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OBITUARY ADDRESSES

DELIVERED ON THE

OCASION OF THE DEATH

OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

A SENATOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

APRIL 1, 1850.



PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.



WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY JNO. T. TOWERS.
1850.

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APRIL 1, 1850.

WITH THE

F U N E R A L S E R M O N

OF THE

REV. C. M. BUTLER, D. D.,

CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE,

PREACHED IN THE SENATE, APRIL 2, 1850.

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PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.  
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WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY JNO. T. TOWERS.

1850.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

APRIL 3, 1850.

Mr. CASS addressed the Senate as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT—I present the following resolution, and ask its immediate and unanimous consideration. This is due, not less to the memory of him we have lost, than to the feelings of the country in whose service he passed a life without spot and without reproach.

Resolved, That the committee of arrangements be directed to cause to be published in pamphlet form, and in such manner as may seem to them appropriate, for the use of the Senate, ten thousand copies of the addresses made by the members of the Senate, together with the discourse of the Reverend Dr. Butler upon the occasion of the death of the Honorable John C. Calhoun.

Passed the Senate, April 3, 1850.

Attest,

ASBURY DICKINS,

Secretary.





OBITUARY ADDRESSES.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Monday, April 1st, 1850.

On the motion of Mr. KING, the reading of the Journal of Thursday was dispensed with.

Mr. BUTLER rose and said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT, I rise to discharge a mournful duty, and one which involves in it considerations well calculated to arrest the attention of this body. It is, to announce the death of my late colleague, the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He died at his lodgings in this city, yesterday morning, at half-past seven o'clock. He was conscious of his approaching end, and met death with fortitude and uncommon serenity. He had many admonitions of its approach, and without doubt, he had not been indifferent to them. With his usual aversion to professions, he said nothing for mere effect on the world, and his last hours were an exemplification of his life and character, truth and simplicity.

Mr. CALHOUN, for some years past, had been suffering under a pulmonary complaint, and under its effects could have reckoned but on a short exist-

ence. Such was his own conviction. The immediate cause of his death was an affection of the heart. A few hours before he expired, he became sensible of his situation; and when he was unable to speak, his eye and look evinced recognition and intelligence of what was passing. One of the last directions he gave was to a dutiful son, who had been attending him, to put away some manuscripts which had been written a short time before, under his dictation.

Mr. CALHOUN was the least despondent man I ever knew; and he had, in an eminent degree, the self-sustaining power of intellect. His last days, and his last remarks, are exemplifications of what I have just said. Mental determination sustained him, when all others were in despair. We saw him, a few days ago, in the seat near me, which he had so long and honorably occupied; we saw the struggle of a great mind exerting itself to sustain and overcome the weakness and infirmities of a sinking body. It was the exhibition of a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens in which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again.

Mr. PRESIDENT, Mr. CALHOUN has lived in an eventful period of our Republic, and has acted a distinguished part. I surely do not venture too much, when I say that his reputation forms a striking part of a glorious history. Since 1811 until this

time, he has been responsibly connected with the Federal Government. As Representative, Senator, Cabinet Minister, and Vice President, he has been identified with the greatest events in the political history of our country. And I hope I may be permitted to say that he has been equal to all the duties which were devolved upon him in the many critical junctures in which he was placed. Having to act a responsible part, he always acted a decided part. It would not become me to venture upon the judgment which awaits his memory. That will be formed by posterity before the impartial tribunal of history. It may be that he will have had the fate, and will have given to him the judgment that has been awarded to Chatham.

I should do the memory of my friend injustice were I not to speak of his life in the spirit of history. The dignity of his whole character would rebuke any tone of remark which truth and judgment would not sanction.

Mr. CALHOUN was a native of South Carolina, and was born in Abbeville district, on the 18th March, 1782. He was of an Irish family. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was born in Ireland, and at an early age came to Pennsylvania, thence moved to the western part of Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, moved to South Carolina, in 1756. He and his family gave a name to what is known as the Calhoun settlement in Abbeville district. The

mother of my colleague was a Miss Caldwell, born in Charlotte county, Virginia. The character of his parents had no doubt a sensible influence on the destiny of their distinguished son. His father had energy and enterprise, combined with perseverance and great mental determination. His mother belonged to a family of revolutionary heroes. Two of her brothers were distinguished in the Revolution. Their names and achievements are not left to tradition, but constitute a part of the history of the times.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in the Revolution, and in his childhood felt the influence of its exciting traditions. He derived from the paternal stock, intellect and self-reliance, and from the Caldwell's, enthusiasm and impulse. The traditions of the Revolution had a sensible influence on his temper and character.

