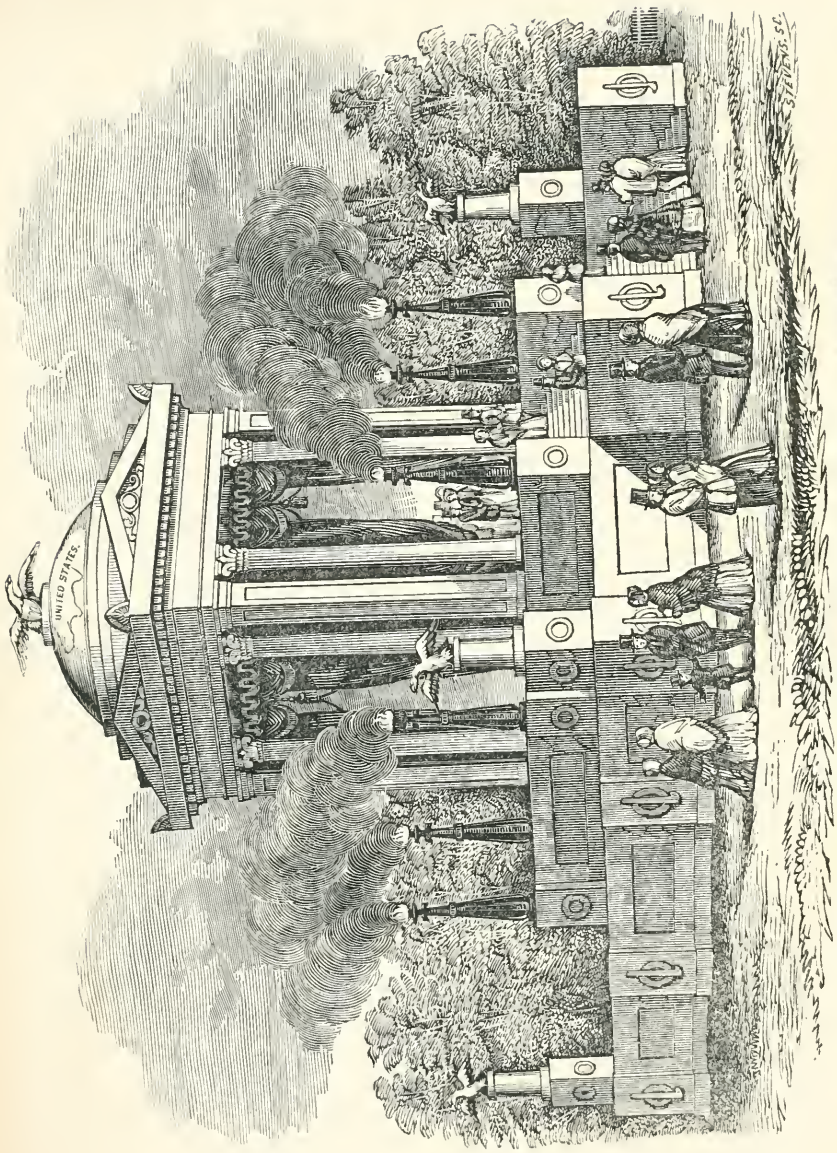


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THE CENOTAPH, DESIGNED BY MR. A. MONELLI.

A HISTORY

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

IN HONOR OF

CALHOUN, CLAY AND WEBSTER,

WHICH TOOK PLACE

ON

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9th, 1852.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS, ON THE AUTHORITY
OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

NEW ORLEANS:

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE PICAYUNE.

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PREFACE.

THIS PAMPHLET is designed to preserve in a connected and durable form, a full account of the Public Obsequies celebrated in the City of New Orleans on the 9th of December, 1852, in honor of the illustrious statesmen CALHOUN, CLAY, and WEBSTER.

Every thing connected with the ceremonial, from its first inception at a public meeting in Banks' Arcade, through all the stages of preparation, to the final grand conclusion, is herein minutely and faithfully recorded, and is deemed eminently worthy of preservation, as a memorial of a great event in the history of the age, a rare incident in our municipal annals, and a magnificent spectacle, which will not soon be surpassed. The ceremonial will be marked by all who witnessed it, as an epoch in their lives. No such pageant, so vast in its scale, so full in its details, managed with so much skill, and executed so perfectly—has ever before been exhibited here. The Executive Committees seem to have exactly comprehended the wishes of their fellow-citizens, and all they proposed was amply responded to by the voluntary acts of the people. The long drawn and solemn procession, marching to the sounds of wailing music, with banners craped and muffled, escorted the stately hearse and its funeral urns, with all the appointed emblems of mourning, through streets thronged with silent multitudes, and draped with spontaneous habiliments of grief. For the whole route, extending miles, not only the streets and sidewalks were thronged almost to obstruction, but the windows, story upon story, and the verandahs, balcony over balcony, were filled with serious

faces, looking intently upon the moving train below. Sable draperies curtained and festooned whole rows of houses, and scarcely a block failed to exhibit some costly or tasteful device, in unison with the official preparations, and exhibiting the universal sympathy with the objects of this public homage.

Setting aside all of this, which might rightfully be attributed to individual vanity and love of display, or to the popular fondness for parades and holidays, there was in the whole proceeding a sincerity and earnestness of feeling rarely witnessed, and which is not likely to be witnessed by any man twice in his lifetime. The thought, unexpressed, and perhaps not clearly defined, produced a profound impression upon most minds, that with the death of the Illustrious Triumvirate, whose memory these obsequies were designed to honor, a great gulf has been opened between the present and the past of the country—that we are entering upon a new era in our national career, without the counsels that have thus far been our guides—the genius that has illuminated our way—the eloquence and wisdom we have been accustomed to invoke, and have never found to fail us in moments of peril or doubt. The sense of national deprivation and national loss is thus obscurely mingled with misgivings for the future—which a rigid examination by reason might not altogether justify,—but which testifies to the vast space occupied in men's thoughts and hearts by the Great Dead.

We are not of those who believe that nature exhausts itself in any age in the production of great minds: or that any epoch will be found in human history without the evolvment of the genius to grapple with events and shape them to the ends of human progress. Others will rise to take the mastery of their own generation, to become orators, philosophers, statesmen, for those who come after us.

But the events and the training by which they are to be raised to the height of matured intellect and power to which these had attained in the acknowledged estimate of their cotemporaries, lie in that undiscovered future, into which we strain our thoughts vainly to penetrate. We have seen them in the fullness of their development, and we mourn them, not as men with whom greatness and virtue and eloquence have perished from the land, but because we know what they were, and what they have done, and were capable of doing: and we do not know who is to be the CALHOUN, the CLAY, or the WEBSTER of the time that we feel to be coming, when we know that we shall need them. There is no want of faith in Providence or trust in humanity, in the mingling of these doubts for the future with the grateful memories of the past, and the reverent homage we pay to the great endowments and great virtues with which the subjects of these funeral tributes have elevated and adorned the American name.

Among the superstitions of the heathens prevalent in all times, but most known to us in the literature of the classics, is that which supposes the spirits of the dead to be pleased and composed by the honors paid to their mortal remains. Hence the ancients instituted expensive games and sacrifices for the dead. Among barbarous nations the sentiment runs into cruel excesses, corresponding with the character of the race, in offering that which was most exciting to the pride and passions of the living, as a tribute after death. The Iliad closes with a gorgeous account of the pomp with which Troy exhibited her acute grief for the death of her great champion.

"Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

A purer code has reformed the philosophy of this belief and changed the manner of its manifestations, but the sentiment which gave rise to it is eternal and universal. The great pass away, and

we do not now institute games, or slaughter oxen, or build up sacrifices. We think not that their shades will repose more or less quietly from any manifestation of our reverence and regret. But we give vent to natural and honorable emotions; and though the rest of the dead may not be stirred to any human joy by any thing done for their honor on earth, we know and feel that many a living heart, strained with cares, and striving against doubts and discouragements in the steep ascent to fame, will be soothed and strengthened in its tasks, and borne onward and upward in its aspirations, by these majestic tokens of the homage which genius wins from the world. They set up beacons upon which longing eyes gaze intently in absorbing veneration for the past,—and swelling souls find in them a perpetual motive and unailing support in the toils and exertions of public life. They are the aliment upon which young ambition feeds and hardens until it is able to achieve the greatness it emulates, and to earn the lofty rewards of posthumous renown, the aspiration after which first fired its zeal.

In the contemplation of these unstinted honors to the memory of CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER, not only will many an obscure youth find stimulants to perseverance in the path of public duty, but living statesmen yet in the heat of conflict, may find in them the consoling assurance of a just appreciation, when they, too, shall have emerged into an atmosphere cleared of the partisan mists of the day. To that serene region, Death raises them at once. There the prejudices of the time vanish, and the instincts of justice, gratitude and reverence resume their sway. The dead have no longer partisans or enemies among their countrymen. We all join to do honor to their memory—to claim an equal share in their renown—to mourn together over their loss,—and to unite as kindred to plant laurels upon their tombs.

A HISTORY

OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE
FUNERAL CEREMONIES IN HONOR OF CALHOUN, CLAY AND WEBSTER,
WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9th, 1852.

The intelligence of the death of DANIEL WEBSTER was first made known in New Orleans, by the publication of an extra issued from the office of the Picayune, on the afternoon of the day on which the illustrious American died. The event, which threw the greatest nation of the world into unfeigned mourning, took place at the country residence of the deceased, Marshfield, Massachusetts, at 3 o'clock, on the morning of Sunday, October 24th, 1852. The Picayune alone, received the sad news that day, by telegraph, and immediately published it, accompanied by the following message, promptly issued by the Hon. A. D. Crossman, Mayor of this city.

MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS,
October 24, 1852.

The American people are again bowed down in grief for the loss of one of their greatest and most patriotic statesmen, DANIEL WEBSTER, whose matchless intellect towered above all his compeers, is no more. Of that mighty trio—CLAY, CALHOUN and WEBSTER—each one of whom devoted a lifetime to his country's cause, and whose dying breath was yielded up in the service of a grateful and admiring, but now, alas! afflicted people, the last has been gathered to the tomb of his fathers. But a few short months since, the nation was called upon to mourn the loss of HENRY CLAY, and now again the funeral pall is spread over the land at the announcement of the death of DANIEL WEBSTER.

And while a nation's tears are flowing at this national bereavement, it is fitting that we should display the outward symbols of woe, as an evidence—feeble and inadequate though the expression may be—of the affection, esteem, admiration and reverence in which the lamented deceased was held in this community. For DANIEL WEBSTER, though calling himself a citizen of Massachusetts, was emphatically a national man in the broadest sense of the term.

Therefore, I, A. D. Crossman, Mayor of the City of New Orleans, do issue this my proclamation, recommending to my fellow-citizens as a token of respect for the departed statesman, to abstain from their ordinary business associations on Monday next, the 25th inst. I also recommend that the flags be displayed during the day at half-mast from the various public buildings, and from vessels and steamboats in port, and that minute guns be fired from sunrise to sunset, the commanding officers being authorized to carry this order into execution.

It is expected that the various offices of the City Government, as well as all other public offices, be closed after 12 o'clock, on that day.

(Signed) A. D. CROSSMAN, Mayor.

That important and responsible body, the Whig Central Executive Committee of the State of Louisiana, held a special meeting, and published the following feeling and appropriate remarks and resolutions :

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, Oct. 24, 1852.

The intelligence of the death of DANIEL WEBSTER having been communicated to this Committee, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Another great name has been added to the list of the dead! Another bright star blotted out from the galaxy of the nation! Another constellation of genius, the rays of which have penetrated the darkest corners of the earth, has set forever in the horizon! The triumvirate of gigantic intellect exists no more! CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER, each in his turn has obeyed the inexorable decrees of fate. The mightiest intellect of the age—the great expounder of the Constitution—the patriotic and bold advocate of the Compromise—the man who submitted to the sacrifice of violent sectional opposition, in order that he might do his duty to his whole country—the great defender of American rights, and the liberty of mankind—DANIEL WEBSTER, is dead.

A whole nation is again bowed down in sorrow. While yet we grieve for the loss of the immortal CLAY, we are called upon again to mourn. Upon the wings of lightning—fit messenger to symbolize and convey the great loss the American people has sustained—the intelligence of his death has sped itself to every corner of the land. "The Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," has lost its great supporter. For near half a century he has been to the Constitution an American Atlas—upon his broad shoulders he has borne it manfully, repelling successfully attacks upon it from every quarter, until the name of DANIEL WEBSTER and the American Constitution have become almost "one and indivisible."

The great Whig party of the country has lost another of its distinguished leaders—all that is left to it of him is the consciousness of his immortality—the remembrance of his virtues—the admiration of his genius. The measure of his greatness was full to overflowing. Proud would we have been as Whigs to have battled under his leadership, to have followed his standard to victory; but it was decreed by an all-wise Providence that no more of earth's ephemeral honors should be conferred upon him, but that the mighty monarch, Death, should place upon his brow the seal of immortality. While we bend with fitting humility to the inscrutable decree that has deprived our country of one of its brightest ornaments, we feel we should be wanting in our duty as Americans did we fail to offer this, our humble tribute, to the memory of DANIEL WEBSTER.

Resolved, That the Whig Central Executive Committee of Louisiana tender to our brother Whigs of Louisiana and the entire country, our sincere and heartfelt sorrow and profound sympathy for the great loss our country and our party has sustained in the death of DANIEL WEBSTER.

Resolved, That the committee room be draped with the usual emblems of mourning, and the members wear the usual badge for thirty days.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be forwarded to the afflicted relatives of the deceas'd.

(Signed) I. N. MARKS, President.
E. SOLOMON, Secretary.

The next morning, the Democratic State Central Committee published the following preamble and resolutions :

The intelligence of the death of DANIEL WEBSTER having been communicated to the Committee, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Whereas, DANIEL WEBSTER has passed away from among the people of this nation, a mighty man, whose name is part and parcel of the glory of our common country. Therefore,

Resolved, That the Democratic State Central Committee of Louisiana most deeply sympathise with all their fellow-citizens in this great national loss.

Resolved, That this committee do most heartily proffer to the Mayor of New Orleans, its co-operation in any measures which the city may deem proper to take in honor of the illustrious dead.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the near relatives of the deceased.

EMILE LA SERE, President.

J. L. LEVY, Secretary.

The melancholy intelligence, though daily expected for some time previous, struck every heart with the suddenness of a thunderbolt. It could scarcely be realized. A silent sorrow pervaded the vast city; the abstracted looks and sombre expression of every man's countenance indicated how busy his thoughts were with the stores of reminiscences of the departed orator, which he had cherished even from his school days. This universal feeling found embodiment the morning after the news was received, Monday, October 25th, in a public meeting, held at very short notice, in the large public hall at Banks's Arcade, on Magazine street.

The hall was crowded, our oldest and most respected and influential citizens, of all occupations and nations, joining heartily and promptly in the impromptu demonstration. The following officers were called upon to preside:

PRESIDENT—Mayor Crossman.

VICE PRESIDENTS—T. A. Adams, J. N. Howell, D. S. Dewes, M. Garcia, J. L. Carman, A. M. Holbrook, J. L. Levey, E. Lapere, J. C. Larue, A. Musson, G. C. Lawrason, Col. Palfrey, Col. Hays, E. H. Durell, N. R. Jennings, J. A. Clark, A. W. Tufts, C. C. Lathrop, I. Bridge, B. Fallon, G. B. Duncan, Col. Monaghan, J. A. Beard, R. B. Sykes, J. L. Winter, S. C. Reid, A. Munroe, B. Florence, C. M. Waterman, N. E. Bailey, F. Leach, J. J. Durant, J. G. Dunlap, H. S. Barton.

SECRETARIES—H. Marks, Warren A. Grice, Durant da Ponte, D. Scully.

The President briefly explained the object of the meeting. "We have assembled," he said, "to make arrangements to pay a suitable token of regret at the death of the great orator, statesman and pacificator, whose loss we mourn to-day; and all citizens, irrespective of party, will join in this tribute."

On motion, the following committee was appointed by the President to prepare suitable resolutions: G. B. Duncan, N. R. Jennings, Col. Monaghan, J. C. Larue, Isaac Bridge, Thomas A. Adams, I. N. Marks, Col. Seymour, W. L. Cushing, Alexander Walker.

The committee retired, and whilst they were out, the meeting was addressed by Mr. E. J. Carrell, of the Crescent newspaper, and Hon. John C. Larue, Judge of the First District Court of this city. Their remarks were listened to with deep silence and with an eager attention which showed how strong was the emotion which pulsed in the hearts of the crowded audience. Judge Larue came forward after loud calls, and delivered a beautiful eulogy on the character of the deceased. He admitted that he, and those of his political creed, had often-times differed with Mr. Webster on the political questions of the times, but all had always admired the towering genius, the eloquent tongue, and gigantic mind of the champion of our country's honor, who had given it a broad name, upon which all the nations of the civilized world looked with admiration and respect. He admired Mr. Webster most when, in opposition to the expressed opinion of his own State, of his own city, and all the prejudices which could be brought to bear upon him, he boldly walked up to the breach, with Clay and his associates, and laid down his prejudices on the altar of his country. The South was most indebted to him, in gratitude for defending her rights when they were in peril. May the roses bloom o'er his grave, till the earth crumbles into dust!

Many were moved to tears at the conclusion of the speaker's deeply pathetic remarks.

The committee then reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and then the meeting adjourned:

The sensation which pervaded our entire Republic, caused by the removal of one of its purest, ablest, and most illustrious patriots and statesmen, has scarcely subsided, and again the inscrutable decrees of Providence have smitten us with affliction, which human language is inadequate to portray. The last of the three greatest men of modern times—the admiration of the civilized world—the ornament, the pride, the boast of the American people—has descended to the tomb—DANIEL WEBSTER is no more.

While we bow before the throne of Omnipotence, and humbly confess the justice of Him who afflicts his children only for their good, it is meet that we manifest the feelings which pervade our hearts, by striving to convey to our fellow-citizens a faint description of their intensity. Therefore,

Resolved, That, as American citizens, we cannot without the deepest and most overwhelming emotion, contemplate the loss of those three master-spirits whose giant intellects, consummate statesmanship, and unassuming patriotism, contributed so much to give tone to the present age, and earned for this people a fame that can never perish—our CALHOUN—CLAY—WEBSTER.

Resolved, That a committee of ten citizens be appointed by his Honor the Mayor, to confer with similar committees of the Common Council, and other public bodies, who shall constitute a general committee of arrangements, for the purpose of selecting a day, and making the necessary preparation for a solemn funeral pageant, in honor of the great dead.

The U. S. District Court, the City District Courts, Recorders Courts, and public offices, Federal, State and Municipal, all adjourned on Monday morning, in honor of the memory of the illustrious deceased, whilst the citizens generally draped their stores and residences in mourning. The public buildings wore similar symbols of woe; the flags of the fleet of shipping and steamboats in port floated at half-mast; the solemn bells tolled mournfully on the ear, and the deep mouthed cannon filled up at intervals, in muttering thunder tones, the pauses of sad silence.

On Tuesday evening, Oct. 26th, the City Council met in accordance with the special call of the Mayor, who addressed to the Boards of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, the following message :

MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS, OCT. 26, 1852.

To the honorable President and Members of the Board of Aldermen and the Assistant Board of Aldermen of the city of New Orleans:

Gentlemen—I have caused you to be convoked this day for the purpose of taking a becoming action on the death of the great American statesman, DANIEL WEBSTER. On the receipt of the melancholy intelligence on Sunday, I issued a proclamation recommending to my fellow-citizens to abstain from their ordinary business avocations on Monday, and to display the usual emblems of mourning, as a testimonial of the reverence and esteem in which this mighty pillar of the Republic was held. I am happy and proud to say that this recommendation was very generally observed; but the people of New Orleans, yielding to none other in their admiration of that genius, patriotism and eloquence, the like of which may not be sought for since the last of the great triumvirate—CALHOUN, CLAY, WEBSTER—has paid the debt of nature, deem that an occasion so afflicting, and which has bowed down a whole nation in mourning, should be marked by a more formal observance than the hasty but sincere expression of feeling manifested yesterday.

Accordingly, a public meeting was held at the Arcade yesterday; at which, among other appropriate and expressive resolutions, it was resolved, "That a committee of ten citizens be appointed by the Mayor, to confer with similar committees of the Common Council, and other public bodies, who shall constitute a General Committee of Arrangements, for the purpose of selecting a day and making the necessary preparations for a solemn funeral pageant in honor of the great dead." In conformity with this resolution, I beg to apprise your honorable body that I have appointed the following gentlemen on that committee, and would respectfully urge the nomination of a joint committee on the part of the Common Council, to co-operate with the citizens in paying a tribute worthy of the city of New Orleans to the memory of the departed statesman and patriot, DANIEL WEBSTER.

Committee—Samuel J. Peters, John R. Grymes, A. M. Holbrook, W. L. Cushing, Wm. Monaghan, T. A. Adams, Joseph Genois, John L. Lewis, Manuel Garcia, H. R. W. Hill.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. D. CROSSMAN, Mayor.

In the Board of Aldermen a committee of four, consisting of Messrs. Harris, Labatut, Lugenbuhl and Burke, was appointed to confer with the committees previously named, as to the manner of paying suitable honor to the memory of the great dead.

It was also resolved that the members of this Board should wear the badge of mourning for thirty days.

In the Board of Assistant Aldermen, after the reading of the Mayor's message, the following resolutions, presented by Mr. Forbes, were unanimously adopted :

Be it Resolved, That in the death of DANIEL WEBSTER the Union has lost a great support, and the American people a magnificent representative.

Resolved, That the death of a truly great statesman, such as DANIEL WEBSTER was, is a mournful dispensation, which calls for the most earnest and solemn commemoration of such a grave national affliction.

Resolved, That in the loss of so great a man, whose merits were grand in the dignity of the statesman, the eloquence of the orator, the wisdom of the negotiator, and the nationality of the American, our country realizes an impoverishment of national fame and national intellect.

Resolved, That we are fully prepared to join in any demonstration expressive of our consciousness of this public calamity, and that for six months the Council chambers be shrouded in the usual emblem of mourning.

A committee of eight members : Messrs. Nixon, Place, Heerman, Burtie, Derbes, Dolhonde, Watkins, and Philbrick, was appointed to act in conjunction with the committees appointed by the Mayor, by the meeting at the Arcade, and the Board of Aldermen.

On the morning of Saturday, October 30th, the members of the Bar of New Orleans met in the Supreme Court room, for the purpose of taking the share in the general ceremonial which the long and brilliant connection of the deceased with their profession entitled them to and made it incumbent on them to assume.

The meeting was called to order by M. M. Cohen, Esq., and Mr. E. A. Bradford, of Massachusetts, one of the most prominent and respected members of the legal profession in this city, was called upon to preside.

On taking the chair, Mr. Bradford addressed the meeting for about twenty minutes in a strain of happy eloquence, distinguished for

classic beauty and elegant diction and sentiment to a degree as pleasing to the taste, as it was touching to the feelings of his listeners.

At the close of his remarks, a committee was appointed to draft and report resolutions appropriate to the occasion.

