabitants of the ancient dominion, to give scope to honest inquiry, to establish the doctrine; that in matters of faith, we are accountable only to God, and to place religion on that basis, where alone it has the promise of its author's support, and where, in proportion as it should be free from the restraints of human laws, uncharitable zeal should take a milder temperature, and persecution lose its power. Success has attended these measures. The benefits that have resulted have been generally acknowledged; and they are certainly experienced in our own section of the country, by the various orders of professing christians.

In attempting to sketch the outlines of the characters of our lamented political fathers, we have viewed them as able statesmen, as sound politicians, as unwavering patriots. We have contemplated them as the benefactors of our country, as the friends of the human race. Further than this, we are not prepared, nor is it necessary to go. We do not feel authorised to bring their religious opinions to our own fallible standard, nor even to be minute in endeavoring to ascertain what their peculiar religious opinions were. We cannot consent to violate the liberal precepts which they have inculcated, and which were intended to guard the sacred rights of conscience, and secure and defend religious freedom. We will

not judge of men but by their practice. And if those of whom the occasion has called us to speak, have faithfully discharged the duties assigned them, we are, and ought to be satisfied ; and to the high tribunal of Heaven, to the perfect standard of eternal justice, we cheerfully submit the rest.

Nor does it come within the province of the speaker, or make an appropriate duty of this solemn occasion, to balance the merits of the respective acts, or administrations of Adams and Jefferson. This is not the time to make invidious distinctions between men of their acknowledged political virtue. If it should be alleged, that they committed errors, it is only saying, that they were men of like passions with others. And no truth is more evident than this : that neither the deepest intellect, nor the brightest talents, nor the most elevated stations exempt men from those defects which we observe in others of inferior endowments and subordinate rank. Greatness does not confer infallibility. "Great men are not always wise." We are to consider, too, that great and good men may be, and often are, actuated by principles, the rectitude of which, none can dispute, while yet, the measures that they pursue may be different ; and that even the same man may adopt and follow a course at one time, which he will avoid at another. Such variations are perfectly compatible with moral and political integrity. In surveying the circumstances with which Adams and Jefferson were surrounded, we shall find it extremely difficult to persuade ourselves, unless our perceptions are vitiated by prejudice, that either the one or the other was ever hostile to the interests, or disposed to trample on the rights of the American people. The situations of those men formed a guaranty for the sincerity of their hearts and the integrity of their principles. From their first outset in their political course, they maintained a doctrine, that, while it exposed them to the indignation of the government against whose acts they strongly protested, associated them with the people of this country, and connected their interests, their safety, and happiness with those of the humblest citizen.

Having denounced as absurd, the doctrine of hereditary rights, of peculiar and exclusive privileges, having labored to abolish the artificial distinctions, which pride and power had established between the different ranks of society, and thus given to a listening and believing people the first lessons in the science of self-government, they had passed a limit over which they could not return ; they had arrived at a point from which there was no safe retreat. Their property, their honor, their success in life, all were dependent on the consistency of their political principles, on their steady attachment to the holy cause, which they were among the first to espouse and defend. Their only security lay in carrying up with as great rapidity as prudence would dictate, the superstructure, whose foundation their own hands had laid ; nor could they, at any stage of its progress, have been so mentally blind, as to have indulged a wish to apply their gigantic strength to shake the pillars of the edifice, whose fall would inevitably involve them in its ruin.

To these circumstances we may add the consideration of the difficulties and dangers, which the patriots of the revolution had to encounter, before they could suppose that their labors were finished, or the safety of the country secured. It is often easier to excite the public mind to action, than to restrict that action to reasonable bounds. It is frequently a less difficult task, to effect a change in popular opinion and national institutions, than to conduct a people safely through untried scenes, and new experiments, while their means of accomplishing an object are few, and apparently inefficient, and establish them in a state of quietness, felicity, and contentment. The venerated sages, Adams and Jefferson, must have foreseen the obstacles that opposed their progress. They had to deal with men of different passions, who had, or imagined they had, various and opposing interests to support. It was a part, and not a small part of the business of the great and good men, who bore so large a share of public duty in the most perilous times, to enlighten the ignorant, to confirm the

wavering, to encourage the irresolute, and to imbue the minds of all classes with the intelligence and public spirit, without which their generous exertions must have terminated in defeat. When your Independence was acknowledged, still the great work was but half completed. The same agents who had produced this event, were to be again employed in consolidating the interests of the infant republic ; in forming and establishing civil and political institutions, designed not for a temporary continuance, but for perpetuity ; in adjusting the checks and balances of the new, and in a degree, complicated mechanism of government, and in giving to all its parts that beautiful proportion, that exact harmony, and that indistructible compactness, which render it the admiration of the wise and liberal of all nations, and will prove the means of extending its blessings and consummating its glory. How well the illustrious Adams and Jefferson fulfilled these arduous duties, the deep solemnity of this audience, the exercises that our municipal authorities have called us to attend, and the tone of mournful feeling which is heard from all parts of our country, will most satisfactorily declare.

In what manner, my friends and fellow-citizens, shall we hallow the memories of the departed worthies, to whose arduous services we owe our political privileges, the exercise of our civil and religious rights, the exalted station that our country holds, and the excellence, the strength and permanency of our public institutions ? These public services may express our sensibilities ; the slow and solemn procession, the mournful dirge, the funeral gloom in which this house of prayer is enshrouded, may indeed form associations in our minds, which may prove friendly to patriotism, and induce the action of generous and ennobling principles. May we realize all the good, that an occasion like this can produce. But let us not imagine, that these transactions, or even others more imposing, will cancel the debt of gratitude due to the fathers of our nation. We may erect statues to their memories ; but the unsparing hand of time will decompose the sculptured

marble. We may build splendid mausoleums over their remains ; but they will fall into decay, or their monumental inscriptions become effaced. We would have a more imperishable record. Our nation's gratitude to her most valued and venerated citizens, her highest honors for the sages who toiled, and the heroes who bled in her defence, must be founded in the heart, and exhibited in the practice of national virtue. The great examples we have had before us, should be closely imitated, and transmitted to posterity. If we would defend and maintain the liberties we now enjoy ; if we would support the constitutions of our government, which are at once our security and our boast ; if we would perpetuate our national character, we must ardently cherish the great principles of the revolution, and labor to preserve them from infringement or perversion. The strength and durability of our government essentially depend on a wise improvement of the means of instruction ; and with these we are favored above other nations of the earth. Let it be considered our duty, our interest, our pleasure, to accomplish our part of the important work, which others commenced, and have prosecuted with such astonishing success. Let our children learn from us to revere and love the institutions which are designed to make them good men, good citizens, and enlightened patriots ; and let us give evidence to the world, that we have reached that elevated point, "when wisdom and knowledge form the stability of our times."



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE,

August 3, 1826.

BY FELIX GRUNDY.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—This is no day of joy. Amidst peace, plenty, and prosperity, the whole land mourns: and, my friends, we have much cause of grief—the sage of Monticello and the sage of Quincy, are no more! On the great day of America—a day rendered glorious by their own illustrious deeds—a day on which a nation of freemen was born: yes on the first American Jubilee, when all hearts were rejoicing and all tongues sounding their praises, these mighty spirits took their departure. What day so fit for them to die! Well might each exclaim, “Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the salvation of my country.” I have seen her in trouble and distress, in peril and in danger; but now she is safe. The principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence have been tested by half a century. In peace, the march of my countrymen has been prosperous and happy; in war, successful and victorious. The great truth, which makes tyrants and despots tremble, is at length demonstrated, “*that freemen are capable of self government.*”

To private friendship, we relinquish the pleasant duty of dwelling on their social and private virtues: we know them only as great national benefactors.

The British government had, on various occasions, asserted the right of taxing the American colonies, and exercising over them, an absolute control in all cases whatsoever. To

be *taxed*—to be *governed* without a voice in the government, was a doctrine too inconsistent with the rights of man to be tolerated. Petitions and remonstrances had been employed to obtain redress of *grievances*, and all had proved unavailing. At length the Congress of 1776 convened in Philadelphia, where the most *serious subject* that ever occupied the thoughts of man, with regard to earthly things, was proposed, discussed and decided upon.

On Friday, the 7th day of June, Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia, moved the following resolution, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and Independent States; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved." This motion was seconded by Mr. Adams, who afterwards supported it with all his powers of eloquence. On the next day the resolution was discussed in a committee of the whole House. On the Monday following, the discussion was continued, the resolution reported to the House, and the following order taken: "That the consideration of the resolution be postponed to the first Monday in July next, and in the meanwhile, that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto, a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of said resolution."

The Committee elected by the Congress, consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston. Mr. Jefferson received the highest vote, and was of course chairman, Mr. Adams the next highest number being but one vote below Mr. Jefferson. The duty of preparing this important instrument was confided to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, to commemorate whose deaths we have this day met together.

Here, fellow-citizens, at this eventful period, the great work of liberty was formally and fully begun. The conscript fathers had met in counsel—they held their sessions in secret—the genius of liberty had taken her flight from the old, she had no resting-place but in the new world—she presided

in our deliberations. The subject of American Independence was taken up, on which the happiness of millions depended ; a measure, the effects of which were not to be confined to the present generation, nor limited to the extent of the British Colonies. Well was it that they should consider the act about to be done. Should this step be taken, and a failure ensue, confiscations and gibbets stood presented to the view ; and death awaited not only them, but the best portion of the country ; but if crowned with success, behold even then, the sacrifices to be met, the dangers to be encountered—our cities sacked and reduced to ashes—a great portion of the country overrun by a licentious soldiery, headed by men controlled by the mandates of an enraged and maddened tyrant. The expense of blood and treasure, none could calculate ; the merciless savage, alike regardless of the mother and the child, was to be let loose upon our defenceless frontier ; and in the Southern Colonies a servile war, still more desolating in its character, was to be kindled. With whom was this contest to be ? With Great Britain—a nation rich in all the means of war—powerful armies, commanded by experienced generals—ample resources for the employment of the mercenary soldiers of other nations—an unbounded credit—a nation that claimed the ocean for her own, and might, in the pride of her powers exclaim—

“ My march is on the mountain wave,
My home is on the deep.”

Go back with me, my countrymen, to those days of uncertainty and fearful apprehension, and view the condition of the Colonies. Have they armies ? No. Have they officers of well tried skill ? But one who has had the benefit of experience, and he reared a farmer, not a soldier. Have they a supply of munitions of war ? None equal to the occasion. Have they a Navy ? None that deserves the name. Have they money equal to the undertaking ? No, nor credit suffi-

cient to borrow. Can they procure foreign aid? That is uncertain and depends upon contingencies.

Here is fearful odds; but what is the *prize* to be contended for? *Liberty*; a pearl beyond all price: therefore, trusting in the God of battles, and in the stout and determined hearts, and the untrembling nerves of honest freemen, the Congress resolved to be free or die! Their trust was not in vain, God was with them! Yes, my friends, he was on our side; he taught our Senators wisdom; he banished from them the councils of fear, and nerved the hearts of our countrymen; he led us through the wilderness of the revolution; he was a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and our Chief, more fortunate than Israel's, not only saw the promised land, but dwelt in it many years.

Mr. Jefferson had prepared the Declaration of Independence, had submitted it to the inspection of Mr. Adams, no amendments were suggested, it was laid before the whole Committee, approved and reported to the House as originally drawn—there some alterations were made, of which, Mr. Adams when writing an account of its transaction says, “The Congress cut off about a quarter part of it, as he expected they would do, but they obliterated some of the best of it, and left all that was exceptionable, if any was.”

The instrument is complete, and each compatriot in succession advances and affixes his name, in testimony that he had pledged “*his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor,*” to that which was true. The deed is done, and proclamation of it is made to American freemen, not *now* the subject of a foreign monarch.

Washington, for the honor of whose birth, not seven cities alone, but more than seven nations might have contended, had not the title of America been too clear to admit of controversy, was called forth to command the armies of this new made nation—he was ably supported by Greene and others, whose deeds of valor you have often read and heard recounted. While others were encountering the dangers and difficulties

of the field, were Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams idle spectators of passing events? far otherwise: all the master spirits were at work, toiling in the cabinet or the field; rousing the drooping spirits of their countrymen; awakening the people of Great Britain to a sense of the injustice inflicted by their government, upon their friends and unoffending kinsmen on this side of the Atlantic; in contriving the ways and means of feeding and clothing our armies, and in procuring foreign aid. These were employments worthy of statesmen and of patriots.

At last the contest ended; the gloomy period of the revolution passed away, and the pleasing spectacle is presented of a nation redeemed from the shackles and chains of slavery—a treaty was entered into, and Great Britain, weary of the contest, acknowledged our Independence.

Our connexion with other nations was then to be formed; envoys were sent to the courts of Europe to enter into treaties of amity and commerce. To whom for so important a service could our country have turned with more confidence than to those who had first proclaimed her rights? to none: and hence Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, with another renowned and fearless patriot, Dr. Franklin, were selected for these important objects; they fulfilled in their mission the high and just expectations of their countrymen.

The first election under the Federal Constitution arrived; he, who had led the nation to victory, Independence, and glory, was preferred to the chief magistracy; Mr. Adams to the Vice Presidency; Mr. Jefferson was selected by the President as the Secretary of State. Here the high estimation in which they were held by their country is still manifested—one is chosen to the second office in the gift of the people—the other is made one of the principal counsellors of the state, and confidential adviser of the chief magistrate. Between these distinguished individuals, even before General Washington retired from the Presidential chair, it became apparent that essential differences in political opinion pre-

vailed ; they differed as to the mode of administering the government, or rather as to the powers that might be legitimately exercised, while by the friends and advocates of their respective principles and opinions, each was looked to as best qualified to succeed him who had emphatically entitled himself to the appellation of "Father of his Country."

Mr. Adams was elected President, and Mr. Jefferson Vice-President. It will be recollected, that at that period the electors did not designate the individual who was voted for as President—each voted for two persons, and he who received the highest number of votes was to be the President, and he who obtained the next highest, the Vice-President. The people of the United States still called for the services of both.

The scheme of our government was then new ; the history of other nations furnished nothing like it, or resembling it ; whether upon a full experiment it would stand, or as all former Republics had done, fall, was a subject on which wise men doubted and greatly feared.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, his opinions and plan of administering the government, and those of Mr. Jefferson, were brought fully before the American people ; they were examined, discussed and compared, and by a decisive vote, the nation declared that the principles of the latter were those by which it ought to be governed. Upon this event, Mr. Adams retired to his native state, where he has spent the remainder of his life as became the patriot and sage, in dispensing good around him, and in preparing to meet his final judge.

Mr. Jefferson entered upon his duties as Chief Magistrate on the 4th of March, 1801, and, on that day exhibited to the American people in his inaugural address, those great and salutary principles upon which this government required to be administered. He proclaimed, "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political ; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations ;

entangling alliances with none—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies. The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad—a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principles of Republics, from which there is no appeal but to force—a well disciplined militia, our reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them—the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened—the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith—encouragement of agriculture, and commerce as its handmaid—the diffusion of information, and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason—freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trials by juries impartially selected.”

He also inculcated the principles that the people themselves were the legitimate sovereigns of this land; that an equal portion of the sovereign power was possessed by each individual: that public officers were public servants, and responsible to the people for their public acts—that the will of the people should be obeyed by their representatives.

These, fellow-citizens, were the doctrines taught by this great apostle of civil liberty; they should form a portion of the creed of every American statesman—when they are departed from, the Republic is in danger.

Nor were these principles advanced by Mr. Jefferson only when he was highly elevated in office—while a member of the Virginia assembly, in order to prevent the accumulation of large masses of property in single families, we behold him as

sisting in breaking down the entailments of landed estates, in destroying the right of primogeniture, and in establishing that religious freedom which enabled each individual to worship his God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and without being taxed to support a church, the mode of worship and principles of which his judgment did not approve.

All these measures were designed and calculated to produce the great end "that the few should not rule and oppress the many."

See the course of his administration ; he made good all he promised. The general and state governments moved on harmoniously, each confined within its proper and constitutional sphere.

At the end of eight years, he declined a re-election, and retired to his country seat in Virginia—even here he could not be idle ; he could not live without toiling for his country—he entered on the establishment of the great central college, and labored as assiduously to rear and give it stability and permanency as he had done in establishing this Republic.

Fit employment for the statesman and philosopher. He knew, full well, that liberty and knowledge were fond associates, and would dwell together, and that a well informed and virtuous people could not be made slaves.

His house was the home of the men of science of all nations who visited our country. Did they wish to learn the peculiarities of our governments in their practical operations, who so fit to be enquired of as him, who of all others, had done most in giving to these operations their proper tendencies? and who, of all men living, best understood the genius of his countrymen—were they anxious to learn whatever was strange and curious in the new world in the productions of nature, in him they found a philosopher who had already explored through the hidden recesses of her wondrous works, ready to communicate the information they desired. Our own countrymen, young and old, resorted to him as the Nestor of the

age, to learn wisdom from the accents which fell from his tongue.

The love of liberty, the rights of man, was his ruling passion. When laboring under his final and fatal illness, perhaps the last letter that the hand that penned your liberties ever wrote, he says—"may it," (meaning our Independence) "be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some sooner, to others later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst their chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and assume the blessings of security and self-government. The form we have substituted restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion; all eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of the lights of science has already laid open to every view, the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been 'born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.'"

He had seen the Spanish American Provinces break their chains, elevate themselves among the nations of the earth, and adopting our political institutions as their model.

Mr. Jefferson died at that hour of the day, on the 4th of July last, on which he had been engaged fifty years before in reading to Congress, for their adoption, the Declaration of Independence—the great Charter of our liberties: Fortunate—most fortunate man, to link together, at the same moment of time, immortality on earth with immortality beyond the grave.

Mr. Adams, too, on the same day, and at that moment of it when our political fathers were proclaiming to the citizens assembled around the Capitol in Philadelphia, the result of their deliberations, breathed his last. Strange! wonderful coincidence of events! Is this the effect of accident and blind chance? Or has that God, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations and of men, designed these things as an

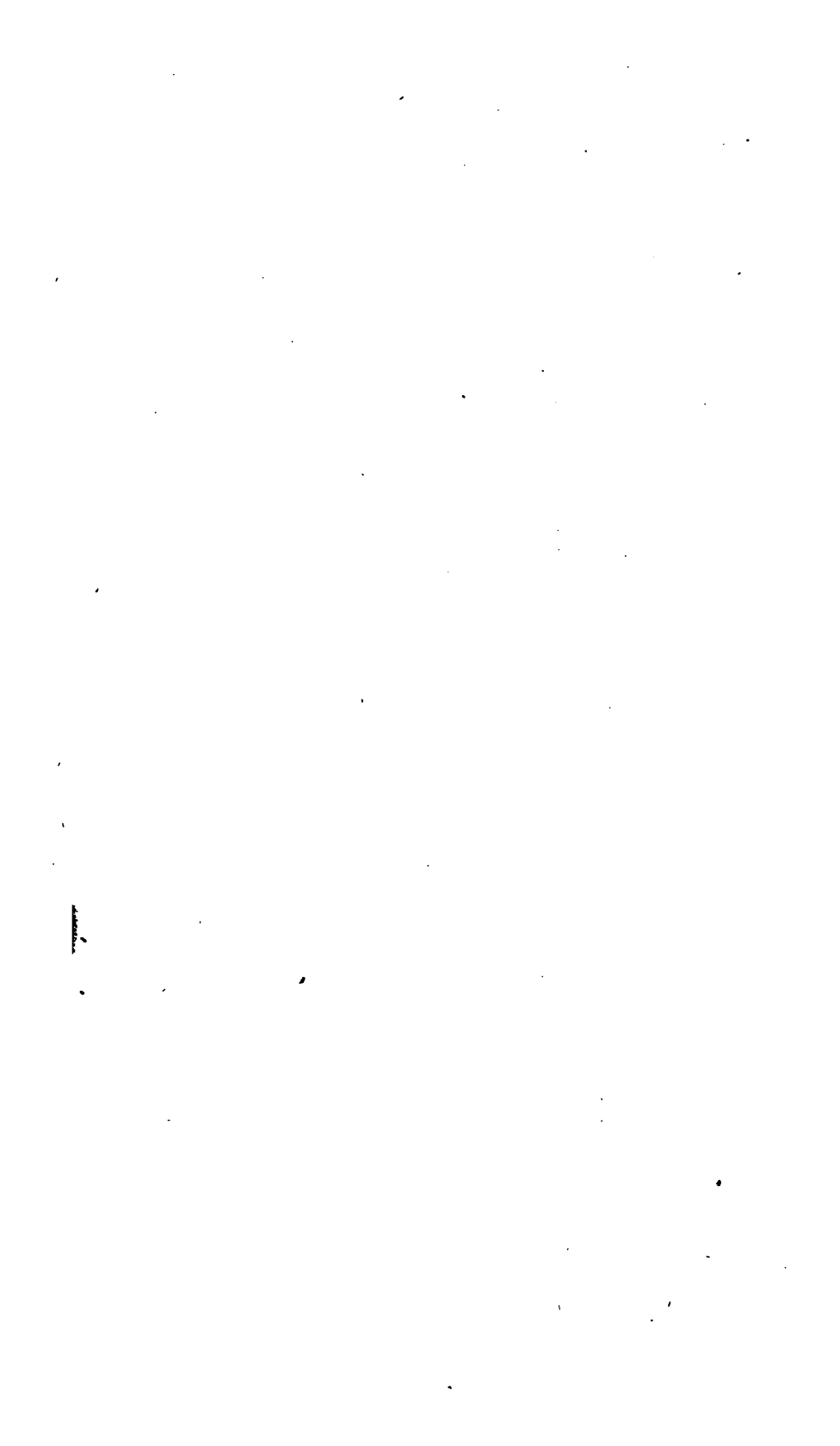
evidence of the permanency and perpetuity of our institutions?

Mr. Jefferson had expressed, a short time before his death, a strong desire that he might live, *again* to see that day. Mr. Adams, when he heard its rejoicings, exclaimed, "It is a great and glorious day." God seems to have granted to these favored men the privilege of ratifying and sealing, by their deaths the great deeds of their lives.

They are gone to the grave; yet shall they live, and although their bodies perish, still in the recollection of their country will their deeds survive. Through all time, while liberty shall endure, will the awful peril of that moment be remembered, when a scattered people, few in number, proclaimed their dependence dissolved; and stood proudly forth among the nations of the earth. At home, hope and anticipation were on tiptoe; while abroad, it was every where maintained that man cannot rule himself, and quickly must their institutions fail—but, behold, fifty years have rolled over us and still happiness and prosperity go hand in hand along with us. In this we have cause of joy for this abundant cause of gratitude towards our fathers, whose exertions secured for us so rich an inheritance—be all their virtues remembered, their foibles and errors forgotten.

What remains for us to do? See that lonely, venerable man, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; of all the patriarchs, who sealed our Independence, he alone remains—he has lived so long in this world, that he has become a stranger in it—when he asks for the companions of his early life, who toiled and labored with him for his country's good; when he surveys the labors of the Congress of 1776, and enquires for its mighty actors, all, all are gone, and he is left alone.—Now, even now, he is saying, "age is on my tongue, my eyes are dim, my soul has failed, and memory fails on my mind; I hear the call of years; roll on ye dark brown years, ye bring no joy on your course; let the tomb open, for my strength has failed—the sons of freedom are gone to rest."

For him, my friends, let us indulge in one fond wish, that his life may be lengthened out so long as it can be comfortable to him—and at last, on some future 4th of July, he, like those whose deaths we this day commemorate, may make his exit from this world, and that his immortal spirit may take its flight to the realms on high, where may he meet his old companions and friends, hailing and welcoming him to these mansions of eternal rest: for this end, let a prayer-hearing and prayer-granting God be now addressed.



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA,

August 3, 1826.

BY WILLIAM JOHNSON.

It is not my practice, my respected fellow-citizens, to introduce myself to my auditors with an apology, but with unaffected humility would I bespeak your benevolence on this occasion, to one who has long since abandoned the rostrum to another generation. Happy that land, in which, as the aged fall away, a new race succeeds, full of integrity, intelligence, and patriotism. Then it is, that the hoary veteran, before whose eyes the invisible hand hath written, "Prepare for thy departure !" cheerfully retires to the shades of meditation, happy in the conviction that he consigns his beloved country into hands that will never abandon her. Then it is that when convened to shed the tear of gratitude upon the urns of great and distinguished benefactors, as one by one they drop into the gulf of eternity, we can lift our hearts in humble gratitude to Him, who has spared them to us long enough to breathe their spirit into a multitude of survivors. The call of those survivors I obey. Who would hesitate ? when summoned by a generous public, animated by the noblest feelings, to give a voice to their gratitude, a direction to their meditations.

Nor is it from the living only that the summons comes.— A voice rises from the tomb, inviting and encouraging.

Where are we ?

Surrounded by the mouldering remains of the venerated dead. And among the mementos of mortality that lie so thick around us, how often do we read the simple legend of

some fellow labourer of the immortal JEFFERSON? If it be given to the disembodied spirit to mingle in the affairs of life, with what joy may they not hover over the solemnities of this occasion! And may we not imagine them even now whispering to the bosoms of this crowded assembly, "Well done, our faithful children; in the ceremonies of this day, we behold the best assurance that we too shall not be forgotten.— In the display of respectful gratitude here exhibited, we recognise the welcome earnest of the only return we ask for our sacrifices—gratitude to your benefactors, and fidelity to your country."

Yes, departed patriots! with filial piety shall your humble worth be often remembered. Subordinate necessarily is that duty which devolves on the far greater part of mankind; yet he who zealously and faithfully fills the little orbit which circumscribes his services, is not the less an object of gratitude, because not called on to do more.

And may not he who addresses you, be permitted to mix up with higher motives, feelings of a more humble and individual nature? The incense of public praise, will not ascend with the less grateful odour, because co-mingled with the aspirations of individual gratitude.

Think not, my most respected auditors, that I mean to venture upon a vain and unappropriate effort to excite your feelings or elicit your tears. Strongly marked as has been the exit of the great man whom we now meet to commemorate, I address myself to too enlightened an audience, to be carried away by fortuitous circumstances, however singularly combined. Yet, in the remotest ages in which our history shall be recounted, will the pious reader pause, and reflect on the singular coincidences that marked the late departure of our two venerable Patriots. The days of superstition, when singular combinations of natural events were construed into omens of good or evil, have long since gone by. Yet who so insensible as not to feel that a more solemn interest will henceforward be shed over the celebration of our national festival!

It was, indeed, their day ; Providence marked it as such. Annually for half a century, had they enjoyed together the outpourings of a nation's gratitude on its return ; and well might they, on that anniversary, which was so peculiarly marked both by religious and political feeling, unite in the pious ejaculation, " Let now thy servants depart in peace, for our eyes have seen the salvation of our country."