Mr. CALHOUN, in his childhood, had but limited advantages of what is termed a literary tuition. His parents lived in a newly-settled country, and among a sparse population. This population had but a slight connection with the lower country of South Carolina, and were sustained by emigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania. There was, of course, but limited means of instruction to children. They imbibed most of their lessons from the conversation of their parents. Mr. CALHOUN has always expressed himself deeply sensible of that influence. At the age of thirteen he was put under the charge of

his brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, in Columbia county, Georgia. Scarcely had he commenced his literary course before his father and sister died. His brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, devoted himself about this time to his clerical duties, and was a great deal absent from home.

On his second marriage, he resumed the duties of his academy; and, in his nineteenth year, Mr. CALHOUN put himself under the charge of this distinguished teacher. It must not be supposed that his mind, before this, had been unemployed. He had availed himself of the advantages of a small library, and had been deeply inspired by his reading of history. It was under such influences that he entered the academy of his preceptor. His progress was rapid. He looked forward to a higher arena with eagerness and purpose.

He became a student in Yale College in 1802, and graduated two years afterwards with distinction, as a young man of great ability, and with the respect and confidence of his preceptors and fellows. What they have said and thought of him would have given any man a high reputation. It is the pure fountain of a clear reputation. If the stream has met with obstructions, they were such as have only shown its beauty and majesty.

After he had graduated, Mr. CALHOUN studied law, and for a few years practiced in the courts of South Carolina, with a reputation that has descend-

ed to the profession. He was then remarkable for some traits that have since characterized him. He was clear in his propositions, and candid in his intercourse with his brethren. The truth and justice of the law inculcated themselves on his mind, and when armed with these, he was a great advocate.

His forensic career was, however, too limited to make a prominent part in the history of his life. He served for some years in the Legislature of his native State; and his great mind made an impression on her statutes, some of which have had a great practical operation on the concerns of society. From the Legislature of his own State he was transferred to Congress; and from that time his career has been a part of the history of the Federal Government.

Mr. CALHOUN came into Congress at a time of deep and exciting interest—at a crisis of great magnitude. It was a crisis of peril to those who had to act in it, but of subsequent glory to the actors and the common history of the country. The invincibility of Great Britain had become a proverbial expression, and a war with her was full of terrific issues. Mr. CALHOUN found himself at once in a situation of high responsibility—one that required more than speaking qualities and eloquence to fulfil it. The spirit of the people required direction; the energy and ardor of youth were to be employed in affairs requiring the maturer qualities of a statesman. The part which Mr. CALHOUN acted at this time

has been approved and applauded by cotemporaries, and now forms a part of the glorious history of those times.

The names of CLAY, CALHOUN, CHEVES, and LOWNDES, GRUNDY, PORTER, and others, carried associations with them that reached the *heart of the nation*. Their clarion notes penetrated the army,* they animated the people, and sustained the Administration of the Government. With such actors, and in such scenes—the most eventful of our history—to say that Mr. CALHOUN did not perform a second part, is no common praise. In debate he was equal with Randolph, and in council he commanded the respect and confidence of Madison. At this period of his life he had the quality of Themistocles—to *inspire confidence*—which, after all, is the highest of earthly qualities in a public man; it is a mystical something, which is felt, but cannot be described.

The events of the war were brilliant and honorable to both statesmen and soldiers, and their history may be read with enthusiasm and delight. The war terminated with honor; but the measures which had to be taken, in a transition to a peace establishment, were full of difficulty and embarrassment.

* Governor Dodge (now a senator on this floor), who was at that time a gallant officer of the army, informs me that the speeches of Calhoun and Clay were publicly read to the army, and exerted a most decided influence on the spirits of the men.