During the absence of the committee, Mr. Rand, a young member of the Bar, delivered a very beautiful and touching address relative to the character and great mental qualities of the deceased. The meeting was also addressed by the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, U. S. Senator elect, in an impromptu discourse clothed in the distinguished gentleman's usual clear and felicitous language.

The committee then reported the resolutions appended, which were unanimously adopted. They were afterwards, on motion of J. R. Grymes, Esq., on behalf of Isaac Johnson, Attorney General of the State, ordered to be spread on the minutes of the Supreme Court.

Inasmuch as it hath pleased Divine Providence to remove from our midst the Honorable DANIEL WEBSTER, the acknowledged head of the American Bar, his professional brethren of the city of New Orleans, entertaining a profound veneration for his memory, as an expression of their sentiments, do resolve:

1st. That in contemplating the character of the deceased as a Lawyer, we have just cause to be proud of his transcendent abilities and natural endowments, which had been cultivated with untiring industry through a long life. His arguments were remarkable for their compact and lofty freedom, power and application. To use the apt language of a great man in reference to a kindred genius, he was eminently distinguished for completely exhausting every subject he discussed, and left no argument on the other side unnoticed and unanswered. The reported cases fall immeasurably short of doing any sort of justice to his powerful intellect and accurate logic, to the extent of his knowledge, or the eloquence of his illustrations. He stated principles, and enlarged and explained them, until those who heard him were lost in admiration at the strength and power of the human understanding. Upon the dry technical rules of law he shed the illumination of his mighty mind, and those subjects in our profession which are regarded as harsh and forbidding, were by his just taste, the purity and elegance of his style, clothed with the attractions of a liberal science and the embellishment of polite literature.

2d. That the members of the Bar of New Orleans entertain the conviction that the matchless solidity, purity, and patriotic nationality of his works, will ensure their preservation through all coming ages as an imperishable monument of his genius, and that they will ever be regarded by our citizens as masterly expositions of the spirit of the laws which give living power to our constitutional fabric of government, in which he saw with his great compeer in the profession, "a pledge of the immortality of the Union."

3d. That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be handed to the Attorney General, to be by him presented to the Supreme Court, with the request that the same be entered upon the minutes of said Court on the first day of the meeting of the coming session, and that a like copy be handed to the District Attorney of the United States, to be presented to the Circuit Court, with the request that they be entered upon the records of the said Court.

4th. That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to select gentlemen to deliver eulogies upon the life and character of HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER, and that said committee be

also requested to confer with the Hon. George Eustis, as to the eulogy to be by him delivered upon the life and character of JOHN C. CALHOUN.

5th. That the members of the Bar will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

6th. That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, with the expression of the sympathy of the members of this Bar in their irreparable loss.

A committee was then appointed in accordance with the resolutions.

On Monday morning, November 1st, at the opening of the U. S. Circuit Court, Logan Hunton, Esq., U. S. Attorney, announced the decease of Hon. John McKinley, one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; of the Hon. HENRY CLAY, and of the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, as having occurred since the adjournment of the Court in June last; and on moving an adjournment as a mark of respect to the deceased, paid a feeling tribute to their memories, which was eloquently responded to by his Honor Theo. H. McCaleb. Whereupon the court adjourned.

On Friday, November 15th, at 12 o'clock, the committee of citizens appointed by Mayor Crossman, met for the first time in the City Hall, in the chamber of the Board of Aldermen. The committees from the Boards of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen were present. H. R. W. Hill, Esq., one of our oldest and most influential merchants, was called to the chair, and Alderman J. O. Nixon and Col. William Monaghan were appointed Secretaries.

The chairman explained the object of the meeting. On suggestion, it was resolved, that the committee appointed at the meeting of the Bar should be invited to unite in making arrangements.

Alderman Harris remarked, that he thought it proper that any or all of the societies of the city ought to be invited to take a part in the proceedings.

Col. Hill stated his own individual views to be, that in any arrangements which might be made, the spirit of liberality and fellowship should be extended to all societies and classes of citizens; that the platform should be made broad enough to embrace all associations, trades and public bodies, and that a day should be appointed when all persons should rest from their usual labors, and cordially unite in making an imposing and grand funeral rite in honor of the memory of the great departed.

On motion of Alderman Lugenbuhl, the chair appointed a sub-committee of eight, to prepare a programme, and report to the General Committee at a future day.

The chair appointed the following gentlemen : Aldermen Lugenbuhl and Harris, on the part of the Board of Aldermen ; Aldermen Place and Watkins, on the part of the Board of Assistants ; Messrs. Holbrook and Cushing, on the part of the citizens ; and Messrs. Cohen and Elmore, on the part of the bar. On motion, the Chairman, Col. Hill, was added to the committee.

From the first, the revered names of CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER, had been so spontaneously united in the thoughts and regrets of every one, and the expression of sorrow for their loss, and admiration for their characters and services occurred so constantly and prominently in all the meetings that had taken place, that it was no matter of astonishment or opposition when the Sub-Committee, at their first meeting, resolved to report in favor of a solemn funeral ceremony in honor, not of WEBSTER alone, but of his great compeers, CALHOUN and CLAY, with him. The idea met with universal approbation, and the more so that there was a general consciousness that the city had not acted with a due regard to its own dignity in passing over without municipal notice and ceremony, the deaths of such illustrious Americans, patriots, statesmen and orators, as JOHN C. CALHOUN and HENRY CLAY. There had long been a desire to repair this apparent neglect, and the opportunity to do so now offered, was eagerly seized upon. Besides, it struck the general mind, that a ceremony uniting the feelings entertained by the entire community towards the departed Triumvirate, would be impressed with a more imposing solemnity, commensurate with the history of the deceased as a trio in the nation's councils, than a funeral display designed to honor the memory of only one of them. The latter would be sectional ; the former, national.

The Sub-Committee went actively to work with the design of preparing for this general ceremonial. At the next meeting of the General Committee, which took place on Thursday evening, November 11th, they offered through Mr. Lugenbuhl, a series of resolutions defining the plan they had adopted. A funeral procession was of course to be the main feature of the occasion. The day was fixed for

Thursday, the 9th December. The committee also recommended that on that day all persons should be desired to close their places of business, that the bells of the churches and of the city be tolled, that all flags on the shipping be hoisted at half-mast, and that the dwellings of the citizens be draped in mourning; that a committee be appointed to invite the military, fire department, benevolent and other societies to join in the procession; that Chief Justice Eustis be appointed to deliver the eulogy on CALHOUN, Judge McCaleb that on CLAY, and Christian Roselius, Esq., that on WEBSTER; that the Committee of Arrangements appoint thirty-one pall bearers, one from each State in the Union; that Col. Labuzan be appointed Grand Marshal, and Gen. Tracy, First Assistant Grand Marshal of the procession, with power to appoint their aids, one from each district, and such other aids as they might require, after consultation with the Committee of Arrangements; and that the Grand Marshals be empowered to prepare and publish a programme of the procession.

Mr. Place, on behalf of the Sub-Committee, then submitted a plan of a grand Cenotaph, with pillars and other beautiful architectural ornaments, after a plan drawn by Mr. Mondelli. Lafayette Square was recommended as the place where the Cenotaph should be erected, and it was also recommended that the square be lighted up on the evening of the ceremony, until 10 o'clock at night.

Mr. Cohen, on behalf of the Sub-Committee, reported in favor of engaging the Odd Fellows' Hall, Dr. Scott's Presbyterian Church, and the Lyceum Hall, for the purpose of delivering the eulogies, all of which it was determined should be delivered at the same time. The reports of the sub-committees were unanimously adopted, with a plan of a funeral car designed by Mr. Dubuque, and that of illuminating Lafayette Square, by M. Catoir.

Messrs. Harris, Adams, Durant, Cushing and Heerman, were appointed a Committee of Invitation.

Messrs. Cohen, Lewis and Lugenbuhl were appointed a committee to inform the gentlemen selected as the orators, of their appointment.

The Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. Lugenbuhl, Harris, Place, Watkins, Hollbrook, Cushing, Cohen, Elmore and Hill, were

then appointed to act as the Committee of Arrangements, and were clothed with full power to carry out the plans already adopted, and to take such other steps in perfecting them as they might deem necessary.

The Sub-Committee of Arrangements were now busily occupied in despatching invitations to be present at the ceremonies, to all parts of the country—to Governors of States, Mayors of Cities, City Councils, distinguished citizens, members of the Federal Government, and especially, as a mark of respect, to the families of the deceased. The Sub-Committee also had a large amount of labor in drawing up, with the very efficient aid of the Grand Marshal, Col. Labuzan, Deputy U. S. Marshal for this district, the general features and minute details of the Programme of Ceremonies.

On Friday, November 19th, the Sub-Committee published the following circular, the object of which will be seen by a perusal:

The citizens of New Orleans have set aside the ninth day of December next, for the celebration of appropriate Funeral Ceremonies in respect to the memory of the deceased Statesmen, CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER. The occasion will be one of peculiar solemnity and interest, and the ceremonies will be of a grand and impressive character.

It is desirable that our fellow countrymen, in the interior and at a distance, sharing in the profound emotions of reverence for the illustrious dead, and regret for the bereavement of the nation in their loss, should have an opportunity to take a part in the public manifestations of these feelings. The Committee, therefore, express the hope that their country friends of this and the neighboring States, will join them in the procession of that day, and give to the mournful pageant a more imposing aspect as a wider demonstration of the national grief.

It is believed that a large assemblage could be gathered here, without sensible inconvenience to the visitors and little absolute cost. Business brings great numbers to the city during the winter, and timely arrangements could, in many cases, make that time quite as convenient for the purpose as any other. It is an object, however, well worthy of an effort; and the Committee hope to see here many visitors, representing worthily the sympathies of the people of other places in the paying of these Public Honors to departed Genius, Virtue and Wisdom.

(Signed by the Committee.)

The above circular was sent to the interior. On the 18th November, a card appeared signed by Messrs. R. J. Ward, R. W. Adams, C. Bullitt, J. T. Belknap, L. McKnight, Edward Parmele, H. S. Buckner, Tho. Hunter, M. O. H. Norton, Chas. Harper, H. G. Adams, L. D. Addison, Jr., Logan Hunton, John W. Price, J. L. Armstrong, Ben. Bland, Chas. F. Sands, John H. Owen, Geo. F. Strother, R. W. Kearney, Edward J. Carrell, F. F. Parmele, Wm. Chambers, Colville Bell, F. S. Browne, A. S. Trotter, Garnett Duncan, J. M. Fimister—calling on Kentuckians in the city and vicinity to

meet that evening, for the purpose of making preparations to join as a body in the funeral obsequies. The meeting took place, but as no report has been found, no account of its details can be given. However, Messrs. E. Parmele, J. L. Armstrong and R. W. Adams were appointed a committee of arrangements on the part of the Kentuckians, and they immediately entered actively on their duties, in preparing banners, music, badges, &c., and in urging their countrymen to turn out in strong numbers on the occasion.

On the 21st November, a notice appeared from the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of the order of Masons in the State, requesting the members under that jurisdiction "to join the public funeral procession and ceremonies in honor of the memories of those distinguished statesmen and patriots, Brothers HENRY CLAY, JOHN C. CALHOUN, and DANIEL WEBSTER." The Brethren were directed to assemble on the day of the ceremonies, in strict Masonic funeral dress, at the Masonic Hall, corner of Baronne and Perdido streets, First District, where they would be organized by the Grand Marshal, G. W. Race, and his assistants. Transient Brethren were also invited to attend.

On the 27th November, a notice was published by Messrs. W. A. Elmore, C. de Choiseul, M. M. Cohen, Chas. S. Reese, Richard Bremen, L. E. Simonds, S. L. & E. L. Levy, S. M. Westmore, E. W. Moise, S. Bonner, T. S. Moise, H. C. Gladden, W. D. Smith, Geo. W. Cross, M. M. Simpson, J. L. Levy, A. C. Labatt, D. C. Labatt, J. E. Simonds, W. W. Wood, B. N. Moss, J. H. Marks, I. N. Marks, M. Abrams, J. P. Abrams, J. F. Gambe, all well known gentlemen in this city, inviting their fellow-citizens of South Carolina to attend a preliminary meeting to be held at the office of the Crescent Mutual Insurance Company, corner of Camp street and Commercial Place, First District, on Monday evening, the 29th, "to take into consideration the propriety of uniting with their fellow-citizens in doing honor to the memory of their countryman, JOHN C. CALHOUN, and to HENRY CLAY, and DANIEL WEBSTER."

The meeting took place and was numerously attended. W. E. Elmore, ex-Attorney General of the State, was called on to preside,

and I. N. Marks was appointed Secretary. The chair briefly stated the objects of the meeting.

Mr. Cohen, as one of the Committee of Arrangements on the part of the city, gave information in relation to the general arrangements for the 9th December.

On motion of J. A. Barelli, a committee of five was appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the South Carolinians to join in the ceremonies.

The Committee was composed of M. M. Cohen, I. N. Marks, J. D. B. DeBow, A. C. Labatt, and Dr. Axson.

The meeting then adjourned to assemble again on the call of the Committee of Arrangements.

On the 2d December, the Committee published a call for another meeting to take place on the 7th, and also inviting all Carolinians to unite on the morning of the 9th, at the City Hall, opposite Lafayette Square, to arrange for taking their place in the Procession.

On the 23d November, the Foremen of that very large, influential and respectable body, the Fire Department of this city, held a meeting and adopted the following Preamble and Resolutions :

Whereas, The citizens of New Orleans in common with the people of this great nation, have deemed it but proper to set apart a day to do honor to the memories of the three great American statesmen, JOHN C. CALHOUN, HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER, the exalted spirits of the age, and the very pillars of this happy confederacy; who have lately passed from our midst, and thus deprived this country of its wisest guides and counsellors. And

Whereas, we, members of the Fire Department of this city, fully sensible of the greatness of the departed, and the services they have rendered to their country, do most cordially approve of the matter proposed.

Resolved, That we, members of the Fire Department of the city of New Orleans, do most cordially approve and sanction the course of our citizens in setting apart a day for celebrating the funeral solemnities of these great and good men, and pledge our aid and influence in endeavoring to procure the general participation of the Department.

(Signed)

J. C. McLELLAN, Chairman.

RICH'D. L. ROBERTSON, Jr., Sec'y.

From this time up to within a day or two of the funeral ceremonies, all the various Societies of the city, Military, Benevolent, Firemen, Masonic, Odd Fellows, Temperance, Screwmen, Printers, Grocers, were actively engaged in preparing for the occasion, not only to make a striking display of their own numbers, but to give a more imposing effect to the entire ceremony. The Board of Directors

of the First District Public Schools ordered that the boys and male teachers of the schools should join in the Procession, with the Directors themselves at their head.

The New England Society, one of the first associations in the South, from the influential positions of its members in our city society and business, of course took a deep interest in the projected ceremonies. They felt the loss of DANIEL WEBSTER, not alone as Massachusetts men, but as natives of all of those States which form New England, and to which the departed orator was more especially endeared. The large number of New Englanders resident in the city and visiting it, answered the first call of the Society with alacrity—and at a meeting held on the 2d December, a Committee of Arrangements was appointed to prepare for a general turn out of the New Englanders in a style befitting their numbers and the interest they more peculiarly felt on this occasion of mourning. The Committee consisted of Messrs. J. W. Stanton, Zachary Taylor, Geo. W. Lamb, J. H. Felt, L. Spring, W. H. Carter, and W. H. Bartlett. On the 7th December, they published the following notice :

The Committee of Arrangements appointed at a meeting of the natives of New England, held at the office of the Crescent Insurance Company, on the 2d inst., respectfully invite all natives of New England that may be in the city on the 9th inst., whether citizens or strangers, to join with them in observing the ceremonies of the day.

The Committee are induced to extend the invitation in this special manner, inasmuch as very many of their fellow-citizens (New Englanders) are members of various city societies and bodies, viz: the Military, Odd Fellows, Firemen, &c., and as such intend to join in the Procession and other observances of the day.

While we cheerfully recognize the duty of members of the societies referred to to join with their respective societies in the observance of the ceremonies, yet the Committee venture to hope and believe that on an occasion like this, which is to do honor to the memory of our illustrious statesman, the pride and glory of every native of New England, DANIEL WEBSTER, together with his eminent fellow-statesmen CALHOUN and CLAY, that all sons of the Pilgrims, without exception, will specially unite for that purpose.

The Committee, therefore, earnestly invite all natives of the New England States, that may be in the city, to meet on the morning of the 9th inst., at the office of the Crescent Insurance Company, corner of Camp street and Commercial Alley, for the purpose of organizing and joining in the Procession.

The Shipmasters in port were called on to meet on the evening of the 7th December, at the office of J. P. Whitney & Co., 91 Camp street. The meeting was fully attended, and suitable measures were taken for this influential body to participate in the ceremonies.

The numerous Societies composed of natives of foreign countries, were by no means backward in the display of a spirit similar to that which animated our native and naturalized citizens. The mass of the population of the city exhibited a deep interest in the matter, and on all sides—in hotels, boarding houses, private residences, from those of the richest to those of the poorest, stores, shops, warehouses—busy hands were at work obeying the dictates of warm hearts and active fancies, in preparing mourning drapery and devices, whereby to express the sorrow the people felt for the loss of the men they delighted to honor and admire. It was no mere official ceremony that was to be performed; it was a ceremony which took its shape from the heartfelt impulses of the thousands who dwell in the Crescent City.

Several Societies sent in communications to the Committee, giving their reasons why they should not be able to attend on the 9th—the Order of the Lone Star, the Howard Association, and others. Their peculiar objects, either political or charitable, prevented their appearance in public. Most of their members, however, joined the procession under the banners of other Associations and Societies, civil and military.

The numerous Foreign Consuls in the city notified the Committee by letter of their intention to be present at the ceremonies. The Governor of the State, Joseph Walker, sent word that illness would prevent his attendance. It was understood that the Mayor of Charleston would be present, as the Common Council of that city granted him leave of absence for the purpose. His Honor did not make his appearance, in consequence of indisposition. The Committee sent invitations to all the officers of the Army stationed here, commencing with Gen. Twiggs, Commander of the Division, through all branches of the service; also to the officers of the Revenue Service then in port. A special invitation was sent to Lieut. Col. Nauman, in command at the U. S. Barracks below the city, to join the procession, at the head of the battalion of the Fourth Artillery.

A committee was appointed for the reception of ladies at the delivery of the orations at the Odd Fellows' Hall, Lyceum Hall, and Presbyterian Church, situated around Lafayette Square. This com-

mittee met, and the following sub-divisions of its members took place:

FOR THE LYCEUM HALL—Aaron Harris, V. Heermann, T. L. Bayne, M. Blasco, Wm. Vincent, Jr., Armand Coycault, Edward C. Wharton, Germain Vincent, George Rareshide, T. S. Clark.

FOR THE ODD FELLOWS' HALL—J. D. Dameron, Octave Voorhees, P. E. Mortimer, Fred. Stringer, A. Layet, Henry Hall, G. Bouligny, E. Giquel, Thomas A. James, R. W. Dean.

FOR THE CHURCH—F. Camerden, A. Flash, G. B. Duncan, W. C. Raymond, C. Elder, R. B. Sumner, Thomas J. Dix, W. J. Dewey, Benj. Bloomfield, P. H. Goodwin.

The following gentlemen were appointed committees for the reception of distinguished visitors: Dr. J. Labatut, J. B. Dolhonde, W. C. C. Claiborne, T. A. Adams, W. C. Nicou, H. W. Palfrey, T. A. Clarke, and John Claiborne.

The owners of private and public carriages and vehicles were directed to withdraw them from the streets through which the procession was to pass, after the hour of 11 A. M., and it was stated that no obstruction of any kind would be permitted in those thoroughfares. The Chief of Police, Capt. Nouenes, was charged with the enforcement of these orders.

Major General Lewis, commanding the First Division of Louisiana Militia, having accepted the invitation of the Committee of Arrangements, issued orders on the 2d December, for the volunteer companies under his command to join in the ceremonies, fully equipped for funeral service—Brigadier Gen. Augustin, commanding the Louisiana Legion, Brig. Gen. Tracy, commanding the First Brigade, and Brig. Gen. Cronan, commanding the Ninth Brigade, being charged with the execution of the order.

The Banks issued notices that the day of the funeral ceremonies would be observed by them by closing their doors, and attending to no business.

On the 3d inst. the General Committee of Arrangements published their programme for the ceremonies of the 9th. We give merely the order of Procession, without details of special directions.

The Joint Committee appointed by the Mayor, Members of the Bar, and the Common Council of the city of New Orleans, to make the necessary arrangements for solemnizing the obsequies of the lamented CALHOUN, CLAY, and WEBSTER, have adopted the following Programme of Arrangements for the occasion:

COL. CHARLES A. LABUZAN

has been unanimously selected as the Grand Marshal of the Day; and

GEN. E. L. TRACY

First Assistant Marshal.

The following gentlemen have been selected and will act as District Marshals and Aids:

MARSHALS.

First District..... Col. J. B. WALTON.

Second District....OVIDE DE BUYS, Esq.

Third District.....JAMES PHILLIPS, Esq.

Fourth District... A. W. JOURDAN, Esq.

AIDS.

Col. C. R. Wheat,

Col. A. W. Bosworth,

V. H. Ivy, Esq.,

Wm. Sutton, Esq.,

Edward Flash, Esq.,

Thomas Hunton, Esq.,

Chas. W. Canfield, Esq.,

Charles Leeds, Esq.,

Col. Henry Forno,

Robt. A. Grinnan, Esq.,

Samuel G. Risk, Esq.,

Joseph Bruneau, Esq.,

Joseph Etter, Esq.,

John Claiborne, Esq.,

N. Trepagnier, Esq.,

Joseph Hufty, Esq.,

Col. C. M. Emerson,

Richard Richardson, Esq.,

John Adams, Esq.,

A. Schreiber, Esq.,

James Beggs, Esq.,

Edward Thompson, Esq.,

J. K. Rayburn, Esq.,

H. J. Ranney, Esq.

The Procession will move from the City Hall, opposite Lafayette Square, at 11 o'clock, A. M., precisely, and will pass down St. Charles street to Poydras street, up Poydras street to Camp street, down Camp and Chartres streets to Conti street, up Conti street to Levee street, down Levee street to Toulouse street, down Toulouse street to Chartres street, down Chartres street to St. Ann street, down St. Ann street to Royal street, up Royal street to St. Louis street, down St. Louis street to Bourbon street, up Bourbon and Carondelet streets to St. Joseph street, up St. Joseph street to Camp street, down Camp street to Julia street, down Julia street to St. Charles street, down St. Charles street to Lafayette Square.

And in order that all those who participate in the Funeral Obsequies may have an opportunity of witnessing it, the ceremony of depositing the Urns in the Cenotaph on Lafayette Square will take place as soon as the Grand Marshal shall have formed the entire procession in column *en masse*, on Lafayette Square, when the Rev. Mr. Walker will pronounce the Benediction in depositing the Urns in the Cenotaph; at the closing of which ceremony the procession will be dismissed by the Grand Marshal.

Immediately after which, the following ceremonies at the places designated will take place:

AT LYCEUM HALL, First District—Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Walker—Funeral Dirge, by Band—Eulogy on JOHN C. CALHOUN, by Hon. Geo. Eustis—Benediction, by Rev. Mr. Dobbs.