Together they came forth in their strength ; together they toiled for the same glorious object, and together they closed their eyes upon its happy attainment. And, notwithstanding all the envenomed slanders of selfish and irritated partizans, they lived to give to the world the most touching proof that, however differing in their views and measures, that deep rooted esteem, which a knowledge of each other's worth, acquired in the hour of severest probation, had planted in each other's bosoms, remained to the last unshaken. There is such a moral beauty, such a moral excellence, in the incident to which I allude, that I hesitate not to placé it at the head of the catalogue of their praises. It was a sublime example, to a nation that looked to them for examples. Nay, to the christian world. Long and ardent had been their political struggles ; animated and envenomed the altercations of their adherents. Alternately victor and vanquished, how could they be so great as to have resisted the access of unkindly feelings ! Yet they were so great ; unkindly feelings were all sacrificed at the shrine of their religion and their country. What has destroyed half the republics that have gone before us ? Individual animosities, pride of opinion, the struggle for power, long nurtured hatred, a patient waiting for revenge. How edifying the example of those two great men, rising superior to the weakness of our nature, and with the most friendly greeting, cheering each other on their journey to the grave ! When in future times, among the angry passions which political discussions will excite, the foiled aspirant for popular distinction, shall feel engendering in his bosom those pernicious propensities which so often sacrifice

all considerations to private or to party feelings ; let the bright example of these mighty Patriots come over his recollection, beautifully exemplifying the aphorism of the wise man, " He that ruleth his spirit, is greater than he who taketh a city."

Heaven has expressed its approbation of this great example by enforcing it in their deaths. And shall not we, my fellow-citizens, improve the singular coincidence, of their being thus consigned to the common resting place of all, on that same day on which they had once united all in the most glorious of struggles ; into a solemn injunction from Heaven, to let our dissensions rest with them forever ? Enough have we been distracted ; not by party ; for among high-minded and virtuous men, the most opposite measures are pursued without invading the courtesies of private life ; but by the furious zealot, or the selfish and vindictive intriguer, whose views had nothing in them of a virtuous feeling.

I make no apology for noticing first in order, those traits of character which exhibit the moral greatness of Mr. Jefferson. Need I inculcate on *this* audience, wherein consists the true dignity of man ? or whereon must rest the basis of our republican institutions ? Animal courage is the attribute of millions ; nay, often a mere factious quality ; yet in its place deserving of high praise, and justly commanding the admiration of the world. But far above this, ranks that sublime attribute, which, gathered in itself, and supported by no power but a consciousness of its own honourable purposes, can pursue the course of wisdom and of virtue, in defiance of all the demons of malice, envy, and calumny—nay in defiance of what is infinitely harder to be borne, of the frowns and menaces of a misguided public. From the remotest antiquity, this has been regarded as the great mind's distinguishing attribute.

In how eminent a degree did this quality distinguish him whom we now meet to commemorate. Abused, calumniated, misrepresented, mocked, and ridiculed, as it was his fate

to be, through many a painful year of his existence, never was his temper for a moment discomposed. There was a philosophic calm diffused over his most ordinary actions, a perfect repose of the passions, which triumphed over persecution.

Yet this was by no means the result of natural temperament ; nature made his feelings vivacious in the extreme ; it was acquired from reflection ; a system formed upon study, observation and experience, and reduced to practice by a firmness which could not be turned aside from a purpose deliberately formed.

Who is there but must have been struck with that wonderful preservation of intellect which he exhibited to the latest hour ! Those who shared the honour of his correspondence, can furnish specimens of the most recent dates, abounding in all that strength, neatness, order and originality, which distinguished the compositions of his best days. Let it not be imagined that this protracted preservation of our mental powers, proceeds alone from their original strength. Without tranquillity of mind, self-command, evenness of temper, habits of order, of temperance and industry, the most powerful intellect will waste itself by its very intensity.—Genius is ever accompanied with extraordinary sensibility ; and unless happily combined with those moral and intellectual restraints which are necessary to control the impetuosity of its movements, it shines like the meteor, which dazzles, alarms, and explodes, but imparts nothing of that warmth, which animates and beautifies nature to-day, remains undiminished for to-morrow.

The time is now arrived when the labours of his study will be made known to the world ; and nothing but the well ordered economy of time from which he never departed, will account for their immensity. But the day never dawned upon *his* slumbers ; every moment had its appropriate employment or amusement ; and of these not a few were set apart for social converse and the society of his family.—Then it was, that he exhibited a striking illustration of the

truth, that greatness is perfectly compatible with every thing that is amiable and engaging in man. Nay, in him it was accompanied with the most striking simplicity of character and even humility of deportment. He who had occupied so important a page in the history of his country ; who had possessed a popularity and influence exceeded by one only ; who had filled every station of dignity or trust, to which his country could invite him ; who had shone conspicuous at the most brilliant court in Europe ; he to whom the events of no age were unknown ; no secrets of nature unexplored ; no study, no science unsubdued ; became when at the social hearth, as simple as a child ; distinguished only by the suavity of his deportment ; an instinctive facility in making every one happy ; and the vivacity and naviete of those sallies, by which he animated conversation, without detracting from its attic elevation.

Such was the private man ; and in his early habits we see the germ of that greatness, to the developement of which we have all been witnesses. Time well improved, talents assiduously cultivated, passions carefully disciplined, and the whole directed by a heart, abounding in Probity, Patriotism, and Benevolence.

The birth, parentage, early history, and early acquisitions of Mr. Jefferson, belong to his biographer ; we meet to commemorate the patriot, the philosopher, the benefactor of mankind : Him who burst upon the world, crowned with that halo of glory, our national manifesto. Who shall attempt *its* eulogy ? Has it ever been heard with impatience ? ever heard without elevating the feelings and thrilling the heart of an audience ? It is one of those works which all commentary must prejudice. It is all light, all strength, all truth. The nation was electrified upon its dissemination, and the circle of its influence will extend until it embraces the whole habitable earth : It is the common manifesto of an oppressed world : the Ægis, that covers the prostrate and forlorn, while it flashes conviction and confusion in the face of the oppressor.

But I come not here to herald the praise of one to the exclusion of the just claims of other Patriots. The modest author himself never pretended to any higher praise, than that of having caught the spirit, and embodied the thoughts of his high associates. Nor need we hesitate to claim our share of its exalted merits. How delighted has he who has the honour to address you, listened with all the feelings of a Carolinian, whilst its eloquent author dilated on the bold, the towering spirit of a Gadsden, the impetuous, the overwhelming eloquence of the elder, and the bland, the winning virtues of the younger Rutledge. Nor was the firm, the fearless patriotism of a Middleton and a Lynch forgotten.

From this time the talents of Mr. Jefferson became the property of his country ; for two short intervals only up to the termination of his second Presidency, was he ever relieved from public employment.

As the successor of the immortal Henry, the first Revolutionary Governor of Virginia, he was called from the second Congress to preside over the counsels of his native state.— His enemies have often affected to speak slightly of his services in that station. Time will not permit us to pause long upon services in which we did not participate. But here the general interest of the Union demanded his devoted attention. And, notwithstanding the sneers of some, and the affected coldness of others, it is in the power of him who now addresses you, to bear witness, from authentic original documents, that never duties were discharged with more devoted zeal.— What could he do ? The men and the treasures of Virginia had been lavished in defending the North and the South.— Her last army fell in defending us ; the remains of it were entombed in our prison ships, the bones of thousands of her sons are commingled with our soil. Virginia was left defenceless in defending others ; the enemy saw her exposure, and in overwhelming her, boasted that he would reach the heart of rebellion. His whole efforts, were turned against that devoted state. And in a government prostrate and exhaust-

ed, in a country overwhelmed by devastating armies, he felt himself called upon, "to take care that the republic sustained no injury;" he *did* assume the dictator; he exercised arbitrary power; because no other powers could meet the exigency of the occasion. He became the object of public odium, because the public good required the sacrifice. The flood of popular indignation for awhile bore him down; but it was to rise with renovated lustre, above censure and above resentment. Whenever a candid history of his administration in Virginia shall appear, every humiliating incident will disappear, and the picture be exhibited of the devoted and enlightened patriot, exerting every nerve and incurring every vexation, because the honour of the country required, that every other consideration should be abandoned.

The leisure of a year's retirement which followed his administration of Virginia, gave to the world that work which, under no other title than "Notes on Virginia," stands unrivalled among American productions. A work which connected him with the Literati of his time and introduced him into the most celebrated associations of those, who adorned by their learning, the age in which they flourish. A work, which vindicated his country and the new world against the calumnies and errors of the old; and which, by developing the resources, tracing out the policy, and scanning the high destinies of his native state, gave a happy impetus and direction, to the studies and efforts of the rising generation.

It was impossible that such a man should continue long in retirement. The returning good sense of his native state, soon brought him again into Congress; and when peace and victory, had crowned the struggles of his country, we find him associated in Europe with two great names in the momentous work of adjusting our commercial relations. In the hands of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, it is supererogation to say that the duty was ably discharged. Let the commercial prosperity that distinguished our country "speak their praises."

Nor were the six years spent by Mr. Jefferson at the Court of Versailles, less beneficially employed. His zeal, and general attention to the interests of the country, were here strikingly exemplified. Not confining himself to the signal privileges acquired by negotiation to the growers of our great staples, he sought to transfer to the husbandry of our country, every object of industry, which he saw contributing to the wealth or the comfort of the European States. Not an improvement in agriculture, not an animal of value, not an article of cultivation came to his knowledge, that he did not seek to bestow upon his own country. The gift of Minerva to the Athenians, the source of so much wealth and comfort to three quarters of the world, he was particularly anxious to make our own. And many a flourishing tree, now tendering us in vain the luxury of its fruits, and reproaching our inattention to its value, was transplanted here by his beneficent hand.

At that time we were but imperfectly acquainted with the arts, the politics and corruptions of the old world ; still less with its embellishments and improvements. It required a mind like Jefferson's to bring home to us that kind of information which is acquired only by close and discriminating scrutiny. His leisure was sedulously improved under the most signal advantages ; and when, upon the adoption of the present Constitution, he was called by Washington to take charge of the *port-feuille* of the department of state, he came to it, full of that kind of information, which enabled him to organize its administration, and to discharge its high and then peculiarly perplexing duties, with ease to himself and with signal relief to his high employer. Were there no other monuments remaining of the range and power of his talents, the reports elicited from him at this time by various resolves of Congress, would perpetuate his fame.

Comprehensive, voluminous, minute ; they present the most astonishing variety of talent, uniformly accompanied with truth of discrimination, and justness of thought. The policy, resources, relations, and obligations of the country,

are scanned with the eye of a master, and grasped in a giant's embrace.

Is the perplexed subject of a standard of weights and measures presented to his mind? One would imagine it the only subject that had ever occupied his thoughts. The politician retires; and the sciences pour forth all their stores. He pervades all nature; he mounts into the firmament; and with the finger of the mathematician, the geographer, and astronomer, points to the only means in nature, by which science can here be gratified by prescribing to the arts.

Are the value, the protection, the political bearings of the Fisheries to be reported on? The sage of Monticello descends from the mountain to the ocean; he grasps the line and the oar; every sea is ransacked; every market explored; the ocean to be cultivated; a rich harvest to be gathered from its barren waves; and the hardy son of the trident to be fostered, that he may bear our enterprise and our thunder to wherever the ocean flows.

In fine, my fellow-citizens, those reports leave very little original matter for his successors. In them we see the imitation and the outline of the policy hitherto pursued by a paternal government. And the whole discussed in a style of beautiful simplicity; with that point and conciseness which constitute the chief excellence of productions intended for popular perusal.

Yet these were not the productions of leisure and tranquillity; they were composed in the midst of all those perilous discussions in which the intemperate zeal of foreign agents, if not the immoral views of foreign governments, then involved us. Those discussions which drew from the same pen that able, learned, impartial, and triumphant correspondence which carried conviction and confusion to the Ministers of France and Great Britain. Here too, the policy of the States, in another of their relations, their diplomatic and social intercourse is ably delineated and fearlessly established; established on

a basis that can never be shaken ; the basis of moral truth—of universal and impartial benevolence ; recognising all governments as equal—all mankind as the common care of benevolent governments.

The struggle throughout was to maintain peace to our country in the midst of the conflicts that convulsed Europe ; a peace regarded with equal jealousy by both rivals ; by the one as too auspicious to our growing commerce ; by the other as inconsistent with her claims on our gratitude. But peace was necessary to our prosperity ; the broils and intrigues of Europe were to be avoided ; and it is edifying to behold the firm, the unassuming, and at length indignant pertinacity with which the arts, the intrigues, and the insolence of foreign agents were encountered and repelled.

The memory of these times has now in a great measure past away ; and history has yet to do impartial justice to the distinguished actors in those troubled scenes. But the time is now fast approaching for calm and candid discussion : When the angry passions of man will be allayed ; the judgment unwarped by excitement and prejudice ; the heart no longer swelling with hatred, disappointment, and revenge ; nor the mind carried away by the reciprocal imputations of unworthy motives : when the tendency of opinions and measures shall be examined by the test of reason and experience, in minds resolved on deciding with impartial justice. Posterity is never unjust, and seldom decides erroneously. But posterity must be informed and reasoned with, and rescued from those deceptions which are practised even on posterity.

It has been the singular good fortune of Mr. Jefferson to have lived, as it were, to hear the judgment of posterity upon himself. At least on that part of his conduct which drew upon him the severest animadversions from his contemporaries, under circumstances which forbade an attempt at vindication. Never was man's honour and self-denial put more severely to the test than his, while subjected to the imputations connected with his resignation as Secretary of State.

How could he defend himself? His lips were sealed upon the occurrences of the cabinet: not less by the sanction of an oath than by considerations of honour and delicacy. And had he been free to reveal them, how could he tell the public that the immaculate father of his country had been precipitated into erroneous counsels by mistaken advisers? The very errors of Washington are sacred in the eyes of his countrymen.

At length, however, the private journals and occurrences of that cabinet became matter of history: and Mr. Jefferson's vindication claims reference to no other exhibit than the annals of the country. Let him have the benefit of facts stripped of whatever might obscure facts; and we rest the decision of posterity upon his conduct there, where, as to him, no partiality can be suspected.

By reference to the only history of the times that has yet been attempted, it will be distinctly seen, that in the commencement of the government under the present Constitution, doctrines were advocated which are now altogether exploded. Executive and judicial powers, granted to the government in its aggregate capacity, were claimed and exercised by some of the departments as direct grants to themselves; or as necessary incidents to their creation without the aid of legislative enactment. The error arose from an imperfect view of the distribution of powers under the Constitution; so imperfect that the executive will be there found exercising powers purely judicial; the judiciary assuming jurisdiction to punish acts, which no law of Congress had declared a crime; and the cabinet adopting rules to regulate the conduct of foreigners within our limits, and then calling upon the governors of states to use the military arm, in giving to those regulations the force of laws.

Yet in all this there was nothing wanting but Constitutional power, to justify the acts of the administration. The conduct of the cabinet was dictated by a paternal and enlightened re-

gard to the public good, and the abstract policy of their measures, is now mostly sanctioned by being engrafted into the laws of Congress. Still, however, the precedent was dangerous in the extreme : it made the judicial and executive departments independent of the legislative, where the Constitution did not sanction that independence, and left few limits to their power besides their own moderation or discretion in assuming it. On this ground it was opposed ; and in the discussion arising out of that opposition, commenced the altercations which distracted the cabinet. To Mr. Jefferson's well known opinions on this subject we appeal for the doctrines which he espoused.

Incidentally it happened, that the conflicting opinions in the cabinet favored the French or British interests, and from this small beginning sprang those reciprocal imputations of French or British feelings, which, I trust, we are all now equally ready to retract.

That Mr. Jefferson had his prejudices against Great Britain, is not to be denied ; that he had his predilections for France, I believe equally true. Man without his partialities is but an unsocial animal ; and must be more or less than human, if he loves not where he has been caressed, or dislikes not where he has been injured.

Distrust of Great Britain had been nurtured in him from his childhood ; it "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength ;" it was associated with every feeling that bound him to his country ; and let any one read the simple tale, to be found authenticated by his own signature, of the disgraceful injuries inflicted on him individually by a British commander, a British nobleman, and he will not wonder if a secret antipathy should lurk for life beneath his better feelings. And as for France ; who that had partaken for six years of its blandishments ; that regarded it as the land of La Fayette ; as the friend that had aided when there was none to help ; but would excuse a predilection so natural, so amiable. It is not in the extinguishment of such feelings that greatness

consists ; where is the proof that such feelings were ever permitted to influence his official conduct ?

At this time it was that the country became distracted by intrigues and cabals of Britain and France ; and it is among the most conspicuous instances of the good fortune of Mr. Jefferson, that his correspondence with their ministers has furnished the most triumphant proof of a dignified impartiality sustained by the most eminent ability. Yet history has recorded, “ that a partiality to France was conspicuous through the whole of that correspondence.”

Partiality ! Is this the appropriate name of that glow of sacred gratitude which then pervaded every bosom towards the nation that had aided us in grappling with the leviathan ? Who would have dared at that time to disavow a partiality to France ?

If any, I forbear to them.

But it was no mere partiality to France which had enlisted the feelings of the American people in the cause of France. It was a higher and a nobler sentiment ; it was that which every American glories to avow when contemplating the triumphs of our sisters of South America ; or when listening to the struggles of the suffering, perishing Greek. It was a sacred sympathy with an awakened nation breaking its chains and asserting the common cause of oppressed man. It is true, it was driven to madness, but by whom ? Let those who combined to make a common cause of kings against people, of hierarchies and despotism against the liberties of mankind, bear the odium of the folly and misery of that period.

The imputation cannot be sustained, that Mr. Jefferson was ever carried beyond a temperate partiality into that excess which would have dictated measures inconsistent with the interests of our beloved country. Nor is it less unfounded that he ever unreasonably withheld “ the right hand of fellowship” from the rival of France.

How was it possible, at the time of which I now speak, to behold in that rival less than an insidious friend, if not an

open foe? Our western country embroiled by intrigues; our western posts withheld with an obvious view to pounce upon the country they commanded; our flag insulted; our seamen torn from us; and our commerce prostrated by the most insidious blow ever aimed by one nation at the vitals of another; these all combined to excite a feeling; but it was a feeling altogether American.

Our late war has taught that rival to respect us; and her subsequent advances have been cordially reciprocated both nationally and individually. An American may now receive a Briton to his bosom, without a feeling of jealousy, or a sense of degradation.

In 1793, the altercations in the cabinet, and, as Mr. Jefferson thought, the concerted opposition of the treasury and war departments against his influence in the administration, drove him from that cabinet. But that he left it in the utmost harmony with the venerated chief magistrate of the country, admits of positive demonstration.

To a letter of Washington's, full of the kindest expressions of personal gratitude and official confidence, Mr. Jefferson's answer breathes nothing but the most perfect reciprocation. "As often," says he, "as I may recall the vexations I have endured, your approbation will be a great and precious consolation. It was not without a struggle that I yielded to the very urgent motives which impelled me to relinquish a station in which I could hope to be in any degree instrumental in promoting the success of any administration under your direction; a struggle which would have been far greater had I supposed that the prospect of future usefulness was proportioned to the sacrifices to be made.

"Whatever may be my destination hereafter, I entreat you to be persuaded, (not the less for my having been sparing in professions) that I shall never cease to render a just tribute to those eminent and excellent qualities which have been already productive of so many blessings to your country—that you will always have my fervent wishes for your public and

personal felicity, and that it will be my pride to cultivate a continuance of that esteem, regard, and friendship, of which you do me the honour to assure me."

And never my fellow-citizens, did he swerve in thought, word, or action, from the pledge contained in that letter.

The time that transpired between the years '93 and '97, was the noon-tide of Mr. Jefferson's life. It was spent amidst all the delights that elegant retirement, cultivated taste, a tranquil mind, a clear conscience, an affectionate family, and intellectual society, could concentrate.

Upon the retirement of General Washington from the Presidency, the choice of the people fell upon the two venerated men whose exit has been so singularly combined. Together they rose to the highest offices in the gift of their country, and together we will hope, have arisen to "higher habitations, eternal in the heavens."

The office of Vice-President is one of the highest dignity; but not calculated for the display of conspicuous talents. Its leading duties are those of Moderator of a deliberative assembly. To discharge these with judgment, firmness, consistency, and impartiality, is, however, no simple duty in times of party excitement. But it was not enough for Mr. Jefferson to study and fulfil these duties for himself alone; with his habitual attention to the good of others, the results of his investigations and experience were embodied in that little volume, which now gives the law to deliberative assemblies through the union.

While, however, the philosopher was calmly prosecuting, in his chamber, the most appropriate service that his leisure could be devoted to; the continent rang from north to south, with the most virulent and savage abuse of him, that it was possible for the vilest of passions to heap upon their victim: and it must be acknowledged that his partizans were not far behind his opponents in recrimination.

The canvass for the election of 1801, was warm and animated; conducted with much ability, and we regret we cannot add, with much liberality and candor.

It eventuated in the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency. In that decision South Carolina acted a conspicuous part ; she gave the deciding vote. And never surely was a vote given under circumstances of greater self-denial.

Among the rivals of Mr. Jefferson, was the most venerated of her sons ; one, in whose talents, integrity and wisdom, was reposed such high trust, that party considerations were abandoned to give place to it. Of the two votes then required to be indiscriminately given, the one was sacred to Jefferson ; the other was tendered to the venerable Pinckney. Had he accepted it, he had been President. But it pleased Him who directs counsels to his own wise purposes, that it should be otherwise ; and on the 4th of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson entered on the Presidency.

With him commenced a new era in the administration of the government.

I come not here, my fellow-citizens, to contrast the merits of parties or of measures. It is no time, when convened around the grave of our departed friend ; to give place to human pride and party triumph. Mutual charity to each other's intentions, a cordial forgiveness of injuries, gratitude to Him who sent us able rulers, and who has so signally blessed their efforts to serve us ; these and these alone are the appropriate sentiments on this occasion. What eulogy can compare with that feeling which has here brought together all parties, all ages, all denominations, in one signal expression of gratitude. What eulogy so great as that sentiment which brings us together as one people, animated by one soul, no longer distracted by party animosities, irritated by injurious suspicions, not glancing at each other the angry eye of jealousy and distrust, but uniting as one loving family, in the obsequies of a venerated parent ! As the grave closes over the remains of our departed benefactor, so let memory close over the past, or let it be recalled only to guard us against its recurrence !

There is every reason to believe that our jealousies have arisen from mutual misunderstandings. Confident I am, that the party-tenets avowed by Mr. Jefferson are so simple, so unexceptionable, that they need but be explained to command the approbation of every candid mind.

May not one among the humblest, though not least confidential of his correspondents, be permitted to deliver them recently authenticated under his own signature ?

Monticello, June 16, '23.—"Our object was" (says he) "to maintain the will of the majority of the convention, and of the people themselves ; we believed with them, that man was a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice, and that he could be restrained from wrong, and protected in right, by moderate powers confined to persons of his own choice, and held to their duties by dependence on his own will. We believed, that the complicated organization of kings, nobles, and priests was not the wisest nor best to effect the happiness of associated man ; that wisdom and virtue were not hereditary ; that the trappings of such a machinery, consumed by their expense, those earnings of industry they were meant to protect ; and by the inequalities they produced exposed liberty to sufferance.— We believed that men enjoying in ease and security the full fruits of their own industry, enlisted by all their interests on the side of law and order, habituated to think for themselves and to follow their reason as their guide, would be more easily and safely governed, than with minds nourished in error, and vitiated and abused, as in Europe, by ignorance, indigence, and oppression. The cherishment of the people then was our principle.

"Composed as we were of the landed and labouring interests of the country, we could not be less anxious for a government of law and order than were the inhabitants of the cities, and whether our efforts to save the principles and form of our Constitution have not been salutary, let the present republican freedom, order, and prosperity of our country determine.

History may distort truth, and will distort it for a time, by the superior efforts at justification of those who are conscious of needing it most. Nor will the opening scenes of our present government be seen in their true aspect, until the letters of the day, now held in private hoards, shall be broken up and laid open to public view. What a treasure will be found in Gen. Washington's cabinet in the hands of as candid a friend to truth as he was himself!" &c.

As to the doctrines and views of Mr. Jefferson's political opponents, let us hope he altogether misunderstood them.— Certain I am, that of those whom I have known, few, very few would have hesitated to abandon their leaders had they suspected them of the views which have been confidently attributed to them. I mean not to vindicate the opinions of Mr. Jefferson on this subject, or examine the evidence upon which those opinions were adopted. But I will say that however erroneous those views may be, he was sincere in entertaining them: and that, entertaining them, it was impossible he could have done otherwise than sound the alarm—than awaken the attention of the nation to the subject—than cry out to us, "Watch, and what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch."

The time of feverish apprehension is, we hope, gone by.— The establishment of certain great principles in the construction of the constitution, and in the administration of the general government has banished apprehension. But to the remotest ages of our existence, the spirit of Jefferson will sound the cry from the watchtower—"Beware;" And woe to those days when a salutary watchfulness shall give place to a supine confidence or indolent inattention: a manly acquiescence in the exercise of constitutional powers; indulgence to the errors, and confidence in the motives of an administration, are entirely consistent with a guarded examination of their views and measures.

We claim it as the just attribute of Mr. Jefferson's administration, that he practically illustrated those maxims of government which he inculcated on his adherents. What in-

stance can be adduced of his favoring the application of either of those two great engines of public patronage—the expenditure of public money, or the multiplication of public appointments? His administration was literally the reign of frugality. Nor yet of parsimony: for when some great national object presented itself, no one was more ready to draw upon the public purse. It was not the expenditure of money that he dreaded; it was the expenditure of money where it could corrupt, by creating that bane of morals and independence, a money influence.

Witness the purchase of Louisiana; the greatest political event next to our revolution that our history will ever commemorate; a bloodless conquest of a country exceeding in extent the greatest monarchy in Europe. Posterity will do justice to this mighty acquisition; but the mind at the present day is lost in its very vastness. There is no country like the valley of the Mississippi on the face of the globe.—Follow the mighty amphitheatre of rocks that nature has heaped around it. Trace the ten thousand rivers that unite their waters in the mighty Mississippi; count the happy millions that already crowd and animate their banks—loading their channels with a mighty produce. Then see the whole, bound by the hand of nature in chains which God alone can sever, to a perpetual union at one little connecting point; and by that point fastening itself by every tie of interest, consanguinity, and feeling, to the remotest promontory on our Atlantic coast. A few short years have done all this; and yet ages are now before us: ages in which myriads are destined to multiply throughout its wide spread territory, extending the greatness and the happiness of our country from sea to sea.