This distinguished statesman, with his usual intrepidity, did not hesitate to take a responsible and leading part. Under the influence of a broad patriotism, he acted with an uncalculating liberality to all the interests that were involved, and which were brought under review of Congress. His personal adversary at this time, in his admiration for his genius, paid Mr. CALHOUN a beautiful compliment for his noble and national sentiments, and views of policy. The gentleman to whom I refer, is Mr. Grosvenor, of N. Y., who used the following language in debate:—

“He had heard with peculiar satisfaction the able, manly, and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina. (Here Mr. Grosvenor recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose out of the warm party discussions during the war, paused for a moment, and then proceeded.)

“Mr. SPEAKER, I will not be restrained. No barrier shall exist, which I will not leap over for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent, and national course which he has pursued in this House for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same manly independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and to fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular ap-

plause may not cheer him on his way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

At the termination of Mr. Madison's administration, Mr. CALHOUN had acquired a commanding reputation; he was regarded as one of the sages of the Republic. In 1817, Mr. Monroe invited him to a place in his Cabinet. Mr. CALHOUN's friends doubted the propriety of his accepting it, and some of them thought he would put a high reputation at hazard in this new sphere of action. Perhaps these suggestions fired his high and gifted intellect; he accepted the place, and went into the War Department under circumstances that might have appalled other men. His success has been acknowledged. What was complex and confused, he reduced to simplicity and order. His organization of the War Department, and his administration of its undefined duties, have made the impression of an *author*, having the interest of originality, and the sanction of trial.

To applicants for office, Mr. CALHOUN made few promises, and hence he was not accused of delusion and deception. When a public trust was involved, he would not compromise with duplicity or temporary expediency.

At the expiration of Mr. Monroe's administration, Mr. CALHOUN's name became connected with the Presidency; and from that time to his death he had

to share the fate of all others who occupy prominent situations.

The remarkable canvass for the President to succeed Mr. Monroe, terminated in returning three distinguished men to the House of Representatives, from whom one was to be elected. Mr. CALHOUN was elected Vice President by a large majority. He took his seat in the Senate, as Vice President, on the 4th of March, 1825, having remained in the War Department over seven years.

While he was Vice President, he was placed in some of the most trying scenes of any man's life. I do not now choose to refer to anything that can have the elements of controversy; but I hope I may be permitted to speak of my friend and colleague in a character in which all will join in paying him sincere respect. As a presiding officer of this body, he had the undivided respect of its members. He was punctual, methodical, and impartial, and had a high regard for the dignity of the Senate, which, as a presiding officer, he endeavored to preserve and maintain. He looked upon debate as an honorable contest of intellect for truth. Such a strife has its incidents and its trials; but Mr. CALHOUN had, in an eminent degree, a regard for parliamentary dignity and propriety.

Upon General Hayne's leaving the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina, Mr. CALHOUN resigned the Vice Presidency, and was elected in

his place. All will now agree that such a position was environed with difficulties and dangers. His own State was under the ban, and he was in the national Senate to do her justice under his constitutional obligations. That part of his life posterity will review, and, I am confident, will do it full and impartial justice.

After his senatorial term had expired, he went into retirement by his own consent. The death of Mr. Upshur—so full of melancholy associations—made a vacancy in the State Department; and it was by the common consent of all parties that Mr. CALHOUN was called to fill it. This was a tribute of which any public man might well be proud. It was a tribute to truth, ability, and experience. Under Mr. CALHOUN'S counsels, Texas was brought into the Union. His name is associated with one of the most remarkable events of history—that of one Republic being annexed to another by the voluntary consent of both. He was the happy agent to bring about this fraternal association. It is a conjunction under the sanction of his name, and by an influence exerted through his great and intrepid mind. Mr. CALHOUN'S connection with the Executive department of the Government terminated with Mr. Tyler's administration. As a Secretary of State, he won the confidence and respect of foreign ambassadors, and his dispatches were characterized by clearness, sagacity, and boldness.