AT ODD FELLOWS' HALL, First District—Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Cleghorn—Funeral Dirge, by Band—Eulogy on HENRY CLAY, by Hon. Theo H McCaleb—Benediction, by Rev. Mr. Cleghorn.

AT Da. SCOTT'S CHURCH, Lafayette Square—Prayer, by Rev. Dr. Scott—Funeral Dirge, by the Choir—Eulogy on DANIEL WEBSTER, by Hon. Christian Roselius—Benediction, by Rev. Mr. J. Twitchell.

The Arrangements of the Day will be under the command of the Grand Marshal.

• Minute guns will be fired during the day from the head of Canal street.

It is respectfully requested that all places of public and private business be closed, and that the same, together with the dwellings of citizens, be dressed in mourning.

It is also respectfully requested, that our fellow-citizens wear the usual badge of mourning on the left arm during the moving of the Procession.

Persons having charge of the church and fire-alarm bells in this city, are requested to cause the same to be tolled during the day.

Masters of vessels and steamboats in port, and the proprietors of the various public buildings in the city, are respectfully requested to display their colors at half-mast from sunrise to sunset.

The Military, the several Orders, Societies, Associations, and other bodies that desire to participate in the ceremonies of the day, are requested to assemble at such places as they may respectively select, and repair to the places of rendezvous by 10 o'clock, A. M.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

FIRST GRAND DIVISION.

Col. CHARLES A. LABUZAN, Grand Marshal. Gen. E. L. TRACY, First Assistant Marshal.

Special Aids to Grand Marshal:

Col. C. R. Wheat,	Col. C. M. Emerson,	Col. Henry Forno,
Col. A. W. Bosworth,	Robt. A. Grinnan, Esq.,	Richard Richardson, Esq.,
Thos. Hunton, Esq.,	John Claiborne, Esq.,	H. J. Ranney, Esq.

Volunteers of the First Division Louisiana Militia, under the command of Major General John L. Lewis, as a Military Escort, as follows:

Washington Regiment.

Volunteer First Brigade Louisiana Militia, commanded by Col. W. W. W. Wood.

Louisiana Legion, commanded by Gen. D. Augustin.

Battalion of U. S. Artillery, under the command of Lt. Col. George Nauman, U. S. Army.

SECOND GRAND DIVISION.

Colonel J. B. WALTON, First District Marshal.

Aids: J. K. Rayburn, Esq., N. Trepagnier, Esq., Joseph Etter, Esq., C. W. Canfield, Esq.

Music.

Officiating Clergymen and Orators of the Day, in carriages.

MILITARY

DETACHMENT

AS

GUARD OF HONOR.

FUNERAL CAR
DRAWN BY
6 GRAY HORSES

MILITARY

DETACHMENT

AS

GUARD OF HONOR.

Under the command of Major Soira.

PALL BEARERS:

Representing the Thirty One States of the Union, on both sides the Car.

PALL BEARERS.

Geo. Foster, Massachusetts.
 B. F. Flanders, New Hampshire.
 W. G. Gale, Rhode Island.
 Oliver Palmes, Connecticut.
 S. F. Wilson, New York.
 J. O. Pierson, New Jersey.
 G. Doane, Pennsylvania.
 Dr. J. S. Copes, Delaware.
 Capt. James Stockton, Maryland.
 James R. Jennings, Virginia.
 F. A. Lumsden, North Carolina.
 Chas. S. Reese, South Carolina.
 Dr. Geo. E. Harral, Georgia.
 C. C. Lathrop, Vermont.
 M. O. H. Norton, Kentucky.
 Capt. S. S. Green, Maine.

PALL BEARERS.

H. L. Peire, Louisiana.
 Thomas K. Price, Tennessee.
 Julian Neville, Ohio.
 John R. Shaw, Missouri.
 S. O. Nelson, Alabama.
 Col. S. H. Mudge, Illinois.
 Wm. G. Mullen, Indiana.
 B. P. Voorhies, Mississippi.
 Col. Josiah Cole, Michigan.
 Moses Greenwood, Arkansas.
 Gerard Stith, Wisconsin.
 T. C. Twichell, Iowa.
 J. T. Doswell, Texas.
 Chas. G. Barclay, Florida.
 T. B. Winston, California.
 J. W. Mader, Oregon.

Delegates of Four each, from the States of South Carolina, Kentucky and Massachusetts, as Chief Mourners.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Joseph Harrod, Esq.,
 S. H. Kennedy,
 R. J. Palfrey,
 Jacob H. Felt.

KENTUCKY.

Cuthbert Bullitt,
 John H. Owen,
 A. S. Trotter,
 W. G. Kendall.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

T. N. Waul,
 W. A. Elmore,
 J. D. B. DeBow.
 Geo. C. McWhorter.

Joint Committee of Arrangements in Carriages.

Citizens of Massachusetts, Kentucky, South Carolina.

The Mayor, accompanied by Distinguished Strangers.

Recorders of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Districts, in carriages.

The Board of Aldermen, with their Clerk, preceded by their Sergeant-at-Arms, and headed by their President, in carriages.

City Attorney, City Treasurer, Comptroller, Surveyor, and their Deputies.

Veterans of '14 and '15, in carriages.

The Clergy.

His Excellency Governor Joseph Walker and Suite.

Lieutenant Governor.

Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Attorney General.

Auditor of Public Accounts, Civil Engineer.

Surveyor General.

State Superintendent of Public Education.

Members of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Members of the State Senate and House of Representatives.

Major General D. L. Twigg and Suite, commanding Western Division United States Army.

Officers of the United States Army.

Officers of the Navy and Revenue Service.

Foreign Consuls, in carriages.

Officers of Louisiana Militia.

Regents of the University of Louisiana.

Law Faculty of the University of Louisiana—Medical Faculty of the University of Louisiana.

Judges of the Supreme Court.

Judges of the United States Circuit and District Courts.

Judges of the District Courts of the State.

United States District Attorney.

United States Marshal and Deputies.

Collector of the Port.

Naval Officer.

Surveyor of the Customs and Deputies.

Appraisers and Assistant Appraisers.

Postmasters and Deputies.

United States Receiver and Register of the Land Office.

Superintendent, Treasurer, and Officers of the Mint.

District Attorney.

Sheriff of the Parish of Orleans and adjoining Parishes.

Members of the Bar—Justices of the Peace.

Deputy Sheriffs of Parish of Orleans and adjoining Parishes.

Clerks and Deputy Clerks of the U. S. Courts.

Clerks and Deputy Clerks of Supreme, State and City Courts.

Recorders of Mortgages and Deputies.

Register of Conveyances and Deputies.

Notaries Public.

The Members of the Press.

Whig and Democratic State Central Committees.

THIRD GRAND DIVISION.

OVIDE DE BUYS, Esq., Second District Marshal.

Aids: Samuel G. Risk, Esq., John Adams, Esq.,
Music.

Fire Department of New Orleans, Algiers, Gretna, Carrollton, and Milneburg, with their banners.

The Masonic Order under the Grand Lodge of the State.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows—Grand Lodge and its Subordinate Lodges.

Grand Encampment and its Subordinates.

FOURTH GRAND DIVISION.

JAMES PHILLIPS, Esq., Third District Marshal.

Aids: A. Schriber, Esq., Joseph Bruncau, Esq., James Beggs, Esq.,
Music.

New Orleans Mechanics' Society.

New England Society.

Typographical Union of New Orleans.

St. Andrews' Society.

Hibernian, Shamrock and St. Patrick Benevolent Societies.

St. Michael Benevolent Burial Society.

French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish Benevolent Societies.
 Delegation of the Sons of Temperance.

Father Mathew Temperance Societies—Temple of Honor—Sons of Temperance.
 German Benevolent Society—German Emigrant Society.
 St. Joseph Society.

FIFTH GRAND DIVISION.

A. W. JOURDAN, Esq., Fourth District Marshal.

Aids: V. H. Ivy, Esq., Wm. Sutton, Esq., Edw. Thompson, Esq., Joseph Hufty.
 Music.

Screwmens' Benevolent Association of New Orleans.

Mutual, Turners' and Grocers' Associations of New Orleans.

Harbor Master and Port Wardens.

Ship Masters.

Steamboat Captains.

Board of Directors, Teachers and Boys of the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th District Public Schools.

Orphan Boys from the 3d and 4th District Asylums.

Citizens and Strangers generally.

All day Wednesday the preparations for the next day's solemn ceremonies occupied thousands of rough and fair hands. Towards evening the great city hushed to stillness, as if pausing before the vast page of glorious, national reminiscences and deeds, and words that History had inscribed under the revered names of CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER, and over which she was now about to throw a veil of mourning. Every man and woman felt a something stirring within them befitting the solemnity of the occasion,—a deep seated regret as for the loss of those who were dear, and would never again be seen or heard; an awing sensation as if the shades of the mighty dead had come on the black pall of the storm that swept over the city that night, and bent motionless in the sombre canopy of heaven over the great mass of humanity that was on the morrow to put on the garments of woe for their departure hence into the spirit world.

Thursday, the 9th December, opened with a cloud dispelling breeze from the north that cleared up the skies, brightened the appearance of the city, gave a bracing tinge to the air, and materially assisted in drying the streets which had been deluged by rain during the night. At an early hour, on all sides, the evidences were plentiful of the general determination to solemnize the day in the most appropriate manner. Row after row of windows and balconies, and house and store fronts, for miles in extent—from north to south, and east to west—speedily displayed the sable and white insignia of mourning, arranged according to the dictates of thousands of fancies and tastes, some in the simplest folds, some on a small plan, some on grand dimensions, some with an elaborateness of design in which velvet, silk, crape, linen, drawn in arches, columns, broad bands, rosettes, mingled harmoniously with wreaths, banners, altars, urns, and statuary, formed tableaux most striking and beautiful. The inscriptions of the names of the dead Statesmen were by scores. These, and their veiled busts and portraits, exhibited in windows and doors, or on balconies, spoke eloquently and impressively of the great deeds and words of the departed, recalling continually to the passing multitudes sayings or services which had become household words with the American people—which the school-boy declaimed, the youth thrilled to hear, the man burned to equal, the woman delighted to admire, and the whole United States treasured up as precious examples of unsurpassed wisdom, courage, eloquence and patriotism.

These many present memorials of the great dead, meeting the eye in every direction, though at first attracting the gaze of curiosity, immediately afterwards presented the sad, the solemn thought that it was not to celebrate another triumph of the burning genius, lofty devotion, or far stretching wisdom of these three men, that the city had put on her flaunting robes; no—a mightier than they—whose voice though unheard, and form though unseen, thrilled the hearts and awed the minds of men with a power more terrible and irresistible than any human voice or form could do, had conquered the unconquerable, and it was Death's gloomy, chilling triumph the mighty city was now to celebrate, despite itself, with frowning reluctance and heavy heart.

The flags of the large number of ships, steamboats and steamers in port were displayed at half-mast; the bells of the numerous churches answered each other at measured intervals in deep, sullen tones; the flags of the foreign consuls were appropriately suspended at half-mast and draped in mourning; the public buildings, hotels, newspaper offices, arsenals, clubs, had the national banner floating to the breeze, with streamers and rosettes, and bands of crape, significantly expressing the interest of their display.

The streets presented, besides this strange appearance of gloomy devices and drapery stretching far in the distance in any direction the eye selected, the impressive and never tiring one of thousands on thousands of men, women and children, most of them dressed as if for a holiday, moving in closely-pressed throngs, pouring along unceasingly and slowly and steadily, meeting in masses at the corners, but crossing or mingling with each other without confusion or noise. Indeed, the order and decorum displayed throughout the entire day by this immense multitude of human beings, without the necessity of a police corps to control or direct their movements, formed a subject of general and admiring comment, and one for much reflection.

Business was everywhere suspended, of course, from the Courts and Municipal offices, the Post Office and U. S. Customhouse, to stores, shops, counting-houses, and even the humblest establishment of the humblest individual. The vast Levee was silent and almost deserted; the apparently never ending crescent-formed row of triply moored shipping, and stately steamers and steamboats, was deserted by the swarm of human beings that usually cluster around its track.

Lafayette Square was from an early hour the central point of attraction. A dense mass of gazers swarmed around it, continually on the move, long ere the moment arrived for the assembling of the corps that were to form the procession. The wide and lofty flight of steps and the portico of the marble walled and pillared City Hall, and the balconies, windows, doors, and even the roofs of the fine private residences surrounding the Square, were packed with spectators, most of whom were ladies, while every foot of space in the four streets enclosing it was occupied. The large and beautiful Square itself was

kept clear of all intruders by the Police and by the Volunteer Military Company of Crescent Rifles, commanded by Capt. J. J. Casey, and attached to the Washington Regiment under Col. Wood.

All night long, despite the drenching rain, the workmen, lighted by the glare of many torches, had been busy in erecting the grand Cenotaph, designed by Mr. A. Mondelli, long known in this city as a scenic artist of distinguished ability. Daylight found the wearied laborers still at their task, but they relaxed no work for all that, and the tall and imposing monument was completed in time. It held the centre of the Square, and towered to a height that attracted the eye at a considerable distance. Though the materials of which it was composed were simply painted wood and canvass, it bore an admirable resemblance to marble. The design was a classic structure of the Composite order, being, in outline, a broad pedestal or base, with wide and deep buttresses projecting on the same level, one from each side, and ornamented at the corners by tall bronzed tripods. Two flights of steps, one fronting on St. Charles, the other on Camp street, led to the central platform, which was surmounted by an elegant dome upreared on four tall, slender columns, the dome being crowned by a large gilt eagle, and the whole structure adorned with flowing and tastefully arranged mourning drapery, with emblems and inscriptions appropriate to the occasion. The large space under the dome, on the platform, was open on the four sides, and was sufficiently elevated to enable any one in the street, a good distance off, to see what would take place there. Its centre was occupied by a high altar covered with black velvet, and intended to receive the urns. The Cenotaph measured at the base, including the buttresses, eighty-four by sixty feet, and was sixty feet in height. It presented a very chaste and elegant appearance, and was the object of general admiration.

At an early hour, the United States troops from the Barracks below the city, marched through the streets and took up the position assigned them in the Square. They numbered two companies, under the command of Lieut. Col. Nauman, of the U. S. Fourth Artillery. Their neat, soldiery appearance made them a conspicuous feature in the Procession.

At ten o'clock, the different bodies of citizens and military began to assemble in and around the Square. The Clergymen, Orators of the Day, Pall Bearers and Chief Mourners met in the Governor's Room of the City Hall; the Foreign Consuls, Officers of the Revenue Service, Veterans of 1814-15, the Regents of the University of Louisiana with the Officers of the Law and Medical Faculties of that Institution, in the Recorder's room; the Judiciary, Members of the Bar, Officers of the Customs, Post Office and Mint, the U. S. District Attorney and Marshals, the U. S. Receiver and Register of the Land Office, in the U. S. Court Room; the Mayor, the Right Reverend Bishop Polk, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (an invited guest,) the Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, the four Recorders, and the Joint Committee of Arrangements, in the Council Chamber; the Sheriff, Deputy Sheriffs, Clerks and Deputy Clerks of the several Courts, in the U. S. District Clerk's Office; and the Notaries Public and some Members of the Press in the Office of the Clerk of the U. S. Circuit Court.

The Grand Marshal, with his Aids mounted and in elegant costumes, with scarfs, mourning insignia, etc., took up his stand punctually at 10 o'clock, in front of the City Hall, where the different corps and societies reported to him their arrival as they appeared from all quarters, and marched into position.

The Volunteer Military Companies, under the command of Major General Lewis, took up their ground in Lafayette Square, the left resting on St. Charles street; the South Carolinians formed on the east side of St. Charles street, the right resting on South street; the Kentuckians occupied the centre of St. Charles street, the right resting opposite St. Charles street; the Massachusetts Delegation the west side of St. Charles street, and the right resting opposite South street.

The Fire Department held the centre of Poydras street, west side of St. Charles, the right resting on St. Charles street; the Free Masons and Odd Fellows the north side of Poydras street, west side of St. Charles, the right resting on St. Charles.

The Mechanics and New England Societies, and the other Societies named in the Fourth Grand Division of the Programme, formed on St. Charles street, the right resting on Girod.

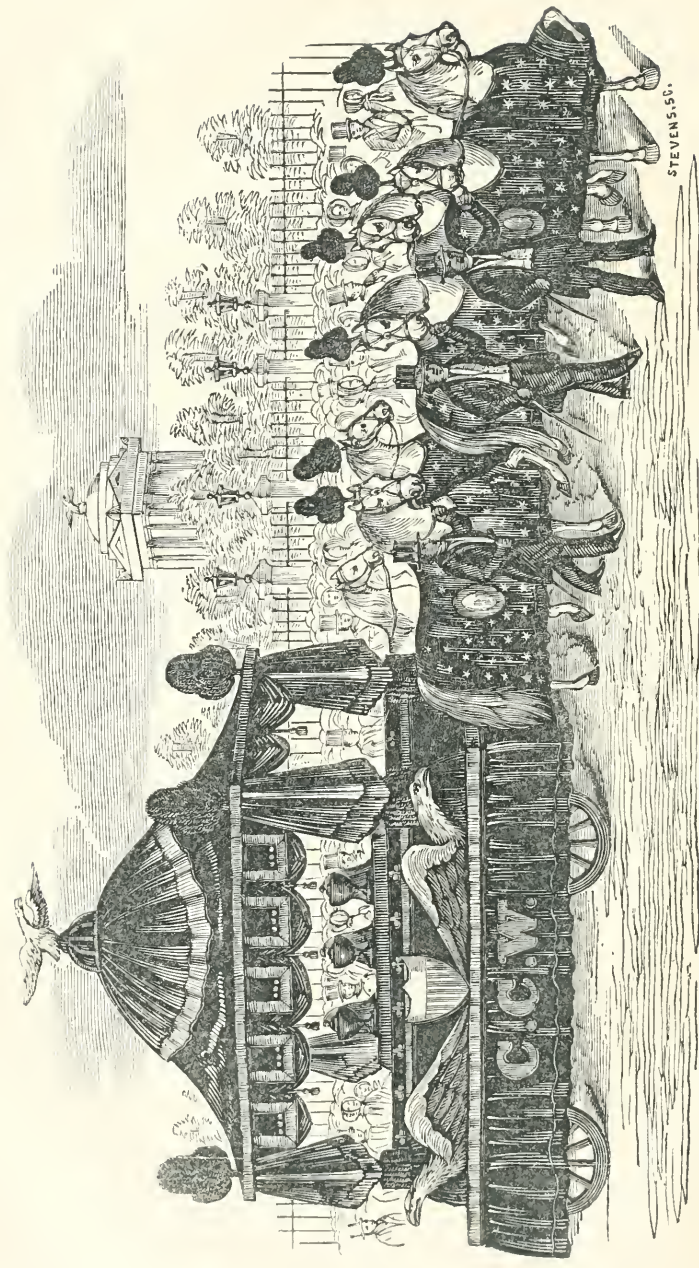
The Screwmen's Benevolent Association and the other Mutual Associations took up the west side of Camp street, the right resting on South; the Turners' and Grocers' Associations, the Harbor Masters, Port Wardens, Ship Masters and Steamboat Captains formed on Camp street, the right resting on South street; and the Board of Directors, Teachers and Boys of the Public Schools, and the Orphan Boys, took up their position on the east side of Camp street, the right resting on South street. The Carriages intended for the Procession, formed in Hevia street, the leading ones resting on St. Charles, where near the corner, stood the Funeral Car.

These dispositions were made promptly and with order, so that when the Procession began to move at 11 o'clock, the various bodies fell into their places in the column without stop or confusion.

The head of the Procession, led by Grand Marshal Labuzan and a brilliant staff, moved into Camp street and turned towards Canal, its approach being heralded by the booming of cannon, which fired at measured intervals, and the wailing, funeral notes of many bands. To describe the appearance of Camp street would be but a repetition of what has been said before—such an immense crowd of men, women and children as filled the doorways, windows, balconies—story on story—and occupied every foot of space on the sidewalks, wherever it was possible for a person to stand, has never before been gathered in this city, large and populous as it is.

The Grand Marshal was followed by the Washington Regiment, Volunteer First Brigade, Louisiana Militia, commanded by Col. W. W. Wood, accompanied by his staff, Adjutant Keating and Surgeon Booth. The field band preceded them, the drums muffled and beating a slow funeral march. Marching with the left in front, came first, the Jackson Rifles, Lieut. Forno commanding; the Crescent Rifles, Capt. Casey; the Regimental Colors, guarded by an escort from the Emmett Guards; then these Guards, under Lieut. Nolan, and the Louisiana Grays, Capt. Leach. The Regiment numbered 108 men. Their field battery composed of four guns and caissons, drawn by two horses each, with twenty mounted artillerymen, followed them.





THE FUNERAL CAR, DESIGNED AND EXECUTED BY MR. DUBUQUE.

Next appeared that fine old corps, the Louisiana Legion, composed principally of citizens of foreign birth, or, when native born, of foreign descent. They numbered in their ranks many veterans of well fought fields in both continents, and therefore are regarded by the old residents of New Orleans with a peculiar interest.

Gen. Augustin, commanding the Brigade, aided by a numerous staff, headed the Legion, the march of which was opened by the Pioneers in huge bearskin shakos, and armed with formidable axes. Two large and excellent field bands accompanied the Legion. Behind the Pioneers, marched that *corps d'élite*, the Battalion of Artillery, which numbered over 100 men. Behind them came the time-worn colors of the Legion, properly escorted, and followed by the Spanish, Swiss, French and German Companies, under the command of Lieut. Col. Eichols. The Legion numbered in all 232 muskets, and was followed by two batteries of three brass guns and caissons each, drawn by two horses each, and escorted by twelve mounted artillerymen. These pieces belonged to the Battalion of Artillery. The gallant old officer, Major Gally, who had so long commanded the Battalion, followed the guns in an open barouche, illness preventing him from attending otherwise.

Last came the U. S. Troops, under Bvt. Lieut. Col. Nauman. Their trim and soldierly, yet modest appearance, were the objects of continual praise and notice. Their other officers were Capt. J. B. Picketts, First Artillery, commanding; First Lieut. J. B. Fry, and Second Lieut. H. E. Maynadier.

Major General Lewis, with a numerous and brilliant staff, closed the First Division.

The Second Grand Division was opened by a band of music, followed by two carriages in which rode the officiating Clergymen and Orators of the Day.

The Funeral Car came next. It was the principal feature of the Procession, and an examination of it showed that it had been prepared by careful and tasteful hands. To Mr. Dubuque is due the credit of its design and execution. It measured eleven feet in length by sixteen in height, and about eight in breadth. The bed or platform

was a large shell covered with black velvet, and adorned with silver trimmings. Three bronzed urns stood on this shell, each bearing in silver letters a name of the illustrious dead—CALHOUN, CLAY, WEBSTER. This long, black-velvet covered and draped base supported a tall black-velvet and silver trimmed canopy, reared on slight corner uprights, with a nodding black plume at each corner, and a gilt eagle surmounting the whole. Two bronze eagles *couchant* adorned the sides of the car, occupying its entire length. The Car was richly draped throughout with black velvet, edged with gold and silver lace and fringes, and with the names of CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER, in large silver letters on the broad draperies on either side which hung to the ground. Six grey horses, covered with black velvet housings, which were studded with silver stars, and stamped with shields containing the arms of South Carolina, Kentucky and Massachusetts, drew this splendid Car slowly along, each horse being led by a colored groom clad in mourning. A military guard of honor marched in single file, with shouldered muskets, on each side of the Car. It consisted of six men from the U. S. Artillery corps, six from the Legion, six from the Battalion of Artillery, and fifteen from the Washington Regiment, thirty-three men in all, under Major Soria. The pall bearers, thirty-one in number, representing the different States of the Union, marched in single file, just next to the Car, some inside the guard of honor, and the others behind.