What would we have been without the acquisition of Louisiana? What were we before it? God and nature fixed the unalterable decree, that the nation which held New-Orleans should govern the whole of that vast region. France, Spain, and Great-Britain, had bent their envious eyes upon it. And their intrigues, if matured, would eventually have torn from us

that vast Paradise which reposes upon the western waters. Mark the watchfulness, the foresight, the decision, the paternal care of our lamented benefactor. With unsleeping anxiety he maintains the peace of our country, and turns the wars and follies of others to our unspeakable benefit. Nor to ours alone.

Other conquests bring with them misery and oppression to the luckless inhabitant. This brought emancipation, civil and religious freedom, laws, wealth, and the glories of the 8th of January.

But time will not permit us to dwell upon this fertile subject; nor can I indulge myself with exhibiting how the country thus acquired, and thus crowned with blessings, was rescued from conspiracy. Nor how its remotest recesses were explored; the bounds of human knowledge extended; new objects for national enterprise presented; commercial and agricultural activity animated; and a port given to the world which is destined to whiten with the sails of a mighty commerce.

I must hasten onward.

To say that Thomas Jefferson committed faults, is but to say that Thomas Jefferson was human. But whence comes it that those faults never deprived him of your confidence?

You well knew that the polar star of his conduct was his country's good; and although he might have committed errors, you manfully sustained him because his motives were pure, and the general views of his policy consistent with the true interests of his country. A more striking example of republican virtue than that patient resignation, and magnanimous self-denial, with which you have at times submitted to every privation, rather than impugn his counsels, has never been exhibited on earth. Though the distressing operation of those measures upon yourselves were certain and "tangible to the sense," while their benefits were remote, speculative, and problematical; your confidence in his purity, and

your firmness in sustaining his pacific policy, bore you through the heaviest trials. Thousands who never doubted that the experiment would fail, suppressed their opinions and cheered others by their examples, still hoping that their own anticipations might prove groundless.

Why did Thomas Jefferson detest war, and fear the too rapid increase of a navy ?

In war, he saw demoralization, vicissitude, expense, derangement of finances, loss of valuable lives, diversion from the arts of peace, and above all, the certain increase of executive influence and possible involvement in European politics.

In a navy, the spectre that haunted him was impressments, a consequence scarcely to be avoided in its progress. To which, among other considerations may be added, the inequality of the public burthen to the prejudice of the South and West. Where would the money be expended ? One portion of the union would derive from it wealth, employment, and greatness, in return for their contributions, while another would pay most and receive no pecuniary remuneration. There may have been something of a southern feeling lurking beneath this last consideration ; but it has the sanction of the most rigid justice ; and this equality of distribution constituted a favorite principle in his administration ; one which he struggled in vain to maintain.

But at last, my fellow-citizens, what credit to those who differed from him on a subject on which now all concur. Was not our navy the artificer of its own fortunes ? Did not our seamen fight themselves into popularity ? And who understood the policy, the cheapness, the necessity of a navy, until illuminated by a ray, shot from one of our own sons ?

Look through the whole range of the political career of our departed friend, and there is not an error which had not its origin in a tremulous anxiety for the safety of that posterity over whose interests he ever watched with paternal solicitude. Public opinion has indeed settled down into a convic-

tion that he committed errors, and yet must not time and experience decide the question? Who knows whether our conclusions may not be the result of less profound views of the tendency of measures? National virtue, national freedom, true national greatness, the happy issue of a mighty experiment in the government of the world—these were the purposes that absorbed his attention. But may not our views be too much limited to national wealth and national display? Have we thought well of the consequences that we may draw upon posterity? What if avarice, and selfishness, and national vanity should supplant the love of country? What if those noxious weeds should be cherished and watered into a growth that shall choke those simple and manly virtues without which man cares not by whom he is governed? What profiteth it a nation if it gain the whole world and lose its own liberty? Our warriors of the revolution were not dandled in the lap of pleasure, nor pampered with foreign luxuries. They sought not for subsistence amidst the shoals and quicksands of moneyed institutions, nor fought for those trappings which too often deck a nation's greatness, only to conceal the misery and corruption that are accumulated in its room.

It was among the heaviest of the allegations against Mr. Jefferson, that he was the enemy of commerce. Never, my fellow-citizens, was a greater calumny uttered. It is among the greatest misfortunes of the world, that profound men are often misunderstood and mistrusted. We cannot keep pace with their conception, and are reluctant to acknowledge that superiority which humbles us.

Mr. Jefferson thought with hundreds of wise men before him, that commerce was the means, not the end of society. That civil and religious freedom, intellectual and moral improvement, security while tilling the earth, and protection while pursuing our fortunes just as our will and our talents direct us, were the great purposes of the social compact. That commerce ought to be cherished; but cherished as the handmaid of agriculture and the arts. He knew that avarice was

the besetting sin of a republican government. That the very security with which property was possessed, not less than the influence which it confers ; operating with some of the leading propensities of our nature, fostered a devotion to its acquisition which he would have directed to more exalted objects. He dreaded the noxious and baneful influence of a passion for gain—in its progress degrading to national character ; dangerous to the tranquillity of the world ; fatal to every ennobling sentiment ; destructive to every social feeling ; and when become the ruling principle of a government, converting man into a ferocious animal. He dreaded the possible growth of that most degrading of all aristocracies, which, having its basis in the distribution of pecuniary favors, like the wand of Circe, converts men into swine : that power before which the stately port of the freemen shrinks into the cringe and smile of the knave or more degraded sycophant. He dreaded giving new impetus to that spirit of speculation, fraud and management, which had its origin in the pecuniary embarrassments of one war, and has in our time been carried to a most alarming and demoralizing perfection in the progress or upon the incidents of another. He dreaded the extinction of a spirit of liberal and enlightened commerce in the intrigues and artifice of the remorseless spectator.

Are we prepared to say that his apprehensions will never be realized ?

Had he not foreseen the difficulty of preserving in its purity that honorable calling which connects the remotest nations of the earth into one society, diffuses to all the enjoyments of each, illustrates the triumphs of mind over the powers of the mighty deep, and sheds the lights of science and religion into the remotest corners of the world in which man has sought for subsistence or concealed himself from oppression—Commerce had ranked among the most cherished objects of Mr. Jefferson's solicitude.

But what want we with assertions on this subject, when his own report on commerce is among the annals of the coun-

try? It is a subject on which his friends have much to boast.

Look at the recent and conspicuous changes which the most commercial country on earth is now engrafting into her commercial policy; then look at the Secretary's report of '93, and say if it was not he, who having first acted so conspicuous a part in breaking the shackles of civil and religious bondage; if it was not he, around whose grave we now meet to pour the voice of gratitude and praise; who struck the fetters from the cramped limbs of commerce. Yes, he it was who aimed the first blow at that warfare of restrictions and discriminations on which the selfishness, the ignorance, the avarice, and the quackery of governments and ministers have been so long exhausting their powers; and which, by forcing upon individual man every petty artifice of idemnity and evasion, has done so much to corrupt and degrade the commercial world.

I come not here, my fellow-citizens, to deal out to you a tissue of vague and general eulogy. Declamation belongs not to my subject nor my habits, and would carry with it but a poor compliment to such an audience as I address. Nor does a formal and ordinary recurrence to proof comport with the nature of my undertaking. But on this subject I must be indulged with a reference to a document replete with interest; and communicate to you his sentiments in his own language.

"Instead," says he, "of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, it is desirable that it should be relieved from its shackles in all parts of the world. Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation. But should any nation, contrary to the wishes of America, suppose it may better find its advantage by continuing its systems of prohibitions, duties and regulations, it would behove the United States to protect their citizens, their commerce, and navigation by counter reg-

ulations, duties, and prohibitions." "Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and every vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially, if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into alimant for their own strength, and withdraw them from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary."

Here we have an epitome of his whole commercial system. "Let us give to commerce the charter of the winds ;" but if nations will not meet us in our liberal views ; if they will still embarrass us, and in common with us the whole commercial world, with their inveterate follies ; we must meet them in legislation ; if they violate our security, we must meet them in battle.

And we have met them, my fellow-citizens, both in legislation and in battle ; and it has pleased the God of battles and the Dispenser of Justice, to prosper us in both.

After serving the full period to which public opinion and the example of the father of his country have limited the service of a President, it is a circumstance among the most striking of the felicitous progress of Mr. Jefferson, that he retired from office with undiminished popularity. To the lot of very few indeed of his successors, can this good fortune ever be expected to fall ; and fortunate indeed must he be deemed, who could retain his popularity amidst the multiplied trials to which the fidelity of Mr. Jefferson's friends were subjected.

I will not say that it was his signal good fortune to have triumphed over opposition ; his triumph was of a much more exalted nature ; he triumphed over opinion, and lived to see his fellow-citizens amalgamate into a mass, truly national ; realizing the benevolent sentiment of his inaugural address, "all

federalists, all republicans." Nay, more; he lived to triumph over calumny and envy. That tongue which seldom ceases to disturb the pillow of the great man's rest, until he slumber no more upon earth; that dart whose point is ever raised against the great man's bosom, until he ceases to cast into the shade the hand that lifts it, had long since sought some other object ere the summons came to him to depart.

Fellow-citizens, it is with no ordinary regret that I feel constrained to hurry over the latter days of Mr. Jefferson. They indeed exhibit him "like the sun in his evening declination, remitting his splendor, but retaining his greatness, and pleasing more, although he dazzled less." It is in retirement that true greatness waits to be exhibited. In the world, man may rise superior to others; here he rises superior to himself. The noble Grecian who had led the armies of his country in many a successful battle, shrunk not from the eye of the minister of the proudest monarch on earth, when detected in the most humble sports.

Did time now permit us to visit the hospitable mansion, I would beg leave first to conduct you to the generous hall of the Philosopher of Monticello, crowded by visitors who paid homage to his virtues; thence to that library, whose shelves once groaned beneath the congregated learning of every age and language, now, alas! stripped by his necessities: thence to the lengthened vista and shaded grotto, sacred to contemplation and to social converse; thence to the laboratory, where wholesome exercise was elegantly combined with practical ingenuity: thence to the scenes of agricultural and scientific experiment, where curiosity and science were made the ministering handmaids to the good of mankind: thence to the last great work of a great and good man ever intent on the services of his fellow men—the rising edifices of the greatest literary institution ever projected in America. It is not a *Leuctra*, or a *Muntinea*; for we surround not the grave of one whose trophies were "garments rolled in blood." Yet it was the daughter of his old age; its promotion was the great

care of his life ; and its success, among the last lingering wishes that connected him with the world.

But from this and all other objects, I would hasten to lead you to a scene possessing an interest exceeding all these. I would conduct you to the nursery ; there to behold the venerable grandsire ; him who has filled so conspicuous a place in the history of the age ; to whom the most dignified and honorable employments have been familiar ; and whom every intellectual enjoyment has courted through life ; him, relinquishing all, to become the delighted tutor of a blooming offspring.

Here, my fellow-citizens, I would leave you ; this is your legacy, bequeathed to you on his death-bed.

But you had not waited for this solemn bequest of an expiring parent ; the decree had already gone forth, which perpetuated to the Athenians the honorable record, "that this city had given so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she was deservedly admired by all the world."

The descendants of the virtuous Aristides were maintained and endowed at the expense of a grateful country.

Fellow-citizens, I have not on this solemn occasion, made one effort to excite your feelings, or once called on you to mourn. This is not one of those incidents on which grief or lamentation is appropriate, or even permitted. Death is a debt incurred by all at our birth ; and he has lived to little purpose who, when loaded with years and honors, and carrying with him the blessings of posterity and a grateful country, cannot say with our departed friend, "I have done my duty on earth ; I fear not to meet my maker." And we his survivors have lived to little purpose, if when convened around his grave, with pious resignation to the will of Him, "in whose hand our times are," the predominant feeling of the moment is not, a grateful sense of that mercy which has spared to us so long his example, his counsels and his services.

There is indeed one subject of regret which claims no common sympathy. Who but must mourn over the recollection that his declining years were embittered by the most painful sacrifices ; tortured by the most distressing anticipations ; embarrassed by the most humiliating cares ; and clouded by the most afflicting prospects.

We follow a pauper to the tomb. Jefferson a pauper ! Gracious Heaven, to what is our country destined ! Must eminence, and services, and distinguished station, entail poverty on all who boasted your favor and enjoyed your confidence ? Who then will aspire to serve you ? Who ? but the incompetent or unworthy.

There are incidents to distinguished stations, my fellow-citizens, which if not unavoidable, few can escape ; and those few are rather censured than applauded. When the earliest and most distinguished of our foreign benefactors lately visited our shores, and rumor brought it to our ears, that fortune had dealt unkindly by him, who but felt himself ennobled by the ready liberality by which dignity and comfort were restored to his declining years ? And who but must regret that we have been prevented from extending an equal liberality to another of our earliest and greatest benefactors ? I would envy the prompt benevolence of a sister state, that emotion of gratitude that swelled his aged heart, that tear of thankfulness that filled his closing eye, when her ready hand came to drive away from his death-bed, the vultures that hovered over it.

But why, I hear you ask, why were his necessities concealed from us ? Why was it not earlier communicated, that the sources of hospitality were dried up ; that embarrassment and penury were pressing hard on his declining years ? And why at last resort to means so unprecedented to obtain relief ? My friends, let due allowance be made for ten thousand delicate circumstances that crowded around his situation. To beg in the genteelest form, is revolting to a delicate mind. On whom should he cast himself ? The public ? But how could he, who

all his life, had been the declared enemy of pensions, of sinecures, and gratuities, consent to the inconsistency? Consent to furnish a precedent uncongenial with the spirit of our government? a precedent threatening intrigue, patronage and corruption?

Should he cast himself on individual munificence? A common mendicant? It was impossible. The only medium which presented itself was that which he adopted—a voluntary sacrifice of property and grandeur at the shrine of justice, in the only way in which that sacrifice could be made to answer the ends of justice.

What now are mausoleums and statues to him whose whole life was simplicity personified? whose monument is history, whose name and form are upon the hearts of his countrymen. What had been his reply, had distinctions to his memory been propounded to him, as the alternative for satisfying his creditors, or consoling his family? “Let my bones whiten on the sands of Lybia,” he had said; “but let no one suffer for having confided in me. Give my remains to the fowls of the air; but give relief and protection to my desolate offspring.”

My friends, the closing incidents of this great man’s life, were necessary to give a finish to his character. His time, his talents, his wealth, he had already lavished wherever hospitality, benevolence, public spirit, or duty demanded. Misplaced confidence, unavoidable expenses, and the vicissitudes of the markets and the seasons, had exhausted his resources. The clamours of creditors arose. What then remained to him? His feelings—his home—his tomb! These too were abandoned. What now remains? His fame—his family. These—these, my fellow-citizens, henceforward, are *ours*.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT ALEXANDRIA, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

August 10, 1826,

BY WILLIAM F. THORNTON.

THE funeral knell that waked us from our dreams—the slow and gloomy march that brought us to this fane—and those solemn sounds of prayer and anthem, still lingering in our ears—tell us, my fellow-citizens, that a melancholy occurrence—great and calamitous—has called us together. An occurrence, more interesting in its character, and more universal in its impression upon the public feeling, than any that has attracted our attention, since the beloved Washington was removed from the scenes of his earthly glory.

When a renowned statesman, a worthy patriot, or a gallant soldier, sinks into the silent tomb, we give vent to our wonted flow of patriotism, and exclaim in the fullness of our hearts—“A great man has fallen in Israel!” But if such be the strain of panegyric on ordinary occasions,—when the departed worthy leaves many an equal, and many a superior behind him,—where shall I find language to discharge that sacred duty, which your kindness and misplaced confidence have imposed upon me.

No ordinary men were they whom now we mourn. In all the vicissitudes of life, and in their peaceful communion with death they were truly great. Great in the intuitive powers of mind and great in knowledge and wisdom. In virtue, in patriotism, in philanthropy, and in every quality that exalts and adorns our nature, they were great in a pre-eminent degree. But, alas! where are they now? Gone,

undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns." Yes, my fellow-citizens, it has pleased the Almighty disposer of events, to summon into his august presence, those illustrious and venerated fathers of the Republic—JEFFERSON and ADAMS. And impelled by an all-pervading gratitude for their services, we have assembled to pay the last sad tribute of affectionate regard to their memories ; to offer up the homage of the heart to superior excellence ; and to mingle our fervent orisons to heaven, with feeble and unworthy eulogies of the lamented dead.

Surely, I may say—the beauty of our Israel is gone !—“how are the mighty fallen !” But they have fallen, full of years and full of honors ; and the blessings of emancipated millions have followed their spirits to those regions where life is without end, and where sorrow never enters. We mourn their fall as becomes a bereaved and grateful children, and yet, we find a balm in the reflection, that they had risen to the most elevated height in the love and veneration of mankind, and that the felicitous termination of their mortal career triumphantly paralyzed the sting of DEATH, and denied to the GRAVE, its accustomed victory. Thanks to that omnipotent Being, who speaks us into life, and returns us to the dust at his pleasure, they have been called from time to eternity in a manner every way suited to their transcendent merits. Nor is their glorious exit more profitable to their own imperishable fame, than it is auspicious to the interests, and gratifying to the feelings of those who inherit the rich fruits of their virtuous devotion to liberty.

From the earliest periods of political association,—whether we derive our information from authentic history, from tradition or from legends,—it has been the usage of nations to consecrate some day to their existence as an independent community, or to their deliverance from the rude grasp of relentless oppression. Some distinguished incident, in their political careers, has been selected by all, and conspicuously honored, that it might be contemplated as the cause of their

elevation, while they were yet in prosperity ; and that, when overtaken by adversity, they might recur to the subject of their veneration with a melancholy pleasure, and derive from it a stimulus to noble sentiments, and daring enterprize.—Rome had her national festivals—Greece her Olympic Games—and ancient Jerusalem burned hallowed incense on her altars—commemorative of her deliverance from slavery, and from sacrilegious pollution. So universal, indeed, has been the salutary practice, and so important has it been considered in its influence upon the governmental concerns of men, that those whose legends and history afford no striking occurrence entitled to commemoration, have invariably resorted to fiction to supply the deficiency. That, however, is not the condition of the States which compose this favored Empire. They have been spared the necessity of that resort,—as well while they were Colonies of the parent country, as since their glorious elevation to the rank of a free and powerful nation. The blood of our heroes, and the wisdom of our statesmen, have imprinted on the fairest page of history, many an incident which ourselves delight to dwell upon ; and which our children, and our children's children, will proudly own as the work of their fathers.

Among these incidents, my fellow citizens, is *one*, so grand in its design, so bold in its execution and so momentous in its consequences, that it soars above all the deeds of men—and to after generations, will be a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, to guide and cheer them on their march to greatness. That bright and glorious incident,—need I tell you, my friends,—is the unanimous declaration, by a band of patriots, that all men were born free and equal :—and that these once persecuted colonies *are*, and of right *ought to be*, free and independent States.

This important act was no idle parade to intimidate an enemy or to draw upon its authors the empty applause of the world.—No—It was the offspring of lofty souls, determined to be free or to die in the holy struggle. They knew that no

compromise could secure them from the vengeance of an ambitious, and remorseless parent—They were aware of the toil, the blood and the treasure, it would cost themselves, and perhaps their children. And with a firm reliance on a protecting providence they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to support the high ground they had taken.

That they received the divine aid which they implored—and that they never swerved from their magnanimous purpose—the present moral and political supremacy of our country sufficiently attest.

Who is not proud of such a Declaration emanated from the land of his birth.—O! it is an immortal Instrument; worthy its immortal author, and worthy him, who was acknowledged to be the *Pillar* of its support. To tyrants, it is the hand upon the wall.—It is the manifesto of a nation's wrongs, inflicted by a cruel King—the charter of a nation's rights sealed with the approbation of a just GOD.

Well may the day, that boasts an act so wise and chivalrous, claim to be the fairest and the noblest in the calendar,—for it is the birth-day of liberty in the land of her choice;—a land that has nourished her in peace and in war; and extended her fame and power, to every part of the world, where the rays of her glory have not been refracted by the impenetrable darkness that is the atmosphere of ignorance.

Such, my fellow-citizens, is the day which has been wisely selected as our National Festival; and fifty years of calms and storms have seen us constant in our free devotion.

When the day of Jubilee had come, and millions of free-men were assembled around the altars of Liberty to celebrate the triumph of the rights of man over the impious pretensions of kings and of patriotism over reckless ambition; when hundreds of eloquent tongues, and the deafening peals of cannon, were proclaiming the precious truth that *Americans* are competent to wield a government—emanating from the people, and based upon their will; when the pious Christian was

returning thanks for the privilege of worshipping in his own way, and propagating his peculiar tenets, without persecution, and without tithes ; and when every bosom swelled with gratitude to the virtuous patriots whose wisdom and energy had produced such signal benefits—how foreign from our minds, in the midst of these rejoicings, was the thought, that we should soon be called upon to mourn *at once*, the fall of two of our greatest benefactors—the author and the supporter of the Declaration of Independence. Little did we think indeed, whilst around the festive board, on that joyful day,—offering the strongest testimonials of regard, of reverence, and of love to these venerated sages,—that they had bid us a long and last farewell, and were, at that moment, winging their way to a world of spirits ! Wonderful, mysterious, awful coincidence ! In vain do we look to the annals of humanity for another to compare with it.—It is a theme that will fill the world. It is a great and sublime picture for ourselves and our children to contemplate.—It may be regarded, in fact, as the seal of divinity stamping alike with immortality, our liberties and their departed authors. We still enjoy those liberties my countrymen ; let us not forget the friends who gave them. Let their names and their deeds descend from generation to generation, until the commissioned Angel “ shall put one foot on the earth, and the other foot on the sea, and lift up his hand and swear, that time shall be no longer.”

To pretend to delineate, with any degree of accuracy, the peculiar traits of character, or the inestimable services of such men as Jefferson and Adams, would be as uninstrucive to you, as for me it would be difficult and presuming. The history of their actions,—replete with evidences of their motives—has long been indelibly written on your hearts ; and has exhibited, to the world, models of pure benevolence, and self-created greatness—equalled only in “ the father of his country”—“above all Greek, above all Roman praise.” If you then, would be the essay, to recapitulate their de

merate *all* the virtues which were concentrated in the bosoms of these eminent men. How much more vain the attempt, to place their characters in a more favorable light, than that in which you are wont to view them.

But if I cannot instruct you—or shed any additional lustre on the attributes of men, whose everlasting fame needs not the aid of eulogy—still a comprehensive view of their lives and qualities, may awaken many grateful recollections, and perhaps, prove an incentive to imitate their virtues, if not to emulate their public services. Influenced by these considerations,—every celebrated nation of antiquity mourned over the tombs of the patriots and heroes, who established or preserved the institutions of their country ; and we act a politic—as well as filial part, in following their example.

Jefferson and Adams were patriots, in the most unlimited and exalted sense of the word. From the first dawning of manhood, to the very instant of their dissolution, they were distinguished by every quality which characterises the great, the wise and the good. Their history is the history of a nation—presenting one continued chain of munificent and noble acts. Like their immortal companions—Washington, Franklin, Samuel Adams, Henry, Hancock, Lee, and a host of others—they lived for their country, not for themselves ; and every moment of their protracted existence on earth, was zealously devoted to the welfare of their species. To vindicate the rights of the oppressed, and to elevate man to the high moral rank allotted him by his Creator, was the darling ambition of their souls ; and gallantly pledging themselves for its achievement, every faculty of their stupendous minds was exerted with a zeal and constancy which no barrier could successfully resist. Lucid and determined in their views,—they descended to no narrow policy—no crafty blandishments—no unhallowed means to advance their popularity, or to aggrandise their fame ;—but risked their fortunes, their reputations, and their existence, to redeem a peo-

ple from Colonial bondage ; and to uphold them in their well-earned freedom.

So many and striking are the coincidences in their lives, and so eminently were they serviceable to their country, that I shall find but little occasion to separate them. Their destinies were one.—so should be their eulogies.

They were educated at the most flourishing institutions in their respective States, and each was honored with the highest rewards that his Alma Mater could bestow. Equally endowed with minds of the most unlimited capacity, and equally learned in every branch of knowledge that could render them useful citizens, or agreeable companions, they rose, while yet in the bloom of life, to the first order of scholars, philosophers, and statesmen. Both directed their attention to the science of Law—and both became, at an early period, the brightest ornaments of their profession. Before they had attained the age, at which the judgment is supposed to be ripe, they were valuable and conspicuous members of their respective Colonial Legislatures ; and by their spirited opposition to the oppressive measures of the mother country, provoked the resentment of the Royal Governors, and the persecution of the slavish minions of power. But neither threats, temptations, nor flattery, could wean them from the cause they had espoused. They persevered with undaunted spirit, and gradually prepared the people for the awful conflict, which a few penetrating minds had long foreseen *must* be the result of the weak and wicked policy pursued by the mother country. To use the words of Mr. Adams, “ Britain had been filled with folly, and America with wisdom.” The most skilful writers and orators had been pensioned by their government, to bewilder the reason of Englishmen ; and to induce the belief that taxation, without representation, was no tyranny—that the mother country possessed an unlimited control over the lives and fortunes of her colonial subjects—and that *all* America was filled with a degenerate race of beings. But while doctrines like these were gathering strength

on the other side of the Atlantic, the people of America were daily becoming more and more enlightened. The wisdom of Jefferson and Adams, and their able associates, was penetrating the minds of their countrymen—arousing them from the lethargy of habitual submission—teaching them the unalienable rights of man, and urging the imperious obligation of claiming those rights at the expense of their blood. Jefferson was an Epaminondas in the South, and Adams, a Pelopidas in the North. If they gathered no laurels on the crimsoned field of battle, still the similitude is good. They were the master spirits of the moral regeneration—the impulse that moved the colonies to resistance—the bands that bound the feeble rods together—the bone and sinew of the nation's strength.

When I speak thus of Adams and Jefferson, think not, my fellow citizens, that I mean to detract from the glory, or the ineffable services of your immortal Washington. No—I would place another wreath on his brow, if I thought that a LEAF of the one which he wears, could yield to the frosts of a million of ages. The tongue that would dare to depress him, no longer exists. His fame is beyond the reach of detraction. And in all time to come, faithful history will award him his rank—“First in war, first in peace—first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

But Jefferson and Adams live next in our affections, and have claims upon our gratitude, as strong as those of their illustrious compatriot.

When the clouds, which had long been gathering over the heads of our fathers, were fully concentrated—and, at last, condensed into torrents of oppression, cruelty and death—Jefferson and Adams were called to the Congress of the United Colonies—and, with a confidence and Roman firmness, that inspired all around them, led the way to the momentous events which shook the political world to its centre, and carried consternation and ruin into the strongest holds of legitimacy. No art was left untried to awe them into submission,

or buy them into the service of the crown. But fear was a stranger to their hearts, and they were men without their price. They saw through the gloom that surrounded them, the brightness of the coming light ; and, regardless of danger, hurled defiance in the teeth of the greatest power extant.

Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman and Livingston formed the ever memorable Committee which was instructed to report a Declaration of Independence ; but to Jefferson and Adams alone—as a Sub-Committee—was resigned the glorious task. The *one* stood unrivalled in the strength and beauty of composition ;—the other, in that wonderful talent, which persuades or convinces at will. Hence, to the pen of a Jefferson is the world indebted for that master-piece of human skill—and to the resistless eloquence of an Adams for its final adoption by the most august assembly that ever met on the earth.

Nor were these purest of patriots jealous of each other's honors.

Mr. Adams often declared, that none—but the one who did—could have produced that immortal paper :—and Mr. Jefferson—when consulted about an ornamental engraving of the precious document—replied—“ No man better merited, than John Adams, a most conspicuous place in the design. He was the *pillar of its support* on the floor of Congress : its ablest *advocate and defender* against the multifarious assaults it encountered.”

It is needless, fellow-citizens, to dwell minutely upon their various services in “ those times that tried men's souls.” Suffice it to say, that they ever *inviolable* kept the faith which they plighted. They turned not aside from the path of their duty—but, wending their way with renewed perseverance, laid a solid foundation for the liberties of the world.

There is a sublimity in the contemplation of such moral bravery and sterling integrity, which no language can describe. Few there are who would not have yielded under such peculiar circumstances. They were above the frowns

of pecuniary fortune—high in the estimation of their fellow-citizens—and could have enjoyed any post or profit of honor, in the gift of their king. As selfish individuals—their course would have been rash and ridiculous, for they had every thing to lose and nothing to gain—but they were *Patriots and Philanthropists*,—who considered honor, wealth, ease, and power, as mere fleeting bubbles, when compared with the vast importance of arresting the lawless march of despotism. Consequently they fearlessly put on the armour of patriotism, and during the long and gloomy contest that desolated their country, and spared not age or sex—never was the thought of submission for a moment entertained. A just Providence led them to victory—and a grateful people rewarded their fidelity. They enjoyed the confidence of Washington, to the day of his death—filled the most exalted stations that could be given to man—lived as long as their lives could be useful—and died when their deaths could add lustre to their memories, and strength to the cause they had lived for. It is true, that there were days, when conflicting interests and opposite opinions, poured upon them the virulence of party anathemas, and the aspersions of disappointed ambition;—but they lived to see the beams of patriotism dispelling the mists of envy and prejudice—and to hear their bitterest enemies speak of their names with reverence. I was never the enemy of either—but, before I had judged for myself, I was led to admire the one—and question the heart of the other. I have examined them since, with attention and calmness; and I speak of them now, in all the sincerity that belongs to my nature.

As the champions of opposite parties, they will ever, perhaps, be the subjects of opposite censure. Yet, whatever opinions we may entertain of the results of their political measures, as tending to the best interests of their country—it is impossible to withhold from such men, that high respect which is due to their unwearied application of superior powers of thought—and that gratitude which we owe them, for the exercise of those powers, in the accomplishment of our

Independence and national happiness. As public benefactors, none have been more bountiful, none more disinterested. Let us equal, if we can, their love and magnanimity—Let their merits be traced on adamant—their errors on the sands of the lonely beach.

But it was not on the theatre of politics alone, that they acted so well their parts. The reputation which they acquired in the discharge of their public duties, was amply sustained by the great respectability of their private lives. Their moral characters were unimpeachable. Guided in their intercourse with the social world, by the same correct judgment and love of justice, which characterised their writings, and governed their official actions, they were eminently distinguished through life, by the prudence, the purity, and the dignified propriety of their conduct. A love of business and useful employment, was one of their ruling passions, in every condition of life. It raised them to eminence, in literature, science, and politics; and enabled them to leave to the world extensive chronicles of those eventful times, which established a new era in the relations of man. They knew not—they asked not, to rest from their labors. Every minute of the morning, and the meridian of their glorious day, was appropriated to the calls of their country; and the leisure, which they enjoyed in the evening, was devoted to schemes of social improvement in their respective neighborhoods, and to great public undertakings for the cultivation of the rising genius of their land. This love of employment, tempered with discretion, and united to eminent talents, and inflexible integrity—while it secured, to the last, their own relish of life—was remarkably calculated to endear them to their friends, and to render them enviable members of any society to which they belonged. Accordingly, there have been no men more universally respected by those who knew them intimately; more sincerely esteemed in the circle of their acquaintance, or more tenderly beloved by those who enjoyed the blessings of their private and domestic connection. If you would know

their standing as neighbors, go to the vicinities of Monticello and Quincy—go ask of the tears that still moisten their graves. As husbands, their affection and love were proverbial. As fathers, let that child of sorrow, who was willed to her country, speak in behalf of an idolized parent—and let *him* who fills the high station of a Nation's Chief Magistrate, tell what the watchful tenderness of a sire may do for his son.

Thus far, I have felt it my duty to review them together :— For a while, I must speak of them separately.

Mr. Jefferson was a man, designed by nature to fill a bright and instructive page in the world's history.—And, not by titles, by fortune, or by birth-right power—but by means, alone, of his own solid worth, he has gloriously fulfilled his destiny.

With every thing that is noble, beautiful, grand, or sublime, in the character and institutions of his country—his name is inseparably associated. As soon as the laws of the land would permit his native Colony to avail herself of his light, he rose resplendently from obscurity—and thence, until he calmly sunk below the horizon of his temporal career, he shined a star of the first magnitude—never eclipsed—seldom clouded.

In every station to which he was called, he distinguished himself for zeal, integrity, unwavering firmness—and more than requisite aptitude. The first signs of Liberty in the South, and the Bill of Rights, and the Statute-Book of his State ;—the Journals of local and general legislation ;—the most delicate and difficult International Negotiations ;—the Constitution of his country ;—the Rules and Regulations of parliamentary procedure ;—the great measures of Economy and Pacification, which enabled us afterwards to triumph in the second war of Independence ;—the annals of Philosophy, Science, and the Arts ; and that imperishable Declaration, which lives the nucleus of universal freedom—all—all, bear, in distinct characters, the impress of his wonderful mind.

I will not fatigue you with a recital of details, already familiar to you ; but a glance at the causes of his distinction may not be amiss.

He was endowed with an extraordinary power of intense reflection—a spirit of profound and patient investigation—an acuteness in the discovery of truth, and a perspicuity in its development, of which the world has witnessed but few examples. Possessing a mind well balanced in itself, by the nice proportion and adjustment of its faculties, he never inclined to those eccentricities, either of opinion or of action, which is too often the lot of exalted genius. Free from all tincture of envy, hatred, or malice—he delighted in the prosperity of his companions, and in the same, *even of those*, who, by the world, were considered his rivals.

The history of man, of nations, and of nature—natural philosophy—mathematics—and above all, *experience*—the great fountain of wisdom, were the sources from which he drew his mighty knowledge. Nothing that was worth knowing, was indifferent to him. No wealth, no political advancement, no ambition of fame, had the least charm for him, when compared with his desire to elevate the character and happiness of his country, and to discover and develop the immutable principles of truth—applying those principles to every relation of man, and encouraging all around him to disenthral themselves from doctrines not based upon reason, and to exercise their own powers of reflection ; for despotism, whether philosophical, political, or religious, was odious in his sight.

Sensible of the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen, he dwelt on the thought of his successful career, with a satisfaction which he did not affect to conceal. He spoke, with exultation, of his agency in prohibiting the further importation of slaves ; in abolishing entails, and the principle of primogeniture ; and in the successful attack upon the establishment of a dominant religion. But, of all the services which he had rendered his country or State, he dwelt upon none with more enthusiastic delight,

those connected with the University of Virginia. "I claim," he said, "some share in the merit of this great work of regeneration. My whole labors, for many years, have been devoted to it, and I stand pledged to follow it up through the remnant of life remaining to me." And faithfully he did. He not only founded and directed the progress of the institution, but he assumed, with promptness, the arduous duties of the Rector; and the stability of his habits, the universality of his acquirements, the gentleness of his manners, the benignity of his disposition, and that warm interest in the happiness of others, which led him so constantly to promote it—were qualities which eminently fitted him for the station.

I have often listened with rapture to the narratives of those who have seen the Philosopher in the midst of his youthful friends. In this society, he appeared entirely to forget that he had once wielded the destinies of the freest, the happiest, and, in every other respect than physical power, the greatest nation on earth. He entered into cheertul conversation, with such as could overcome the diffidence—produced by their awful veneration for his character and years—and, like another Socrates, let none depart without some new acquisition to his treasure of knowledge—and some new impression of the vast importance of imitating his bright example. His mind was wholly absorbed in this favorite employment. No fatigue was too great for him, and no financial impediment could damp his ardor. By patience and perseverance, ingenuity and argument—he gradually obtained the means necessary to the accomplishment of his work; and with all the care, research and reflection, that he would have bestowed upon the Constitution of an Empire—he drew up a Code of Laws for its Government, and secured for it a successful operation, and a profound respect.

How abundantly gratifying to philanthropy is the contemplation of a well regulated mind, enlarged by knowledge, kindled by genius, and lighted up with virtue—directing its powerful energies to the good of man through the intellectual

improvement of the rising generation. No man better knew than Mr. Jefferson the incalculable advantages of education. He had scrutinized its influence in the developement and direction of our moral and intellectual faculties, and was aware that it was the principal source of his own usefulness. It is education, indeed, which teaches man to respect the voice of reason, and follow her as the guide of his conduct—reminds him of the necessities of subordination to government laws, and expands his selfish feelings into virtuous patriotism—unites him with friends, and the great family of mankind, and swells his bosom with the purest benevolence. It exalts his thoughts to another world, and gives constancy to his virtues amidst the trials of life, and a serenity to his mind amidst its evils. It is, in a word, the mainspring of power and pre-eminence—the bulwark of our happiness—the palladium of our liberties. It was the opinion of Madam De Stael—as expressed to our distinguished fellow-citizen, Henry Clay, that “a people who have received the benefits of the lights of education, never can be conquered—though assailed by the united powers of the earth; for the mind, when enriched and expanded—spurns the prowess of the despot, and looking forward with elevated eye, beholds its own greatness, and laughs at the puny assaults of the ignorant invader.” “A nation, uneducated,” said this accomplished woman—“never can be free”—and never was a remark more substantially true: for whithersoever we turn our eyes we behold its verification. No wonder, then, that such a man as Jefferson should have given the remnant of his life to the establishment of a University—and that in his last hour, he should have breathed the warmest aspirations for its prosperity.

So lived, my fellow-citizens, the Sage of Monticello.—And when the glorious day, on which he wished to die, arrived—he exclaimed—“I have done for mankind all that I could: I now resign my soul, without fear, to my God—and my daughter to my country.”—And the angel of death bore him away to the mansions of eternal bliss.

Let us return, for a moment, to his immortal companion.

Among the illustrious men, who achieved the Independence of our country, Mr. Adams was perhaps, the first, that—looking down the long vista of years, contemplated the future consequence of America, and predicted her political separation from the old world. Twenty-one years before our glorious era—and a year before he attained the age of manhood, he foretold that the seat of empire would soon be transferred to his native land. “If we can remove the turbulent Gallicks” —he said, “our people will in another century, become more numerous than England itself—And since we have all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to get the mastery of the seas—and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us.” How prophetic were the words of that BOY! Three fourths of the century have not yet elapsed, and the turbulent Gallicks have been subdued—a colossal empire, extending from ocean to ocean, and as free as its eagles, has burst upon the astonished vision of Kings, and carried dismay to their hearts; twelve millions of freemen enjoy the fruits of their own labor—Cities have risen in the midst of the forest—the late haunt of the savage, is the seat of the sciences, and the Star Spangled Banner floats in triumph and glory where a foe rears his *Ægis*, or a sea rolls its waves. And can you forget, my fellow-citizens, that John Adams foresaw these blessings, and devoted his life to secure them? Never—Never—Teach your children to cherish and revere his memory. Tell them, that in those fearful days, when the affairs of America were desperate, and Adams was solicited by an influential friend to abandon her cause—that the patriot indignantly declared, “he would first see the people, grovelling in the dust, and his own hands bound, and his body tied to the stake, before he would swerve from his duty, or abandon the principles which he had avowed, and which he had pledged his sacred honor to maintain.” Tell them that he was true to his principles, and redeemed his pledge

to the admiration of the world, and to the eternal honor of his country. Tell them that he was the bosom friend of Washington—and received from that best of men the most unequivocal manifestations of his confidence and esteem.

Though Mr. Adams' course, as a President, was disapproved by a majority of his fellow-citizens;—and, though mortification attended him to his retirement—still he continued the friend of his country;—and when clouds and difficulties again overshadowed her—he was the warmest advocate of her endangered rights, and of every measure that was calculated to sustain them. Resentment was soon expelled from his bosom—His country required the aid of his pen—and he wielded it with such irresistible energy, that even those who had arrayed themselves against his administration, acknowledged his services, and the disinterestedness of his motives.

But whatever becomes of his fame, as a ruler—there can be no dispute on the subject of his general character—nor of his penetrating mind—his glowing patriotism—and his devotion to what he believed to be the interests of his country. His merits, after every deduction which party spirit, in its most inflamed moments could ask—leave him in possession of one of the highest niches in the temple of Fame—and entitle him to be ranked, next to Washington and Jefferson—as the most important benefactor of the liberties of man, and one of the most efficient instruments in the attainment of our enviable rank in the family of nations. He was always an untiring laborer in the cause of philanthropy and virtue—was distinguished for the fervent piety and moral excellence of his own life; and while his numerous political opponents, were unable to attach the slightest stain to his reputation, his acquaintances and friends have highly extolled his private worth. He was truly a good man; he lived for his country—and when the measure of his days was full—he heard the trumpet sound the Jubilee of Freedom—and died with “Independence forever,” quivering on his lips.

To such men as these, my fellow-citizens, we owe not the mere passing emotion of gratitude, which, like the swell of the mountain stream, is gone when the rain has abated—but, rather like the mighty current, that sweeps from the father of rivers to the Canadian shores, our admiration of their deeds, and our veneration of their virtues, should be the constant theme of applause, and the pervading principle of our National Character. They should be handed down to posterity as models of human perfection. They may have had their faults—and who has not?—But if they had them—thank God—I am ignorant—nor would I name them, did I know them. Their services and their foibles—for they must have been few and venial—perhaps unavoidable—and should be remembered *far less*, than the hills and the valleys when we speak of the globe—or the spots on the sun when we think of *his* splendor.

EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA.

August 24, 1826.

BY WILLIAM WILKINS.

WE are assembled to perform a solemn and affecting office. Death has entered into the midst of the great family of the nation, and has struck down its venerable heads. We come together now, in this sacred chamber, to commune over our deprivation, and to draw from the irreparable loss the sad, but salutary reflection, to which it should give rise.

Yes, my fellow-citizens, you have reason to mourn; and surely, it is demanded neither by Religion, nor by Philosophy, that we should suppress the feelings which now swell our hearts and tremble on our lips.

It has indeed been said, with truth, that the performance of a virtuous action carries with it its own reward. But does it become those who have been most disinterestedly benefitted to recite this frigid aphorism in answer to the claims of their benefactors? Doubtless, the patriots of our revolution, in their arduous and dangerous labours in the slow and gradual achievement of the glorious work, anticipating the blessings which would fall upon this country, enjoyed, in their feelings, reflections, all the reward of self-approbation. Still there is much—there is every thing, due, from us. The good offices of these men made us what we are, and raised our country to a height of unrivalled political eminence. All that we can now give them is our gratitude and veneration. And by the evidence we afford of these will our attachment to the great objects for which they contended be discerned. If enfran-

chisement be dear to us, so should the men who obtained it, be dear to us—If the principles of '74, '5, and '6, be prized by us, so ought we to cherish the names of those who brought them into light, and so admirably manifested them to the world.

Can you, the descendants of such ancestors, remember the years '75, '6, and '7, and yet not weep over the recently broken graves of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson? They were the foremost in that small and insulated congress, who finding an effort made to prostrate their countrymen in the dust of vassalage, did, in the midst of gloom and discouragement, risk, imminently, yet boldly risk, their lives, their fortunes and their honour, until they raised and elevated them to the manly posture of American Freemen. And now you succeed to the rich inheritance ; to the incalculable patrimony of rights, of free institutions and of civil and religious liberty ; an estate rich beyond any power of numbers to count, and, in value not to be computed in gold or in silver.

In commemoration of the merits, the public and private virtues and the services of these men, no panegyric can be deemed too lofty. To present indeed in a just light their acknowledged claims upon the public gratitude ; to eulogise their constant patriotism, their heroic proceedings, magnanimous actions, brilliant traits of moral courage, and elevated powers of mind, would require an orator gifted like one of themselves. How rash, then, would such an effort be on the part of him who now addresses you. He knows too well the measure of his own powers to attempt it. He would shrink, indeed, altogether from the honorable task imposed on him, were it not for the consolatory reflection that the subject is one on which all your hearts go along with him, and on which it would seem difficult for the humblest capacity to be wearisome.

Yes, my friends, to pronounce the best funeral oration upon Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, you have but to point to that intense feeling of veneration which pervades the Union, fills your cities, and penetrates the humblest and most remote

hamlet of the republic—to the affliction of the people at their earthly separation from two of their best and well tried friends—to the profound respect of every philanthropist and lover of the rights of man.

There is one course indeed which may be pursued by the unpretending, and which I shall timorously adventure upon with a view to present a correct delineation and a true eulogy of their characters—I mean, by tracing by their unwearying footsteps through the principal incidents of their eventful lives. The prominent and elevated positions into which they were thrown by the wants and perils of their country, render those footsteps plainly marked and easy to be followed. I cannot speak for them, but their actions shall eloquently proclaim their merits.

Their deaths like their lives, were strangely assimilated, and well may they together share in equal portions the grief of a bereaved country. They died on the 4th of July, when the voice of exulting millions, ascending to Heaven, proclaimed the result of their labours in the prosperous enjoyment of liberty and peace ; that the very hour of our national freedom might be the more sacred and revered.

In all the circumstances attending their dissolution, there is much to console us. Almighty God, who had so highly endowed them, and who had carried them through the multiplied perils of their wonderfully protracted lives, continuing his gracious protection until the last moment, allowed them to depart without a pang. Hope, celestial resignation, and prayers for their country, accompanied their tranquil passage to immortality. They were permitted to reach an age, with the full preservation of their eminent faculties, which but rarely falls to the lot of man. We delight in the fact, that they were graciously allowed, for so many years, to remain in the midst of their countrymen, witnessing the practical effects of that rational system of government which had been put into operation under such fearful and heavy responsibility. It would seem, as if Providence had kept them

among us for half a century as hostages for the truth and sincerity of their early doctrines and declarations !

But they are now gone. We are standing over their graves—graves of our political parents. We are approaching to take a last look of all that is earthly of them. Shall one unhallowed thought, then mingle with the solemn and affecting impulse of such a moment ? Shall we be found occupied in coldly endeavoring to recall the little foibles of either ? Shall memory be taxed to call up some supposed act of harshness or severity—some infirmity of temper—some instance of rigorous discipline in our early years ? We cannot be so unnatural ! Our swelling hearts have room for nothing but the remembrance of their numberless virtues—of the days and nights during which they anxiously watched over our infancy—of the perils and privations which they cheerfully and fearlessly encountered ; and of the unrivalled prosperity for which we are now indebted to them.

If, in those differences of opinion which honestly arise in every country, and are incident to our nature, aught may have been done by either of these great men to offend, forget it.—Imitate their own example. Recollect the perfect harmony which arose, and the delightful and affectionate recollections which they cherished in retirement on a calm and deliberate retrospect. They recurred to early days ; the one acknowledging the transcendant talents and devotion to the common cause of the accomplished draftsman of the Declaration of Independence ; and the other the intrepid actions and eloquence of its ablest advocate upon the floor of congress.—The intimacy and affection of June and July '76, seemed to be revived, mellowed and enriched by the years that had passed ! In 1826 they were as affectionately allied, and as confidential in their intercourse, as they had been in the chamber of the sub-committee on the 11th of June, 1776.

It would be in the highest degree interesting, but, at this moment, impracticable, to examine the origin, and trace the progress of the American Colonies, through their subordinate

condition up to the time when they assumed their station amongst the nations of the earth. I must be content with referring to one or two leading incidents immediately preceding that continental congress which brought into such useful action and threw before the world, in such vivid colours, the great men of whom we speak.

Our ancestors were always distinguished for a bold spirit of thought and action, brought with them in their escape from religious intolerance and regal persecution. And this spirit, from an early period, was attended by the secret and anxious hope of future union and eventful freedom. Notwithstanding this spirit and this hope, they were uniformly and zealously devoted to England in the wars in which she became involved.

The many and patriotic services of the colonies during the French war of 1755, failed to soften the tempers of those for whom they had fought, and produced no relaxation of the spirit of domination. Instead of being followed by a single liberal and magnanimous action, the Stamp Act was the boon they received ; and this odious law, spreading universal ferment and alarm, produced the first temporary congress of colonial delegates, recommended in the first instance by Massachusetts, and which assembled at New-York on the first Tuesday of October, 1765. After adopting some dignified, but pacific measures, they dissolved, and a change in the British ministry of the following year, was succeeded by a repeal of the Stamp Act.—This display of “grace and condescension,” as it was termed, although accompanied with the assertion of the power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, was received with much joy in a great portion of the country.

This pacifying repeal was followed by eight years of apparent repose, but really of feverish inquietude. At times indeed all bitterness seemed to be forgotten, but the wounds inflicted had been deep, and the notions of American rights strongly impressed. During this period too, the early patri-

ots, such as Henry and Lee, Randolph, Samuel Adams, Otis and Jefferson and John Adams, lost no opportunity which presented of pointing to those wounds, and of asserting those rights boldly and distinctly.

The crisis rapidly approached—the Boston Port-bill and the bill for the special government of Massachusetts Bay effected a general coalition and simultaneous measures in many of the colonies tending to a general resistance. Early in the spring of '74, for the purpose of union in action and deliberation, an *annual* congress was recommended and acceded to by all the colonies, except Georgia, which did not join the general association until in the month of July of the following year.

On the 4th day of September, '74, the Delegates from eleven provinces (those of North Carolina not arriving until 10 days afterwards) appeared in the City of Philadelphia, the place selected by the committees of correspondence; and on the next day, assembled in Carpenter's Hall.

Under a short notice and with the materials within our reach, it is difficult to ascertain and to enumerate in detail all the various labors of these patriots during the tumultuous years which immediately preceded the meeting of the first congress. But it is well known that they were warmly and actively engaged in making preparation for a systematic and coalesced resistance.

These wise and penetrating men, with others dispersed over the colonies, foresaw that a great event was approaching, and that to meet it with effect and to insure a happy result, the primary object was to produce a change of feeling and of sentiment in the people—to dissolve their attachment to the old order of things—to rouse them to unanimity and perseverance in the plan which might be adopted—in short, to effect a *moral* revolution in the colonial community.

The task was a difficult and perilous one, every way worthy of such men. They had to sever bonds of the strongest kind; they had to overcome the timidity of the weak, the

scruples of the cautious, and the settled prejudices and attachments of the people growing out of their education and long established habits. They had to break down the power of families holding influential offices scattered over the country. They had to combat the pride of ancestry and the impulses of blood and of affinity ; and it was, at first regarded by many as an act of filial impiety to think of separating from what was affectionately called " the mother country."—Notwithstanding these difficulties the work is undertaken. The elder patriot labors in the north, the younger in the south—the change is produced and the vital determination made.

It is the august Congress of '74, and those annually succeeding it, which introduce, and hold up to us, the characters and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson upon a more enlarged canvass and in a light and colours more bold and interesting. But, before we speak of them in their associated career, let us go back and trace them individually to the period at which we have now arrived.

John Adams, descended from ancestors whose devotion to liberal principles had thrown them among the first settlers of Massachusetts, was born in that state on the 19th of October 1735. He was an assiduous student of Cambridge college, at which he graduated in his 20th year. Learned and well instructed himself, like many distinguished American statesmen his early years were occupied in the instruction of others, and imparting to the youth of his neighborhood the knowledge which he had acquired. It is probable that whilst thus engaged, with that industry which always characterized him, he also devoted himself to the study of the Law, for he was admitted to the bar in 1759. He continued the honorable and successful practice of his profession, until his time and talents were given to the service of the oppressed colonies.

It is to be presumed, also, that no inconsiderable part of this period of his life was devoted to that enlarged and profound inquiry into the history and principles of govern-

by which his own opinions were unalterably fixed, and he was prepared so ably to maintain and enforce them. Then, too, were doubtless accumulated the materials of the celebrated work subsequently published on the American constitutions. Thus in the dead watches of the night, was he faithfully engaged, whilst others slept, in arranging and burnishing his weapons for the contest which he well knew the dawn would bring with it.

In 1770 he represented the city of Boston in the legislature of Massachusetts; and about this time his professional eminence obtained him a tender of the office of chief justice of the colony; but it is not unlikely that his prophetic spirit foreseeing the advance of great political events in which he was decided to stand forth, determined him to decline as he did, this compliment from his native state.

Advancing in the confidence of the people, in the year 1771 he was chosen by them a member of the Council; but, at this time, the two great parties having become distinctly marked, and his opinions being open as day, Governor Gage, holding a negative upon the choice of the people, erased his name, with twelve others, from the return. Thus was he early marked by ministerial proscription, as the adversary of oppression and the friend of the aggrieved.

This imperious exercise of authority neither subdues him nor lessens him in the estimation of his constituents. When an annual congress was decided upon, he was selected to represent Massachusetts in that body, and commissioned, "to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious."

This delicate, and then most dangerous trust, brings Mr. Adams, upon the first day of its session, immediately into the view of the colonies as a member of the first annual Congress.

We will return and follow Mr. Jefferson in his early years until he also becomes an illustrious member of the continental congress.

Chesterfield county in Virginia has the honour of being the birth place of this renowned man.—Nearly eight years younger than his great associate, he was born on the 2d of April 1643, and, like him too, descended from ancestors of high reputation who were among the earliest emigrants to that state which justly claims their descendant as one of her brightest sons.

At the college of William and Mary he displayed those early talents which he employed at maturity with so much success for the happiness of man, and bore away the first honors of the Institution. He subsequently studied, and practiced the law with signal success and with the most elevated sense of honour.

As soon as his years would allow it, he was put in the commission of the peace for his native county, and at this early age he became a member of the state legislature, and soon rendered himself conspicuous by his participation in the early and decisive measures of resistance of this colony. He continued, annually, to be constituted a member of the house of delegates, and to exert in every way his wonderful and versatile talents on the side of free principles. On the 27th of March 1775, then approaching his 32d year, he received a peculiar mark of distinction in being elected to congress as the successor of Peyton Randolph.