He was not allowed to remain in retirement long. For the last five years he has been a member of this body, and has been engaged in discussions that have deeply excited and agitated the country. He has died amidst them. I had never had any particular association with Mr. CALHOUN until I became his colleague in this body. I had looked on his fame as others had done, and had admired his character. There are those here who know more of him than I do. I shall not pronounce any such judgment as may be subject to a controversial criticism. But I will say, as a matter of justice, from my own personal knowledge, that I never knew a fairer man in argument, or a juster man in purpose. His intensity allowed of little compromise. While he did not qualify his own positions to suit the temper of the times, he appreciated the unmasked propositions of others. As a Senator, he commanded the respect of the ablest men of the body of which he was a member; and I believe I may say that, where there was no political bias to influence the judgment, he had the confidence of his brethren. As a statesman, Mr. CALHOUN'S reputation belongs to the history of the country, and I commit it to his countrymen and posterity.

In my opinion, Mr. CALHOUN deserves to occupy the first rank as a parliamentary speaker. He had always before him the dignity of purpose, and he spoke to an end. From a full mind, fired by genius,

he expressed his ideas with clearness, simplicity, and force; and in language that seemed to be the vehicle of his thoughts and emotions. His thoughts leaped from his mind, like arrows from a well-drawn bow. They had both the aim and force of a skillful archer. He seemed to have had little regard for ornament; and when he used figures of speech, they were only for illustration. His manner and countenance were his best language; and in these there was an exemplification of what is meant by Action in that term of the great Athenian orator and statesman, whom, in so many respects, he so closely resembled. They served to exhibit the moral elevation of the man.

In speaking of Mr. CALHOUN as a man and a neighbor, I am sure I may speak of him in a sphere in which all will love to contemplate him. Whilst he was a gentleman of striking deportment, he was a man of primitive taste and simple manners. He had the hardy virtues and simple tastes of a republican citizen. No one disliked ostentation and exhibition more than he did. When I say he was a *good neighbor*, I imply more than I have expressed. It is summed up under the word *justice*. I will venture to say, that no one in his private relations could ever say that Mr. CALHOUN treated him with injustice, or that he deceived him by professions or concealments. His private character was illustrated by a beautiful propriety, and was the exem-

plification of truth, justice, temperance, and fidelity to all his engagements.

I will venture another remark. Mr. CALHOUN was fierce in his contests with political adversaries. He did not stop in the fight to count losses or bestow favors. But he forgot resentments, and forgave injuries inflicted by rivals, with signal magnanimity. Whilst he spoke freely of their faults, he could with justice appreciate the merits of all the public men of whom I have heard him speak. He was sincerely attached to the institutions of this country, and desired to preserve them pure and make them perpetual.

By the death of Mr. CALHOUN, one of the brightest luminaries has been extinguished in the political firmament. It is an event which will produce a deep sensation throughout this broad land, and the civilized world.

I have forbore to speak of his domestic relations. They make a sacred circle, and I will not invade it.

Mr. BUTLER then offered the following resolutions :

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, which will take place to-morrow, at 12 o'clock meridian, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, deceased, late a member

thereof, will go into mourning for him for one month, by the usual mode of wearing crape on the left arm.

Resolved unanimously, That, as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CLAY.—Mr. PRESIDENT, prompted by my own feelings of profound regret, and by the intimations of some highly esteemed friends, I wish, in rising to second the resolutions which have been offered, and which have just been read, to add a few words to what has been so well and so justly said by the surviving colleague of the illustrious deceased.

My personal acquaintance with him, Mr. PRESIDENT, commenced upwards of thirty-eight years ago. We entered at the same time, together, the House of Representatives at the other end of this building. The Congress, of which we thus became members, was that amongst whose deliberations and acts was the declaration of war against the most powerful nation, as it respects us, in the world. During the preliminary discussions which arose in the preparation for that great event, as well as during those which took place when the resolution was finally adopted, no member displayed a more lively and patriotic sensibility to the wrongs which led to that momentous event than the deceased whose death we all now so much deplore. Ever active, ardent, able, no one was in advance of him in advocating the cause of his country, and denouncing the foreign

injustice which compelled us to appeal to arms. Of all the Congresses with which I have had any acquaintance since my entry into the service of the Federal Government, in none, in my humble opinion, has been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were in the House of Representatives of that Congress which declared the war, and in that immediately following the peace; and, amongst that splendid constellation, none shone more bright and brilliant than the star which is now set.