The Delegates of Four each from the States of South Carolina, Kentucky and Massachusetts, acting as chief mourners, now appeared, followed by ten carriages occupied by the Joint Committee of Arrangements, the Mayor of the City, several invited guests, and the Foreign Consuls, as follows: J. H. Eimer, Austria and Baden; P. Reynaud, Brazil; F. Rodewald, Bremen; F. F. C. Vless, Denmark and Saxony; W. Mure, Great Britain; A. Roger, France, decorated; W. Vogel, Hamburg, Oldenburg and Prussia; F. W. Kerchoff, Lubeck; W. Prehn, Mecklenburg; B. Valls, Montevideo, in uniform; O. L. Dabelsteen, Mexico, in uniform; A. Lanfear, Sweden and Norway; J. P. Uldermeester, Netherlands; J. A. Barelli, Portugal and Two Sicilies, in full uniform; E. Johns, Russia; L. C. Daron, Rome; J. A. Merle,

Switzerland; J. Lanata, Sardinia; C. J. Mansoni, Tuscany, and C. Honold, Wurtemberg. In the carriages were also, in full uniform, Bvt. Major General D. E. Twiggs, commanding the Western Division of the U. S. Army; Col. Thos. F. Hunt, Assistant Quarter Master General; Bvt. Lieut. Col. A. J. Coffee, Paymaster; Bvt. Lieut. Col. W. W. J. Bliss, Assistant Adjutant General; Bvt. Lieut. Col. A. C. Myers, Assistant Quarter Master; Bvt. Major J. F. Reynolds, Third Artillery, *aid de camp* to General Twiggs; Dr. C. McCormick, Assistant Surgeon; Bvt. Capt. Geo. W. Lay, Sixth Infantry, Judge Advocate, Western Division; and Capt. W. T. Sheveman, Commissary of Subsistence—all of the United States Army. Also Lieut. J. G. Bushwood, commanding the U. S. Revenue Cutter Duane, then in this port, and her other superior officers, Second Lieut. J. M. Jones, and Third Lieut. L. Forrest, and a number of the members of the City Council, the Recorders and other City Officers; some of the Veterans of 1814-15, and the Judges and Officers of the City and United States Courts.

A striking feature of the Procession was then presented in the advance of the select delegations of citizens from South Carolina, Kentucky and Massachusetts, marching abreast in three distinct columns, each of two files front, and each corps bearing rich banners, elegant scarfs, and other mourning insignia.

The South Carolinians took up the right of the street, the Kentuckians the centre, and the Massachusetts delegation the left. The former displayed an elegant banner, having on one side a portrait of JOHN C. CALHOUN, and on the other the coat of arms of their State. The Kentuckians, mustering stronger than the two other delegations, bore a beautiful banner, with a green ground, ornamented with gold and fringed with crape. The inscriptions on one side, "Our dead live in History," and "Seal of Kentucky," were at the top; two figures with clasped hands stood in the centre; beneath them was the motto, "United we stand—Divided we fall;" and at the bottom were the words, "Kentucky Mourns." On the other side was a portrait of HENRY CLAY, a perspective view of Ashland, and underneath, the words, "Our whole Country."

The Massachusetts delegation had a rich and tastefully adorned banner, with the mottoes, "Liberty and Union," "New England," and "One and Inseparable." The three delegations numbered 214 persons.

This Division was closed by the officers of the United States Customhouse, Post Office, Land Office, Sub Treasury, Mint; the Sheriffs and District Clerks, and their Deputies—a numerous body, all dressed in black and wearing mourning badges.

The Third Grand Division was opened by the Algiers, Gretna, Carrollton and Milneberg Fire Companies, numbering 110 men. They were followed by the Fire Department of this city—consisting of twenty-four companies—1150 men. The Firemen were without their engines, and were all except No. 2 and a Hook and Ladder company, dressed in full uniform. The two companies excepted were in citizens' dress of black. Each company had its banner adorned with, and each man wore mourning badges or scarfs. A number of bands of music were interspersed in this long and brilliant column. Company No. 1 had their horse in line, shrouded in mourning trappings; No 2 had two horses; No. 9, three horses; No. 13, one horse. The members of No. 24 brought up the rear of the Department, on horseback.

The Masonic Fraternity of this State, accompanied by Brethren from Mississippi and other adjoining States, followed the Firemen. They numbered 200, marching four abreast, under the direction of their Grand Marshal, G. W. Race. Each member wore the funeral regalia of the Order—white aprons and gloves, and mourning scarfs and badges.

The Order of Odd Fellows followed, and closed this Division. A white satin banner, fringed with black, and bearing the emblematical links of the I. O. O. F. preceded the six Marshals of the Order, on horseback. Then marched the members of the Order, 350 strong, which is not a third of their whole number in this city. They were all dressed in mourning, and moved to the strains of a splendid brass band.

The Fourth Grand Division was headed by the Portuguese, Spanish, French and Italian Benevolent Societies, numbering 180 members, with a fine band of music, furled flags in mourning, and in the centre of the Portuguese line, a black velvet pall embroidered with a large silver cross, and carried by six bearers.

The Mechanics' Society, one of the oldest and most influential in the city, followed. They mustered 156 men, appropriately and simply decorated.

Next came the New Orleans Typographical Union, 120 in number—prominent for their respectable array as well as for their decorations and decorum. They were marshalled by Mr. Charles Hall, and accompanied by several members of the press, and persons formerly connected with the printing business. The old banner of the Union was displayed, bearing on one side the mottoes, "Printing, the Art Preservative of Arts," "State of Louisiana," "Union and Confidence," with the coat of arms of this State. On the other side was the portrait of a Ramage press, with the inscriptions, "Tyrants' Foe and Peoples' Friend," and "New Orleans Typographical Association, founded April, 1835."

The Sons of Temperance, with an elegant blue silk banner fringed with gold, followed, marshalled by W. S. Mount, and numbering 145 men. The Hibernian, Shamrock, St. Patrick and St. Andrew Benevolent Societies, and the St. Michael Benevolent Burial Society, mustering in all 130 individuals, closed the Fourth Division, with banners and music.

The Screwmen's Benevolent Association, plainly decorated, opened the Fifth Grand Division. They numbered 226 men, and were preceded by a band of music and the simple banner of the Society.

The members of the German Turnverein Association in their picturesque dress, followed, mustering some 30 men. They preceded, what was one of the most interesting features of the procession, the Board of Directors, teachers and boys of the Public Schools of the four Districts of the City. The boys were over one thousand in number, marching four abreast, and mostly under ten years of age. The Male Orphan Asylums were represented by 104 of their little

protégés dressed in their usual plain, neat uniform. The whole Procession was closed by the Association of Stevedores, who to the number of thirty, rode on horseback, and volunteered to take the position in the ranks held by them.

It is impossible to describe the ensemble produced by this imposing body, numbering as it did over five thousand persons, each arrayed in some insignia of mourning. What with the variety and amount of rich or elegant costumes and banners, and continued streams of music filling the air, the effect was quite bewildering. The *coup d'oeil* of the long column and the spectators, filling up the street, and seen from a distance was truly grand and impressive.

The Procession took exactly one hour and forty minutes to pass any one particular point; its length was over one mile and a half; and from the time it left Lafayette Square to the time it returned there was two hours and half.

On arriving at the Square, by St. Charles street, the Washington Regiment, under Col. Wood, entered, and formed on either side of the avenue leading from the street to the Cenotaph. Up this armed avenue to the platform of the Cenotaph marched the Officiating Clergy, the Orators of the Day, then the Committee of Arrangements, Commanding Officers with their Staffs, the Officers of the Army, Revenue Service, and the Veterans of 1814-15, saluted as they passed by the Washington Regiment.

The rest of the Procession then filed into the Square. The Kentucky and Massachusetts delegations occupied the north side, facing the Cenotaph; the Masons and Odd Fellows were in their rear. The U. S. Artillery was drawn up at the foot of the Cenotaph on the Camp street side; the Battalion of Artillery took up the ground in their rear. The Legion, on the same side, opposite the Battalion, was covered in front by the South Carolina delegation, who stood near the south-east corner of the Cenotaph. The Firemen, the Civic Societies, and boys of the schools took up the whole of the south side of the Square.

Presently up the guarded avenue, from St. Charles street, marched a band of music, followed by the thirty-one Pall Bearers in their

white scarfs. All heads were bared as they approached ; the troops presented arms, and there was a general silence in the vast mass of lookers on as the Pall Bearers mounted the steps of the Cenotaph, where the Grand Marshal and the other persons previously mentioned, stood ready to receive them. Three of the Pall Bearers bore the urns. These were deposited on the tall altar in the centre of the platform ; an impressive, death-like stillness reigned while the Rev. Mr. Walker pronounced a brief but feeling benediction, and then the Grand Marshal proclaimed the Procession to be dismissed.

It is not an unfit place here to state that the credit of the admirable order observed in, and imposing effect produced by this grand Procession, was mostly due to the tact, experience, and energy of the Grand Marshal.

The different societies and corps, civil and military, then moved out of the Square to the sound of gay music, and the immense crowds surrounding the place began to disperse. The orations at Lyceum Hall, Odd Fellows' Hall and the Presbyterian Church followed, and were attended by large and evidently much interested audiences. By the able manner in which the Committees of Reception at these localities performed their duties, the most perfect order was preserved throughout. The ceremonies observed at them before and after the eulogies are sufficiently indicated in the programme. The decorations of these three halls were under the charge of Mr. Etter, and they reflected very favorably for his taste and skill. A minute description of them is deemed consistent with the purposes of this record.

At the Odd Fellows' Hall, on Camp street, the decorations were of the chastest character. To those who did not see the large splendid room in which the oration on CLAY was delivered, it will only be necessary to say that the seventeen windows which gave light to the magnificent Ball Room, as well as the nine blank windows therein, were all curtained and draped in mourning. The gallery or orchestra was most tastefully festooned, and heavy flounces of black and white crape fell gracefully from every fold of their full proportions. All the large mirrors in the room were handsomely craped without stint, and the platform presented a beautiful *coup d'oeil*. The stand itself was

carpeted with black, whilst around its front and sides hung a profusion of black and white draperies, interspersed with rosettes of crape. The speaker's stand in the centre formed the apex of a sweeping drapery, which extended from either side to the busts of the "dead—though living" CLAY, and thence descending to the corners of the stand, falling off in heavy folds. The view from the front of the hall to the speaker's stand was of a sombre magnificence.

The Presbyterian Church, on South street, where the oration on WEBSTER was pronounced, was almost the counterpart of Odd Fellows' Hall inside, except that the windows were not curtained. Draperies encircled the church entirely, whilst heavy folds of black cloth fell from the tall steeple outside to the base of the columns beneath.

The Lyceum in the City Hall, where the eulogy on CALHOUN was delivered, was draped, as near as the difference in rooms would permit, in a similar manner to the room in Odd Fellows' Hall.

After the delivery of the eulogies, the streets still continued thronged until a late hour, the people being apparently unwilling to lose any opportunity of examining and engraving on their minds the many objects and scenes that rendered the day so peculiar and so mournful. In the evening Lafayette Square presented a strange spectacle. It was lighted up by tall, fixed torches arranged in regular order in the outline of a cross over the area. The night was black and windy, and the waving of the dark trees, the ghastly glare of the flaring lights on the tall, gloomy, mysterious looking Cenotaph, formed a singular, impressive and awing picture.

Thus ended a day which has formed a memorable epoch in the history of New Orleans. The citizens have a right to be proud of the manner in which they testified their veneration for the memories, admiration for the talents and services, and sorrow for the loss of the three greatest American Statesmen and Orators of the present century.

A DISCOURSE

UPON THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF

JOHN C. CALHOUN,

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 9th, 1852, BY GEORGE
EUSTIS, LL. D., CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

FELLOW CITIZENS :

The duty assigned to me in the ceremonies of the day, is to address you on the life and character of JOHN C. CALHOUN.

A meeting of our citizens was convened immediately after his death, and I was honored with an invitation to deliver an eulogy on that occasion.

The condition of the public mind on those topics with which Mr. CALHOUN'S political course had been identified, was deemed at the time too excited for a proper appreciation of its merits. This objection has been gradually removed, until this imposing ceremony in honor of the illustrious American triumvirate responds to the popular voice in homage to the memory of CALHOUN.

The lapse of time since his decease has offered opportunities for a more deliberate consideration of his character, and the events which have since transpired enable us better to judge of the sincerity and sagacity of his political views, and to do greater justice to his motives and opinions.

As we can all recollect, the intelligence of his death was received with consternation by the people of Louisiana. It was visible on every countenance, and every one seemed to feel that a great calamity had befallen him. Men's minds were disturbed by the aspect of affairs at the Capitol, and the counsels of CALHOUN were looked up to in the emergency. The influence of his intellect, and strong hold upon public opinion, was regarded as one of the main preservatives of

public tranquility. Although no more than the relations of other public men existed between him and the people of this State, his loss was deplored as of a benefactor in intimate connection with them.

But it was in his native State that his memory received its well merited homage. The deep veneration, the silent but heartfelt grief, manifested by all classes—bond as well as free—bore testimony to his private as well as his public worth. Nor was this a mere ebullition of feeling on the occasion which passed away with the pageant of his obsequies. For months after his interment his grave was strewn with flowers by the hands of affection—a beautiful homage of the female heart to purity and genius. The generous emotions called forth by his death, were the consequences of his character as a man, a neighbor, and a friend. Mere public services would not have caused them; but with him the private virtues were admirably blended with the highest intellectual endowments, and were as vivid and as actively employed among those about him, as if he had been confined to the circle of domestic life. In estimating the character of Mr. CALHOUN, we must consider his private virtues as one of the main elements of his greatness, and of the great influence over his fellow men, which he possessed to a remarkable extent.

He was born in 1782, in Abbeville District, South Carolina, at the settlement which still bears the name of his family, in the midst of the tumults of the Revolutionary War. The early impressions of his childhood were necessarily associated with its traditions and events, and created in him those strong characteristics which marked his after life. Brought up in the midst of a people in a measure isolated, in whom truth, independence, and manliness were the prominent virtues, and whom the artificial modes of society had not even reached, still less contaminated, a sense of duty became his paramount thought. The want of academic instruction was more than supplied by parental care. His early education was in the sanctuary of his family. The strong intelligence of the father, the watchfulness and affection of the mother, directed and sustained the youthful mind in the way of knowledge and the paths of right and truth, from which surrounding associations offered no temptation to deviate. He thus had the best basis for his future intellectual cultiva-

tion, and without this, all education is for the most part of little use either to the individual or to society. Under our free institutions what is the State but an aggregation of families? The impressions which the child receives from the parent within the magic circle of home, are never effaced. Misfortune, depravity, crime, even time, which spares nothing else, are powerless to destroy them. If these early impressions are for good, the foundation is laid, and learning and knowledge may well be based upon it. The parental education in early life is not only the best, but the safety of the State rests in a measure upon it. As long as the sanctity of the family and its duties are sustained, self-government can maintain itself in security. This education Mr. CALHOUN received under circumstances the most favorable for the future development of his intellectual powers, which were neither weakened by undue excitement, nor diverted to trifling or frivolous subjects, but employed about the duties and relations of men. The manner in which his youthful mind was trained, necessarily led him to reflection and the appreciation of the value and beauty of intellectual pursuits. His reading was probably interrupted and desultory, and it does not appear that he had the benefit of any classical instruction until after his manhood. He entered Yale College in 1802, and was graduated two years afterwards. His attainments there show that the time of his youth had been usefully employed. He had brought with him habits of application and a maturity of intellect which enabled him easily to master his collegiate studies, while his sense of duty saved him from idleness and the allurements of pleasure. His position in the institution was of the highest distinction, and he had the good fortune to receive the praise of its distinguished head, by whom it was an honor to be praised, and who with unerring sagacity predicted the future brilliant success of his pupil. Nor was the impression less strong among the fellow students of Mr. CALHOUN, and among the traditions of the college his name is always mentioned as one of its brightest ornaments. After having been graduated he became a student of law, and after his admission to the bar, he practised for a few years with distinction in his native State.

In contemplating the early part of the life of Mr. CALHOUN, we see an earnest of what followed. We observe in him no waste of time or opportunity, none of the follies and passions incident to his age, but a steady advance in the great purpose of his life, and the acquisition of knowledge as the element of future usefulness. With very scanty means of improvement in his early years, we find him closing his academic course with distinguished honors, and with a reputation which the most worthy might envy. His course at the bar, and in the State Legislature to which he was elected, was eminently successful. On being known his merits could not fail to be appreciated, and after a few years he was transferred to the Congress of the United States by the voters of his native district. It was there in the conflicts which preceded the war of 1812, that Mr. CALHOUN made his first impression on the American people—an impression which was kept alive during the progress of the war, and which has never been effaced from those who felt it. The times were the most portentous and alarming of any which this country has ever witnessed since the Revolution. Harassed by accumulated vexations and wrongs, submission was no longer consistent with honor, and the emergency was met in a spirit worthy of a nation conscious of her dignity and rights. War was declared with Great Britain, but the unanimity so much needed at the crisis, did not prevail in our public counsels; and it was in the conflicts which this difference of opinion gave rise to, that the ability of Mr. CALHOUN became conspicuous, and established his fame as an American Statesman. The occasion was one requiring the highest faculties with which man is endowed. Mere oratory was as nothing, or an humble accessory to the work of that day. The statesman had to deal with difficulties of the gravest kind. His was not the easy task of watching public opinion in order to follow it, but the labor of creating and sustaining it. His work was to call forth and marshal the resources of the nation—moral as well as natural—and direct them in the struggle with the self-styled mistress of the ocean, and arbiter of the nations of the earth. History has recorded the deeds of those days. Our victories on the ocean and the lakes, which the skill and the intrepidity of our navy obtained, and on the land within the sound of the Great Cataract, and at New Orleans, keep alive

their memory. With them are associated the names of the illustrious patriots, who by their indomitable spirit and steadfastness, maintained the cause of their country amidst the vicissitudes of war, and in the darkest moments of defeat and disaster.

An occasion like this, as was natural, brought together in the public councils men of the greatest talent and distinction; and it is no disparagement to the fame of any one of them, to say that Mr. CALHOUN was in all respects his equal. Nor were the honors of those days easily won. The opposition throughout the administration of Mr. Madison was conducted by men of the highest character, influence, and ability. Many of them had established their reputations as public men, and possessed great weight with the country—men with whom it was honorable to compete in so noble a cause. Amidst all the differences and collisions of opinion, it was the peculiar good fortune of Mr. CALHOUN, that while he supported with zeal and firmness his own convictions of policy, he at the same time secured the good will and respect of his distinguished opponents, who on frequent occasions bore testimony to his great talents and worth.

The close of the war found him one of the foremost men of the nation. Perhaps in the whole course of our history there is no man who at his time of life had earned to himself so elevated a position. Already he had won the confidence and esteem of his fellow citizens, and established his fame as an orator and statesman. Attracted by his urbanity of manners and the fascination of his varied intellectual powers, all sought his society, and none came from it without the impression of his greatness. Nor did his success disturb in any respect the habits of his life, or induce any relaxation from his laborious application to intellectual pursuits. His mind was constantly employed upon those great topics of political science which were his favorite studies, and which occupied his leisure during life.

In 1817 commenced the administration of James Monroe, the successor of the enlightened and virtuous Madison. Mr. CALHOUN received from him the appointment of Secretary of War, and continued at the head of that department until the close of his second administration in 1825. The duties of that office were not at that period a mere administrative routine. On the contrary, the late war had

accumulated a mass of unfinished business in the department. Its difficulties were increased by the want of a proper system of expenditure and accountability. This had not been felt with a small army in time of peace, but necessarily produced great embarrassments during the operations of war, and confusion at its close. Under ordinary circumstances an office like this offered little inducement to a man in the position of Mr. CALHOUN. The exchange from his career of triumph in the House of Representatives to the details and drudgery of an administrative office could present no attractions to a man of his temperament. There is generally among men of his class a fondness for the pursuits in which they excel, and an aversion to those of an opposite character. They leave with regret the theatre in which they address and hold intercourse with a people and receive its applause, for the fastidious and irksome labors of a place in which their voice is not heard, and their exertions are unknown or unappreciated. It was sufficient however that this branch of the government most needed reformation to secure to the country the benefit of his services.

During the quiet and prosperous administration of Mr. Monroe, the War Department under his charge was reorganized, and the present admirable system introduced and carried into effect. It is no small praise to his skill and ability that they commanded the confidence of military men, and that his administration of the War Department is an epoch in the history of our military establishment. In considering the recent achievements of our army—the fortunate results of courage, skill, and the complete organization of every branch of the service, we ought not to overlook the intelligence which first gave the direction and established the organization from which so much has inured to the honor of our arms and the strength of our republic. In taking charge of the War Department Mr. CALHOUN was thrown entirely upon his own judgment and responsibility. The greatest confusion prevailed in all branches of the department. Nearly fifty millions of accounts remained outstanding and unadjusted. After reducing them to a few millions, and introducing order and accountability in every part of the service, and bringing down the annual expenditure of the army to four millions and a half, without taking a single comfort from officer or soldier, he left the department in a con-

dition which might be advantageously compared with the best in any country. He removed higher up our military posts on the Mississippi and Missouri, and took measures for the security of our frontier and the extension of the fur trade. His whole administration was characterized by system, foresight and activity, and established his reputation as an enlightened and accomplished statesman in the fullest sense of the term.

In the canvass for President which came on towards the close of the last term of Mr. Monroe, the name of Mr. CALHOUN was brought before the public for that distinguished station. He was not however a candidate for the Presidency at the election, but received a large majority of electoral votes for the office of Vice-President, and took his seat as the presiding officer of the Senate on the 4th March, 1825. He was re-elected in 1829, and remained in office until 1832.

During the time that Mr. CALHOUN filled the chair of the Senate, it is conceded by all that he presided over the deliberations of that august body with singular dignity and moderation. Amidst the conflicts of debate, the struggles and activity of party spirit, his justice and impartiality were never questioned. Some of his decisions gave rise to much discussion in the excited state of feeling at the time, and different views were taken of their correctness ; but upon a dispassionate and thorough consideration of the subject, the views taken by him of the duties of his office, and of the relations of the Vice-President towards the Senate under the Constitution were concurred in, and since that time the rule established by his decisions has been acted upon as a settled constitutional principle.