Turn to almost any period in the biography of the two illustrious men whose recent loss we deplore and how strangely do they assimilate!—Jefferson, just past the age of manhood is found in his native state, resisting the domination of England and predicting the future freedom and greatness of his country. And Adams, in his native state, just approaching the year of manhood and upwards of twenty years before the day of our Independence, appears as disclosed by a prophetic letter of his, to open the book of the future destinies of his

country, and to point to the very page in which it is written that, "the great seat of empire will be transferred into America"—that nothing can prevent us "from setting up for ourselves" but "disunion"—that "in another century our people will become more numerous than England herself"—"the mastery of the sea" shall be ours, and "all Europe shall not subdue us."

In the first congress of '74, they were not colleagues; but although personally separated, there is still to be marked that happy coincidence of conduct which accompanied them through so many eventful years.

In this congress, whilst Mr. Adams, as a colonial delegate, was joining in a "declaration of rights," in "the association of non-importation, and for encouraging domestic manufactures," in a petition to the King, in addresses to the people of England, of Ireland, and the Colonies, and encouraging and inviting union, Mr. Jefferson, in the Virginia assembly, with equal energy and with the same great objects in view, was found enforcing, in person and through the press, "the rights of British America." And it is a well ascertained fact, too, that they both at this early period, were among the few determined spirits who meant never to stop short of the point of Independence, whatever conciliatory expressions it might be thought politic, at times to throw out. The congress of '74, having continued its session for fifty-three days, adjourned to the 10th of May '75.

Upon returning to his home after the close of this session, and again mingling with his fellow-citizens, Mr. Adams received a highly complimentary vote of thanks from his state, and was re-elected to the next congress.

This congress of '75, not to be driven from its mighty purpose, and undismayed by the unnatural and bloody commencement of hostilities at Lexington on the 19th of the preceding month, punctual to their appointment, met in Philadelphia on the 10th May. Upon that day Mr. Adams took his seat, and was joined by Mr. Jefferson on the 21st of the

following month. And here, as they had before been united in feelings and principles, they now become more closely connected in personal intimacy and confidence.

Mr. Jefferson's fame for talents, literary acquirements and love of country, had preceded him, and placed him at once high in the confidence of his associates. He was immediately added to the committee appointed to draw up a declaration to be published by General Washington upon his arrival at the Camp before Boston, and was also, with Mr. Adams, placed upon the committee to consider and report upon Lord North's famous resolution of the 20th of February '75, claiming the right in the ministry to appropriate all money raised by the colonies. His powerful and eloquent reply to this measure, acquired him new honour, and proved to those around him, that he was admirably adapted to convince or to confound the adversaries of his country, and to give the most efficient aid in the formation of a new republic.

This venerable congress (with the exception of a recess from the 1st of August to the 5th of September,) continued its labours without intermission; and whilst our two lamented patriots were in their seats and actively employed, and when all the zeal and talents of the country were demanded by the decisive and momentous questions then under deliberation, they were re-elected again and again. The Journals bear on every page the most honourable testimony to their incessant activity, to the many and important duties which their zeal, industry and talents cast upon them, both jointly and separately.

One fact, occurring six days before Mr. Jefferson took his seat, and distinguishing the 15th day of June, '75, is worthy of especial commemoration. At this time the sword had not only been drawn, but the blood of our unoffending countrymen had been shed. A hostile army was on the land, and a hostile fleet on our waters. War was inevitable—and that war, it was seen, must be a war for independence. The country was determined, but its military means were known

to consist of mere groups of undisciplined recruits, drafted men and volunteers ; of husbandmen who had hastily rushed from their ploughs on hearing the alarm of murder at Lexington. These patriotic bands were without a leader.—Congress had resolved to appoint a Commander-in-Chief. One deeply interested in the good cause, of nerve and martial prowess suited for the mighty crisis, was wanting—Who shall be chosen ? It was an awful and momentous question.—Every bosom throbs with the most intense anxiety—a solemn suspense hangs over the hall of congress. At this moment, upon the 15th of June, '75, John Adams rises in his place, his penetrating and prophetic eye glancing upon every man of the nation, rests upon the first man of all nations : and the deep and solemn suspense is broken by his nomination of **GEORGE WASHINGTON** ! Hurried by his unaffected delicacy, the object of this motion has scarcely time to escape from the hall, until an unanimous ballot sanctions the happy nomination.

It may not be uninteresting to pause, for a moment, after naming this most exalted and beloved personage, in order to ask what were the indications of character which led to his selection.—Washington, at this time was a plain Virginia farmer. He had led no armies to victory—he had not passed even his early years at any foreign school of military science. Why, then, was attention turned on him ? For those qualities which, when possessed in an extraordinary degree, may be manifested in every sphere of life, and in almost every variety of situation. He was cool and sedate, and brave and sagacious. Yes, my friends, these qualities had been manifested—conspicuously manifested—almost within the range of our vision from this spot !

At the age of twenty-one, when youth is ordinarily prone to luxurious and enervating excess, Washington, as if in anticipation of what awaited him, had, by unremitted and strenuous occupation—by a life of the most rigid temperance—pre-

pared a body, which seems almost to have corresponded in hardihood with the spirit which it contained.

Under the orders of Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, he traversed the western country in the year 1753, making his way through every variety of toil and danger. Of this most interesting Expedition we have a Journal kept by himself. He reached the Allegheny River on the 22d Nov. 1753, nearly seventy-three years ago. Standing at the place now occupied by the Point brewery, he thus speaks of the spot on which your City stands. "As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well suited for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile, or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny, bearing north-east; and Monongahela, south-east. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall."

From this place he proceeded towards Lake Erie, to visit the French posts. On his return, scenes occurred to which we can hardly even now refer without painful and breathless interest. Not very far from here, he and a single companion were way laid by a party of French Indians. From the description, this must have been somewhere in what is now the adjoining county of Butler. One Indian took his aim at less than fifteen paces. What a crisis! If that rifle shot had taken effect in the woods of Butler county, we might now be British Colonists! But Heaven had otherwise ordained—the rifle missed—the Indian was taken prisoner. "We kept him," says the Journal, "until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since

we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shanapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore: the ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

“There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day’s work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off: but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by; when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.”

This island was, probably, the first one below Pine-creek, now know as Hare’s Island. “The cold,” continues the Journal, “was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers, and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we had no difficulty in getting off the island, on the ice, in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier’s, at the mouth of Turtle creek.”

The patience, the prudence, the fortitude, displayed throughout this expedition by Washington, enchainèd the confidence of the Executive; and on the memorable field of Braddock, within nine miles of your city, he acted a part which is too familiar to you to authorise me to dwell upon it.

Do I, indeed, appear, to you to have already turned aside from the subject? You must not think so. The facts to which I have adverted, taken in connection with the subse-

quent history of this great man, convey a lesson which cannot be too often inculcated. They speak confidence and hope to the humblest citizen of the republic. They tell us to what description of men attention is turned at moments of peril and emergency. Reliance is placed, not on the mere circumstance of an individual having worn, through life, the glittering insignia of the military profession. No ! You find that at this awful moment there is called as it were from the woods, a man whose rigid discipline of mind, and of body—whose sound judgment and unyielding perseverance ; whose solidity of character and steadfast moral principles give assurance that he will not rashly assume the discharge of a duty ; but that when he *does* so, every obstacle will be trampled on in his onward course. Such was the man whom John Adams nominated. History has put its seal on the wisdom of the choice !

It is interesting to observe, too, that upon the 17th of June '75, the very day of the battle of Bunker's hill, the patriotic member signalized by this nomination, was engaged in congress in completing the commission of General Washington, and joining in an unanimous resolution that they would "maintain, and assist, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes in the cause."

During the session of '75 and '6, a period of the most awful responsibility, and when the paroxism of public feeling was at its height, and dangers immediate and terrifying glared upon them—Jefferson and Adams were unmoved and steadfast in the discharge of their duties. The astonishing perseverance and industry of these men cannot be given to you in detail, but the estimate may be formed of the whole by a brief recital of part.

During this time we find them on 70 committees. On the 10th May '76, the elder of these patriarchs was the chairman of the Committee upon the motion recommending to the several colonies to adopt such separate governments as the representatives of the people might think most conducive to their safe-


ty and happiness. And in his report, he takes the bold and decided position, that "the oath of allegiance to the crown ought not to be taken, that all regal authority should cease, "and the powers of government be exercised by the people "themselves."

On the 23d May '76, he was on each of the committees of conference with Generals Washington, Gates and Mifflin, upon the occupation of certain Forts in Canada, and to concert the plan of military operations for the next campaign. And when this committee of conference reported and recommended the adoption of energetic measures, it was "resolved that an *animated* address be published to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of *now* stepping forward to save their country, their freedom and property." Mr. Jefferson was made the chairman of the committee and drafted "the *animated* address."

Mr. Adams was also upon the committee instructed to form a plan of foreign treaties, and on the 13th June '76, he was made chairman of the Board of War and Ordnance.

The months of June and July in this year were the most eventful of any in your history ; the first, memorable for "the resolve of Independence" and the other for the "Declaration" of it, to the Nations of the Earth.

Actual hostilities, the union and impulse given to the public feeling, the resolutions of the assemblies of the colonies, the proceedings of Congress, at which I have barely glanced, combined to indicate the rapid approach of the great effort—the resolution to be free. It advanced with a pace steady and erect, yet unattended by a single propitious and encouraging incident—yes one faint ray did beam on the Patriots of the Revolution from the south, emitted by the fortunate result of the attack on Fort Moultrie in the beginning of June. But they were not flushed by a great victory, or under any evanescent exultation. They were not roused to a sudden and momentary confidence by unexpected reinforcement, or stimulated by the prospect of foreign alliance. It reached them at



a moment of national depression—when the whole numerical amount of their army did not exceed 10,000 inexperienced men, and no small part of these rendered ineffective by sickness, temporary engagements, and want of many of the most essential necessaries of war.

It reached them, too, at a moment when the seat of war was closely advancing upon the very city in which the effort was to be consummated, and when reinforcement emboldened the enemy; for General Howe, with the fleet of his brother immediately following him, landed upon Staten Island on the very day of Independence.

This great effort was destined to be made on the 7th of June, a day in our political Calendar second only to the 4th of the succeeding month. On that day, the 7th June '76, a Patriot, fearless, as those whose recent deaths we deplore, whose virtuous name is interwoven with the fairest pages of your history, Richard Henry Lee, in the infancy and depression of his country, undismayed by the weakness of its friends, and unawed by the strength of its enemies, rose, and to the devoted band around him, moved, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

How sublime the proposition! How grand and abundant the theme! With you upon whom the blessings have fallen, how full of mingled pride and gratitude must be your reflection on the retrospect!

This great and intrepid motion was received by the assembly to whom it was made with a correspondent solemnity and sense of responsibility. The dignified and awful silence which followed, was broken by the voice of John Adams, who rose, and seconded the motion! This was not a proposition to remonstrate; not merely to resist aggression and an infraction

of rights ; but a majestic determination to dismember a mighty empire ; to give life to a new nation !

A detail of this event cannot be uninteresting. It is the brightest portion of that luminous career to which our eyes are directed. The resolution, in committee of the whole, was debated on the 8th, 9th and 10th, and in the forenoon of this last day it was agreed that it be " reported to the house " and its further consideration postponed until Monday the first day of July, a committee in the mean while, to be appointed to prepare " the Declaration."

This postponement, until the first of July, did not proceed from any wavering, or wish to temporize, or fear of responsibility ; but for the politic purpose of giving Pennsylvania and Maryland time to instruct their delegates in congress to concur in the vote for Independence. The instructions to this effect from Pennsylvania were laid before congress upon the 25th of June, and from Maryland upon the 1st of July.

In proportion as important events crowd upon Congress, and as duties become more delicate and dangerous, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson grow in the confidence of the body, and in their own personal intimacy and affection.

On the 11th of June the committee to prepare the Declaration of Independence was selected. Mr. Lee, the celebrated mover of " Independency," in consequence of the news of a domestic affliction, left Philadelphia upon the morning of that day. Mr. Jefferson was a silent, and, supposed to be, one of the youngest members of the house—but the admiration of his talents, and confidence in his zeal for his country, were unbounded, and he was made the chairman of this interesting committee. Mr. Adams, receiving one vote less, was the second named, together with Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania, Mr. Sherman of Connecticut, and Mr. Livingston, of New-York. They met and intrusted the important duty to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams. The two remained together ; and each insisted that the other should draft the instrument, when

these mutual compliments are terminated by Mr. Jefferson—
 “well if you are decided, I will try and do the best I can.”

In a day or two the draft was submitted to the committee, approved of, and reported to the House, without alteration, on Friday the 28th of June.

In the animated Debate which ensued upon Mr. Lee's “Resolution” and Mr. Jefferson's “Declaration,” and upon which hung the fate of the nation—in this great agony of the conflict—it is admitted that Mr. Adams was the foremost champion on the side of Independence. Thirty-seven years after this eloquent discussion, the accomplished penman of the Declaration declares that “Mr. Adams was the pillar of its support on the floor of Congress, its ablest advocate and defender against the multifarious assaults it encountered.”

On the 2d of July “the resolution” was adopted, and the discussion of the “Declaration” postponed until one o'clock of the 4th, when an illustrious vote in the affirmative decided the destinies of the Colonies and elevated them to the rank of an independent nation.

The Declaration of Independence was promulgated at four o'clock, in the State-House yard of Philadelphia, to the people, who, from that moment, date their restoration to sovereignty. Two weeks afterwards the Declaration was ordered to be fairly engrossed on parchment; to be styled “The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America” and “to be signed by every member of Congress.”

On the 2d day of August following, when our affairs had become more gloomy, shortly before the battle of Long Island, and when General Washington must have foreseen that he would be obliged to abandon the posts of New-York, heroically pursuing their steady course and looking to their own determined spirits for their only encouragement, the members of Congress, walk to the clerk's table and unanimously sign the memorable instrument!

This delay in engrossing the Declaration gave to some delegates from Pennsylvania an opportunity of signing it, who

had not been members on the 4th. For in the mean time Pennsylvania made her election, leaving out the delegates who voted against the Declaration, with the exception of that national benefactor Robert Morris.

Think not for a moment, that a sluggish, or indifferent spirit marked in those times, our own Pennsylvania. She was staunch and steadfast from first to last. But her population was distinguished by the calmness and deliberation, no less than by the determined character of her Founder. That she was indifferent to the great principles asserted in the memorable Declaration, no one can believe. She had been taught from her infancy the doctrine there inculcated. Yes, people of Pennsylvania! let us not forget the illustrious dead, however remote from the present time. To some of you it may not be known that William Penn, so long ago as the year 1681, proclaimed, boldly and distinctly, the very principles which were re-asserted in 1776. The definition which this great man has left to us of civil and political liberty, cannot be improved upon. The world has since been struggling to realize it. In a few words, marked by the chaste and beautiful simplicity of his style, he declares that that country only is free "where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws."—Less than this, he says, is tyranny, more than this, is anarchy. To attain this enviable state of things has since been the object of every virtuous patriot. Wherever an oppressed people shall succeed in throwing off the galling yoke of tyranny, they will only be where William Penn declared that God and nature entitled them to be. And you, people of Pennsylvania! if ever your fair fabric should be overturned by foreign or intestine violence, and tyranny result as the natural consequence, you will, to your shame and confusion, find this sentiment placed under its original corner stone! Your ancestors were not thus guilty. When the state of things was really found to exist which is set forth so truly in the Declaration; when it was ascertained that the laws did not rule, but were suspended by military violence; when the people, so far from

being "a party to those laws," were ignominiously put aside and trampled upon—then was the definition of tyranny complete! The crisis had arrived which the mild and benevolent founder of Pennsylvania had declared to be intolerable. She then did her part. Well may we be proud of the venerable Commonwealth under which we live, and great is the responsibility to the rights of man, which has thus been devolved upon us!

But time urges, and we must hasten, in justice to our task, to take a momentary retrospect of the Continental Congress of '75--'76

This body was hastily brought together and kept compact only by the pressure of the occasion; some delegates with powers vaguely restricted, others with authority, general and unlimited. It was a mass in which light and heat seem to have been generated only by the restless activity and force of its own elements.—The powers of the Government were not distributed. Congress was obliged to assume and exercise every kind of function; executive, legislative, military, naval, and sometimes judicial; and we are frequently at a loss whether most to admire its bold and lofty declarations, or its indefatigable attention to the humblest matters of detail. The wonderful—the restless—the minute—the pervading anxiety of these men in relation to the cause in which they had engaged, can be learned only from their proceedings. Had those proceedings fallen into the hands of Burgoyne or Cornwallis previous to their respective captures, they would have furnished an inexhaustible fund of merriment. We ourselves, but for the glorious and imperishable result of this earnest, all-engrossing zeal, might be disposed to smile at them. At one moment you find them discussing fundamental principles in relation to the civil and religious rights of man, and the next occupied with a fiscal appropriation of "one dollar and eight cents."—Again, you find them planning foreign alliances, and at the next moment voting to some gallant volunteer company, "half a keg of powder and fifty flints"—and at one

sitting, in this medley of business, were to be found, mingled together on their table, Despatches from the Commander-in-Chief, Correspondence with foreign ministers, Bills of Rights, and Letters from an Indian agent at "Fort Pitt" about "strings of wampum!" Thus perseveringly weaving the minutest thread of that net which entangled, and finally subdued the British Lion.

For honor not to be shaken—for a perseverance not to be remitted, the old Continental Congress has no parallel in history. If for the pure and elevated principles which these men then professed—if for "the Resolution" and "Declaration of Independence," they merit the deepest veneration and the loftiest praise, what additional honor will you not bestow upon them when you contemplate the heroic firmness and moral courage with which they maintained their principles and pursued their steadfast course? Nothing could appal them! Regardless of their own safety, they never thought for one moment of abandoning the Declaration they had made. They had weighed the consequences, and were prepared to meet the event. They were true to themselves and true to their country. They would make no surrender; listen to no terms founded on pardon, or a resumption of the condition of British subjects; nor court any foreign alliance not based upon the perfect freedom and fair equality of trade.

At one day the hostile bands approach Philadelphia. The clang of their arms almost re-echoes in the Hall of Independence. At another, our forces being driven back and discomfited, the enemy victoriously takes possession of the City.—Yet this body of representatives is not dissolved. They adjourn, and in a few days you find them at Baltimore, at Lancaster and at York, in cool and dispassionate deliberation.

The year 1776 terminates the joint labors in Congress of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson.

In the fall of this year the latter was called upon by his native State to act upon a commission to revise her code of laws;

to adapt them to the "late change" in the principles of the government, and make them "more congenial to the republican spirit." The completion of this work in June '79, established his reputation as a great law maker, and gave a permanent stamp to his liberal and philanthropic principles. The prohibition of the "execrable commerce" in slaves; the foundation of schools for general education; the recognition of the right of expatriation; the abolition of entails and the right of primogeniture, and the establishment of religious toleration, are among the striking characteristics imparted to it by Mr. Jefferson.

His occupation in this arduous task, so necessary to the security and prosperity of his native State, induced him, it is presumed, to decline in '78 the acceptance of a mission to France.

Virginia, proud of distinguishing this favorite son, in the turbulent years of '79 and '80 placed him, as the successor of Patrick Henry, in the highest office of the State. And in '81, willing to serve his fellow-citizens in any station, we find him descending from the chair of chief Magistrate and occupying again a seat in the Legislature.

It was during this anxious period that his habits of industry and vigor of intellect enabled him at intervals, to draw from his public avocations the time necessary to compose his celebrated "Notes on Virginia." This work, the merits of which are too well known to authorise me to dwell on them, happily displays the refined taste and varied resources no less than the liberal and enlightened principles and character of its author. I will only mention that, in the "Defence of the American Constitutions" by Mr. Adams, he seeks occasion to advert to this performance of his compeer—a fact which seems to fall in, strikingly, with that coincidence between them consummated on the fourth day of last month.

The year '82 would again have found him closely associated with Mr. Adams in the important mission for concluding a treaty of peace—thus giving to these statesmen the honor of

terminating a war they had so conspicuously aided in commencing and prosecuting—but the news of the signing of the preliminaries of peace arrived at the moment he was about to embark.

Thus accidentally kept at home, his fellow-citizens, as if there could be no interval in his public services, returned him as a member of Congress for the year '83.

By recurring to Mr. Adams and briefly tracing him to this period, we shall immediately find these unwearied patriots again in close association, and performing important offices abroad.

Mr. Adams' labors in Congress were closed at the end of the year 1777, by his becoming our Minister to France. He soon however returned to America ; and the short succeeding interval at home was filled up by his taking a principal part in framing a new Constitution for Massachusetts, and in communicating his views to Congress upon the importance of an alliance with France.

He was suffered to remain but a short time in this comparative retirement, when he was again sent to Europe as a commissioner to the States General of the United Netherlands ; and in this character rendered most timely and essential services to his country by the large loans of money which he obtained, and by the treaty of amity and commerce of '82.

In this year he was one of the Ministers of the U. S. who negotiated and signed the preliminary articles, and in the next year the definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. The highly favorable terms of this treaty excited the surprise even of the friendly European powers, as well as a vehement clamor in Great Britain. The interests of our country were faithfully attended to, and the zeal, wisdom, firmness and diplomatic address of the American negotiators universally acknowledged. From us a peculiar expression of gratitude seems to be due to them since we know that a struggle was necessary in order to obtain the ample western boundary, and

the free navigation of the Mississippi, eventually secured by the Treaty. Mr. Jefferson, as has been stated, was not a party to it. But does the wonderful parallelism of conduct to which we have so often referred, cease here, and leave *Him* with no corresponding claim upon the affections of the West? Not so.—Who can cast his eyes towards the Pacific, or the Gulph of Mexico; can contemplate the deep and spreading stream of population—of wealth—of universal plenty and happiness—the boundless theatre opened for the exercise of government on the principles of the Revolution: who can witness all this without a benediction on him who acquired for us that vast territory, and paid toward the consideration not one drop of his country's blood? How happy, too, the contrast between the policy of Mr. Jefferson and that which shortly before our deliverance had refused to allow the Colonists, at their own hazard and expense, to settle the beautiful valley of the Ohio! But let not a grateful impulse lead me too far from my task as an humble annalist.

Continuing in Europe, Mr. Adams was joined with Mr. Jefferson in a general commission for making treaties of commerce with European powers; and under this authority they concluded treaties with the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Morocco.

In 1785, whilst Mr. Jefferson was Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of our early ally, the ill-fated Louis XVI. Mr. Adams filled the same honorable station in Great Britain, appearing as the dignified representative of a free people, before a Monarch who but a short time before had contemptuously withheld from him and them the rights secured to the meanest of his other subjects.

Thus, alike intrusted with the maintenance of the honor and rights of their country abroad, they met in London, upon the subject of the commercial interests of the United States; but, owing to the nature of our then confederation, failed to form the desired connections.

In '88 Mr. Adams returned home, and was met by this most flattering resolution : "*Resolved*, That Congress entertain a high sense of the services which Mr. Adams has rendered to the United States in the execution of the various important trusts which they have, from time to time, committed to him ; and that the thanks of Congress be presented to him for the patriotism, perseverance, integrity and diligence with which he has ably and faithfully served his country."

The succeeding year of '89 brought Mr. Jefferson from Paris, and restored him to his grateful country. He was received with open arms ; and hardly had he set foot on the shores of Virginia, when he was met by the commission of Secretary of State, from General Washington.

Thus again, in the first administration under the new federal compact, and during that trying period which involved the preservation of our just and dignified neutrality, he is once more placed directly by the side of Mr. Adams, then the first Vice-President of the United States.

The purest honors and the highest exaltation await them. A great and delivered Nation, mindful of the perils they had encountered and the imperishable benefactions they had bestowed, by its free choice raises each of them successively to the second and to the first office of the Republic. And after each had given upwards of forty years of active service to his country, they withdraw, followed by the admiration of the good and the wise, to the place of their birth, and to the bosom of their families, at different periods, but at the same venerable age. Released from the harassing cares of government, they become, in private life, the rejoicing spectators of their own great works, and the happy examples of every domestic and social virtue.

What an admirable illustration is thus furnished of the principles which they had avowed at the outset of their career! They retire without commotion, and undisturbed by one feeling of disappointed ambition. The transition from the high-

est earthly distinction to perfect privacy, is as tranquil as an ordinary domestic transaction.

Yet such men could not look upon public affairs with cold indifference. They could never weary of well doing. During the late war, they watched with the liveliest interest the principles and progress of the contest. The elder of the two, when upon the verge of four-score years, put out a paper in defence of Seamen's Rights, irresistible in argument, and powerful as the work of his younger days. Mr. Jefferson, reverting to his early love of literature and science, is found the active patron of both, and in the office of Rector of the Virginia University, anxiously providing for the adequate education of the future Statesmen and Patriots of our country. But amidst these soothing occupations he, too, was roused by the hostile tread of the enemy on our shores. We are informed, that, amongst his papers, is the copy of a letter which he addressed to the then President of the United States, on occasion of the capture of Washington City, and which is represented to be a master-piece of eloquent and patriotic enthusiasm. We may imagine some of its spirit-stirring topics: Its reference to the experience of the Revolution—to the capture of Philadelphia in 1777—to the gloomy anticipations of that period—and to the bright result which finally rewarded the steady and undismayed exertions of the patriots of that day.

But, the splendor of military achievement, it may be said, does not surround the names of Adams and of Jefferson. True, it does not; and what better evidence could be offered of their extraordinary merit, than the homage universally proffered to men, the arduous scene of whose labors has so few comparative charms for the eye and the imagination? Their Country kept them from the field. It assigned to them other duties of a most critical and arduous character. But, though they did little of the manual labor of fighting, their spirit was infused into every part of the contest. And when permitted, we find them promptly and resolutely encountering every per-

sonal hazard. The unwearied and efficient exertions of Jefferson in relation to the military operations in Virginia at one of the most alarming periods of the Revolution, repeatedly merited and received the applause of Congress. Mr. Adams' intrepidity is well known. It was even lamented that his daring spirit sometimes led to a needless exposure of his invaluable life. Whilst on his way to France in the Boston frigate an engagement took place with a British ship. As Minister Plenipotentiary he had obviously nothing to do with the approaching fight; and he was urged to go below. But, his blood was roused—he forget his Diplomacy—the enemy was in sight; and, seizing a musket, he threw himself at once into a position of the severest exposure.

Thus, fellow-citizens, have I hastily and unskilfully brought to your view some of the more prominent events in the career of the two mighty spirits who have just passed into immortality.