It was my happiness, sir, during a large part of the life of the departed, to concur with him on all great questions of national policy. And, at a later period, when it was my fortune to differ from him as to measures of domestic policy, I had the happiness to agree with him generally as to those which concerned our foreign relations, and especially as to the preservation of the peace of the country. During the long session at which the war was declared, we were messmates, as were other distinguished members of Congress from his own patriotic State. I was afforded, by the intercourse which resulted from that fact, as well as the subsequent intimacy and intercourse which arose between us, an opportunity to form an estimate, not merely of his public, but of his private life; and no man with whom I have ever been acquainted, exceeded him in habits of temperance and regularity, and in all the freedom, frankness, and affability of social intercourse, and in all

the tenderness, and respect, and affection, which he manifested towards that lady who now mourns more than any other the sad event which has just occurred. Such, Mr. PRESIDENT, was the high estimate I formed of his transcendent talents, that, if at the end of his service in the executive department, under Mr. Monroe's administration, the duties of which he performed with such signal ability, he had been called to the highest office in the Government, I should have felt perfectly assured that under his auspices, the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of our country would have been safely placed.

Sir, he has gone! No more shall we witness from yonder seat the flashes of that keen and penetrating eye of his, darting through this chamber. No more shall we be thrilled by that torrent of clear, concise, compact logic, poured out from his lips, which, if it did not always carry conviction to our judgment, always commanded our great admiration. Those eyes and those lips are closed forever!

And when, Mr. PRESIDENT, will that great vacancy which has been created by the event to which we are now alluding, when will it be filled by an equal amount of ability, patriotism, and devotion, to what he conceived to be the best interests of his country?

Sir, this is not the appropriate occasion, nor would I be the appropriate person to attempt a delineation of his character, or the powers of his enlightened mind. I will only say, in a few words, that he

possessed an elevated genius of the highest order; that in felicity of generalization of the subjects of which his mind treated, I have seen him surpassed by no one; and the charm and captivating influence of his colloquial powers have been felt by all who have conversed with him. I was his senior, Mr. President, in years—in nothing else. According to the course of nature, I ought to have preceded him. It has been decreed otherwise; but I know that I shall linger here only a short time and shall soon follow him.

And how brief, how short is the period of human existence allotted even to the youngest amongst us! Sir, ought we not to profit by the contemplation of this melancholy occasion? Ought we not to draw from it the conclusion how unwise it is to indulge in the acerbity of unbridled debate? How unwise to yield ourselves to the sway of the animosities of party feeling? How wrong it is to indulge in those unhappy and hot strifes which too often exasperate our feelings and mislead our judgments in the discharge of the high and responsible duties which we are called to perform? How unbecoming, if not presumptuous, it is in us, who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were our perpetual home!

In conclusion, sir, while I beg leave to express my cordial sympathies and sentiments of the deep-

est condolence towards all who stand in near relation to him, I trust we shall all be instructed by the eminent virtues and merits of his exalted character, and be taught by his bright example to fulfill our great public duties by the lights of our own judgment and the dictates of our own consciences, as he did, according to his honest and best comprehension of those duties, faithfully and to the last.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I hope the Senate will indulge me in adding a very few words to what has been said. My apology for this presumption is the very long acquaintance which has subsisted between Mr. CALHOUN and myself. We are of the same age. I made my first entrance into the House of Representatives in May, 1813, and there found Mr. CALHOUN. He had already been in that body for two or three years. I found him then an active and efficient member of the assembly to which he belonged, taking a decided part, and exercising a decided influence, in all its deliberations.

From that day to the day of his death, amidst all the strifes of party and politics, there has subsisted between us, always, and without interruption, a great degree of personal kindness.

Differing widely on many great questions respecting the institutions and government of the country, those differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of

the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration.

Mr. CALHOUN was calculated to be a leader in whatsoever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of undoubted genius, and of commanding talent. All the country and all the world admit that. His mind was both perceptive and vigorous. It was clear, quick, and strong.

Sir, the eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned—still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him through such a long course of years to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all—is appreciated, venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others; no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity. I think there is not one of us but felt when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no

means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did, in fact, possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive, and, I may say, an imposing manner, who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived.

Sir, I have not in public nor in private life, known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress, he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted.