The state of things which occasioned Mr. CALHOUN's resignation of the Vice-Presidency, and his immediate transfer as a senator to the body over which he had with such general satisfaction presided, constitutes one of the most important epochs in the constitutional history of our country. South Carolina through the organ of a convention of her citizens, had declared by a solemn act some of the most important laws of the United States to be unconstitutional, null and void, had pledged herself to renounce all connexion with the Union, if an attempt should be made to carry them into effect by force, and her legislature was engaged in maturing measures necessary to meet such a contin-

gency. The President of the United States stood pledged before the country to execute the laws. His name, his services, and his known determined resoluteness of character, gave weight to the solemn pledge which he renewed in a formal proclamation. An appeal to force appeared to be inevitable, and the future to offer little else than confusion, civil discord and violence. Our country was saved from this result by a concession on the part of the government of the United States, made in a spirit of justice and of peace. The obnoxious tariff laws were modified, and all further agitation on the subject was terminated.

Just before the commencement of the session of Congress in which these momentous matters were to be acted upon, Mr. CALHOUN resigned the office of Vice-President, and was appointed Senator by the legislature of South Carolina to fill the vacancy made by the election of General Hayne to the office of Governor of the State. The avowed object of his change of position from that of presiding officer to that of member of the Senate, was to explain before it—as it were in the presence of the people—the principles and conduct of the party of which he prided himself upon being the champion. This act alone bespeaks greatness, and bears the impress of confidence and manly sincerity, of noble disinterestedness and self devotion. Public expectation was at its highest point, and was not long in suspense. At the appropriate time Mr. CALHOUN brought forward a series of resolutions embodying the principles upon which the measures of South Carolina had been based, and which he relied upon for her justification.

The prominent point disclosed in these resolutions is, that under our system any State has a right to annul at discretion within its limits any law of the General Government which it may deem unconstitutional. The foundation of this right is denied from the assumption that the United States are not one people but a confederacy of States in certain things mutually independent of each other, each possessing the same right to judge of the extent of the obligations subsisting between itself and the others, and of the manner in which those obligations are observed or violated that is possessed and exercised by the parties to an alliance of independent sovereigns; that a breach of the conditions of the compact by one party exempts the others from the

obligations to observe it, and leaves them at liberty to renounce it entirely, or to take such other measures, not inconsistent with justice, as they may deem expedient for the security of their rights. This doctrine was sustained by Mr. CALHOUN as the shield of State rights, and essential to the protection of the minority interests of the community, and the liberty and union of the States. The right assumed was not that of resistance on the part of the State in cases of unconstitutional and extreme oppression, but it clothed the States with the power of annulling in the exercise of their own constitutional power the acts of the General Government.

The principles set forth in the resolutions of Mr. CALHOUN met with a feeble support out of the State in which they were acted upon. The judgment of our ablest publicists was adverse to them, as were the opinions of most of the legislatures of different States expressed on the proceedings of the South Carolina Convention. The great mass of public opinion was with the General Government, and the State of Virginia alone interposed her good offices for the suspension of the enforcement of the nullifying ordinance.

These discouraging appearances had no effect in checking the zeal or weakening the purpose of Mr. CALHOUN. He had from his official positions been for nearly fifteen years withdrawn from all public debate, but on taking his seat in the Senate he was at once found ready for all its exigencies. With an enlarged experience, great maturity of intellectual powers, a practical observation of the workings of our Government in all its tendencies, and the high reputation which his public labors had secured to him, he appeared before the people of the United States confident of being able to vindicate his doctrines, to impress in all who heard him the conviction of their truth, and establish them as a part of the fundamental law of the land. Mr. CALHOUN advocated the doctrine of Nullification as a peaceable remedy against grievances. It was not new; it was considered as resting in high authority, but had never been before acted upon, and its application was attempted for the first time. He thought that our federative system in extreme cases authorized this intermediate remedy between oppression and resistance; that instead of being a measure of revolution

and anarchy, it was one of peace and safety; and that its existence and recognition would impress moderation and justice upon the action of the General Government. These doctrines descend to posterity under the sanction of his great name.

The debate which followed on this occasion was one of the most memorable in our history—it was addressed to the standard of the highest intelligence, and did honor to all who took part in it. The foundations of our Government were thoroughly examined and discussed with an ability rarely equalled, and the whole debate was conducted with the elevation and dignity which the gravity of the subject required. However unsuccessful Mr. CALHOUN had been in establishing his doctrines under the theory of the Constitution, there was but one impression as to his great ability, whether displayed in assailing the positions of his antagonists, or in fortifying and defending his own.

This discussion, involving as it did the gravest questions that ever occur with us, furnishes the most thorough exposition of the origin and theory of our political system which has yet been produced, and affords materials invaluable to the future historian and statesman. The conduct of Mr. CALHOUN in this controversy between the General Government and the State of South Carolina, was necessarily subject to severe animadversion. The weight of his influence, moral and political, which was thus brought to bear against the Union, was looked upon with no favor by a large majority of his political friends, but without injuring in the slightest degree their confidence in the purity of his motives or the elevation of his purpose—the sentiment on the part of those who entertained the most opposite opinions to his, was one of regret without unkindness or the least asperity.

Mr. CALHOUN remained in the Senate until after the ratification of the Ashburton treaty in 1843, devoting his whole resources of knowledge and experience to the investigation and settlement of the important questions of public policy which were under consideration during that period. He was afterwards called from his retirement to fill the office of Secretary of State under the administration of Mr. Tyler, and was subsequently returned again to the Senate during that of Mr. Polk, and remained in that body until his death.

Having acted a distinguished part in all the great political questions of his time, he has left to posterity the means of forming a just appreciation of his conduct, his views, and his principles. His powers have been tested in various ways and in different spheres.

His Senatorial labors being the most recent, and having been directed to those all-absorbing topics which still occupy the public mind, form an interesting part of our history and claim a large share of public attention. As they were the result of reflection and experience under great opportunities of observation during his political life, they will probably be considered hereafter as the crowning glory of his name. It is fortunate for a statesman of his enlarged mind that it should be employed on subjects of great and enduring moment—involving not only the welfare and prosperity of the present, but the peace and security of the future—and not wasted or its force weakened by being thrown away upon matters of a selfish and ephemeral interest. It does not appear that such matters ever engaged his attention: the movement of his intellect was high, and all his purposes were elevated and sincere.

It is highly creditable to the people of the United States that their divisions and contests among themselves have been upon questions of polity deeply affecting their political and material interests, and that these questions after examination, discussion, and sometimes violent agitation, have been determined generally by a very decided weight of public opinion, and subsequently acquiesced in generally. A general system of internal improvements by the Government of the United States at one time found favor with a majority; but on a partial experiment its abuses were so monstrous and its disastrous consequences so apparent, that after a fair test of the popular sentiment it was abandoned.

The cause of the measures of the State of South Carolina just stated, was the abuse of the protective system which bore oppressively on the agricultural interests, to which the schemes of internal improvements furnished aliment by requiring large disbursements of public money—raised by an unjust and unequal taxation, and expended in a manner to operate on the worst weakness of humanity in purchasing support. The power of the protective system became immense, and

by a combination with the banking interest, which controlled the currency, and thereby had the mastery of the commercial interest, and connecting itself with the struggles for political ascendancy, there appeared to be no limits to its dangerous progress. It was from the hand of Mr. CALHOUN that this system and its combinations received their death blow. It was he who aroused public attention to its enormities, and with an admirable power of analysis—a patience and toil which a sense of duty to his country alone enabled him to exert—placed before the people the abuses, the injustice and the consequences of the system in all its complicated effects. The subject began to be understood; it attracted the attention of the enlightened and reflecting to its obvious results, and the consequence was a decided change in public opinion against the extremes to which the system had been pushed. More reasonable counsels prevailed, and public opinion has been since verging to the opposite extreme, and has settled down in favor of the liberal policy of 1846.

The financial policy of the Government, dependent on the receipt and expenditure of the public revenue, was a subject of still greater moment, as it regulated the currency and consequently the nominal value of every species of property. The banking system was one of those inheritances we received from the mother country, and the benefits of the intimate connection and dependence of the operations of the Government upon it were taken upon trust, and viewed as a matter of political necessity. At the time of the suspension of specie payments, when the evils and dangers of the connection were disclosed, an attempt was made to separate the affairs of the Government from all connection with banks. The attempt after a violent struggle resulted in the establishment of the Independent Treasury system, which has fully answered all the purposes of Government. At that time the subject was little understood in this country and in England. The most gross errors of opinion prevailed among enlightened men concerning the necessity and policy of the prevailing system. Mr. CALHOUN—far, very far in advance of public opinion, took his stand against it, and with a foresight and sagacity almost unequalled, demonstrated the necessity of the divorce of the State and banks, under the fatal consequences of which the country was then suffering, and ex-

plained the invaluable advantages of the plan to be substituted for this unnatural and disastrous alliance.

Public opinion on this subject was completely revolutionized, and the measures and views of financial policy then entertained, are now looked back upon with wonder—as the delusions of the day. Mr. CALHOUN'S views of policy relating to the financial and other material interests of the country appear to comprehend the great changes which its condition has since undergone with the increase of territory, wealth, population, and its progress in the arts, and to be in accordance with the exigencies of these combined elements. These views were presented in debate with masterly force of argument and illustration.

The Ashburton treaty which terminated the vexed and long pending controversy on the subject of the North Eastern boundary, received his cordial support; and on that occasion, in stating his reasons for his vote, he exhibited in their strongest light his moderation, his accurate acquaintance with the subjects embraced in the treaty, and his patriotic and elevated purposes. He did not insist upon his views on several points, and voted for the treaty as a measure of conciliation, and as the first step towards a durable good understanding and peace. On all the important subjects before the Senate Mr. CALHOUN took a leading part in the debate. The Bankrupt Law, the Public Lands, the Veto-power engaged his attention and called forth his best exertions, as well as those topics directly connected with the financial and general policy of the country.

After a short retirement from the Senate, he was, with the unequivocal approbation of the Nation, appointed to the office of Secretary of State. With reluctance he accepted the appointment, which had been unanimously confirmed by the Senate without the usual forms observed by that body. The condition of our foreign affairs required the services of a statesman of great experience and weight of character, and Mr. CALHOUN carried to the office the confidence of all. The subject of the annexation of Texas was then pressing upon public attention, and the time had come when it was necessary for the Government to act definitively upon this important question. The difficulties which it presented were met promptly by Mr. CALHOUN, who gave such a direction to the negotiation that Texas became one

of the United States. This vast addition to the territory of the United States was neither sought in the spirit of conquest nor obtained for purposes of aggrandizement, but as a means of providing for the future security and peace of the Union. It was a measure of high public policy, the advantages of which were not so apparent at the time as to prevent a violent opposition; but on a mature consideration of the relations existing between this country and Texas, their union was evidently little short of a necessity.

The accession of Mr. Polk to the Presidency found Mr. CALHOUN again in private life; but the alarm created by the Oregon question, called him from his retirement to place him once more in that body in which he would be enabled to exercise a controlling influence. His opinions were known to be eminently pacific. Familiar with the origin of the question and the different unsuccessful attempts to adjust it—from his recent position of Secretary of State possessing all the information concerning its condition, he thought it involved the issues of peace or war, and put forth his unremitting and anxious efforts in the Senate for its adjustment.

Mr. CALHOUN was opposed to the late war with Mexico. He was essentially a man of peace, and looked upon war as in direct conflict with our policy, and detrimental in its consequences to our institutions. The war of 1812, which he advocated and supported throughout, he considered as called for by our national honor, and necessary to our national independence. Since that period whenever he took any part in our relations with foreign powers, his counsels were marked with moderation and his views were almost exclusively pacific.

We are thus brought near the close of the career of this great man, who for a period of almost forty years had been before the public eye in conspicuous public situations, in the midst of the most bitter conflict of parties, and in active connection with all the prominent events of our history during that time.

At the time of the decease of Mr. CALHOUN, he was the representative of the great mass of opinion in the Southern States in relation to their rights under the Federal Constitution respecting Slavery, which opinion was fortified by an immense support in other parts of

the Union among the enlightened, the virtuous, and the patriotic of all parties. This support, though not manifested on all occasions, rested upon strong and deliberate views of both duty and interest, and a sincere attachment to our institutions. What had been prophecy in 1836 on the part of CALHOUN, became fact in 1849. The organized incendiary movement for the overthrow of the fundamental law of the Union, with its orators, preachers and presses, had accomplished its great purpose on its way to distinction. It acquired a foothold in Congress under the insidious mask of the right of petition—a right dear to those whose ancestors had fought the battle of civil and religious liberty in Europe. An indiscriminate and undue respect for that right had led to abuses of the most scandalous and disreputable character, and resulted in open attacks on the integrity of the Constitution itself. At the outset the movement seemed to be confined to well meaning persons who were, or thought they were under the influence of religious impulses. In England an administration for the purpose of obtaining the votes of a sect, and thereby maintaining its ascendancy, had spread desolation over their colonies in the West Indies, by the abolition of domestic servitude. Notwithstanding the political independence which the United States attained by the Revolution, a social dependence to a certain extent still exists on our part. Literature, the arts, commerce, and a common language, combine in keeping up the dependence, and to impose on us not only the conventional and social, but also the religious conceits which break out in the midst of that artificial state of society. The excitement on the subject of Slavery, which in its origin was confined to a few, and was therefore harmless, soon became too powerful an element not to be turned to account, and its progress exhibits one of the most marked examples of ignorance and profligate demagogueism which the history of civilization can present. It was fostered in order to be used in the contests of numbers, and became formidable when men of note availed themselves of it as the means of their success. Many fanned the kindling flame, who have recoiled from the consequent conflagration. Had the feeling been met at the commencement with the energy and independence since displayed in resisting it, it would have been kept within its circle among that class of opinions which it is better for society to

tolerate than to disturb, and would have been impotent in affecting the tranquility of the country. The mass of the people of the non-slave holding States have always been in favor of the compromises of the Constitution in their integrity, and too much credit cannot be given to those public men who at all hazards of personal influence have nobly exerted themselves in sustaining them, and in staying the plague which threatened their destruction. If the guaranties of the Constitution are not to be carried out, if its conservative power is to be withdrawn from any portion of the Union, what remains for the protection of its citizens? The most absolute despotism is comparative freedom to their condition. If there is a higher power than the Constitution, and this power is the conscience of a class of persons whom the accident of an election may elevate to authority, we have merely the substitution of fanatic and unbridled license in place of the fundamental law. Fanaticism has been the curse of our race. Its history fortunately has been written. When once admitted into the governing power of a system like ours, it can produce little else than tyranny and brutal violence, and must necessarily destroy it. To resist the invasion of our institutions on their outward edge by this element of danger, is a matter of self preservation.

Those who are so ready at all times to impugn the motives of the advocates of State rights, ought to bear in mind that they are liable to misunderstand them. An extreme sensitiveness on the subject of the rights of the States has its date in the origin of our Government. In the States whose social condition offers no vulnerable point to be affected by the action of the General Government, little is to be apprehended from its interference, and less from its adverse action. But in the States where the condition of a large class is sought to be disturbed, social order itself is liable to be upturned and society itself disorganized by a departure from the conservative principles of the Constitution: an active and self protecting vigilance on their part ought therefore to excite neither surprise nor distrust among just and right minded men. That the people of States so situated should be feelingly alive to every danger of this sort, and use every precaution to maintain their peace and security by preserving their political power, would seem to be the natural consequences of their position.

The views and motives of a people whose public counsels have taken this direction, are liable not to be appreciated by those who have known the General Government only from its benefits, and have no reason to fear its antagonism. The active agency taken in public affairs by men of education, of talent, and of property in the Southern States, plainly shows that the rights of the States are held as involving their deepest interests. They have been at all times determined that their States shall maintain their due and proper influence. They have manifested this determination through the press, their legislative bodies, in Congress, and in public discussion. The ability with which the cause has been sustained, and the devotion and disinterestedness with which it has been upheld, has created and sustained an influence which is all prevailing among the people of those States, and is fortified by the concurrence in these opinions of a large mass of citizens of other States.

In the judgment of the soundest statesmen of this Republic, and of a large majority of the people, the preservation of the Union is only to be maintained by the confinement of the powers of the General Government within the limits of the Constitution.

Those who have read the history of the contests of civil liberty, must see that safety is only secured by the vigilant opposition which every assault of power instantly encounters from the spirit and intelligence of the governed. Instead of permitting the aggressions of power to accumulate and acquire such a hold on opinion as to sanction their continuance, and then seeking relief in public resistance and civil war, the present theory of free government is to resist the first tendency of power towards aggression in constitutional rights, and thus nip the evil in the bud. The policy is preventive rather than remedial, and commends itself to the plainest understanding of man. So thought Mr. CALHOUN, and on this principle he acted.

When Mr. CALHOUN in the midst of a state of disquietude and alarm, which he had for a long time foreseen and predicted, made his last appeal to the Senate and to the people of the non-slave holding States, as the arbiters of the future security of the Union, he was unable to declare it orally: it was read by another by permission. His

presence in his visibly declining health, gave a painful interest to the imposing scene. His discourse had been dictated by him in a physical condition which would have disabled most men for such an exertion; but the feebleness and pains of body did not impair or divert the energies of the soul within him. He only saw before him the dangers which beset the country should evil measures prevail, and without heed of his personal sufferings or the risk to which the exciting effort exposed him, he abandoned his sick bed for the Senate, and gave his last advice amidst her distracted counsels—invoking the spirit of justice and the duties of patriotism on the part of those who alone held the power of perpetuating our institutions and of saving the Union. He continued his presence in the deliberations of the Senate for a few days, notwithstanding the evident sinking of his physical powers.

The difficulties which attended all attempts of an adjustment of the pending difficulties he was fully alive to, and in a letter to a friend written a few days previous to his death, he thus expresses himself:

“This may be the last of my communications to you. I feel myself sinking under the wasting power of disease. My end is probably very near. Before I reach it I have but one serious wish to gratify; it is to see my country quieted under some arrangement, alas! I know not what, which will be satisfactory to all, and safe to the South.”

He was evidently alarmed at what he considered the inevitable consequence of the continued agitation of the Slavery question. He had no fear that disunion would be effected at a single blow, but thought it must be the work of time, unless its fatal causes were arrested; that the chords which bound the States together—political, social, religious and moral, would ultimately become so weakened by injustice and offence, that they would cease to be sufficiently strong to hold the Union together. It was under these deep emotions that he traced the origin of this disastrous condition to which the body politic was verging, and made his last effort to rouse the country to a sense of its dangers, and of the necessity of justice for its future security.

The death of Mr. CALHOUN at this juncture was felt as a national loss. The value of his counsels and influence was then appreciated, and the homage paid to his memory in both Houses of Congress by

his opponents, as well as by his friends, bespoke their deep conviction of his worth. Nor were any more forward in doing justice to the deceased than his illustrious rivals in the career of glory, whose services we are now commemorating with his own.

Notwithstanding the prominent position of Mr. CALHOUN, his private life has been but little known. The close attention which he always gave to his public duties and the labor which they required, the character of his intellectual pursuits, and his habits of reflection and study, left him little time for anything else. During his intervals of leisure, agriculture and the management of his estate were his amusement as well as his occupation. He never suffered himself to be weaned from the claims of home; and his duties as a husband, a father, and the head of a family, were fulfilled in a manner equally amiable and exemplary. The associations of affection and friendship which clustered round the circle of his family, he kept alive and adorned by his unreserved and kind intercourse, and the genial influence of his well stored intelligence. His watchful interest in those whom Providence had committed to his charge, was never weakened or abated by the cares of public life. On all occasions he manifested the warmest interest in the education and welfare in the youth of the country. Accessible to all, attractive in his manner, his society was eagerly sought by the young, and few left him without some agreeable and useful impression: he lost no occasion of conveying to them such ideas as would tend to strengthen their purposes of good, and elevate their views of duty. He was always pleased when an opportunity presented itself of holding intercourse with young men, and his acquaintance with the studies of youth gave great value to his conversation, which was enhanced by the kindest manner and the interest he seemed to take in their future welfare. Nor was this appearance delusive. His intercourse with the world had not dried up the deep sympathies of his nature, nor diminished his feelings of benevolence towards his fellow men.

The condition and admirable order of his farm, and the regularity with which his private affairs were conducted, were the result of only a portion of his leisure during his retirement from public business. He sought information on all subjects which directly interested humanity.

With the principles of mathematics and the kindred sciences he was familiar, and kept up his knowledge of their progress and new applications. His favorite studies were the moral and political sciences. He knew thoroughly the history of man in the different phases of civilization through which he has passed. Every thing that has fallen from him is replete with the evidence of his deep reflection on the duties and relations of communities and of the citizens to the State. His well directed industry and economy of time enabled him to prepare in the latter part of his life his profound and elaborate Treatise on Government—the result of his meditations and enlarged experience.

The fascination of Mr. CALHOUN'S colloquial powers all have felt who have enjoyed the advantage of listening to his conversations. They were most eloquent, and were important elements of his influence over the minds of men. He was exceedingly regular and temperate in his habits, and without any taste for ostentation or luxury. His deportment was dignified and prepossessing, at the same time imposing. A strict and habitual observer of the proprieties of life in all his relations, public and private, he exhibited in himself the model of a christian, gentleman, and citizen.

But it was within the more intimate circle of his personal friends that his character was more highly appreciated. His candor, his truth, his fidelity, the entire absence of anything approaching indirection or concealment in his social relations, as well as the kindness of his affections, created an attachment on the part of his friends which is rarely witnessed. Its force has been manifested a thousand times in the zeal and devotion with which he has been defended, and the steadfastness with which on all occasions their sincerity has been maintained. It was shown during his illness by their increasing anxiety, and at his death by their heartfelt and profound affliction, which revives with every incident which calls up the memory of their departed friend.

It is evident from the writings and speeches of Mr. CALHOUN, that he had studied with advantage the great masters of ancient eloquence. He appears to have arrived at the strength and brevity of the Greek of the times of Thucydides in the close energy of his sentences and the abrupt rapidity of his thoughts—sometimes indulging

in the more copious eloquence which was the improvement of the next generation. He had the first requisite of a great orator—he was a good man, and his character stood as a guaranty for the truth of what he said and of the sincerity with which it was uttered. In the most exciting stages of debate his mode of argument was fair and manly—never losing himself in confusion, nor seeking to embarrass his adversary by taking any undue advantage. Nothing could divert him from the even tenor of his way—from the dignity with which he always bore himself. He seemed to feel an unlimited confidence in his own powers, and to speak from the fullness of knowledge. He treated most subjects without putting forth his strength, convincing his hearers by what he said of the store which he held in reserve. But on the great questions which called forth the exertion of all his force, the resources of his intellect, his admirable exercise of the reasoning faculty, his comprehensive knowledge of political science, never failed to produce an effect memorable in the annals of Senatorial eloquence. This effect was by no means confined to those who entertained his opinions or who advocated the same cause with him; those who differed from him most—those who were, as it were, alienated from him by adverse sentiments—were not less the admirers of his talent, and proud of him as one of the brilliant lights of his country. His discourses were sustained throughout without being formal or too stately. He appeared to disdain every thing like mere ornament, and never introduced anything in his speeches which did not contribute to the effect of the whole. He took no pride in overcoming the difficulty of a moment and becoming the hero of an occasion, and little interest in the ephemeral purposes of party. His aim was higher—it was directed with a single view to the great interests of the country. He never descended from his elevation by the introduction of anything personal or trivial, or any attempt at wit. At all times prepared for discussion on the subjects as they presented themselves for consideration, he was equally prompt and ready in the defence of his conduct and opinions. On occasions of this sort some of his most successful oratorical efforts were made. He was master of the weapons of satire and sarcasm, which he seemed to forbear to make use of from a consciousness of his strength, and never employed,

unless the necessity of the controversy called for them for his self defence. His manner was grave and self-possessed, vehement and severe at times, and his delivery was what might be expected from a man of clear head and sound heart—full of his subject and earnestly intent on his purpose. His discourses, though they were the result of the most elaborate reflection and study, bore none of the ordinary marks of preparation. His subjects were not treated in the mode or order of the rhetorician, but his power of analysis and description was so perfect that they were at once placed in so striking a light as to need no further illustration. And in his replies, the vulnerable points of his adversary were often made so apparent by his simple exposition of them, as to require no other refutation. In this respect his skill was wonderful, and shewed him to be a thorough master of his great art. It rendered him most formidable in deliberative assemblies, and gave him a controlling power over all subjects under discussion.