But do not think that the consequences of their principles and actions are to be comprised within the space—protracted as it was—of their own existence. No. The defeat of the enemy, and the acknowledgment of our Independence—the establishment of a new government and its successful operation—are not *The American Revolution*. They are glorious *parts*, but do not constitute *the whole* of this great work. It is now consummating in the vast and increasing change of public feeling and sentiment—in the invigorated tone given to *Man*—in the great lesson furnished by the practical application of those principles which had been before regarded as the dreams of speculative enthusiasm. It is this *moral* Revolution—this new confidence in ourselves—this successful rising against the despotism of ancient prejudices—it is *this* which gives a character to the epoch created by our ancestors. The triumph is complete. Its resistless consequences cannot be stayed. They are already seen wherever beams the hallowed light of Christianity! Turn your eyes in any direction, fellow-citizens, and you will see the American Revolution on its rap-

id progress. Look at yourselves. See the noble stream which passes your city. How many years is it since its opposite bank was only known as the hunting ground of the savage? But, the prophetic eye of Washington had seen of what such a country was capable. And how have his anticipations been realized under the new and irresistible impulse given to human exertion by civil and religious Liberty! Look at the scene of his peril and exposure in your own immediate neighborhood! In place of the rude bark camp, you are, at this moment, substituting the most costly and magnificent internal improvements of the age. You came out of the Revolution a military out-post. Now, you are a prosperous and happy city of 12,000 inhabitants. At that time the few adventurous Indian traders were the armed sentinels by night, over their goods and their families; and where they then stacked their arms, you now see the richest piles of the finest fabrics of human art and industry! Where the savage then bartered his peltry and his game, you now have, busily revolving and converting into articles of domestic utility, the most skilful and complicated machinery, collected from the inventions of the old and the new world. This is *The American Revolution*, and here gratitude is due!

Look a little further—cast your eyes along the great valley of the West. There you will find the wilderness converted into flourishing Republics, holding a new population greater than the first union of the States could boast of. This wonderful creation, is *The American Revolution*.

Look still further. Approach the Isthmus, and gaze beyond it upon the South. See how the people are awakening from their long and heavy sleep! They feel the freshness and invigoration of that great morn, which has brought light and life in its train. They stand erect and shake off the dreary torpor of ages. New Empires are seen to rise, founded on the principles of our Independence and modelled after our free institutions. Here is *The American Revolution*, and here also is gratitude due.

Cross the Atlantic. If, as you approach the shore, you see busy in the navigation of each bay and river that mighty power first practically applied in America, is not here an omen that the quickening impulse of our free institutions will also be there speedily and universally recognised? Yes! the longing eyes of every people are turned towards a Government moving like ours, in all its parts, on the purest and the simplest principles. The mob of Kings may assemble again and again, and denounce and tear to pieces the beautiful model; but the history and the principles of its action are here recorded; truth will not go back—it defies their impotent malice. The awakened energy of the people must have way; and if it be not suffered safely to impel the vast machinery of Government, will manifest its terrific strength in bursting destructively from its confinement. The contest between the oppressed and the oppressors may be fearful, but the result must be glorious and happy; and when equal rights and well administered laws shall take the place of corrupt and irresponsible agents, then will be seen *The American Revolution*, and then shall be freshly honoured the names of Jefferson and of Adams.

If such, my countrymen, be the blessings which we have realized—and such the cheering prospects of mankind—do not forget that on us devolves the care of preserving this majestic Monument in all its fair proportions. We, too, may have our day of trial. The bitterest animosity of the worst men is excited by the spectacle of our prosperity. Potentates, whose bands of disciplined mercenaries can hardly be numbered, would rejoice and feel more secure, if our Republic should be overturned, or its principles and character be brought into disrepute by intestine violence and confusion. The proud sentiments, then, which we triumphantly proclaim in the midst of security and peace may require to be sustained in another manner, at moments of peril and distraction. Will you at such a crisis be found wanting? Will you forget the feelings and the professions of this day, or manfully

rouse yourselves to emulate the stern and inflexible fortitude—the noble assumption of responsibility—the sublime self-devotion—the dauntless resolution of Adams and of Jefferson ?

We are about to turn from their graves ; to leave them to a sacred repose. Should the free soil which now covers their hallowed remains be ever over-run by successful invasion—should accursed faction or irregular ambition ever get the mastery—should a lethargic and ignoble spirit ever lead us to compromise the principles of the Revolution ; remember that these TOMBS will be our reproach. We must steal to them at midnight and deface, in shame, the epitaph which our hand is now tracing ; and the Pilgrim of other climes who comes to bend at this shrine of Freedom, may well turn on our degeneracy the bitter glance of scorn. But I will not dwell on this odious picture. Let us rather with joyful anticipation look through the long course of years, and see how each successive generation, as it is taught the virtues and services of these Founders of the Republic, will learn the severe and sacred duties which result from the incalculable benefits conferred. Oh ! never whilst the memory of such men remains, can their descendants pollute the history of our nation !

By their united labours, their sufferings, their dangers, and their well earned fame—by their calm retirement to the sphere of social kindness and affectionate intercourse—by the bright career of national glory which they were enabled to open and to pursue—by the exalted serenity with which they looked forward to the end of their mortal course—by the solemn coincidence with which they yielded up their spirits on the JUBILEE of our national freedom—by all the great and affecting incidents which distinguished them in life, and mark the hour of their departure, let us *now*, and our descendants *forever*, be admonished to venerate, cherish, and preserve inviolate the Institutions they have bequeathed to us !



EULOGY,

PRONOUNCED AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON,

October 19, 1826.

BY WILLIAM WIRT.

THE scenes which have been lately passing in our country, and of which this meeting is a continuance, are full of moral instruction. They hold up to the world a lesson of wisdom by which all may profit, if Heaven shall grant them the discretion to turn it to its use. The spectacle, in all its parts, has, indeed, been most solemn and impressive; and, though the first impulse be now past, the time has not yet come, and never will it come, when we can contemplate it, without renewed emotion.

In the structure of their characters; in the course of their action; in the striking coincidences which marked their high career; in the lives and in the deaths of the illustrious men, whose virtues and services we have met to commemorate—and in that voice of admiration and gratitude which has since burst, with one accord, from the twelve millions of freemen who people these States, there is a moral sublimity which overwhelms the mind, and hushes all its powers into silent amazement!

The European, who should have heard the *sound* without apprehending the cause, would be apt to inquire, “What is the meaning of all this? what had these men done to elicit this unanimous and splendid acclamation? Why has the whole American nation risen up, as one man, to do them honor, and offer to them this enthusiastic homage of the heart? Were they mighty warriors, and was the peal that we have

“ heard, the shout of victory ? Were they great commanders, “ returning from their distant conquests, surrounded with the “ spoils of war, and was this the sound of their triumphal procession ? Were they covered with martial glory in any form, “ and was this ‘ the noisy wave of the multitude rolling back “ at their approach ? ” Nothing of all this : No ; they were peaceful and aged patriots, who, having served their country together, through their long and useful lives, had now sunk together to the tomb. They had not fought battles ; but they had formed and moved the great machinery of which battles were only a small, and, comparatively, trivial consequence. They had not commanded armies ; but they had commanded the master springs of the nation, on which all its great political, as well as military movements depended. By the wisdom and energy of their counsels, and by the potent mastery of their spirits, they had contributed pre-eminently to produce a mighty Revolution, which has changed the aspect of the world. A Revolution which, in one-half of that world, has already restored man to his “ long lost liberty ; ” and government to its only legitimate object, the happiness of the People : and, on the other hemisphere, has thrown a light so strong, that even the darkness of despotism is beginning to recede. Compared with the solid glory of an achievement like this, what are battles, and what the pomp of war, but the poor and fleeting pageants of a theatre ? What were the selfish and petty strides of Alexander, to conquer a little section of a savage world, compared with this generous, this magnificent advance towards the emancipation of the entire world !

And this, be it remembered, has been the fruit of intellectual exertion ! the triumph of mind ! What a proud testimony does it bear to the character of our nation, that they are able to make a proper estimate of services like these ! That while, in other countries, the senseless mob fall down in stupid admiration, before the bloody wheels of the conqueror—even of the conqueror by accident—in this, our People rise, with one accord, to pay *their* homage to intellect and vir-

tue! What a cheering pledge does it give of the stability of our institutions, that while abroad, the yet benighted multitude are prostrating themselves before the idols which their own hands have fashioned into Kings, here, in this land of the free, our People are every where starting up, with one impulse, to follow with their acclamations the ascending spirits of the great Fathers of the Republic! This is a spectacle of which we may be permitted to be proud. It honors our country no less than the illustrious dead. And could those great Patriots speak to us from the tomb, they would tell us that they have more pleasure in the testimony which these honors bear to the character of their country, than in that which they bear to their individual services. They now see as they were seen, while in the body, and know the nature of the feeling from which these honors flow. It is love for love. It is the gratitude of an enlightened nation to the noblest order of benefactors. It is the only glory worth the aspiration of a generous spirit. Who would not prefer this living tomb in the hearts of his countrymen, to the proudest mausoleum that the Genius of Sculpture could erect!

Man has been said to be the creature of accidental position. The cast of his character has been thought to depend, materially, on the age, the country, and the circumstances, in which he has lived. To a considerable extent, the remark is, no doubt, true. Cromwell, had he been born in a Republic, might have been "guiltless of his country's blood;" and, but for those civil commotions which had wrought his great mind into tempest, even Milton might have rested "mute and inglorious." The occasion is, doubtless, necessary to develop the talent, whatsoever it may be; but the talent must exist, in embryo at least, or no occasion can quicken it into life. And it must exist, too, under the check of strong virtues; or the same occasion that quickens it into life, will be extremely apt to urge it on to crime. The hero who finished his career at St. Helena, extraordinary as he was, is a far more common character in the history of the world, than he who sleeps in

our neighbourhood, embalmed in his country's tears—or than those whom we have now met to mourn and to honor.

Jefferson and Adams were great men by nature. Not great and eccentric minds “shot madly from their spheres” to affright the world and scatter pestilence in their course; but minds whose strong and steady light, restrained within their proper orbits by the happy poise of their characters, came to cheer and to gladden a world that had been buried for ages in political night. They were heaven-called avengers of degraded man. They came to lift him to the station for which God had formed him, and to put to flight those idiot superstitions with which tyrants had contrived to intrall his reason and his liberty. And that Being who had sent them upon this mission, had fitted them, pre-eminently, for his glorious work. He filled their hearts with a love of country which burned strong within them, even in death. He gave them a power of understanding which no sophistry could baffle, no art elude; and a moral heroism which no dangers could appal. Careless of themselves, reckless, of all personal consequences, trampling under foot that petty ambition of office and honor which constitutes the master-passion of little minds, they bent all their mighty powers to the task for which they had been delegated—the freedom of their beloved country, and the restoration of fallen man. They felt that they were Apostles of *human liberty*; and well did they fulfil their high commission. They rested not until they had accomplished their work at home, and given such an impulse to the great ocean of mind, that they saw the waves rolling on the farthest shore, before they were called to their reward. And then left the world, hand in hand, exulting, as they rose, in the success of their labors.

From this glance at the consummation of their lives, it falls within the purpose that has drawn us together, to look back at the incidents by which these great men were prepared and led on to their destiny. The field is wide and tempting; and in this rich field, there is a double harvest to be gathered.—

But the occasion is limited in point of time. With all the brevity, therefore, compatible with the subject, let us proceed to recall the more prominent incidents, leaving to their biographers those which we must reluctantly omit. And let me hope that the recapitulation, however devoid of interest in itself, will be endured, if not enjoyed, for the sake of those to whom it relates. The review will unavoidably carry us back to scenes of no pleasant nature, which once occurred between our country and a foreign nation with which we now maintain the happiest relations of peace and amity ; towards which, at this day, we cherish no other feelings than those of the sincerest respect and good will ; and with whose national glory, indeed, as the land of our forefathers, we feel ourselves, in a great measure, identified. If, therefore, there should be any one within the sound of my voice, to whom the language of this retrospect might otherwise seem harsh,* I trust it will be borne in mind that we are Americans, assembled on a purely American occasion, and that we are speaking of things as they were, not as they are ; for, in the language of our departed fathers, " though enemies in war, in peace we are friends."

The hand of Heaven was kindly manifested even in the place of birth assigned to our departed fathers. Their lots were cast in two distant States, forming links in the same extended chain of colonies. The one, to borrow the language of Isaiah, was called " from the North" and " the rising of the sun ;" the other, from the South, where he shews his glory in the meridian. The colonies, though held together by their allegiance to a common crown, had separate local governments, separate local interests, and a strikingly contrasted cast of character. The intercourse between them had been rare ; the sympathies consequently weak ; and these sympathies still further weakened by certain rivalries, prejudices, and jealousies, the result of their mutual ignorance of each other,

*The British Minister was present.

which were extremely unpropitious to that concerted action on which the success of the great work of Independence rested. To effect this work, it was necessary that men should arise in the different quarters of the Continent, with a reach of mind sufficiently extended to look over and beyond this field of prejudice, and mark the great point in which the interest of the whole united; and, with this reach of mind, that they should combine a moral power of sufficient force to make even the discordant materials around them harmoniously subservient to the great end to be accomplished. It pleased Heaven to give us such men, and so to plant them on the theatre of action, as to ensure the concert that the occasion demanded. And in that constellation of the great and the good, rose the two stars of first magnitude to which our attention is now to be confined.

Adams and Jefferson were born, the *first* in Massachusetts on the 19th of October, 1735; the *last* in Virginia, on the 2d of April, 1743. On the earliest opening of their characters, it was manifest that they were marked for distinction.— They both displayed that thirst for knowledge, that restless spirit of inquiry, that fervent sensibility, and that bold, fearless independence of thought, which are among the surest prognostics of exalted talent; and, fortunately for them, as well as for their country and mankind, the Universities in their respective neighborhoods opened to their use, all the fountains of ancient and modern learning. With what appetite they drank at these fountains, we need no testimony of witnesses to inform us. The living streams which afterwards flowed from their own lips and pens, are the best witnesses that can be called, of their youthful studies. They were, indeed, of that gifted order of minds, to which early instruction is of little other use than to inform them of their own powers, and to indicate the objects of human knowledge. Education was not with them, as with minor characters, an attempt to plant new talents and new qualities in a strange and reluctant soil. It was the development, merely of those

which already existed. Thus, the pure and disinterested patriotism of Aristides, the firmness of Cato, and the devotion of Curtius, only awakened the principles that were sleeping in their young hearts, and touched the responding chords with which Heaven had attuned them. The statesman-like vigor of Pericles, and the spirit-stirring energy of Demosthenes, only roused their own lion powers and informed them of their strength. Aristotle, and Bacon and Sidney, and Locke, could do little more than to disclose to them their native capacity for the profound investigation and ascertainment of truth ; and Newton taught their power to range among the stars. In short, every model to which they looked, and every great master to whom they appealed, only moved into life the scarcely dormant energies with which Heaven had endued them ; and they came forth from the discipline, not decorated for pomp, but armed for battle.

From this first coincidence, in the character of their minds and studies, let us proceed to another. They both turned their attention to the same profession, the profession of the law ; and they both took up the study of this profession on the same enlarged scale which was so conspicuous in all their other intellectual operations. They had been taught by Hooker to look with reverence upon the science of the law : for, he had told them that " her seat was the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world." Pursued in the spirit, on the extended plan, and with the noble aim, with which they pursued it, may it not be said, without the hazard of illiberal construction, that there was no profession in this country to which Heaven could have directed their choice, so well fitted to prepare them for the eventful struggle which was coming on.

Mr. Adams, we are told, commenced his legal studies, and passed through the initiatory course, under William Putnam, of Worcester ; but, the crown of preparation was placed on his head by Jeremiah Gridley.* Gridley was a man of first

* Mr. Samuel L. Knapp's Address on the Death of Adams and Jefferson.

rate learning and vigor, and as good a judge of character as he was of law. He had been the legal preceptor, also, some years before, of the celebrated James Otis: and, proud of his two pupils, he was wont to say of them at the bar, with playful affection, that "he had raised two young eagles who were one day or other to peck out his eyes."* The two young eagles were never known to treat their professional father with irreverence; but how well they fulfilled his prediction of their future eminence, has been already well told by the elegant biographer of one, and remains to furnish a rich theme for that of the other.

It was in the commencement of his legal studies, and when he was yet but a boy, that Mr. Adams wrote that letter from Worcester which has been recently given to the world.—Considering the age of the writer, and the point of time at which it was written, that letter may be pronounced, without hyperbole, a mental phenomenon, and far better entitled to the character of a prophecy, than the celebrated passage from the *Medea* of Seneca, which Bacon has quoted as a prophecy of the discovery of America.

Before I call your attention more particularly to this letter, it is proper to remark, that Mr. Adams lived at a time, and among men, well fitted to evoke his youthful powers. Massachusetts had been, from its earliest settlement, a theatre of almost constant political contention. The spirit of liberty which had prompted the pilgrims to bid adieu to the land and tombs of their fathers, and to brave the horrors of an exile to the wilds of America, accompanied them to the forests which they came to subdue; and questions of political right and power, between the parent country and the colony, were continually arising, to call that spirit into action, and to keep it bright and strong. These were a peculiar People, a stern and hardy race, the children of the storm; inured from the cradle to the most frightful hardships which they came to regard as

* Mr. Knapp's *Life of Gridley*.

their daily pastime, their minds, as well as their bodies, gathered new strength from the fearful elements that were warring around them, and whatever they dared to meditate as right, that they dared and never failed to accomplish. The robust character of the fathers descended upon their children, and with it, also, came the same invigorating contests. Violations of their charters, unconstitutional restraints upon their trade, and perpetual collisions with the royal Governors sent over to bend or to break them, had converted that province into an *arena*, in which the strength of mind had been tried against mind, for a century, before the tug of the Revolution came. And these were no puerile sports. They were the stern struggle of intellectual force, for power on the one hand, and liberty on the other. And from that discipline there came forth such men as such a struggle only seems capable of generating; rough, and strong, and bold, and daring; meeting their adversaries, foot to foot, on the field of argument, and beating them off that field by the superior vigor of their blows.

*Præcipitemque Dares, ardens agit equore toto:
Nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra,
Nec mora, nec requies.*

From this school issued those men so well formed for the sturdy business of life, and who shine so brightly in the annals of Massachusetts—Mayhew, and Hawley, and Thacher, and Otis, and Hancock, and a host of others, of the same strong stamp of character: men as stout of heart as of mind, and breathing around them an atmosphere of patriotic energy, which it was impossible to inhale without partaking of their spirit.

Such was the atmosphere which it was the fortune of John Adams to breathe, even from his infancy. Such were the high examples before him. From this proud eyry it was, that this young eagle first opened his eyes upon the sun and the ocean, and learned to plume his own wings for the daring flight.

His letter from Worcester bears date on the 12th of October, 1755. He was consequently then only in his twentieth

year. At that time, remember, that no thought of a separation from the parent country had ever touched these shores. The conversations to which he alludes, were upon the topics of the day, and went no farther than to a discussion of the rights of the colony, considered as a colony of the British empire. These were the hints which set his young mind in motion, and this is the letter which they produced :

WORCESTER, *October 12, 1755.*

“ Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this New World for conscience’ sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. It looks likely to me, if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will, in another century, become more numerous than England herself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas ; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. [Here we see the first germ of the American Navy.] The only way to keep us from *setting up for ourselves*, is to disunite us. *Divide et impera.* Keep us in distinct colonies, and then some great men in each colony, desiring the monarchy of the whole, will destroy each other’s influence, and keep the country in equilibrio. Be not surprised that I am turned politician ; the whole town is immersed in politics. The interests of nations, and all the *dira* of war, make the subject of every conversation. I sit and hear, and, after having been led through a maze of sage observations, I sometimes retire, and, by laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above.”

Here we mark the political dawn of the mind of this great man. His country, her resources, her independence, her glory, were the first objects of his thoughts, as they were the last. Here, too, we see the earliest proof of that bold and adventurous turn for speculation, that sagacious flashing into fu-

turity, and that sanguine anticipation, which became so conspicuous in his after life. He calls this letter *a reverie* ; but, connecting it with his ardent character and his future career, there is reason to believe, that it was a reverie which produced in him all the effect of a prophetic vision, and opened to him a perspective which was never afterwards closed.

An incident soon occurred to give brighter tinting and stronger consistency to this dream of his youth ; and this may be considered as among the most efficient of those means, devised by the wisdom of Providence, to shape the character and point the energies of this high-minded young man to the advancement of the great destiny that awaited his country. The famous question of *writs of assistance* was argued, in his presence, in Boston, in February, 1761. These writs were a kind of general search-warrants, transferable by manual delivery from one low tool of power to another, and without any return ; which put at the mercy of these vulgar wretches, for an indefinite period, the domestic privacy, the peace and comfort, of the most respectable inhabitants in the colony ; and even the sanctuary of female delicacy and devotion. The authority of the British tribunals in the province, themselves the instruments of a tyrant's will, to issue such writs, was the precise question to be discussed. The champion in opposition to the power was the great Otis. Of the character of his argument, and its effect upon Mr. Adams, we are not left to conjecture ; he has given it to us, himself, in his own burning phraseology. " Otis was a flame of fire ! With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. *American Independence was then and there born.*" And he adds—" Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance."

The "immense crowded audience," it is probable, left the hall with no impressions beyond the particular subject of debate. They were ready to take arms against *writs of assistance*. Not so with Mr. Adams. In him the "splendid conflagration of Otis" had set fire to a mind whose action it was not easy to restrain within narrow limits; a mind already looking out on the wide expanse of the future, and apparently waiting only for the occasion, to hold up to his countrymen the great revolving light of Independence, above the darkness of the coming storm. In ~~his~~ American Independence was then and there born: and, appealing to his own bosom, he was justified in saying, as he has done, on another occasion, in the most solemn terms, "that James Otis, then and there, "first breathed into this nation the breath of life."

The flame thus given to his enthusiasm was never permitted to subside. The breach between the two countries grew wider and wider, until from being an excited spectator, he soon became a vigorous and most efficient actor. In his thirtieth year, he gave to his country, that powerful work "The Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law." It is but to read those extracts from this work which have been recently diffused among us from the North, to see that it was not limited in its purpose to the specific questions which had then arisen. The discussion travels far beyond these questions, and bears all the marks of a profound and comprehensive design, to prepare the country for a separation from Great Britain. It is a review of the whole system of the British institutions, and a most powerful assault upon those heresies, civil and religious, which constituted the outposts of that system. Besides the solid instruction which it conveys on the true theory of government, and the deep and impressive exhortation with which it urges the necessity of correct information to the People, it seems to have been the leading object of the work to disenchant his countrymen of that reverence for the institutions of the parent country which still lingered around their hearts, and to teach them to look upon these institutions,

not only with indifference, but with aversion and contempt. Hence those burning sarcasms which he flings into every story of the citadel, until the whole edifice is wrapt in flames. It is, indeed, a work eminently fitted for the speedy regeneration of the country. The whole tone of the essay is so raised and bold, that it sounds like a trumpet-call to arms. And the haughty defiance which he hurls into the face of the oppressors of his country, is so brave and uncompromising, as to leave no doubt that, whatever might be the temper of the rest of the community, the author had already laid *his* hand upon the altar, and sworn that his country should be free.

All this fire, however, was tempered with judgment, and guided by the keenest and most discriminating sagacity ; and if his character was marked with the stubborn firmness of the Pilgrim, it was because he was supported by the Pilgrim's conscientious integrity. Another incident soon occurred to place *these* qualities in high relief. In the progress of the quarrel, Great Britain had quartered an army in Boston, to supply the place of argument, and enforce that submission which she could not command. The immediate consequence was, collision and affray between the soldiery and the citizens ; and, in one of those affrays, on the 5th of November, 1770, the British captain, Preston, gave the fatal order to fire ! Several were killed, and many more were wounded. It is easy to imagine the storm that instantly arose. The infuriated populace were, with great difficulty, restrained by the leading men of the town, from sating their vengeance upon the spot. Disappointed of this, they were loud, and even frantic, in their cry for the vengeance of law. Yet there was no murder in the case : for, in this instance it had happened that they were themselves the assailants. Preston was arrested for trial : and Mr. Adams then standing in the van of the profession, as well as that of the patriots, was called upon to undertake his defence. How was he to act ? It is easy to know how a little, time-serving politician, or even a man of ordinary firmness, would have acted ; the one would have thrown himself

on the popular current, and the other would have been swept along by it, and joined in the public cry for the victim. But Adams belonged to a higher order of character. He was formed not only to impel and guide the torrent ; but to head that torrent too, when it had taken a wrong direction, and “ to roll it back upon its source.” He was determined that the world should distinguish between a petty commotion of angry spirits, and the noble stand made by an enlightened nation in a just and noble cause. He was resolved that that pure and elevated cause should not be soiled and debased by an act of individual injustice. He undertook the defence, supported by his younger, but distinguished associate, Josiah Quincy ; and, far from flattering the angry passions around him, he called upon the jury, in their presence, “ *to be deaf, deaf as adders, to the clamors of the populace ;*” and they were so. To their honor, a jury drawn from the excited people of Boston, acquitted the prisoner : and to their equal honor, that very populace, instead of resenting the language and conduct of his advocate, loaded him immediately with additional proofs of their confidence. These were the people, who, according to some European notions, are incapable of any agency in their own government. By their systems, deliberately planned for the purpose, they first degrade and brutalize their people, and then descant on their unfitness for self-rule. The man of America, it seems, is the only man fit for republican government ! But man is every where the same, and requires only to be enlightened, to assert the native dignity of his character.

Mr. Adams was now among the most conspicuous champions of the colonial cause in Massachusetts. In the same year to which we have just adverted, 1770, he had been elected a member of the Provincial Legislature : and he thenceforth took a high and commanding part in every public measure ; displaying, on every occasion, the same consistent character ; the same sagacity to pierce the night of the

future ; the same bold and dauntless front ; the same nerve of the Nemean lion.

The time had now come for concerted action among the Colonies : and, accordingly, on the 5th September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. With what emotions Mr. Adams witnessed this great movement of the nation, it is easy for those who know his ardent character, to imagine. Nor, are we left to our imaginations alone. He had been elected a member of that body ; and immediately on his election, an incident occurred which relieves us from the necessity of conjecturing the state of his feelings. His friend Sewall, the Attorney General, hearing of his election, sent for him, and he came ; when Sewall, with all the solicitude and importunity of friendship, sought to divert him from his purpose of taking his seat in Congress : he represented to him that Great Britain was determined on her purpose : that her power was irresistible, and would be destructive to him and all who should persevere in opposition to her designs.—“ I know,” replied the dauntless and high-souled patriot, “ that Great Britain has determined on her system ; and that “ very determination, determines me on mine. You know “ that I have been constant and uniform in opposition to her “ designs. The die is now cast. I have passed the Rubicon. “ Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish with my coun- “ try, is my unalterable determination.” He accordingly took his seat : and with what activity and effect he discharged its duties, the journals of the day sufficiently attest.