My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms of his colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation not often found. He delighted, especially, in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose that there has been no man among us who had more winning manners, in such an intercourse and conversation, with men comparatively young, than Mr. CALHOUN. I believe one great power of his character, in general, was his conversational talent. I believe it is that, as well

as a consciousness of his high integrity, and the greatest reverence for his intellect and ability, that has made him so endeared an object to the people of the State to which he belonged.

Mr. PRESIDENT, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was, unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, and honorable, and noble. There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or the heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive, or selfish feeling.

However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him here, will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person,

his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his cotemporaries, that we have seen him, and heard him, and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And, when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves, we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism.

Mr. RUSK.—Mr. PRESIDENT: I hope it will not be considered inappropriate for me to say a word upon this solemn occasion. Being a native of the same State with the distinguished Senator whose death has cast such a gloom upon this Senate and the audience here assembled, I had the good fortune, at an early period of my life, to make his acquaintance. At that time he was just entering on that bright career which has now terminated. I was then a boy, with prospects anything but flattering. To him, at that period, I was indebted for words of kindness and encouragement; and often since, in the most critical positions in which I have been placed, a recurrence to those words of encouragement has inspired me with resolution to

meet difficulties that beset my path. Four years ago, I had the pleasure of renewing that acquaintance, after an absence of some fifteen years; and this took place after he had taken an active part in the question of annexing Texas to the United States, adding a new sense of obligation to my feeling of gratitude.

In the stirring questions that have agitated the country, it was my misfortune sometimes to differ from him, but it is a matter of heartfelt gratification for me to know that our personal relations remained unaltered. And, sir, it will be a source of pleasant though sad reflection to me throughout life to remember, that on the last day on which he occupied his seat in this chamber, his body worn down by disease, but his mind as vigorous as ever, we held a somewhat extended conversation on the exciting topics of the day, in which the same kind feelings, which had so strongly impressed me in youth, were still manifested toward me by the veteran statesman. But, sir, he is gone from among us; his voice will never again be heard in this chamber; his active and vigorous mind will participate no more in our councils; his spirit has left a world of trouble, care, and anxiety, to join the spirits of those patriots and statesmen who have preceded him to a brighter and better world. If, as many believe, the spirits of the departed hover around the places they have left, I earnestly pray

that his may soon be permitted to look back upon our country, which he has left in excitement, confusion, and apprehension, restored to calmness, security, and fraternal feeling as broad as the bounds of our Union, and as fixed as the eternal principles of justice in which our Government has its foundation.

Mr. CLEMENS.—I do not expect, Mr. PRESIDENT, to add anything to what has already been said of the illustrious man, whose death we all so deeply deplore; but silence upon an occasion like this, would by no means meet the expectations of those whose representative I am. To borrow a figure from the Senator from Kentucky, the brightest star in the brilliant galaxy of the Union has gone out, and Alabama claims a place among the chief mourners over the event. Differing often from the great Southern statesman on questions of public policy, she has yet always accorded due homage to his genius, and still more to that blameless purity of life which entitles him to the highest and the noblest epitaph which can be graven upon a mortal tomb. For more than forty years an active participant in all the fierce struggles of party, and surrounded by those corrupting influences to which the politician is so often subjected, his personal character remained not only untarnished, but unsuspected. He walked through the flames, and even the hem of his garment was unscorched.

It is no part of my purpose to enter into a recital of the public acts of JOHN C. CALHOUN. It has already been partly done by his colleague; but, even that, in my judgment, was unnecessary. Years after the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ, a traveler, on visiting the spot, found a monument with the simple inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Lacedæmon that we died in obedience to her laws." "Why is it," he asked, "that the names of those who fell here are not inscribed on the stone?" "Because," was the proud reply, "it is impossible that any Greek should ever forget them." Even so it is with him of whom I speak. His acts are graven on the hearts of his countrymen, and time has no power to obliterate the characters. Throughout this broad land

"The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
Rolls mingling with his fame forever."

Living, sir, in an age distinguished above all others for its intelligence, surrounded throughout his whole career by men, any one of whom would have marked an era in the world's history, and stamped the time in which he lived with immortality, Mr. CALHOUN yet won an intellectual eminence, and commanded an admiration not only unsurpassed but unequalled, in all its parts, by any of his giant compeers. That great light is now extinguished; a place in this Senate is made vacant which cannot be filled. The sad tidings have been borne upon the lightning's

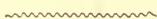
wing to the remotest corners of the Republic, and millions of freemen are now mourning with us over all that is left of one who was scarcely "lower than the angels."