Mr. CALHOUN was through life the opened and determined foe of corruption and of every thing approaching it, whatever phase it might assume—whether in power or out of power. He scorned indirection and intrigue. Demagogueism he loathed. He had no relish for the applause of the day, and no sympathy with those who seek it—its triumphs had no attractions for him. He did not believe that it was his mission to watch the popular gale and connect himself with the conceits which are thrown up on the surface of society, but to give to his fellow men his own convictions founded on the lights of his own judgment and the dictates of his own conscience.

Deeply read in the Scriptures, he manifested on all proper occasions a profound reverence for their truth, and a sense of religious obligation. It indeed is the lot of few men to possess a character so complete in all its essential points, and forming so perfect a whole.

He who could accomplish so much as Mr. CALHOUN has done, must have been no ordinary man. His success in any one of the branches of his career, as an Administrator, as a Statesman, or as an Orator, is worthy of the ambition of the most aspiring. He was exclusively the architect of his own fortune. He husbanded the scanty opportunities for improvement of his early youth, and by study, reflection, and self-training, prepared himself for his future eminence. By

his own exertions, without the adventitious aids of fortune and of patronage, he placed himself early in life among the foremost men of this land, superior to many in some respects—inferior to none.

He died in the service of his country, in Washington City, on the 31st March, 1850, leaving a glorious fame and a spotless reputation, and only regretting that he was no longer able to labor in assuring tranquility to the State, and permanent protection to our institutions.

He had for sometime been conscious of his approaching end. He preserved his faculties and his composure to the last. His death was marked by those characteristics of simplicity and unostentatious dignity which distinguished his life. Amidst a scene of heart-rending grief of his beloved family and friends, who watched his death-bed with the intense anxiety of devoted affection, he closed his earthly career with the calmness and resignation of a christian.

He has left behind him a great heritage to his children—a great example to his country—a name renowned in her annals and in the history of free institutions.



EULOGIUM

ON THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES OF

HENRY CLAY,

BY THEODORE H. McCALEB.

Delivered in the Odd Fellows' Hall, on the 9th of December, 1852, on the occasion of the Funeral

Obsequies in honor of

CALHOUN, CLAY AND WEBSTER.

The solemn spectacle, fellow-citizens, which everywhere meets the eye, is one of profound and extraordinary interest. The imposing Ceremonies in which we have been called to participate, have arrested the attention of every patriot, and awakened the tenderest sensibilities of every heart. A day has been set apart by public authority and by common consent, to be consecrated to national sorrow. Our beautiful city has suddenly paused in the midst of her wonted gaiety, to clothe herself in the garments of mourning. Her accustomed song of joy and revelry is hushed; her voice of sorrow is mingling with the funeral strain; and her heart all saddened and subdued, is throbbing in unison with the muffled drum, as it beats the funeral march in honor of the fallen champions of the Republic.

While we contemplate these manifestations of public mourning, this temporary cessation of the ordinary pursuits of life, the aspect of silent sadness which reigns in the usually active and crowded scenes of commercial industry, it is impossible not to feel, and to feel deeply, how weak is the voice of eulogy, how powerless is all human effort to give an adequate expression of our sorrows for the loss of those, to whose memory we have assembled to render our heartfelt tribute of affectionate and grateful regard. It would be vain therefore for me to attempt to give utterance to the emotions of profound humility with which I appear before you, your delegated organ, to perform the melancholy but grateful duty assigned me on this interesting occasion.

OUR CALHOUN, our CLAY, and our WEBSTER are no more. They are all gone. One by one, they have passed from the great theatre of their glory and renown. The places which once knew them, will know them no more forever. Almost three years have rolled away since the Nation was called to deplore the loss of her CALHOUN. Months have elapsed since she followed the remains of her CLAY to the chosen spot of his final repose. The voice of Philosophy had whispered peace to her troubled spirit, and the tumultuous agitations of grief had been succeeded by the holy calm of resignation to the irresistible decrees of the Omnific Word; but her great heart is again pierced by the dart of affliction, and her voice of lamentation, giving utterance alike to her past and present grief, is once more heard over the lifeless form of her WEBSTER. Like the fond mother who has surrendered one by one all her loved and cherished sons to the cold embraces of the grave, who recalls over her last departed the virtues that adorned them all, and beholds again in imagination their noble forms, as when side by side they watched over and protected her with the same filial devotion; she yields her bleeding heart to that agony of suffering which no hope can assuage, no philosophy can soothe, and pours forth her accumulated sorrows over their common tomb.

And now, fellow-citizens, while the venerated names of CALHOUN and WEBSTER are, upon other tongues,—the themes of eulogy and praise—it becomes my pleasing duty to present to your grateful contemplation a brief review of the life, character and services of HENRY CLAY.

Brief, indeed, must be the review of such a life, of such a character, and of such services, to be comprehended within the limits of this occasion. A life from early manhood devoted to the promotion of the happiness, prosperity and glory of his country; a character whose unsullied purity, moral elevation and olympic grandeur, have become the bright exemplars of the future statesman; and services, which in their momentous effects and consequences are to be felt upon the destinies of this Republic through all time, might well be regarded as appropriate subjects to be left to emblazon the tomes of the future historian. It is not, however, for the purpose of imparting knowledge upon topics, of which as Americans you can never be presumed to be

ignorant, that in a passing tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead, we advert to the shining qualities that adorned his character, or glance at the prominent part he performed in the grand drama of public life. We seek rather, by reviving a recollection of the past, to awaken the mind to a full and solemn sense of the nature and extent of the national bereavement, and by recurring to the glorious examples that have gone before us, to enable us the better to appreciate the importance of the obligations we are called upon to discharge. As successors to the rich inheritance of constitutional liberty and republican glory bequeathed to us by the good and the great who have gone down to their graves, we cannot hope to preserve that inheritance and transmit it unimpaired to posterity, if we cease to venerate the characters, refuse to emulate the examples, or fail to observe the precepts of those from whom we have received it.

We cannot reflect upon the solemn and heartfelt manifestations of public grief which immediately followed the death of Mr. CLAY, without feeling that his highest, his noblest eulogy is the sorrow exhibited by his countrymen on the melancholy occasion. We all felt that the long lingering illness of the venerable patriot had gradually prepared us to listen with calm and christian resignation to the intelligence of his final dissolution. And yet, when on the wings of the lightning that intelligence was conveyed to the remotest parts of the Republic, we well remember how that Republic from its centre to its extremities was convulsed by the shock produced by the sudden assurance that the great Statesman was no more. The whole Nation seemed bowed down with a sense of its irreparable loss, and clothed itself with the habiliments of mourning; and the people joined with one accord in rendering funeral honors to the mighty dead. In every city, town and village through which his mortal remains were borne on their way to their final resting place, the mourning thousands assembled to testify their affectionate regards for his memory. Sorrow was depicted upon every countenance, and all eyes were turned to behold the bier that contained the last of him, who but a few months before, with form erect and eagle eye, had moved in the midst of his admiring countrymen, the object of their gratitude and love. The swelling tones of organs pealing among clustered columns, and along

the spacious domes of lofty cathedrals; the measured toll of funeral bells resounding from the spires of every consecrated fane throughout the length and breadth of the land, were mingling in one universal knell—one solemn dirge over the christian patriot. In view of all which then occurred, and of all which is now passing before us, how forcibly are we reminded of those ebullitions of popular grief which we are told by Tacitus were exhibited in Rome upon the announcement of the tidings from Syria, of the death of Germanicus: *Ut, ante edictum magistratum, ante Senatus-consultum, sumpto justitio, desererentur fora, clauderentur domus: Passim silentia et gemitus; nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quamquam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis moerebant.**

Death has indeed most signally exerted its customary effect upon the public estimate of the character and services of our departed Statesman. It has augmented the veneration for his memory, in proportion as it has been instrumental in diminishing political asperity and prejudice, and in silencing the senseless clamors of party malice. His great name and illustrious services are upon all tongues. Friend and foe are united in rendering homage to the fame of the noblest of our country's benefactors. All, all now remember the Statesman who stood by his country in the hour of her thickest gloom; whose moral courage and resolution, sustained by his lofty eloquence, had rendered him equal to every occasion—whether an effort was demanded in support of a great measure of public policy, or in vindication of the rights of our Republic against the world. They remember the Patriot, whose great soul at all times and in every emergency embraced his whole country; whose last act was the noblest evidence of his undying attachment to that Union, to whose best interests, to whose permanent preservation his whole life was steadily and ardently devoted. They remember the MAN, whose name

“No act of base dishonor ever blurred;”

the man who walked untouched and triumphant through the fiery furnace seven times-heated, of detraction and persecution; the man,

* Annals b. 2d.

for whose foreordained destruction, there were those who paused not to

Distort the truth, accumulate the lie,
And pile the pyramid of calumny;

the man, who single handed against a host, had fluttered his assailants "like an eagle in a dove cote—alone he did it;" who stormed the very citadel of calumny, and planted the victorious banner of Truth upon its walls; the man who was ever ready to compromise upon a measure of public policy affecting the security of the union of these States; but whose chivalric soul ever scorned to compromise a principle, in thought or deed, whenever his own honor or the honor of his country was involved. It is for the loss of such a Statesman, such a Patriot, such a Political Champion, such a Civic Hero, that a grateful and admiring people have been called to mourn. All political animosities are forgotten, or buried forever in his honored grave. His eloquence, his patriotism, the incorruptible purity of the Man, and the comprehensive wisdom and unerring forecast of the Statesman, are alone remembered. In the language of Macauley depicting the sorrows of England for the death of Lord Chatham: "Detraction is overawed. The voice of even just and temperate censure is mute. Nothing is remembered but the lofty genius, the unsullied probity, the undisputed services of him, who is no more. For once all parties are agreed."

The life of Mr. CLAY presents a striking illustration of the superior advantages afforded by our free republican institutions for the development of all those attributes of moral and intellectual power which constitute the truly great man. It demonstrates the efficacy of that noble self-reliance which poised upon an indomitable will, and disdaining all foreign aid, recoiling from no shock however violent, and dismayed at no peril however appalling, steadily pursues its end, and patiently but surely works out the salvation and triumph of its possessor.

Mr. CLAY was born in Hanover County, Virginia, on the 12th of April, 1777, nine months after the Declaration of Independence; and it may therefore be truly said that his infancy was cradled amid the storms of the Revolution. The first lesson taught him by maternal affection was the story of his country's suffering, and of the heroic

achievements of those who rose in vindication of her rights against the oppressions of arbitrary power. At five years of age he was fatherless, and according to his own declaration, contained in his memorable reply to one of the many rude and malignant attacks of Mr. Randolph, "inherited from his father nothing but indigence and ignorance." The means of education in the district of country where he was born were extremely limited, and confined to such advantages as were usually afforded in the country schools of that period. In one of these he acquired the mere rudiments of an English education. In 1792, through the kind interposition of friends, he obtained a situation in the office of the Clerk of the High Court of Chancery in Richmond, where at the age of fifteen years,—an age when the youth of more favored lands were gaining an introduction to the pages of Cicero and Virgil, Xenophon and Homer, the future Statesman was toiling for a daily subsistence, and acquiring a practical acquaintance with the technicalities and details of that profession, of which he was destined to become one of the brightest ornaments. He soon attracted the attention of the learned and accomplished Chancellor Wythe, by whom he was employed as an amanuensis, and of whose paternal advice and instruction he was for four years the grateful recipient. Through the intercession of his venerable friend, he was admitted into the office of Robert Brooke, Esq., the Attorney General, and formerly Governor of Virginia. He there acquired a sufficient knowledge of the law, to enable him to obtain from the Judges of the Court of Appeals of his native State, a license to practice; and one year after he entered the office of Mr. Brooke, he left Richmond for the West, and established himself permanently in Lexington, Kentucky. Before leaving Richmond, however, Mr. CLAY had enjoyed peculiar advantages for a young man ambitious of distinction in his profession. He had formed the acquaintance of almost all the distinguished Virginians of that period, among whom may be mentioned Edmond Pendleton, Spencer Roane, Chief Justice Marshall, Bushrod Washington, and Mr. Wickham. It was also his good fortune to hear on two occasions, that unrivalled champion of American Independence, Patrick Henry,—once before the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia, on the question of the payment of the British debts; and

again in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the claims of the supernumerary officers in the service of the State, during the Revolutionary War. Mr. CLAY retained through life a vivid recollection of the appearance and manner of that extraordinary man. The impression of his eloquent powers on his mind was, "that their charm consisted mainly in one of the finest voices ever heard, in his graceful gesticulation, and the variety and force of expression exhibited in his countenance.*" Those who have listened to the eloquence of Mr. CLAY, will remember how præeminently he was distinguished for these very characteristics of the orator, which had impressed his own mind, as prominent ornaments in the eloquence of his renowned exemplar. We can easily imagine the effect which a popular or forensic effort of such a man as Patrick Henry, would produce upon such a mind as Nature had given to young CLAY. We can easily depict in our imaginations the beaming countenance of the youthful auditor, as he follows with rapture and delight the daring flights of an orator whose fame he was even then resolved to emulate. We recall the picture of the young Thucydides listening with tearful interest to the beautiful history of Heroditus, as it was read to the admiring multitude at Olympia; and that of the young Demosthenes, retiring from the applauding throng, upon the conclusion of an oration of Callistratus, to meditate in retirement on the thrilling scene through which he had passed, and under the influence of the fire of inspiration still glowing in his heart, to renew those intellectual toils through which alone he too might hope to win that popular applause, which to the ear of young ambition, is sweeter than the music of the spheres.

The professional success of Mr. CLAY in his adopted State far surpassed his fondest hopes, and was in all respects such as might be confidently anticipated from his previous assiduity and exemplary conduct. His energetic devotion to business, his superior talents as an advocate, and his honorable bearing as a man, secured for him popular favor and popular confidence; and the young and friendless attorney who had rejoiced over his first fee of fifteen shillings, soon found himself in possession of a lucrative practice, and holding a high

* Life of Mr. CLAY by Eppes Sargent.

rank at a bar, which even at that early period could number among its members such men as George Nicholas, Joseph Hamilton Daviess, James Hughs, John Breckenridge and William Murray. It may be mentioned as a remarkable fact in connection with his career as an advocate, that he was successful in every criminal trial for a capital offence in which he appeared for the accused party. During his whole political life he was frequently engaged in important cases before the Courts of Kentucky, and before the Supreme Court of the United States. No member of the American bar was more efficient in the presentation of the merits of a case to a jury; while the many important decisions in favor of his clients, from the highest tribunal known to our law, upon questions of great public importance, and involving principles of constitutional law, bear ample testimony to his professional acumen, his profound research, and his thorough mastery of legal principles. We have the authority of Mr. Justice Story for saying, that as a jurist of extensive attainments and profound ability, Mr. CLAY was regarded by Chief Justice Marshall,—the highest authority to which we can appeal—as second to no lawyer in this country.

After a prosperous and distinguished career as a lawyer and local legislator in the State, among whose generous and gallant sons he had cast his lot for life, he was elected to a seat in the Senate of the United States, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John Adair. His election was only for the fraction of a term; but we find in his speeches, and in the resolutions presented by him during that brief period, the germ of that great system of Internal Improvement, of which he was afterwards the ablest and most eloquent advocate. On his return to Kentucky, he was again elected by the citizens of Fayette County to represent them in the Legislature of the State, and at the next session was chosen Speaker of the Assembly. He however participated in all the important debates which arose in the body of which he was the presiding officer, and continued actively and with great distinction to serve the State as one of her local representatives, until 1809, when he was again elected to the Senate of the United States.

It would be impossible fellow-citizens, within the limits of this occasion, to notice with minuteness, the splendid services of Mr. CLAY. We shall therefore glance at a few of the most important public measures, and the most prominent political events in the history of the country, with which his name has been intimately associated.

We cannot, as Louisianians, pass unnoticed his zealous exertions on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi; his able and eloquent assertion of the rights of our Government to the district of country lying between the Mississippi and Perdido Rivers, a large portion of which now forms a part of our own State; his active participation in the proceedings of Congress, which enabled Louisiana to form a constitution, and to gain admission into the Union upon an equality with the other members of the Confederacy; and his strenuous efforts in favor of the maintenance of a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, for the protection of the commerce of the valley of the Mississippi. These are services which create a local interest in his fame, and which acquire an increasing importance whenever we compare the present position of Louisiana with what it was a short time after she passed from the dominion of France and Spain, to form one in that great family of Independent States, whose commerce is upon every ocean, and whose flag is upon every breeze.

But it is rather as citizens of the Union, that we love to dwell upon the services of Mr. CLAY. We love to recur to that dark period in our history, made bright and glorious by American valor and American genius; a period when the Republic was called upon to vindicate her honor against wrongs committed upon her commerce by England and France, under the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the British orders in council. Under the pretext of prosecuting legitimate hostilities in pursuance of these retaliatory measures, the most atrocious depredations were committed by both nations upon our neutral trade. And while France was induced by our stern remonstrances to abandon her unjust and abominable policy, so far at least as it related to American vessels, England continued to persevere in her course of arrogance and oppression, until an indignant people demanded vengeance for her unprovoked hostilities upon the property of our

merchants, and for her barbarous impressment of our mariners while pursuing their peaceful avocations upon the highway of nations.

This important crisis in our affairs occurred in 1811, during the administration of Mr. Madison. Mr. CLAY was then a member of the House of Representatives, and had been elected its presiding officer. The mind of the amiable President was inclined to peace, though he afterwards proved firm, when his resolution was once taken. A pacific policy was also recommended by Mr. Gallatin, then at the head of the Treasury Department. Against every measure tending to a declaration of hostilities, were arrayed the powerful talents of Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, and Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts. It is not difficult, however, to imagine what would be the conduct of Mr. CLAY in such an emergency. Like the Antæus of ancient fable, he rose with renewed and redoubled vigor, under the Herculean pressure of opposition that attempted to bear him to the earth. He was then in the prime of life, "with the rose of heaven upon his cheek, and the fire of liberty in his eye." He saw and felt that there was but one course to be pursued for the vindication of the insulted honor of the country, and for a prompt and effectual redress of her accumulated wrongs,—and that course involved a declaration of war. He advocated the embargo laws, because the measure was a direct precursor to war; he advocated the increase of the Army and Navy, and every other measure that would lead to the declaration of hostilities. Side by side with Mr. CALHOUN, he nobly sustained the honor of the country. High above their compeers shone these two young and gallant champions of the Republic—the Tancred and Rinaldo of political chivalry. The conduct of Mr. CLAY on that memorable occasion cannot perhaps be better described than by adopting the language of a member of Congress, who was a personal witness of the effect of his eloquence upon the crowds who daily hung upon his thrilling accents. "On this occasion," said he, "Mr. CLAY was a flame of fire. He had now brought Congress to the verge of what he conceived a war for liberty and honor, and his voice rang through the Capitol like a trumpet-tone sounding for the onset. On the subject of the policy of the embargo, his eloquence like a Macedonian phalanx bore down all opposition, and he put to shame

those of his opponents who flouted the Government on being unprepared for war."

His great object was finally accomplished. War was declared. The military and naval resources of the country were called into requisition, and both on the land and on the ocean, the honor of the country was gloriously sustained.

In consequence of the friendly interposition of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, a willingness was expressed by the Ministry of England to negotiate with our Government a treaty of peace. Mr. CLAY and Mr. Russell were appointed by Mr. Madison, Commissioners for this purpose, and accordingly Mr. CLAY on the 19th of January, 1814, resigned his station as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and proceeded on his mission to Ghent. He was there joined by Messrs. Adams, Gallatin and Bayard, who had left St. Petersburg and repaired to the place appointed for the meeting of the Commissioners, for the purpose of aiding in the arrangement of the terms of peace. The treaty was signed in December, 1814. Afterwards a commercial convention, highly advantageous to the trade and navigation of the country, was concluded in London, by three of the Commissioners of Ghent, viz: Messrs. Adams, CLAY and Gallatin.

The public career of Mr. CLAY was subsequently distinguished by the able, eloquent, and untiring support he gave to the cause of Internal Improvement, and to the protection of Domestic Industry. Let the mere sectional politician say what he may, these great measures were absolutely necessary, to enable the country to develop with rapidity her great natural resources, and to secure her independence of the manufactories of Europe. Those who would properly appreciate the services of Mr. CLAY, must look to the situation of the country while she was yet young and in a comparatively feeble state; and not to her present prosperous position, with her great facilities for international communication, and for prompt and rapid transportation from State to State; nor to her splendid manufactories, which are soon destined not only to rival, but to surpass establishments of the same character in the Old World. Nor should we limit our enquiry to the condition of the country in time of peace; but we should view the subject as the great Statesman himself was accustomed to view it, with reference to

the contingency of war, and to those calamities which war must inevitably entail upon every great commercial nation. What would be the condition of our country without manufactures, and without the facilities of transportation from one part of the Union to the other, for cannon and other munitions of war, while the fleets of a powerful enemy are sweeping the ocean, and prowling along our coasts? The policy of Mr. CLAY demanded the aid of Government, for the prosecution of what individual resources and individual energy in the earlier period of our history were inadequate to accomplish. He aimed at the security of our commercial independence, and of our internal prosperity, at all times, and in every emergency.

With the zeal and energy displayed by our great champion of Universal Liberty, in the cause of South American and Grecian Independence, you are all familiar. His speech in support of his proposition to send a minister to the United Provinces of the Rio de La Plata, is one of the ablest and most elaborate arguments which emanated from the illustrious Statesman during his whole public career. It is full of historical information and statistical details, and evinces by its laborious research, the deep, heartfelt anxiety of its author to secure for the colonies the encouragement of our own Government, in the establishment of that political independence for which they were nobly contending. His speech in support of Mr. WEBSTER's proposition to send a commissioner to Greece, is a short but gallant appeal in behalf of a people, in whose favor the sympathies of every humane heart would be naturally and most warmly enlisted. There cannot be presented to the imagination of a true friend of liberty, a spectacle more grand and imposing than was exhibited in the Congress of our Republic, when CLAY and WEBSTER, the great Orators of America, stood forth the undaunted advocates of the restoration of freedom to the land of Pericles and Demosthenes.