Of that august and venerable body, the old Continental Congress, what can be said that would not fall below the occasion ? What that would not sound like a puerile and tumid effort, to exaggerate the praise of a body which was above all praise ? Let me turn from any attempt at description to your own hearts, where that body lies entombed with all you hold most sacred. To that Congress, let future statesmen look and learn what it is to be a patriot. There was no self. No petty intrigue for power. No despicable faction for in-

dividual honors. None of those feuds, the fruit of an unhal-
lowed ambition, which converted the Revolution of France
into a mere contest for the command of the guillotine ; and
which have, now, nearly disarmed unhappy Greece, in the sa-
cred war she is waging for the tombs of her illustrious dead.
No : of our Great Fathers we may say with truth, what was
said of the Romans in their golden age ; “ with them the Re-
“ public was in all ; for that alone they consulted ; the only
“ faction they formed was against the common enemy : their
“ minds, their bodies were exerted sincerely, and greatly and
“ nobly exerted, not for personal power, but for the liberties
“ the honor, the glory of their country.” May the time nev-
er come, when an allusion to their virtues can give any other
feelings than those of pleasure and pride to their descen-
dants.

Having in this imperfect manner, fellow-citizens, touched
rather than traced the incidents by which Mr. Adams was
prepared and conducted into the scenes of the Revolution,
let us turn to the great luminary of the South.

Virginia, as you know, had been settled by other causes
than those which had peopled Massachusetts ; and the Colo-
nists themselves were of a different character. The first at-
tempts at settlement in that quarter of the world had been
conducted as you remember, under the auspices of the gal-
lant Raleigh, that “ man of wit and man of the sword,” as
Sir Edward Coke tauntingly called him, and certainly one of
the brightest flowers in the courts of Elizabeth and James.—
He did not live to make a permanent establishment in Vir-
ginia ; but, his genius seems, nevertheless, to have presided
over the State, and to have stamped his own character on her
distinguished sons. Virginia had experienced none of those
early and long continued conflicts which had contributed to
form the robust character of the North ; on the contrary, du-
ring the century that Massachusetts had been buffeting with
the storm, Virginia, resting on a halcyon sea, had been culti-
vating the graces of science, and literature, and the genial el-

egancies of social life. But, her moral and intellectual character was not less firm and vigorous than that of her Northern sister : for the invader came, and Athens as well as Sparta, was found ready to do her duty, and to do it too, bravely, ably, heroically.

At the time of Mr. Jefferson's appearance, the society of Virginia was much diversified, and reflected, pretty distinctly, an image of that of England. There was first, the landed aristocracy, shadowing forth the order of English nobility : then the sturdy yeomanry, common to them both ; and last, a *faculum* of beings, as they were called by Mr. Jefferson, corresponding with the mass of the English plebeians.

Mr. Jefferson, by birth, belonged to the aristocracy : but, the idle and voluptuous life which marked that order had no charms for a mind like his. He relished better the strong, unsophisticated, and racy character of the yeomanry, and attached himself, of choice, to that body. Born to an inheritance, then deemed immense, and with a decided taste for literature and science, it would not have been surprising if he had devoted himself, exclusively, to the luxury of his studies, and left the toils and the hazards of public action to others.— But he was naturally ardent, and fond of action, and of action too, on a great scale ; and, so readily did he kindle in the feelings that were playing around him, that he could no more have stood still while his country was agitated, than the war horse can sleep under the sound of the trumpet.

He was a republican and a philanthropist from the earliest dawn of his character. He read with a sort of poetic illusion, which indented him with every scene that his author spread before him. Enraptured with the brighter ages of republican Greece and Rome, he had followed, with an aching heart, the march of history which had told him of the desolation of those fairest portions of the earth ; and had seen, with dismay and indignation, that swarm of monarchies, the progeny of the Scandinavian hive, under which genius and liberty were now every where crushed. He loved his own country with

a passion not less intense, deep, and holy, than that of his great com-patriot : and with this love, he combined an expanded philanthropy which encircled the globe. From the working of the strong energies within him, there arose an early vision, too, which cheered his youth and accompanied him through life—the vision of emancipated man throughout the world. Nor was this a dream of the morning that passed away and was forgotten. On the contrary, like the Heaven-descended banner of Constantine, he hailed it as an omen of certain victory, and girded his loins for the onset, with the omnipotence of truth.

On his early studies we have already touched. The study of the law he pursued under George Wythe ; a man of Roman stamp, in Rome's best age. Here he acquired that unrivaled neatness, system, and method in business, which, through all his future life, and in every office that he filled, gave him, in effect, the hundred hands of Briareus ; here, too, following the giant step of his master, he travelled the whole round of the civil and common law. From the same example, he caught that untiring spirit of investigation which never left a subject till he had searched it to the bottom, and of which we have so noble a specimen in his correspondence with Mr. Hammond, on the subject of British debts. In short, Mr. Wythe performed for him, what Jeremiah Gridley had done for Mr. Adams ; he placed on his head the crown of legal preparation : and well did it become him.—Permit me, here, to correct an error which seems to have prevailed. It has been thought that Mr. Jefferson made no figure at the bar : but the case was far otherwise. There are still extant, in his own fair and neat hand, in the manner of his master, a number of arguments which were delivered by him at the bar upon some of the most intricate questions of the law ; which, if they shall ever see the light will vindicate his claim to the first honors of the profession. It is true he was not distinguished in popular debate ; why he was not so, has often been matter of surprise to those who have seen his

eloquence on paper and heard it in conversation. He had all the attributes of the mind, and the heart and the soul, which are essential to eloquence of the highest order. The only defect was a physical one : he wanted volume and compass of voice for a large deliberative assembly ; and his voice, from the excess of his sensibility, instead of rising with his feelings and conceptions, sunk under their pressure, and became guttural and inarticulate. The consciousness of this infirmity repressed any attempt in a large body in which he knew he must fail. But his voice was all sufficient for the purposes of judicial debate ; and there is no reason to doubt that, if the service of his country had not called him away so soon from his profession, his fame as a lawyer would now have stood upon the same distinguished ground which he confessedly occupies as a statesman, an author, and a scholar.

It was not until 1764, when the Parliament of Great Britain passed its resolutions preparatory to the stamp act, that Virginia seems to have been thoroughly startled from her repose. Her Legislature was then in session ; and her patriots, taking the alarm, remonstrated promptly and firmly against this assumed power. The remonstrance, however, was, as usual, disregarded, and the stamp act came. But it came to meet, on the floor of the House, an unlooked-for champion, whom Heaven had just raised up for the good of his country and of mankind. I speak of that untutored child of nature, Patrick Henry, who had now, for the first time, left his native forests to show the metal of which he was made, and " give the world assurance of a man."

The assembly met in the city of Williamsburg, where Mr. Jefferson was still pursuing the study of the law. Mr. Henry's celebrated resolutions against the stamp act were introduced in May, 1765. How they were resisted, and how maintained, has been already stated to the world, in terms that have been pronounced extravagant, by those who modestly consider themselves as furnishing a fair standard of Revolutionary excellence. The coldest glow-worm in the

hedge, is about as fair a standard of the power of the sun.— To the present purpose, it is only necessary to remark, that Mr. Jefferson was present at this debate, and has left us an account of it, in his own words. He was then he says, but a student, and stood in the door of communication between the House and the lobby, where he heard the whole of this magnificent debate. The opposition to the last resolution was most vehement; the debate upon it, to use his own strong language, “most bloody:” but he adds, torrents of sublime eloquence from Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnson, prevailed; and the resolution was carried by a single vote. I well remember, he continues, the cry of “treason,” by the Speaker, echoed from every part of the House, against Mr. Henry: I well remember his pause, and the admirable address with which he recovered himself and baffled the charge thus vociferated.

He here alludes, as you must perceive, to that memorable exclamation of Mr. Henry, now become almost too familiar for quotation: “Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third (“Treason!” cried the Speaker. “Treason! treason!” echoed the House;)—“may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.”

While I am presenting to you this picture of Mr. Jefferson in his youth, listening to the almost super-human eloquence of Henry on the great subject which formed the hinge of the American Revolution, are you not forcibly reminded of the parallel scene which had passed only four years before, in the Hall of Justice in Boston: Mr. Adams catching from Otis, “the breath of life?” How close the parallel, and how interesting the incident! Who can think of these two young men, destined themselves to make so great a figure in the future history of their country, thus lighting the fires of their own genius at the altars of Henry and of Otis, without being reminded of another picture, which has been exhibited to us by an historian of Rome: The younger Scipio Africanus, then in his

military noviciate, standing a youthful spectator on a hill near Carthage, and looking down upon the battle-field on which those veteran generals, Hamilcar and Massanissa, were driving, with so much glory, the car of war ! Whether Otis or Henry *first* breathed into this nation the breath of life, (a question merely for curious and friendly speculation,) it is very certain that they breathed into their two young hearers, that breath which has made them both immortal.

From this day, forth, Mr. Jefferson, young as he was, stood forward as a champion for his country. It was now in the fire of his youth, that he adopted those mottoes for his seals, so well remembered in Virginia : " Ab eo libertas, a quo spiritus," and " Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." He joined the band of the brave who were for the boldest measures : and by the light, the contagious spirit and vigor of his conversation, as well as by his enchanting and powerful pen, he contributed eminently to lift Virginia to that height which placed her by the side of her Northern sister. It is an historical fact well known to us all, that these two great States, then by far the most populous and powerful in the Union, led off, as it was natural and fit that they should do, all the strong measures that ended in the Declaration of Independence. Together, and stroke for stroke, they breasted the angry surge, and threw it aside " with hearts of controversy," until they reached that shore from which we now look back with so much pride and triumph.

It was in his thirtieth year, as you remember, that Mr. Adams gave to the world his first great work, the Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law ; and it was about the same period of his life, that Mr. Jefferson produced his first great political work, " A Summary View of the Rights of British America." The history of this work is somewhat curious and interesting, and I give it to you on the authority of Mr. Jefferson himself. He had been elected a member of that State Convention of Virginia which, in August, 1774, appointed the first Delegates to the Continental Congress. Arrest-

ed by sickness on his way to Williamsburg, he sent forward, to be laid on the table, a draught of instructions to the Delegates whom Virginia should send. This was read by the members, and *they* published it, under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." A copy of this work having found its way to England, it received from the pen of the celebrated Burke such alterations as adapted it to the purposes of the opposition there, and it there re-appeared in a new edition ; an honor which, as Mr. Jefferson afterwards learned, occasioned the insertion of his name in a bill of attainder, which, however, never saw the light. So far Mr. Jefferson. Let me add, that the old inhabitants of Williamsburg, a few years back, well remembered the effect of that work on Lord Dunmore, then the royal Governor of the State. His fury broke out in the most indecent and unmitigated language. Mr. Jefferson's name was marked high on his list of proscription, and the victim was only reprieved until the rebellion should be crushed ; but that rebellion became revolution, and the high priest of the meditated sacrifice was sent to howl his disappointment to the hills and winds of his native Scotland.

In the next year, 1775, Mr. Jefferson, young as he was, was singled out by the Virginian Legislature, to answer Lord North's famous "conciliatory proposition," called, in the language of the day, his "olive branch." But it was an olive branch that hid the guileful serpent, or, in the language of Mr. Adams, "it was an asp in a basket of flowers." The answer stands upon the records of the country. Cool, calm, close, full of compressed energy and keen sagacity ; while, at the same time it preserves the most perfect decorum, it is one of the most nervous and manly productions even of that age of men.

The second Congress met on the 10th of May, 1775. Mr. Adams was, of course, again, a member. Mr. Jefferson having been deputed, contingently, (to supply the place of Peyton Randolph,) did not take his seat at the commencement of

the session. } Of the political works of this Congress, as well as of the preceding, their petitions, memorials, remonstrances, to the Throne, to the Parliament, to the People of England, of Ireland, and of Canada, I have forbore to speak, because they are familiar to you all. Let it suffice to say, that, in the estimation of so great a judge as Lord Chatham, they were such as had never been surpassed even in the master States of the world, in ancient Greece and Rome; and, although they produced no good effect on the unhappy monarch of Britain; though Pharaoh's heart was hardened so that they moved not *him*, they moved all heaven and all earth besides, and opened a passage for our fathers through the great deep.

The plot of the awful drama now began to thicken. The sword had been drawn. The battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought; and Warren, the rose of American chivalry, had been cut down, in his bloom, on that hill which his death has hallowed. The blood which had been shed in Massachusetts cried from the ground in every quarter of the Union. Congress heard that cry, and resolved on war. Troops were ordered to be raised. A Commander-in-Chief came to be appointed, and General Ward of Massachusetts was put in nomination. Here we have an incident in the life of Mr. Adams most strikingly characteristic of the man. Giving to the winds all local prepossessions, and looking only to the cause that filled his soul, the cause of his country, *he* prompted and sustained the nomination of that patriot hero whom the Almighty, in his goodness, had formed for the occasion. Washington was elected, and the choice was ratified in Heaven. He accepted his commission on the very day on which the soul of Warren winged its flight from Bunker Hill, and well did he avenge the death of that youthful hero.

Five days after General Washington's appointment, Mr. Jefferson, for the first time, took his seat as a member of Congress; and here, for the first time, met the two illustrious men whom we are endeavouring to commemorate. They met, and

at once became friends—to part no more, but for a short season, and then to be re-united, both for time and eternity.

There was now open war between Great Britain and her colonies. Yet the latter looked no farther than resistance to the specific power of the parent country to tax them at pleasure. A dissolution of the union had not yet been contemplated, either by Congress or the nation; and many of those who had voted for the war, would have voted, and did afterwards vote, against that dissolution.

Such was the state of things under which the Congress of 1776 assembled, when Adams and Jefferson again met. It was, as you know, in this Congress, that the question of American Independence came, for the first time, to be discussed; and never, certainly, has a more momentous question been discussed in any age or in any country; for, it was fraught, not only with the destinies of this wide extended continent, but, as the event has shown, and is still showing, with the destinies of man, all over the world.

How fearful that question then was, no one can tell but those who forgetting all that has since past, can transport themselves back to the time, and plant their feet on the ground which those patriots then occupied. “Shadows, clouds, and darkness” then covered all the future, and the present was full only of danger and terror. A more unequal contest never was proposed. It was, indeed, as it was then said to be, the shepherd boy of Israel going forth to battle against the giant of Gath; and there were yet among us, enough to tremble when they heard that giant say, “Come to me, and I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field.” But, there were those who never trembled—who knew that there was a God in Israel, and who were willing to commit their cause “to his even-handed justice,” and his Almighty power. That their great trust was in Him, is manifest from the remarks that were continually breaking from the lips of the patriots. Thus, the patriot Hawley, when pressed upon the inequality of the contest, could only answer, “We

must put to sea—Providence will bring us into port;” and Patrick Henry, when urged upon the same topic, exclaimed, “ True, true ; but there is a God above, who rules and overrules the destinies of nations.”

Amid this appalling array that surrounded them, the first to enter the breach, sword in hand, was John Adams—the vision of his youth at his heart, and his country in every nerve. On the sixth of May, he offered, in committee of the whole, the significant resolution, that the colonies should form governments independent of the crown. This was the harbinger of more important measures, and seems to have been put forward to feel the pulse of the House. The resolution, after a bloody struggle, was adopted on the 15th day of May following. On the 7th of June, by previous concert, Richard Henry Lee moved the great resolution of Independence, and was seconded by John Adams; and “ then came the tug of war.” The debate upon it was continued from the 7th to the 10th, when the further consideration of it was postponed to the 1st of July, and at the same time a committee of five was appointed to prepare, provisionally, a draught of a Declaration of Independence. At the head of this important committee, which was then appointed by a vote of the House, although he was probably the youngest member, and one of the youngest men in the House, (for he had served only part of the former session, and was but thirty-two years of age,) stands the name of Thomas Jefferson—Mr. Adams stands next. And these two gentlemen having been deputed a sub-committee to prepare the draught, that draught, at Mr. Adams’ earnest importunity, was prepared by his more youthful friend. Of this transaction Mr. Adams is himself the historian, and the authorship of the Declaration, though once disputed, is thus placed forever beyond the reach of question.

The final debate on the resolution was postponed, as we have seen, for nearly a month. In the mean time, all who are conversant with the course of action of all deliberative bodies, know how much is done by conversation among the members. It is not often, indeed, that proselytes are

on great questions by public debate. On such questions, opinions are far more frequently formed in private, and so formed that debate is seldom known to change them. Hence the value of the out-of-door talent of chamber consultation, where objections candidly stated are candidly, calmly, and mildly discussed ; where neither pride, nor shame, nor anger, take part in the discussion, nor stand in the way of a correct conclusion : but where every thing being conducted frankly, delicately, respectfully, and kindly, the better cause and the better reasoner are almost always sure of success. In this kind of service, as well as in all that depended on the power of composition, Mr. Jefferson was as much a master-magician, as his eloquent friend Adams was in debate. They were, in truth, hemispheres of the same golden globe, and required only to be brought and put together, to prove that they were parts of the same heaven-formed whole.

On the present occasion, however, much still remained to be effected by debate. The first of July came, and the great debate on the resolution for Independence was resumed, with fresh spirit. The discussion was again protracted for two days, which, in addition to the former three, were sufficient, in that age, to call out all the speaking talent of the House. Botta, the Italian historian of our Revolution, has made Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Lee the principal speakers on the opposite sides of this question ; and availing himself of that dramatic license of ancient historians, which the fidelity of modern history has exploded, he has drawn, from his own fancy, two orations, which he has put into the mouths of those distinguished men. With no disposition to touch, with a hostile hand, one leaf of the well-earned laurels of Mr. Lee, (which every American would feel far more pleasure in contributing to brighten and to cherish,) and with no feelings but those of reverence and gratitude for the memory of the other great patriots who assisted in that debate, may we not say, and are we not bound in justice to say, that Botta is mistaken in the relative promineney of one, at least, of his prolocutors ? Mr. Jefferson has told us that "the *Colossus* of that Congress

“—the great pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and champion on the floor of the House, was John Adams.” How he supported it, can now be only matter of imagination: for, the debate was conducted with closed doors, and there was no reporter on the floor to catch the strains living as they rose. I will not attempt what Mr. Adams himself, if he were alive, could not accomplish. He might recall the topics of argument: but with regard to those flashes of inspiration, those bursts of passion, which grew out of the awful feelings of the moment, they are gone for ever, with the reality of the occasion: and the happiest effort of fancy to supply their place, (by me, at least,) would bear no better resemblance to the original, than the petty cripitations of an artificial volcano, to the sublime explosions of thundering *Ætna*. Waiving, therefore, the example of Botta, let it suffice for us to know that in that moment of darkness, of terror, and of consternation, when the election was to be made between an attempt at liberty and Independence on the one hand, and defeat, subjugation, and death, on the other, the courage of Adams, in the true spirit of heroism, rose in proportion to the dangers that pressed around him; and that he poured forth that only genuine eloquence, the eloquence of the soul, which, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, “moved his hearers from their seats.” The objections of his adversaries were seen no longer but in a state of wreck; floating, in broken fragments, on the billows of the storm: and over rocks, over breakers, and amid ingulphing whirlpools, that every where surrounded him, he brought the gallant ship of the nation safe into port.

It was on the evening of the day on which this great victory was achieved, (before which, in moral grandeur, the trophies of Marengo and the Nile fade away,) and while his mind was yet rolling with the agitation of the recent tempest, that he wrote that letter to the venerable partner of his bosom, which has now become matter of history; in which after announcing the adoption of the resolution, he foretells the future glories of his country, and the honors with which the returning anni-

versary of her Declaration of Independence would be hailed, till time should be no more. That which strikes us on the first perusal of this letter, is, the prophetic character with which it is stamped, and the exactness with which its predictions have been fulfilled. But, his biographer will remark in it another character : the deep political calculation of results, through which the mind of the writer, according to its habit, had flashed ; and the firm and undoubting confidence with which, in spite of those appearances that alarmed and misled weaker minds, he looked to the triumphant close of the struggle.

The resolution having been carried, the draught of the Declaration came to be examined in detail ; and, so faultless had it issued from the hands of its author, that it was adopted as he had prepared it, pruned only of a few of its brightest inherent beauties, through a prudent deference to some of the States. It was adopted about noon of the Fourth, and proclaimed to an exulting nation, on the evening of the same day.

That brave and animated band who signed it—where are they now ? What heart does not sink at the question ? One only survives : CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton—a noble specimen of the age that has gone by, and now the single object of that age, on whom the veneration and prayers of his country are concentrated. The rest have bequeathed to us the immortal record of their virtue and patriotism, and have ascended to a brighter reward than man can confer.

Of that instrument to which you listen with reverence on every returning anniversary of its adoption, “ which forms the ornament of our halls, and the first political lesson of our children,” it is needless to speak. You know that in its origin and object, it was a statement of the causes which had compelled our Fathers to separate themselves from Great Britain, and to declare these States free and independent. It was the voice of the American Nation addressing herself to the other Nations of the Earth : and the address is, in all respects, worthy of this noble personification. It is the great

argument of America in vindication of her course ; and as Mr. Adams had been the Colossus of the cause on the floor of Congress, his illustrious friend, the author of this instrument, may well be pronounced to have been its Colossus on the theatre of the World.

The decisive step which fixed the destiny of the nation had now been taken : and that step was irrevocable. "The die was now indeed, cast. The Rubicon had been crossed," effectually, finally, for ever. There was no return but to chains, to slavery, and death. No such backward step was meditated by the firm hearts that led on the march of the nation : but, confiding in the justice of Heaven, and the final triumph of truth, they moved forward in solid phalanx, and with martial step, regardless of the tempest that was breaking around them.

Their confidence in the favor and protection of Heaven, however, strong and unshaken as it was, did not dispose them to relax their own exertions, nor to neglect the earthly means of securing their triumph. They were not of the number of those who call upon Hercules, and put not their own shoulders to the wheel. Our adversary was one of the most powerful nations on earth. Our whole strength consisted of a few stout hearts and a good cause. But, we were woefully deficient in all the sinews of war : we wanted men, we wanted arms, we wanted money ; and these could be procured only from abroad. But the intervening ocean was covered with the fleets of the enemy ; and the patriot Laurens, one of their captives, was already a prisoner in the Tower of London.— Who was there to undertake this perilous service ? He who was ever ready to peril any service in the cause of his country : John Adams. Congress knew their man, and did not hesitate on the choice. Appointed a minister to France, he promptly obeyed the sacred call, and, with a brave and fearless heart, he ran the gauntlet through the hostile fleet, and arrived in safety. Passing from Court to Court, he pleaded the cause of his country with all the resistless energy of truth ; and availing himself, adroitly, of the selfish passions

and interests of those Courts, he ceased not to ply his efforts, with matchless dexterity, until the objects of his mission were completely attained. With the exception of one short interval of a return home, in '79, when he aided in giving form to the Constitution of his native State, he remained abroad, in France, in Holland—wherever he could be most useful—in the strenuous, faithful and successful service of his country, receiving repeated votes of thanks from Congress, till the storm was over, and peace and liberty came to crown his felicity, and realize the cherished vision of his youth.

Mr. Jefferson, meanwhile, was not less strenuously and successfully engaged at home, in forwarding and confirming the great objects of the Revolution, and making it a revolution of mind, as well as of government. Marking, with that sagacity which distinguished him, the series of inventions by which tyranny had contrived to tutor the mind to subjection, and educate it in habits of servile subordination, he proceeded, in Virginia, with the aid of Pendleton and Wythe, to break off the manacles, one by one, and deliver the imprisoned intellect from this debasing sorcery. The law of entails, that feudal contrivance to foster and nourish a vicious aristocracy at the expense of the community, had, at a previous period, been broken up, on their suggestion; and property was left to circulate freely, and impart health and vigor to the operations of society. The law of primogeniture, that other feudal contrivance to create and keep up an artificial inequality among men whom their Creator had made equal, was now repealed, and the parent and his children were restored to their natural relation. And, above all, that daring usurpation on the rights of the Creator, as well as the creature, which presumes to dictate to man what he shall believe, and in what form he shall offer the worship of his heart, and this, too, for the vile purpose of strengthening the hands of a temporal tyrant, by feeding and pampering the tools of his power, was indignantly demolished, and the soul was restored to its free communion with the God who gave it.

The preamble to the bill establishing religious freedom in

Virginia, is one of the most morally sublime of human productions. By its great author it was always esteemed as one of his happiest efforts, and the measure itself one of his best services, as the short and modest epitaph left by him attests. Higher praise cannot and need not be given to it, than to say, it is in all respects worthy of the pen which wrote the Declaration of Independence : that it breathes the same lofty and noble spirit ; and is a fit companion for that immortal instrument.

The legislative enactments that have been mentioned, form a small part, only, of an entire revision of the laws of Virginia. The collection of bills passed by these great men, (one hundred and twenty-six in number,) presents a system of jurisprudence, so comprehensive, profound, and beautiful, so perfectly, so happily adapted to the new state of things, that, if its authors had never done any thing else, impartial history would have assigned them a place by the side of Solon and Lycurgus.

In 1779, Mr. Jefferson was called to assume the helm of government in Virginia, in succession to Patrick Henry.— He took that helm, at the moment when war, for the first time, had entered the limits of the Commonwealth. With what strength, fidelity and ability he held it, under the most trying circumstances, the highest testimonials now stand on the journals of Congress, as well as those of Virginia. It is true that a poor attempt was made, in after times, to wound the honor of his administration. But he bore a charmed character ; and this, like every other blow that has ever been aimed at it, only recoiled to crush his accuser, and to leave him the brighter and stronger for the assault.

In 1781, his alert and active mind, which watched the rising character of his new-born country, with all the jealous vigilance of an anxious father, found a new occasion to call him into the intellectual field. Our country was yet but imperfectly known in Europe. Its face, its soil, its physical capacities, its animals, and even the men who inhabited it, were so little known, as to have furnished to philosophers abroad a

theme of unfounded and degrading speculation. Those visionaries, dreaming over theories which they wanted the means or the inclination to confront with facts, had advanced, among others, the fantastic notion that even man degenerated by transplantation to America. To refute this insolent position, and to place his country before Europe and the world on the elevated ground she was entitled to hold, the Notes on Virginia were prepared and published. He there pointed to Washington, to Franklin, and to Rittenhouse, as being alone sufficient to exterminate this heresy; and we may now point to Jefferson and to Adams, as sufficient to annihilate it. This pure and proud offering on the altar of his country, "The Notes on Virginia," honored its author abroad not less than at home; and when shortly afterwards, the public service called him to Europe, it gave him a prompt and distinguished passport into the highest circles of science and literature.

Thus actively and usefully employed in guarding the fame, and advancing the honor and happiness of his country, the war of the Revolution came to its close; and, on the 19th of October, 1781, of which this day is the anniversary, Great Britain bowed to the ascendancy of our cause. Her last effective army struck her standard on the heights of York, and peace and independence came to bless our land.

Mr. Adams was still abroad when this great consummation of his early hopes took place: and, although the war was over, a difficult task still remained to be performed. The terms of peace were yet to be arranged, and to be arranged under circumstances of the most complicated embarrassment. That the acknowledgment of our independence was to be its first and indispensable condition, was well understood; and Mr. Adams, then at the Hague, with that decision which always marked his character, refused to leave his post and take part in the negotiation at Paris, until the powers of the British commissioner should be so enlarged as to authorize him to make that acknowledgment unequivocally. I will not detain you by a rehearsal of what you so well know, the difficulties

and intricacies by which this negotiation was protracted. Suffice it to say, that the firmness and skill of the American Commissioners triumphed on every point. The treaty of peace was executed; and the last seal was thus put to the independence of these States.

Thus closed the great drama of the American Revolution. And here for a moment let us pause. If the services of our departed fathers had closed at this point, as it did with many of their compatriots—with too many, if the wishes and prayers of their country could have averted it—what obligations, what honors, should we not owe to their memories! What would not the world owe to them! But, as if they had not already done enough, as if, indeed, they had done nothing, while any thing yet remained to be done, they were ready with renovated youth and elastic step, to take a new start in the career of their emancipated country.

The Federal Constitution was adopted, and a new leaf was turned in the history of man. With what characters the page should be inscribed—whether it should open a great æra of permanent good to the human family, or pass away like a portent of direful evil, was now to depend on the wisdom and virtue of America. At this time our two great patriots were both abroad in the public service: Mr. Adams in England, where, in 1787, he refuted, by his great work “The Defence of the American Constitutions,” the wild theories of Turgot, De Mably, and Price; and Mr. Jefferson in France, where he was presenting in his own person a living and splendid refutation of the notion of degeneracy in the American man. On the adoption of the Federal Constitution, they were both called home, to lend the weight of their character and talents to this new and momentous experiment on the capacity of man for self-government. Mr. Adams was called to fill the second office under the new Government, the first having been justly conferred by the rule “*deter fortiori* :” and Mr. Jefferson, to take the direction of the highest Executive Department. The office of Vice President afforded, as you are aware, no scope for the public display of talent. But the

leisure which it allowed, enabled Mr. Adams to pour out, from his full-fraught mind, another great political work, his Discourses on Davilla; and, while he presided over the Senate with unexceptionable dignity and propriety, President Washington always found in him an able and honest adviser, in whom his confidence was implicit and unbounded.

Mr. Jefferson had a theatre that called for action. The Department of State was now, for the first time to be organized. Its operations were all to be moulded into system, and an intellectual character was to be given to it, as well as the Government to which it belonged, before this nation and before the world. The frequent calls made by Congress for reports on the most abstruse questions of science connected with Government, and on those vast and novel and multifarious subjects of political economy, peculiar to this wide extended and diversified continent: discussions with the ministers of foreign Governments, more especially with those of France and England and Spain, on those great and agitating questions of international law, which were then continually arising; and instructions to our own Ministers abroad, resident at the Courts of the great belligerent powers, and who had consequently the most delicate and discordant interests to manage: presented a series of labors for the mind, which few, *very few* men in this or any other country could have sustained with reputation. How Mr. Jefferson acquitted himself you all know. It is one of the peculiarities of his character to have discharged the duties of every office to which he was called, with such exact, appropriate, and felicitous ability, that he seemed, for the time, to have been born for that alone. As an evidence of the unanimous admiration of the matchless skill and talent with which he discharged the duties of this office, I hope it may be mentioned, without awaking any asperity of feeling, that when, at a subsequent period, he was put in nomination by his friends for the office of President, his adversaries publicly objected—"that Nature had made him only for a Secretary of State."

President Washington having set the great example, which

has ingrafted on the Constitution as firmly as if it had formed one of its express provisions, the principle of retiring from the office of President at the end of eight years, Mr. Adams succeeded him, and Mr. Jefferson followed Mr. Adams in the office of Vice President.

Mr. Adams came into the office of President at a time of great commotion, produced chiefly by the progress of the revolution in France, and those strong sympathies which it naturally generated here. The spirit of party was high, and in the feverish excitement of the day much was said and done, on both sides, which the voice of impartial history, if it shall descend to such details, will unquestionably condemn, and which the candid and the good on both sides lived, themselves, to regret. One incident I will mention, because it is equally honorable to both the great men whom we are uniting in these obsequies. In Virginia, where the opposition ran high, the younger politicians of the day, taking their tone from the public Journals, have, on more occasions than one, in the presence of Mr. Jefferson, imputed to Mr. Adams a concealed design to sap the foundations of the Republic, and to supply its place with a Monarchy, on the British model. The uniform answer of Mr. Jefferson to this charge will never be forgotten by those who have heard it, and of whom (as I have recently had occasion to prove) there are many still living, besides the humble individual who is now addressing you. It was this: "Gentlemen, you do not know that man: there is not upon this earth a more perfectly honest man than John Adams. Concealment is no part of his character; of that he is utterly incapable: it is not in his nature to meditate any thing that he would not publish to the world. The measures of the General Government are a fair subject for difference of opinion. But do not found your opinions on the notion, that there is the smallest spice of dishonesty, moral or political, in the character of John Adams: for, I know him *well*, and I repeat it, that a man more perfectly honest never issued from the hands of his Creator." And

such is now, and has long been, the unanimous opinion of his countrymen.

Of the measures adopted during his administration you do not expect me to speak. I should offend against your own sense of propriety, were I to attempt it. We are here, to mingle together over the grave of the departed patriot, our feelings of reverence and gratitude for services whose merit we all acknowledge : and cold must be the heart which does not see and feel, in his life, enough to admire and to love, without striking one string that could produce one unhallowed note. History and biography will do ample justice to every part of his character, public and private ; and impartial posterity will correct whatever errors of opinion may have been committed to his prejudice by his cotemporaries. Let it suffice for us, at this time, to know, that he administered the Government with a pure, and honest, and upright heart ; and that whatever he advised, flowed from the master passion of his breast, a holy and all-absorbing love for the happiness and honor of his country.

Mr. Jefferson, holding the Vice Presidency, did not leave even that negative office, as, indeed, he never left any other, without marking its occupancy with some useful and permanent vestige. For, it was during this term, that he digested and compiled that able manual which now gives the law of proceeding, not only to the two Houses of Congress, but to all the Legislatures of the States throughout the Union.

On Mr. Adams' retirement, pursuing the destiny which seems to have tied them together, Mr. Jefferson again followed him in the office which he had vacated, the Presidency of the United States : and he had the good fortune to find, or to make, a smoother sea. The violence of the party storm gradually abated, and he was soon able to pursue his peaceful course without any material interruption. Having forbore, for the obvious reasons which have been suggested, to touch the particulars of Mr. Adams' administration, the same forbearance, for the same reasons, must be exercised with regard to Mr. Jefferson. But, forbearing details, it will be no depar-

ture from this rule to state in general the facts : that Mr. Jefferson continued at the helm for eight years, the term which the example of Washington had consecrated ; that he so administered the Government as to meet the admiration and applause of a great majority of his countrymen, as the overwhelming suffrage at his second election attests : that by that majority he was thought to have presented a perfect model of a republican administration, on the true basis, and in the true spirit of the Constitution ; and that, by them the measures of all the succeeding administrations have been continually brought to the standard of Mr. Jefferson's, as to an established and unquestionable test, and approved or condemned in proportion to their accordance with that standard. These are facts which are known to you all. Another fact I will mention, because it redounds so highly to the honor of his magnanimous and patriotic rival. It is this : that that part of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and of his successor treading in his steps, which was most violently opposed, the policy pursued towards the British Government subsequent to 1806, received the open, public, and powerful support of the pen, as well as the tongue, of the great sage of Quincy. The banished Aristides never gave a nobler proof of pure and disinterested patriotism. It was a genuine emanation from the altar of the Revolution, and in perfect accordance with the whole tenor of the life of our illustrious patriot sage.

Waving all comment on Mr. Jefferson's public measures, there is yet a minor subject, which, standing where we do, there seems to be a peculiar propriety in noticing ; for, small as it is, it is strikingly characteristic of the man, and we have an immediate interest in the subject. It is this : the great objects of national concern, and the great measures which he was continually projecting and executing for the public good, on a new and vast scheme of policy wholly his own, and stamped with all the vigor and grandeur of his Olympic mind, although they were such as would not only have engrossed but overwhelmed almost any other man, did not even give full employment to him ; but with that versatile and restless activ-

ity which was prone to busy itself usefully and efficaciously with all around him, he found time to amuse himself and to gratify his natural taste for the beautiful, by directing and overlooking in person, (as many of you can witness) the improvements and ornaments of this city of the nation: and it is to his taste and industry that we owe, among other things which it were needless to enumerate, this beautiful avenue,* which he left in such order as to excite the admiration of all who approached us.

Having closed his administration, he was followed by the applause, the gratitude, and blessings of his country, into that retirement which no man was ever better fitted to grace and enjoy. And from this retirement, together with his precursor, the venerable patriarch of Quincy, could enjoy, that supreme of all earthly happiness, the retrospect of a life well and greatly spent in the service of his country and mankind. The successful warrior, who has desolated whole empires for his own aggrandizement, the successful usurper of his country's rights and liberties, may have their hours of swelling pride, in which they may look back with a barbarous joy upon the triumph of their talents, and feast upon the adulation of the sycophants that surround them; but, night and silence come; and conscience takes her turn. The bloody field rises upon the startled imagination. The shades of the slaughtered innocent stalk, in terrific procession before the couch. The agonizing cry of countless widows and orphans invades the ear. The bloody dagger of the assassin plays, in airy terror, before the vision. Violated liberty lifts her avenging lance, and a down-trodden nation rises, before them, in all the majesty of its wrath. What, what are the hours of a splendid wretch like this, compared with those that shed their poppies and their roses upon the pillows of our peaceful and virtuous patriots! Every night bringing to them the balm and health of repose, and every morning offering to them "their history in

*Pennsylvania Avenue.

a nation's eyes!" This, this it is to be greatly virtuous : and be this the only ambition that shall ever touch an American bosom !

Still unexhausted by such a life of service in the cause of his country, Mr. Jefferson found yet another and most appropriate employment for his old age : the erection of a seat of science in his native State. The University of Virginia is his work. His, the first conception : his, the whole impulse and direction ; his, the varied and beautiful architecture, and the entire superintendence of its erection : the whole scheme of its studies, its organization, and government, are his. He is, therefore, indeed the father of the University of Virginia.— That it may fulfil to the full extent, the great and patriotic purposes and hopes of its founder, cannot fail to be the wish of every American bosom. This was the last and crowning labor of Mr. Jefferson's life : a crown so poetically appropriate, that fancy might well suppose it to have been wreathed and placed on his brow by the hand of the epic muse herself.

It is the remark of one of the most elegant writers of antiquity, in the beautiful essay which he has left us " on Old Age," that " to those who have not within themselves the resources of living well and happily, every age is oppressive ; but that to those who have, nothing is an evil which the necessity of nature brings along with it." How rich our two patriots were in these internal resources, you all know. How lightly they bore the burthen of increasing years was apparent from the cheerfulness and vigor with which, after having survived the age to which they properly belonged, they continued to live among their posterity. How happy they were in their domestic relations, how beloved by their neighbors and friends, how revered and honored by their country and by the friends of liberty in every quarter of the world, is a matter of open and public notoriety. Their houses were the constant and thronged resort of the votaries of virtue, and science, and genius, and patriotism, from every portion of the

civilized globe ; and no one ever left them without confessing that his highest expectations had been realized, and even surpassed, in the interview.

Of " the chief of the Argonauts," as Mr. Jefferson so classically and so happily styled his illustrious friend of the North, it is my misfortune to be able to speak only by report. But every representation concurs, in drawing the same pleasing and affecting picture of the Roman simplicity in which that Father of his Country lived ; of the frank, warm, cordial, and elegant reception that he gave to all who approached him ; of the interesting kindness with which he disbursed the golden treasures of his experience, and shed around him the rays of his descending sun. His conversation was rich in anecdote and characters of the times that were past ; rich in political and moral instruction ; full of that best of wisdom, which is learnt from real life, and flowing from his heart with that warm and honest frankness, that fervor of feeling and force of diction, which so strikingly distinguished him in the meridian of his life. Many of us heard that simple and touching account given of a parting scene with him, by one of our eloquent divines : When he rose up from that little couch behind the door, on which he was wont to rest his aged and weary limbs, and with his silver locks hanging on each side of his honest face, stretched forth that pure hand, which was never soiled even by a suspicion, and gave his kind and parting benediction. Such was the blissful and honored retirement of the sage of Quincy. Happy the life which, verging upon a century, had met with but one serious political disappointment ! and even for that, he had lived to receive a golden atonement, " even in that quarter in which he had garnered up his heart."

Let us now turn for a moment to the patriot of the South. The Roman moralist, in that great work which he has left for the government of man in all the offices of life, has descended even to prescribe the kind of habitation in which an honored and distinguished man should dwell. It should not, he says, be small, and mean, and sordid : nor, on the other hand

extended with profuse and wanton extravagance. It should be large enough to receive and accommodate the visitors which such a man never fails to attract, and suited in its ornaments, as well as its dimensions, to the character and fortune of the individual. Monticello has now lost its great charm. Those of you who have not already visited it, will not be very apt to visit it, hereafter : and, from the feelings which you cherish for its departed owner, I persuade myself that you will not be displeased with a brief and rapid sketch of that abode of domestic bliss, that temple of science. Nor is it, indeed, foreign to the express purpose of this meeting, which, in looking to "his life and character," naturally embraces his home and his domestic habits. Can any thing be indifferent to us, which was so dear to him, and which was a subject of such just admiration to the hundreds and thousands that were continually resorting to it, as to an object of pious pilgrimage ?

The Mansion House at Monticello was built and furnished in the days of his prosperity. In its dimensions, its architecture, its arrangements, and ornaments, it is such a one as became the character and fortune of the man. It stands upon an elliptic plain, formed by cutting down the apex of a mountain ; and, on the West, stretching away to the North and the South, it commands a view of the Blue Ridge for a hundred and fifty miles, and brings under the eye one of the boldest and most beautiful horizons in the world : while, on the East, it presents an extent of prospect, bounded only by the spherical form of the earth, in which nature seems to sleep in eternal repose, as if to form one of her finest contrasts with the rude and rolling grandeur on the West. In the wide prospect, and scattered to the North and South, are several detached mountains, which contribute to animate and diversify this enchanting landscape : and among them, to the South, Williss' Mountain, which is so interestingly depicted in his Notes. From this summit, the Philosopher was wont to enjoy that spectacle, among the sublimest of Nature's operations, the looming of the distant mountains ; and to watch the motions of the planets, and the greater revolution of the celestial sphere. From this summit, too, the patriot could look down, with uninter-

rupted vision, upon the wide expanse of the world around, for which he considered himself born ; and upward, to the open and vaulted Heavens which he seemed to approach, as if to keep him continually in mind of his high responsibility. It is indeed a prospect in which you see and feel, at once, that nothing mean or little could live. It is a scene fit to nourish those great and high-souled principles which formed the elements of his character, and was a most noble and appropriate post, for such a sentinel, over the rights and liberties of man.

Approaching the house on the East, the visiter instinctively paused, to cast around one thrilling glance at this magnificent panorama : and then passed to the vestibule, where, if he had not been previously informed, he would immediately perceive that he was entering the house of no common man. In the spacious and lofty hall which opens before him, he marks no tawdry and unmeaning ornaments : but before, on the right, on the left, all around, the eye is struck and gratified with objects of science and taste, so classed and arranged as to produce their finest effect. On one side, specimens of sculpture set out, in such order, as to exhibit at a *coup d'œil*, the historical progress of that art ; from the first rude attempts of the aborigines of our country, up to that exquisite and finished bust of the great patriot himself, from the master hand of Caracci. On the other side, the visiter sees displayed a vast collection of specimens of Indian art, their paintings, weapons, ornaments, and manufactures ; on another, an array of the fossil productions of our country, mineral and animal ; the polished remains of those colossal monsters that once trod our forests, and are no more ; and a variegated display of the branching honors of those "monarchs of the waste," that still people the wilds of the American Continent.

From this hall he was ushered into a noble saloon, from which the glorious landscape of the West again burst upon his view ; and which, within, is hung thick around with the finest productions of the pencil—historical paintings of the most striking subjects from all countries, and all ages ; the portraits of distinguished men and patriots, both of Europe and America, and medallions and engravings in endless profusion.

While the visiter was yet lost in the contemplation of these treasures of the arts and sciences, he was startled by the approach of a strong and sprightly step, and turning with instinctive reverence to the door of entrance, he was met by the tall, and animated, and stately figure of the patriot himself—his countenance beaming with intelligence and benignity, and his outstretched hand, with its strong and cordial pressure, confirming the courteous welcome of his lips. And then came that charm of manner and conversation that passes all description—so cheerful—so unassuming—so free, and easy, and frank, and kind, and gay—that even the young, and overawed, and embarrassed visiter at once forgot his fears, and felt himself by the side of an old and familiar friend. There was no effort, no ambition in the conversation of the philosopher. It was as simple and unpretending as nature itself. And while in this easy manner he was pouring out instruction, like light from an inexhaustible solar fountain, he seemed continually to be asking, instead of giving information. The visiter felt himself lifted by the contact, into a new and nobler region of thought, and became surprised at his own buoyancy and vigor. He could not, indeed, help being astounded, now and then, at those transcendent leaps of the mind, which he saw made without the slightest exertion, and the ease with which this wonderful man played with subjects which he had been in the habit of considering among the *argumenta crucis* of the intellect. And then there seemed to be no end to his knowledge. He was a thorough master of every subject that was touched. From the details of the humblest mechanic art, up to the highest summit of science, he was perfectly at his ease, and, every where at home. There seemed to be no longer any *terra incognita* of the human understanding: for, what the visiter had thought so, he now found reduced to a familiar garden walk; and all this carried off so lightly, so playfully, so gracefully, so engagingly, that he won every heart that approached him, as certainly as he astonished every mind.

Mr. Jefferson was wont to remark, that he never left the conversation of Dr. Franklin without carrying away with him

something new and useful. How often, and how truly, has the same remark been made of him. Nor is this wonderful, when we reflect, that, that mind of matchless vigor and versatility had been, all his life, intensely engaged in conversing with the illustrious dead, or following the march of science in every land, or bearing away, on its own steady and powerful wing, into new and unexplored regions of thought.

Shall I follow him to the table of his elegant hospitality, and show him to you in the bosom of his enchanting family? Alas! those attic days are gone; that sparkling eye is quenched; that voice of pure and delicate affection, which ran with such brilliancy and effect through the whole compass of colloquial music, now bright with wit, now melting with tenderness, is hushed forever in the grave! But let me leave a theme on which friendship and gratitude have, I fear, already been tempted to linger too long.

There was one solace of the declining years of both these great men, which must not be passed. It is that correspondence which arose between them, after their retirement from public life. That correspondence, it is to be hoped, will be given to the world. If it ever shall, I speak from knowledge when I say, it will be found to be one of the most interesting and affecting that the world has ever seen. That "cold cloud" which had hung for a time over their friendship, passed away with the conflict out of which it had grown, and the attachment of their early life returned in all its force. They had both now bid adieu, a final adieu, to all public employments, and were done with all the agitating passions of life. They were dead to the ambitious world; and this correspondence resembles, more than any thing else, one of those conversations in the Elysium of the ancients, which the shades of the departed great were supposed by them to hold, with regard to the affairs of the world they had left. There are the same playful allusions to the points of difference that had divided their parties: the same mutual, and light, and unimpassioned raillery on their own past misconceptions and mistakes; the same mutual and just admiration and respect for

their many virtues and services to mankind. That correspondence was, to them both, one of the most genial employments of their old age : and it reads a lesson of wisdom on the bitterness of party spirit, by which the wise and the good will not fail to profit.

Besides this affectionate intercourse between them, you are aware of the extensive correspondence which they maintained with others, and of which some idea may be formed by those letters which, since their death, have already broken upon us through the press, from quarters so entirely unexpected. They were considered as the living historians of the Revolution and of the past age, as well as oracles of wisdom to all who consulted them. Their habit in this particular seems to have been the same ; never to omit answering any respectful letter they received, no matter how obscure the individual, or how insignificant the subject. With Mr. Jefferson this was a sacred law, and as he always wrote at a polygraphic desk, copies have been preserved of every letter. His correspondence travelled far beyond his own country, and embraced within its circle many of the most distinguished men of his age in Europe. What a feast for the mind may we not expect from the published letters of these excellent men ! They were both masters in this way, though somewhat contrasted. Mr. Adams, plain, nervous, and emphatic, the thought couched in the fewest and strongest words, and striking with a kind of epigrammatic force. Mr. Jefferson, flowing with easy and careless melody, the language at the same time pruned of every redundant word, and giving the thought with the happiest precision, the aptest words dropping unbidden and unsought into their places, as if they had fallen from the skies ; and so beautiful, so felicitous, as to fill the mind with a succession of delightful surprises, while the judgment is, at the same time, made captive by the closely compacted energy of the argument. Mr. Jefferson's style is so easy and harmonious, as to have led superficial readers to remark, that he was deficient in strength : as if ruggedness and abruptness were essential to strength. Mr. Jefferson's strength was inherent in the

thoughts and conceptions, though hidden by the light and graceful vestments which he threw over them. The internal divinity existed and was felt, though concealed under the finely harmonized form of the man ; and if he did not exhibit himself in his compositions with the *insignia* of Hercules, the shaggy lion'sskin and the knotted club ; he bore the full quiver and the silver bow of Apollo ; and every polished shaft that he loosened from the string, told with unerring and fatal precision :

Δαυρή δ' ἰ καλὰ γὰρ γέννητ' ἀρ' ὑπέροιο βεβῆο

These two great men, so eminently distinguished among the patriots of the Revolution, and so illustrious by their subsequent services, became still more so, by having so long survived all that were most highly conspicuous among their coevals. All the stars of first magnitude, in the equatorial and tropical regions had long since gone down, and still they remained. Still they stood full in view, like those two resplendent constellations near the opposite poles, which never set to the inhabitants of the neighbouring zones.

But, they too were doomed at length to set : and such was their setting as no American bosom can ever forget !

In the midst of their fast decaying strength, and when it was seen that the approach of death was certain, their country and its glory still occupied their thoughts, and circulated with the last blood that was ebbing to their hearts. Those who surrounded the death-bed of Mr. Jefferson report, that in the few short intervals of delirium that occurred, his mind manifestly relapsed to the age of the Revolution. He talked, in broken sentences, of the Committees of Safety, and the rest of that great machinery which he imagined to be still in action. One of his exclamations was, " Warn the Committee to be on their guard ;" and he instantly rose in his bed, with the help of his attendants, and went through the act of writing a hurried note. But these intervals were few and short. His reason was almost constantly upon her throne, and the only aspiration he was heard to breathe, was the prayer, that he might live to see the Fourth of July. When that day came, all that he was heard to whisper, was the repeated ejaculation,—"*Nunc*

Domine dimittas," Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace! And the prayer of the patriot was heard and answered.

The Patriarch of Quincy, too, with the same certainty of death before him, prayed only for the protraction of his life to the same day. His prayer was also heard : and when a messenger from the neighboring festivities, unapprized of his danger, was deputed to ask him for the honor of a toast, he showed the object on which his dying eyes were fixed, and exclaimed with energy, " Independence for ever !" His country first, his country last, his country always !

"O save my country—Heaven ! he said—and died !"

Hitherto, Fellow citizens, the Fourth of July had been celebrated among us, only as the anniversary of our Independence, and its votaries had been merely human beings. But at its last recurrence—the great Jubilee of the nation—the anniversary, it may well be termed, of the liberty of man—Heaven, itself, mingled visibly in the celebration, and hallowed the day anew by a double apotheosis. Is there one among us to whom this language seems too strong ? Let him recall his own feelings, and the objection will vanish. When the report first reached us, of the death of the great man whose residence was nearest, who among us was not struck with the circumstance that he should have been removed on the day of his own highest glory ? And who, after the first shock of the intelligence, had passed, did not feel a thrill of mournful delight at the characteristic beauty of the close of such a life. But while our bosoms were yet swelling with admiration at this singularly beautiful coincidence, when the second report immediately followed, of the death of the great sage of Quincy, *on the same day*—I appeal to yourselves—is there a voice that was not hushed, is there a heart that did not quail, at this close manifestation of the hand of Heaven in our affairs ! Philosophy, recovered of her surprise, may affect to treat the coincidence as fortuitous. But Philosophy herself was mute, at the moment, under the pressure of the feeling that these illustrious men had rather been translated, than had died. It is in vain to tell us that men die by

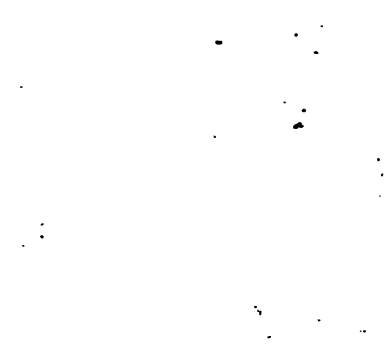
thousands every day in the year, all over the world. The wonder is not that two men have died on the same day, but that two *such* men, after having performed so many and such splendid services in the cause of liberty—after the multitude of other coincidences which seem to have linked their destinies together—after having lived so long together, the objects of their country's joint veneration—after having been spared to witness the great triumph of their toils at home—and looked together from Pisgah's top on the sublime effect of that grand impulse which they had given to the same glorious cause throughout the world, should on this fiftieth anniversary of the day on which they had ushered that cause into light, be both caught up to Heaven, together, in the midst of their raptures ! Is there a being, of heart so obdurate and sceptical, as not to feel the hand and hear the voice of Heaven in this wonderful dispensation ? And may we not, with reverence, interpret its language ? Is it not this ? “ These are my beloved servants, in whom I am well pleased. They have finished the work for which I sent them into the world : and are now called to their reward. *Go ye, and do likewise !*”

One circumstance, alone, remains to be noticed. In a *private* memorandum found among some other obituary papers and relics of Mr. Jefferson, is a suggestion, in case a memorial over him should ever be thought of, that a granite obelisk, of small dimensions, should be erected, with the following inscription :

HERE WAS BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statutes of Virginia, for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia.

All the long catalogue of his great, and splendid, and glorious services, reduced to this brief and modest summary !

Thus lived and thus died our sainted Patriots ! May their spirits still continue to hover over their countrymen, inspire all their counsels, and guide them in the same virtuous and noble path ! And may that God, in whose hands are the issues of all things, confirm and perpetuate, to us, the inestimable boon which, through their agency, he has bestowed ; and make our Columbia, the bright exemplar, for all the struggling sons of liberty around the globe !



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