The exertions of Mr. CLAY in behalf of both South America and Greece, were zealously continued during the time he was at the head of the Department of State under the administration of Mr. Adams; and with what success, we shall presently have occasion to notice.

As a diplomatist his abilities were displayed to the greatest advantage. In the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Ghent, he

wielded "the pen of a ready writer;" while his excellent judgment, great prudence and practical intelligence, rendered him at all times an efficient coadjutor and a safe councillor of his distinguished associates in the commission. He not only aided in bringing to an honorable close the war of 1812, but subsequently also, in conjunction with Messrs. Adams and Gallatin, as we have already seen, in securing by the Commercial Convention signed in London, on the 3d of July, 1815, those reciprocal advantages for our commerce and navigation, which proved to be so effectual in enabling our enterprising merchants to recover from the paralyzing consequences of the war. His easy and conciliatory deportment, his perfect freedom from all duplicity, and from that mysterious, enigmatical style of conducting diplomatic conferences, once so common at the different courts of Europe, gained for him the respect and confidence of the English negotiators.

The prudence and wisdom of Mr. Madison were never more happily displayed than in the appointment of the members of the Commission to adjust our difficulties with Great Britain. There was Adams, learned on all subjects, and fortified by a thorough knowledge of international law; there was Gallatin, ready in all financial details, and familiar with the commerce of the globe; and there was CLAY, bearing the reputation of an orator of rare abilities, quick to discover an advantage, and prompt in turning it to the interest of his cause, ever active, ever vigilant, looking alike to the present honor and ultimate prosperity of the country. Such an array of talent and ability could not fail to exert a favorable impression on the diplomatists of the proud and haughty nation before whom the rights of our young Republic were to be vindicated, and her high character maintained. It formed an appropriate sequel to the gallant exploits of our Army and Navy. England learned for the first time, that she was neither the mistress of the ocean, nor the undisputed arbiter of nations; that we not only possessed a power to check her progress upon the land and upon the ocean, but also a moral and intellectual ability to teach her the great and immutable principles of international justice.

It has been truly said that the diplomacy of our country was never more efficiently conducted than during the time our foreign relations were committed to Mr. CLAY. The number of treaties he

negotiated while at the head of the Department of State, was greater than all that had been previously concluded there, from the adoption of the Constitution.* He concluded and signed treaties with Colombia and Central America, with Denmark, Prussia and the Hanseatic League. He also effected a negotiation with Russia for the settlement of the claims of American citizens, and concluded a treaty with Austria, but left the Department before it was signed. His letters to Mr. Gallatin, while the latter was our Minister at London, upon the subject of our trade with the British colonies, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence, have ever been regarded as documents of rare value in the history of our negotiations, and have deservedly placed the writer among the most accomplished diplomatists of the age. Another State paper, which has probably gained him more reputation than all others which have emanated from his pen, is his letter of instructions to the Delegation to the Congress of Panama. But that which will in all time secure to his memory the veneration of every ardent lover of liberty, is his successful appeal to the Emperor of Russia, through our Minister at St. Petersburg, (Mr. Middleton,) to contribute his exertions towards terminating the war which was then raging between Spain and her South American colonies. He was equally successful in obtaining the acquiescence of the same great power in the recognition of the independence of Greece. His strenuous exertions while he was Secretary of State, in connection with the noble efforts previously made by himself and Mr. WEBSTER, upon the proposition of the latter to send a commissioner to Greece, were mainly instrumental in exciting the sympathies of Europe in favor of the struggling people of that ancient home of freedom; and in securing to them a recognition of those constitutional guaranties for the protection of their rights under a limited monarchy, for which they had long contended. And now, in the musical strains of Whittier:

The Grecian as he feeds his flocks
 In Tempe's vale, on Morea's rocks,
 Or where the gleam of bright blue waters
 Is caught by Scio's white armed daughters,
 While dwelling on the dubious strife
 Which ushered in his nation's life,
 Shall mingle in his grateful lay
 Bozzaris with the name of CLAY.

* Life of Mr. CLAY by Eppes Sargent.

It is a remarkable fact in connection with these distinguished diplomatic services of Mr. CLAY, that, at the very time he was devoting his best energies to the advancement of the honor and glory of his country, and to the cause of human liberty in other portions of the globe, he was at home the object of a malignant persecution, which has had no parallel in the history of political or party warfare. We know indeed that the charge which was urged against him, has long since, in the language of his great compeer, who has so soon followed him to the grave, "sunk into the general mass of stale and loathed calumnies;" that it is now regarded as "the very cast off slough of a polluted and shameless press;" and being "incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised." And while we thank God that no one would if he could, we thank Him still more, that no one *could* if he *would*, "give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, or to change it from what it is, an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself." And we do not on this occasion, when all are united in rendering homage to the virtues of the mighty dead, allude to it with any design of reviving unpleasant recollections of the past, but for the sole purpose of presenting in a clearer and bolder light the unconquerable spirit of the man, who never quailed before the envenomed darts of detraction; who never bowed his majestic form, nor veiled his lofty plume to the arrogance of power.

Mr. CLAY, fellow citizens, was in the highest and broadest acceptance of the term, an American Statesman. With the sentiments of the mere local or party politician he had no sympathies in common. His views of every great measure of public policy, were always comprehensive, always national. He regarded the members of the Confederacy as constituent parts of one great whole; and he felt, therefore, that whatever contributed to promote the interests of a part, would, in its ultimate effects and consequences, redound to the benefit of the whole. That carping, narrow-minded jealousy, which feels itself called upon to resist every measure of Government apparently designed for the benefit of a particular locality, found no countenance or support from Mr. CLAY. It is the easiest of all things to be a sectional or party

politician; it is the most difficult of all, to rise to the dignity and independence of a statesman. With the former the primary object is *victory*; and it is a matter of minor importance what principle may be sacrificed in obtaining it. To the latter victory brings no laurels, but when it heralds the triumph of principle. How few, how very few are willing to withhold from party what is due to their country. How many think of their country only when the triumph of party has been secured. No man struggled more manfully for the success of his party than Mr. CLAY; but how easily could he surrender it and sacrifice it, and every thing that appertained to it, and even *himself*, whenever it became necessary to protect the Union, or to ward off a blow which political assassins were aiming at the Constitution. For such an occasion, come when it might, the great Patriot was always ready, and always equal to the demands of his country. It was then that he knew no friends, no party, but the friends and the party who were arrayed in defence of the Constitution and the Union. It was then, that

“Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,”

we found him always prepared to act under the influence of those “sublime emotions of a patriotism, which soaring towards heaven, rises far above all mean, low and selfish things, and is absorbed by one soul-transporting thought of the good and the glory of one’s country; that patriotism, which catching its inspirations from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser, grovelling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself.”* It was then, fellow-citizens, that he “WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT, THAN TO BE PRESIDENT.” It was then, that official power, however acceptable otherwise to a generous ambition, however gratifying to the pride of an old soldier of a hundred battles, as an evidence of his country’s confidence, and as a forerunner of an honorable discharge, lost all its charms, and sank into utter insignificance. For what allurements had power however exalted, for the generous, high-souled patriot, when it could no longer be associated with the honor, the greatness and glory of his country?

* Mr. CLAY’S Speech on the Veto Power.

As an Orator, Mr. CLAY has, by common consent, long been regarded as the first on the roll of great names in our country. His eloquence was in perfect unison with his general character. It was bold, ardent, and impassioned; and when prompted by great excitement, gushed like a torrent from the heart. The very fountains of his soul seemed to be broken up, and amid the rush of tumultuous emotions, he was utterly unconscious of the external world. With an easy flow of language that never failed him; with a voice ever under the most perfect control, and attuned to the sweetest harmony, now rising like the full tones of an organ, "till sound seemed piled upon sound," and now falling into the softest melody,—no orator perhaps ever exercised a more commanding and entrancing influence over the feelings of an audience. There was an awful grandeur in his denunciation, before which the coldest and most philosophical opponent stood appalled; but in his pathetic appeals to the passions, there was a charm which never failed to awaken the tenderest sensibilities of the human heart. His speeches on the subject of the war, are striking examples of these qualities. He was an enemy to all sophistry. As a logician, he was clear, cogent, and profound. He was laborious in his researches, and rarely engaged in debate upon a great measure of public interest without being fortified by an accumulation of facts, which the dispassionate, unprejudiced mind found it difficult to resist. Many of his best efforts have never been published, and are now irretrievably lost. His speech on the Missouri Compromise, like that of Mr. Pinkney on the same subject, has never been given to the public in a form to enable his countrymen to judge of the effect of that appeal, which originally secured for him the proud appellation of the Great Pacificator. But even if we possessed all that is lost, we should still feel, as we hung over the glowing pages, that there was yet wanting something to complete the charm; something which the inimitable manner, and the musical, clarion-toned voice of the orator himself could alone supply. We should be reminded, at every step of our progress, of the story of the celebrated Æschines, while a teacher of Rhetoric at Rhodes. In response to the enthusiastic plaudits of his students upon hearing him read the oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown, the generous rival and antagonist of

that great orator exclaimed: "What would have been your applause could you have heard it from Demosthenes himself?" Those who heard, can surely never forget, the peroration of Mr. CLAY's speech in the Senate of the United States on the Expunging Resolutions. He flamed in his lofty attitude of defiance like a burning seraph, while every bolt which he hurled amid peals of thunder upon his opponents, seemed

"bright
With an immortal's vengeance."

The sword of his indignation like that

"Of Michael from the armory of God,
Was given him tempered so, that neither keen
Nor solid, might resist that edge."

The character of Mr. CLAY will serve as a pattern of intellectual and moral excellence worthy of the imitation of all who may aspire to public honors—the mirror before which they may array themselves for the conflicts of public life. His untarnished honor, his lofty pride, his dauntless courage, his never failing self-reliance, his deep sense of moral obligation, his incorruptible integrity, his "delicate sensibilities exalted into sublime virtues," his magic eloquence and comprehensive wisdom, all so harmoniously blended, contributed to form an American, to whom all Americans in all coming time may turn with admiration and gratitude.

England in the reign of her good Queen Anne, was wont to point to her Bolingbroke, as the "Beacon of English Statesmen." If great sagacity, the most untiring physical energy, great mental endowments, combined with irresistible eloquence, could justify his claims to the enviable title, posterity may never withhold it. But where in *his* character, as history has portrayed it, do we find those great moral qualities which preëminently distinguished the public career of our American Orator and Patriot?—qualities which will enable the countrymen of the latter to point to his glorious example, as a *Pharos* to the statesmen of the world.

In forming its estimate of human greatness, the mind is ever inclined to resort to comparisons. In fixing the rank or position of a truly great man, in modern times, we naturally recur to the past, in

order to determine how far he approximates to those examples which history holds up to our admiration, and which have long since received the favorable verdict of posterity. If a commander with the wreath of laurel upon his brow, stands prominently before the world, we inquire how he will compare with an Alexander, a Hannibal, or a Cæsar. If an orator become the object of popular admiration, and give evidence of those great powers of eloquence which ever have been and ever will be regarded as the noblest gifts of Heaven, we associate him with those masters of his art whose names have come down to us from renowned antiquity. So also do the mighty ministers, who, in different ages of the world, have successfully guided the destinies of their country, still stand as the grand criteria of modern statesmanship; and our test of present greatness is still a comparison with the past. Apply this test to the illustrious man whose character and services are now the subject of consideration, and we will find, that in no age of the world can we designate an example of a great statesman or orator, with which his own life will not afford us a favorable comparison; and there is no extraordinary event or occasion in history which demanded the exercise of great mental and moral endowments, in which we cannot readily imagine that he, had he been cotemporaneous with the event, and locally affected by its influence, would not have been a prominent actor. He possessed the very qualities to render him conspicuous, and to cause him to be designated among thousands, as the man to determine, to lead, or to guide in the hour of difficulty or danger, or whenever and wherever the great cause of civil liberty might demand the aid of an eloquent and invincible champion. With him, who "wielded at will the fierce democratie of Athens," he would have hurled defiance at the power of Philip and his successors; and all the gold of Macedonia, Susa and Ecbatana, would never have abated one jot of his loyalty to the Republic. With the great Roman orator, he would have resisted the growing power of the Dictator; and neither the flattering offers of favor from the usurper himself, nor the persecutions of the arbitrary triumvirate which succeeded, would ever have drawn him off, or driven him from the defence of the liberties of his country. With Tacitus and the younger Pliny, he would have poured out his indignation before the Senate of

Rome against the robberies and cruelties committed by the proconsul of Africa. With the former, he would have arraigned before the justice of the world every act of oppression, whether it emanated from a commander at the head of his conquering legions, or resulted from the execution of the mandates of imperial power. If he could have been thrown in the midst of modern revolutions, who does not feel that his eloquence would have animated, his courage have confirmed, his wisdom have guided the devoted apostles of Truth. He would have added strength to the energies of the boldest, and imparted a more glowing zeal to their efforts in the cause of civil and religious freedom; and all the edicts that ever emanated from the indignation of thrones, would never have arrested him in the prosecution of his purpose; all the thunders that were ever forged in the furnaces of despotism would never have silenced his counter thunders, until "the banner of Liberty was abroad upon the mountains in its first loveliness, and the assaults of tyranny could no longer prevail against it." With John Hampden, he would have resisted step by step every attempt to subvert the rights of the citizen, every encroachment upon the privileges of Parliament; and with him he would have charged the squadrons of the fiery Rupert. Contemplate him in imagination, amid the storms of the American Revolution—not as he really was, an infant Hercules in his cradle,—but in the full possession of those intellectual and moral energies which in the maturity of manhood he displayed; and who does not believe that he would have stood in the van with the noblest of the champions of Independence, and have "felt the great arm of Washington lean on him for support." In any age of the world, the great abilities and high personal qualities of our departed patriot, would have rendered him illustrious, and equal to the exigencies of any cause his generous soul would have prompted him to espouse.

Although, fellow-citizens, it was the lot of Mr. CLAY never to reach the summit of his ambition; although he was never called by his countrymen to fill the highest political station within their gift, what generous and enlightened mind within the whole range of the Republic, can feel that mere official power or authority, however elevated, could add one cubit to the statue of his great fame? Do we not find in

this instance of popular injustice, rather an augmentation than a diminution of the glory that encircles his name? Did the refusal of the Emperor Tiberius to grant the triumph demanded by Dolabella for his conquests in Africa, detract from, or add to, the glory of his achievements? The accomplished historian has, with characteristic brevity and energy, given us the answer: *Huic negatus honor gloriam intendit.**

Let not the honors we render this day to the memory of our departed patriot, cease with the ceremonies of this solemn occasion. There are yet others in reserve, which it becomes us, fellow-citizens, in common with our countrymen throughout the Union, to award, in commemoration of his illustrious services. Let us rear aloft the marble monument to his memory. Let us present to our own generation, and to those who are destined soon to fill the places which we now occupy, his beloved and venerable form, as an object of eternal gratitude and regard. Let us behold him still erect, as we were wont to view him in life, while he stood forth the dauntless champion of his Country's rights, and the watchful guardian of her Constitution. Let us behold him as the plastic hand of an American Republican Artist only can present him to our admiring gaze. Let the fame of the Statesman and the Artist thus become blended in the remembrance of posterity. Let the name of HIRAM POWERS be associated with that of HENRY CLAY, through all time, like the name of Flaxman with that of Nelson; like the name of Michael Angelo with that of Lorenzo de Medici; like the name of Lysippus with that of Alexander; like the name of Phidias with that of his Olympian Jove. And when, hereafter, the shapeless block of marble torn from the classic quarries of Carrara, shall take its place upon the easel, let the artist remember, that no naval hero, however glorious; no magnificent patron of letters and arts, with the commerce of nations tributary to his sway; no conqueror of the world, with his invincible phalanx at his heels; no Pagan god with all his Olympian thunders, ever formed a nobler subject for the inspiration of the sculptor's genius, than the peerless Orator, the incorruptible Statesman, the self-sacrificing Patriot of his own mountain land.

* Tacitus.

Fellow-citizens, our CALHOUN, our CLAY, and our WEBSTER are no more. Their great spirits are fled, and their once towering forms are now alike the lowly tenants of the tomb. They live no longer to guide us by their counsels, nor to animate us to the performance of good deeds, by the fervor and firmness of their patriotism. Who now shall stand where they have stood? Who now shall lead where they have led? Who now shall think for our country as they have thought, or speak as they have spoken? Who now shall rush to the rescue of the Constitution in the hour of peril? Who now shall rise as the bulwarks of the Union when fiery fanatics and presumptuous demagogues shall assail it? Sad indeed are the emotions of our hearts, as we contemplate the melancholy bereavement which our country has sustained. But let us never, never, fellow-citizens, despair of the Republic. Though our revered patriots are gone, they yet speak to us in "voices from the tomb sweeter than song." They speak to us in their immortal precepts. They live in the light of their ever glorious examples. By those precepts, and by that light, let all who may hereafter be called to the service of the country, be guided and governed. While we know that we can never hope to equal in renown our departed patriots, we may at least emulate their virtues, and follow in the "track of their fiery car." Let us remember, that the more closely and diligently we pursue the high path of glory trod by them, the more faithfully we shall discharge our sacred obligations to our country. Let us remember that there are duties which devolve upon the humble as well as the exalted; and that in every condition it is honorable to serve our native land. And while we contemplate that unapproachable sphere of intellectual glory in which our departed Statesmen and Orators revolved, we should not only feel and act in accordance with the sentiment of Cicero: *Tamen est pulchrum in secundis tertiisque consistere*;* but we may also derive consolation from the noble admonition of Quintilian: *Quin animo si hanc cogitationem homines habuissent, ut nemo se meliorem fore eo, qui optimus fuisset, arbitraretur, hi ipsi, qui sunt optimi non fuissent.* * * *Verum ut transeundi spes non sit, magna tanem est dignitas subsequendi.*† Our

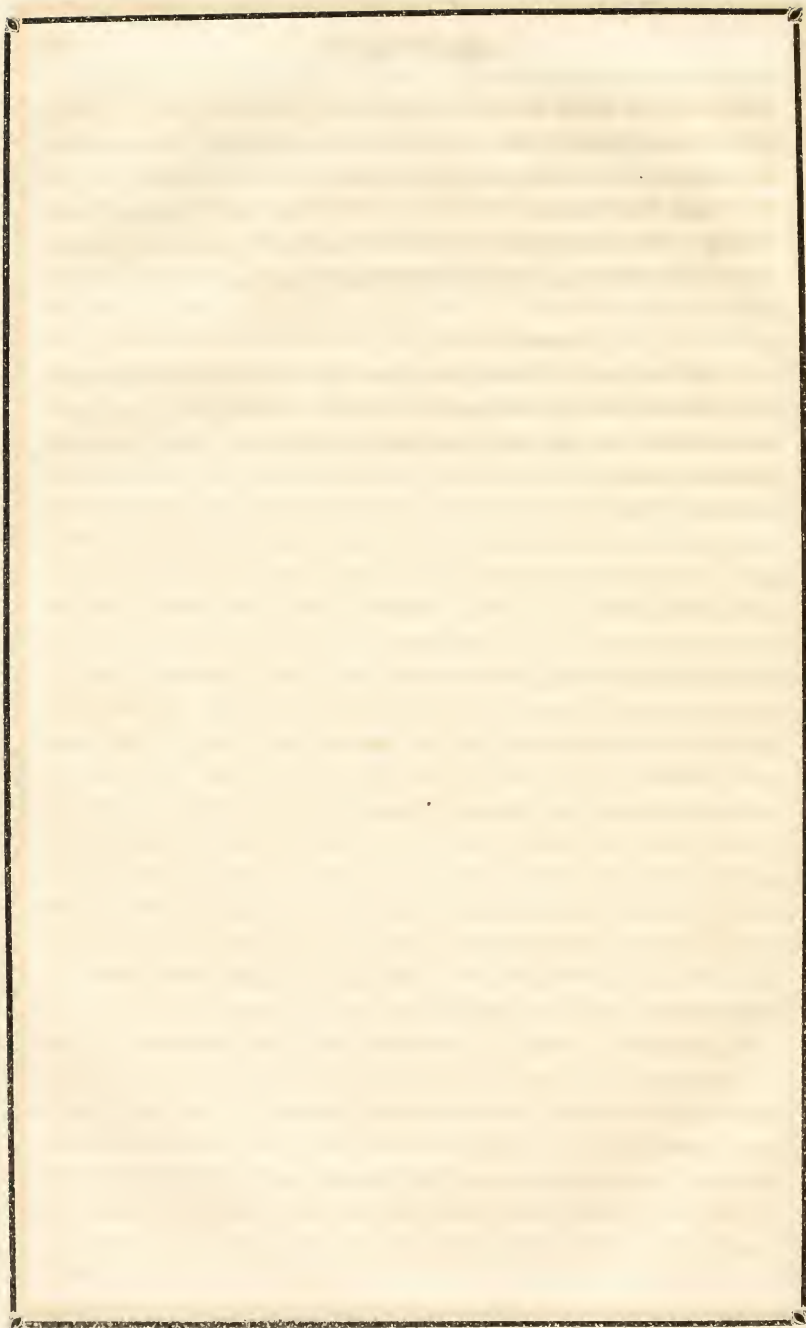
* De Oratore. N. 4.

† Orat. Inst. lib. 12.

path along the future is radiant with the light of past glory. Let that glory forever blaze in the ascendant, and no obstacles however great, no dangers however appalling, shall arrest our triumphant progress. Our great Republic is on her march to a higher and still more brilliant destiny. She is preparing to put forth anew her giant energies in the great cause of human liberty and human happiness.

"Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens her crest."

The memory of her mighty dead; her lofty attitude in the eyes of the world; the resplendent hopes of the future, all animate her to the execution of her high commission—and her cry is, **ONWARD, ONWARD, FOREVER!**



A DISCOURSE

UPON THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES OF

DANIEL WEBSTER,

BY CHRISTIAN ROSELIUS.

Delivered in the Rev. Dr. Scott's Church, on the 9th of December, 1852, on the occasion of the
Funeral Obsequies in honor of CALHOUN, CLAY and WEBSTER.

We have assembled in this sacred temple, fellow-citizens, to pay our feeble tribute of respect to the memory of DANIEL WEBSTER, and to mingle our sorrow with that of the whole Nation for the bereavement occasioned by his death. During a period of nearly half a century, this eminent citizen occupied a prominent position in the councils of the Republic, and was always the watchful, able, fearless and successful champion of free institutions and true constitutional liberty, not only in his own country, but throughout the world. He stamped the impress of his mighty mind on the age in which he lived. He gave an impulse and direction to the astounding and almost miraculous development of the resources of the whole country, whether agricultural, commercial or manufacturing. His patriotism was lofty, ardent and unalloyed by any mean or selfish motives. As a Statesman, he was actuated by liberal and comprehensive views, never resorting to mere expedients for the purpose of temporising, or of avoiding official responsibility. As a Jurist, he stood præminent, not only at the American Bar, but his opinions are quoted as authority, and command respect in the Courts of Westminster, as well as in the Halls of St. Stephen's; and, as an Orator, he has enriched the language with undying eloquence.

That the death of such a man should produce a profound sensation on the public mind, could not but be expected. It is indeed a public loss, and a cause of public mourning. How strikingly

appropriate is the impressive language which fell from his eloquent lips twenty-six years ago, when pronouncing the eulogy of two of the great founders of the Republic, who died on the fiftieth anniversary of its independence: "He is no more. He is dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die. To their country they yet live, and live forever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proof of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep engraven 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 brightly for a while, and then 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 course of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on by the laws which he discovered, and in the orbits which he saw and described for them in the infinity of space."

Yes, fellow citizens, though the tomb has closed over all that was mortal of DANIEL WEBSTER, yet his spirit lives and is among us: it lives in the great deeds performed for the good of his country;—it lives in the lessons of wisdom which his immortal works teach us so eloquently;—it lives in the bright example of virtue and patriotism which he has bequeathed to us. May his great deeds be ever held in sacred remembrance; and may his example be ever kept before the eyes of the American people as an incentive to those noble virtues which his whole life illustrated.

The lives, characters and services of such men as WEBSTER, CLAY and CALHOUN, are identified with the history of their country. When the future historian shall give an account of the wonderful progress and magnificent career of the United States, during the period these great men exercised their influence on the destiny of the Nation, they will stand out in bold relief from the historic canvass, and their conduct and actions will be weighed in the scales of even-handed justice. All that can be attempted on this occasion is, to trace a faint and imperfect outline of the principal incidents in the life of the illustrious dead who is the special subject of this discourse.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born on the 18th January, 1782, the last year of the Revolutionary War, at Salisbury, in the State of New Hampshire. His father was a man of great vigor of mind, and of a striking personal appearance. "He belonged to that intrepid border race which lined the whole frontier of the Anglo American colonies; by turns farmers, huntsmen and soldiers, and passing their lives in one long struggle with the hardships of an infant settlement, on the skirts of a primeval forest." His mother, "like the mothers of so many men of eminence, was a woman of more than ordinary intellect, and possessed a force of character which was felt throughout the humble circle in which she moved. She was proud of her sons, and ambitious that they should excel. Her anticipations went beyond the narrow sphere in which their lot seemed to be cast, and the distinction attained by both, and especially by DANIEL, may be traced in part to her early promptings and judicious guidance." From his earliest youth he manifested great eagerness for learning; but although education had been encouraged and fostered in the New England States from their first settlement, still the teachers in those days were not always the most competent to impart solid and extensive instruction to their scholars. Young WEBSTER, however, availed himself as far as possible of the limited means of education which were placed within his reach. On account of his father's narrow circumstances, the thought of enjoying the advantages of a collegiate education had never occurred to him, until his father informed him of his intention, at the age of fifteen. "I remember," says Mr. WEBSTER, in an autobiographical memorandum of his boyhood, "the very hill which we were ascending, through

deep snows in a New England sleigh, when my father made known his purpose to me. I could not speak. How could he, I thought, with so large a family, and in such narrow circumstances, think of incurring so great an expense for me? A warm glow ran all over me, and I laid my head on my father's shoulder and wept." He entered Dartmouth College in 1797. During his collegiate course, which he completed in 1801, he gave sure indications of his future eminence. On leaving College, he selected law as a profession, a science whose vast and comprehensive range, acute distinctions and logical structure, are remarkably adapted to call forth the latent powers of the mind. Though he had to struggle with difficulties and to overcome obstacles which the straightened means of his parents threw in his way, he did not despair, but met the emergency like a man determined to succeed. To enable himself to complete his own professional education, and to assist his brother through College, he took charge, for a short time, of an academy at Fryeburg, in Maine, and acted as assistant to the Register of Deeds of the County. His biographer justly observes, "that trials, hardships and efforts constitute no small part of the discipline by which a great character is formed." Under all these discouragements and difficulties, Mr. WEBSTER laid the foundation of that eminence in his profession which justly entitled him to the proud distinction of being the greatest Lawyer of his day. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with every branch of jurisprudence. Taking at the very outset, an enlarged and liberal view of the science, his acute and discriminating mind perceived at once that law is not composed of a collection of heterogeneous and incongruous rules, dictated by the whim and caprice of the law-maker; but that it is a beautiful and harmonious system, devised by the profoundest wisdom and foresight, to regulate the multifarious rights and obligations arising from the complex relations of social life, and founded on the great and immutable principles of right and wrong inscribed on the mind of man by the hand of his Creator. Hence he did not content himself with the perusal of the ordinary black-letter text books which are usually put into the hands of law-students, some of which, when read exclusively, are but too apt to contract, instead of enlarging the mental vision; but he enriched and invigorated his intellectual faculties by the careful

study of the Book of Books, as well as the writings of the ancient and modern classics. Such were the preparations with which Mr. WEBSTER embarked on the voyage of active, busy life. He was admitted to the Bar in May, 1807, and in September following he settled in Portsmouth, where he remained in the practice of the law for nine successive years.

His political career commenced in May, 1813, by his taking his seat as a member of Congress from his native State. Since that period, he has, with short intervals, performed an active part on the great theatre of public life. To follow him step by step through those busy, varied, and often spirit-stirring scenes, would far exceed the limits of this address.

In whatever point of view Mr. WEBSTER'S character is considered, we discover in it every element of true greatness and goodness. One of his distinguishing characteristics was, that while he was gifted with a towering intellect to direct his thoughts, he possessed a warm and generous heart to give a proper impulse to his feelings.

From the very beginning of his political life he was a Statesman, in the true sense of the word; his conduct was always governed by principles, to which he steadily adhered through good and evil report. The politician trims his sail to catch the popular breeze; but the statesman is frequently compelled to face the storm of popular opinion, at the risk of his own political existence. Mr. WEBSTER was often exposed to this peril, and never shrank from it. As early as 1806, he took part in the discussion of the momentous question which then agitated the Nation, whether our commerce should be actively protected, or whether the suicidal embargo and gun-boat policy should be persisted in. The tide of public opinion at that time ran strong in favor of the latter, but that did not deter him from giving utterance to these statesman-like views: "Nothing is plainer than this: if we will have commerce, we must protect it. This country is commercial as well as agricultural. Indissoluble bonds connect him who ploughs the land with him who ploughs the sea. Nature has placed us in a situation favorable to commercial pursuits, and no government can alter the destination. Habits formed by two centuries, are not to be changed. An immense portion of our property is on the waves. Sixty

or eighty thousand of our most useful citizens are there, and are entitled to such protection from the Government as their case requires."

Such was the state of public opposition, that the argument of the youthful patriot remained unheeded, until our commerce had been almost entirely swept from the ocean. The policy of the Government was not changed until eight years afterwards. He reverted to the subject in an oration delivered in 1812; and in 1814, he again made a powerful appeal for the protection of our commerce, in one of his first speeches delivered in Congress. "Unclinch," he exclaims, "the iron grasp of your embargo. Take measures for that end before another sun sets upon you. With all the war of the enemy on your commerce, if you would cease to make war upon it yourselves, you would still have some commerce."

The policy thus so eloquently and perseveringly advocated by Mr. WEBSTER, was at last adopted, and its results soon verified his predictions.

In August, 1816, Mr. WEBSTER removed to Boston, retired from active political life, and devoted himself, during a period of six years, exclusively to the duties of his profession. It was at this time that his reputation as a Lawyer was fixed. He took his position in the front rank of the great Jurists who then adorned the Boston Bar. At this period, too, he made some of those great forensic efforts, as a Constitutional Lawyer, which placed him beyond all competition in that highest branch of jurisprudence. He argued the celebrated Dartmouth College case before the Supreme Court of the United States, on the 10th of March, 1818. It involved the question, whether the Legislature of New Hampshire possessed the constitutional power to alter the charter of Dartmouth College without the consent of the corporation? Mr. Ticknor describes this great effort as follows: "He opened his cause, as he always did, with perfect simplicity, in the general statement of its facts, and then went on to unfold the topics of his argument in a lucid order, which made each position sustain every other. The logic and the law were rendered irresistible; but as he advanced, his heart warmed to the subject and the occasion. Thoughts and feelings that had grown old with his best affection, rose unbidden to his lips. He remembered that the institution he was defending,

was the one where his own youth had been nurtured ; and the moral tenderness and beauty this gave to the grandeur of his thoughts, the sort of religious sensibility it imparted to his urgent appeals and demands for the stern fulfilment of what law and justice required, wrought up the whole audience to an extraordinary state of excitement. Many betrayed strong agitation ; many were dissolved in tears. When he ceased to speak, there was a perceptible interval before any one was willing to break the silence ; and when that vast crowd separated, not one person of the whole number doubted, that the man who had that day so moved, astonished and controlled them, had vindicated for himself a place at the side of the first Jurists of the country." The great constitutional principles contended for by Mr. WEBSTER, in support of the rights of his *Alma Mater*, were fully recognized by the Court, and the act of the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire, attempting to alter the charter of Dartmouth College, was declared null and void. We may form some conception of the merits of the argument in the Dartmouth College case from the fact related by the late Mr. Justice Story, that the Supreme Court listened to Mr. WEBSTER for the first hour with perfect astonishment, for the second hour with perfect delight, and for the third hour with perfect conviction. This was the first case of any importance since the organization of the Federal Judiciary, in which the Supreme Court was called upon to exercise the high attribute with which the Constitution has invested it, of deciding questions relative to the powers of sovereign States, which in other countries can only be settled by the arbitraments of the sword. The extraordinary jurisdiction possessed by this august tribunal, is one of the most admirable features in the complicated machinery of Federal and State governments. The wisdom, prudence and firmness with which justice has been administered in that Court, have in no small degree contributed to the stability of our glorious institutions ; and Mr. WEBSTER's name will be forever associated with those of Marshall, Story, Taney, and other great Judges of the modern Areopagus, who have lulled popular excitements so often produced by the conflicting rights and claims of States, by the still small voice of reason. Whatever may be the effect of professional training on the qualifications of a Statesman, it is evident that in this country there is a great class

of questions, and those of the highest importance, which belong alike to the Senate and the Court. Mr. WEBSTER presents a forcible illustration of the correctness of this observation.

Nor did his forensic duties prevent him from cultivating and exercising those transcendent gifts of eloquence with which Nature had so richly endowed him. On the 22d of December, 1820, he delivered an oration of surpassing pathos and beauty, in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. This splendid production is, among many other things, remarkable for a prediction which was realized during the orator's lifetime. Speaking of the energy, the enterprise and success of the natives of New England, he says: "It may be safely asserted, that there are now more than a million of people, descendants of New England ancestry, living free and happy in regions, which hardly sixty years ago, were tracts of unpenetrated forest. Nor do rivers, mountains or seas resist the progress of industry and enterprise. *Ere long the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific.*"

He now stood at the head of the American Bar, almost without a rival, reaping the golden harvest of a large and profitable practice, and having before him the certain prospect of an independent fortune. The worldly wise will no doubt wonder that he should have been induced to abandon a position so advantageous and enviable. But his fellow-citizens considered that they were entitled to his services on a more enlarged sphere of action. With a patriotic devotion to his country, and a disinterestedness by which his whole life has been characterised, he responded to the call.

In 1822 he returned to political life, by being elected a member of Congress from the city of Boston. He took his seat in December, 1823. At that time the sympathies of the American people had been strongly enlisted in behalf of regenerated and heroic Greece struggling for freedom. On the 19th of January, 1824, he pronounced his splendid and triumphant vindication of the cause of freedom and the rights of humanity, against the base and insidious machinations of that conspiracy or alliance of despots, which was blasphemously *called Holy*. The speech is replete with the noblest sentiments, and breathes the spirit of the loftiest patriotism in every line. Instead of availing

himself of those captivating classical allusions, which lay in such profusion in his way, he made but a single reference to Greece, as the mistress of the world in letters and arts. He treated, in a Statesman-like manner, what he justly called the great question of the age,—the question between absolute and regulated governments, and the duty of the United States on fitting occasions to let their voice be heard on this question.

In the month of June, 1827, Mr. WEBSTER was elected to the Senate of the United States. As a Senator he took a leading part in the discussion of the various questions and measures which came up before that body. But it was not before the beginning of 1830, that he was called upon to buckle on his armor in the defence of the Constitution and the Union, in a series of efforts of transcendent ability and eloquence, for which the people, without distinction of party, bestowed on him the glorious appellation of the "Defender of the Constitution."

The startling doctrine of nullification, secession and disunion, was first openly avowed and advocated in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, in the debate on the resolution introduced by Mr. Foot of Connecticut, on the subject of the sale of the public lands; and it is difficult to understand how the discussion to which it gave rise, could embrace a question involving the very existence of the Government. Such, however, was the fact.

Twenty years have rolled by since the nullification agitation shook the Union to its centre, and we can scarcely realize at this distance of time the imminence of the impending danger. That Mr. WEBSTER was in a great measure instrumental, under Providence, in saving the Republic, and in averting the dreadful calamities by which it was threatened, no one will deny. His powerful appeal to the sober reason and calm judgment of the American people, hushed the angry elements which were distracting the public mind. The orthodox political faith, which he enforced with such a sincerity of conviction and overwhelming power of argument, was first listened to, and finally embraced by many whose minds had been bewildered by the heresy of nullification.

There is no exaggeration in the assertion that Mr. WEBSTER'S reply to Hayne, is one of the most powerful speeches to be found in any language; its sublime eloquence and irresistible logic sweep along with a grandeur and magnificence unsurpassed by any orator either of ancient or modern times.

"Seldom, if ever," observes Mr. March, his able biographer, "has a speaker in this or any other country had more powerful incentives to exertion. A subject, the determination of which involved the most important interests, and even duration of the Republic; competitors unequalled in reputation, ability or position; a name to make still more glorious, or lose forever; and an audience comprising not only persons of this country most eminent in intellectual greatness, but representatives of other nations, where the art of eloquence had flourished for ages. All the soldier seeks in opportunity, was here. Mr. WEBSTER perceived, and felt equal to the destinies of the moment. The very greatness of the hazard exhilarated him. His spirits rose with the occasion. He awaited the time of onset with a stern and impatient joy. He felt like the war-horse of the Scriptures, who 'paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; who goeth on to meet the armed men; who saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha! and who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.' A confidence in his own resources, springing from no vain estimate of his power, but the legitimate offspring of previous severe mental discipline, sustained and excited him. He had gauged his opponents, his subject, and *himself*."

No analysis of this great oratorical effort can possibly convey to the mind any conception of its close and irresistible logic, its withering sarcasm, the beauty of its imagery, and the splendor of its diction. Many of its passages have been selected as brilliant gems of oratory, and inserted in every treatise on elocution. His reply to Mr. Hayne's bitter attack on Massachusetts, is so full of words that burn, and thoughts that breathe, that although familiar to every one, it may well be repeated here:

"Mr. President," said he, "I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts; she needs none. Behold her and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past at least

is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle of Independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever. And, Sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it; if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at it and tear it; if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraints, shall succeed in separating it from the Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm, with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather around it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin."

The Orator throws his whole soul into the magnificent peroration of this great speech:

"While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that, I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "*What is all this worth?*" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "*Liberty first, and Union afterwards;*" but every where spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind in the whole heavens, that other senti-

ment, dear to every true American heart,—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

While Secretary of State, under Presidents Harrison and Tyler, he succeeded in settling the difficult and vexed question of the North Eastern Boundary, which had been the subject of negotiation between the United States and England, almost ever since the Peace of 1783. The attitude which the two nations had assumed towards each other in relation to the disputed territory, was of the most alarming character. Adverse and hostile forces had actually assembled on the north-eastern boundary; and if prompt and efficient measures had not been devised by Mr. WEBSTER, to avoid an open collision between the troops, without compromising the honor of either country, a war with England would have been inevitable. His diplomatic intercourse with foreign governments was frank, open and honorable: he considered the dissimulation, stratagems and trickery of hackneyed diplomatists, as unworthy a great people. No Statesman was ever more successful in carrying on our foreign relations than Mr. WEBSTER.

With the commencement of President Polk's administration, Mr. WEBSTER returned to the Senate of the United States. Though unconnected with the Executive branch of the Government, the fact is well established, that he exercised a controlling influence with the British Ministry in the settlement of the Oregon question in 1846.

The acquisition of California gave rise, as we all remember, to the discussion of the Slavery question, which agitated the public mind to such an alarming extent, that serious apprehensions were entertained that it might eventually lead to a dissolution of the Union. At this crisis, the Great Pacificator, HENRY CLAY, (whose death, alas! we also mourn,) stepped forward, and introduced those Compromise measures, which it is to be hoped, have removed that exasperating topic of dissension and ill feeling forever. The happy effects which have flowed from that wise and seasonable legislation, have silenced all opposition to it except by a set of deluded fanatics, who are addressed in vain by the voice of reason, and who are ready to sacrifice all the blessings we enjoy individually and as a nation, to gratify their frantic rage, and execute their reckless determination to do mischief. But when the Compromise was first proposed, it met with

the most violent opposition, both from the North and the South ; an opposition which could not have been successfully resisted by the united and commanding ability and influence of Mr. CLAY, Mr. Cass, and the other patriotic Statesmen of both parties, who acted with them, if Mr. WEBSTER had not come to the rescue. In that hour of peril, when the stoutest hearts felt apprehensions for the safety of the Republic, he infused new confidence, and inspired fresh hopes into the public mind, by his great speech for the Constitution and the Union, pronounced in the Senate of the United States, on the 7th of March, 1850. This speech produced a most powerful effect, not only in the Halls of Congress, but throughout the whole country. It was the last time the great "Defender of the Constitution" had to mount its ramparts to repulse the assaults of its enemies. And he fought this last battle in defence of the Constitution of the United States, the great charter of political and social rights, most nobly and triumphantly. Let us listen for a moment to the fervent and patriotic exhortation with which the Orator concludes :

"And now, Mr. President, instead of speaking of the possibility or utility of secession ; instead of dwelling on those caverns of darkness ; instead of groping with those ideas so full of all that is horrid and horrible, let us come out into the light of day ; let us enjoy the fresh air of liberty and union ; let us cherish those hopes which belong to us ; let us devote ourselves to those great objects that are fit for our consideration and our action ; let us raise our conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties that devolve upon us ; let our comprehension be as broad as the country for which we act, our inspiration as high as its certain destiny ; let us not be pigmies in a case that calls for men. Never did there devolve on any generation of men higher trusts than now devolve on us, for the preservation of this Constitution, and the harmony and peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in that golden chain which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the States to this Constitution for ages to come. We have a great popular Constitutional Government, guarded by law and by judicature, and defended by the affections of the whole people. No monarchical throne presses these States together ; no

iron chain of military power encircles them ; they live and stand under a Government popular in its form, representative in its character, founded upon principles of equality, and so constructed, we hope, as to last forever. In all its history it has been beneficent ; it has trodden down no man's liberty ; it has crushed no State. Its daily respiration is liberty and patriotism. Its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, courage, and honorable love of glory and renown. Large before, the country has now, by recent events, become vastly larger. This Republic now extends, with a vast breadth, across the whole continent. The two great seas of the world wash the one and the other shore. We realise, on a mighty scale, the description of the ornamental border of the buckler of Achilles :—

‘Now, the broad shield complete, the artist crowned
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round ;
In living silver seemed the waves to roll,
And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole.’”

Shortly after this speech had been delivered, the venerable Hero of Buena Vista died, and our present excellent Chief Magistrate was called upon to fill the Executive Chair. Mr. WEBSTER was appointed Secretary of State. It is needless to dwell on the ability with which he discharged the functions of that high trust, and how far he contributed to the success of President Fillmore's administration, for it is fresh in our memories.

When we consider Mr. WEBSTER's character in the domestic and social relations of life, it equally inspires us with respect and admiration. Those tender feelings and sacred affections which endear and hallow the family circle, gushed profusely from his heart during a long life ; nor was their current interrupted by the frost of age, or the distraction and turmoil of public cares. In the dedication of his works, as late as 1851, he gives expression to those feelings in the most touching manner. As a friend he was warm and sincere, and as an enemy he was placable and forgiving. He lost the nomination for the Presidency last June, because he had felt it his duty to oppose the appointment of a prominent politician to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, occasioned by the death of Mr. Justice Woodbury ; still he spoke of the gentleman by whom

his nomination had been defeated, with kindness and respect. He was full of the milk of human kindness. Wherever he discovered worth and talent, he was ready to do them homage and give them encouragement.

His personal appearance, especially when he rose to address the Senate, was remarkably imposing. He was a perfect personification of Milton's conception of a great Statesman and Orator :

* * * * * "With grave
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
A pillar of State; deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat, and public care.
* * * * * Sage he stood
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest *commonwealths*; his look
Drew audience and attention still as night,
On summer's noontide air."

His is not the impetuous, vehement, stormy eloquence of CLAY, nor the fervid, didactic, powerful ratiocination of CALHOUN. His oratory is not like the mountain torrent, dashing on in its fury over rocks and cataracts; but rather like a mighty river, flowing on majestically in its deep channel, carrying every obstacle before it without any apparent struggle. All his oratorical efforts are distinguished by a comprehensive, deep and accurate analysis of principles, and a close, irresistible logic. Though gifted with a rich fancy and an exuberant imagination, yet he kept these potent auxiliaries of eloquence always in strict subordination to his analytical and logical powers, and only called in their assistance to illustrate and give effect to his argument. A mere flight of the imagination, for the purpose of embellishment alone, is not to be found in the whole range of Mr. WEBSTER'S speeches. He disdains the glare and tinsel of the rhetorician; but the wonderful charm of his oratory consists in the force, originality and correctness of his thoughts. He carefully avoids the fatal mistake of confounding pomposity of diction with genuine eloquence. His narration is simple, unaffected and perspicuous. He rises with the importance and dignity of the theme he is discussing. When expatiating on, and developing the great principles of our own peculiar American Liberty, both his heart and his genius seem to luxuriate in their proper element. More quotations from his speeches have been made in this discourse than

may be considered admissable, but the object was to exhibit the leading feature of his character—an ardent and sincere attachment to the Constitution and the Union. He was deeply impressed with the truth, that—

“The greatest glory of a free-born people,
Is to transmit that freedom to their children.”

To assert that Mr. WEBSTER had no faults, would be claiming for him an exemption from the frailty of human nature. He lived and died in the faith and hopes of a christian. Indeed his whole life, when compared with the great statesmen and orators of antiquity, is a glorious exemplification of the difference which exists between Paganism and Christianity—between stoicism and Christian morality.

He has departed full of years and honor, and his memory is embalmed in the grateful recollection of his countrymen. The name of DANIEL WEBSTER will become a household word, like those of Washington, Franklin, and their great compeers; it will awaken thrilling associations of patriotism and liberty; and his bright example will excite a noble emulation to preserve and transmit, unimpaired, that glorious Union, to which he was so devotedly attached, from generation to generation, to the last syllable of recorded time.

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That this memorial of the Ceremony of the 9th December, 1852, and its antecedents, may be considered an accurate record, worthy of preservation by the citizens who took part in them, will be a sufficient compensation for the labors of the General and Sub-Committees.

H. R. W. HILL, President.	A. HARRIS,	J. LABATUT,	J. L. LUGUNBUHL,
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