I may be permitted, Mr. PRESIDENT, to express my gratification at what we have heard and witnessed this day. Kentucky has been heard through the lips of one, who is not only her greatest statesman, but the world's greatest living orator. The great expounder of the constitution, whose massive intellect seems to comprehend and give clearness to all things beneath the sun, has spoken for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. From every quarter the voice of mourning is mingled with notes of the highest admiration. These crowded galleries, the distinguished gentlemen who fill this floor, all indicate that here have

"Bards, artists, sages, reverently met,
To waive each separating plea
Of sect, clime, party, and degree,
All honoring him on whom nature all honor shed."

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.



Tuesday, April 2, 1850.

The remains of the deceased were brought into the Senate at 12 o'clock, attended by the Committee of Arrangements and the Pallbearers.

Committee of Arrangements.

MR. MASON,	MR. DODGE, of WISCONSIN,
MR. DAVIS, of MISS.,	MR. DICKINSON,
MR. ATCHISON,	MR. GREENE.

Pall-Bearers.

MR. MANGUM,	MR. CASS,
MR. CLAY,	MR. KING,
MR. WEBSTER,	MR. BERRIEN.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER,

APRIL 2, 1850,

AT THE FUNERAL OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY THE REV. C. M. BUTLER, D. D.,

CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE.

I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High ; but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.—
PSALM lxxxii. 6, 7.

ONE of the princes is fallen ! A prince in intellect ; a prince in his sway over human hearts and minds ; a prince in the wealth of his own generous affections, and in the rich revenues of admiring love poured into his heart ; a prince in the dignity of his demeanor—this prince has fallen—fallen !

And ye all, his friends and peers, illustrious statesmen, orators, and warriors—“I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High ; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like this one of the princes !”

The praises of the honored dead have been, here

and elsewhere, fitly spoken. The beautifully blended benignity, dignity, simplicity, and purity of the husband, the father, and the friend; the integrity, sagacity, and energy of the statesman; the compressed intensesness, the direct and rapid logic of the orator; all these have been vividly portrayed by those who themselves illustrate what they describe. There seem still to linger around this hall echoes of the voices, which have so faithfully sketched the life, so happily discriminated the powers, and so affectionately eulogized the virtues of the departed, that the muse of history will note down the words, as the outline of her future lofty narrative, her nice analysis, and her glowing praise.

But the echo of those eulogies dies away. All that was mortal of their honored object lies here unconscious, in the theatre of his glory. "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye"—*there he lies!* that strong heart still, that bright eye dim! Another voice claims your ear. The minister of God, standing over the dead, is sent to say—"Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." He is sent to remind you that there are those here, not visible to the eye of sense, who are greater than the greatest of ye all—even DEATH, and DEATH'S LORD AND MASTER.

Death is here. I see him stand over his prostrate victim, and grimly smile, and shake at us his unsated

spear, and bid us all attend this day on him. He is King to-day, and leads us all captive in his train, to swell his triumph and proclaim his power. And there is no visitant that can stand before the soul of man, with such claims on his awed, intent, and teachable attention. When, as on a day, and in a scene like this, he holds us in his presence and bids us hear him—who can dare to disregard his mandate? Oh, there is no thought or fact, having reference to this brief scene of things, however it may come with a port and tone of dignity and power, which does not dwindle into meanness, in the presence of that great thought, that great fact, which has entered and darkened the Capitol to-day—DEATH! To make us see that by a law perfectly inevitable and irresistible, soul and body are soon to separate; that this busy scene of earth is to be suddenly and forever left; that this human heart is to break through the circle of warm, congenial, familiar and fostering sympathies and associations, and to put off, all alone, into the silent dark—this is the object of the dread message to us of death. And as that message is spoken to a soul which is conscious of sin; which knows that it has not within itself resources for self-purification, and self-sustaining peace and joy; which realizes, in the very core of its conscience, retribution as a moral law; it comes fraught with the unrest, which causes it to be at once dismissed, or which lodges it in the soul, a visitant whose first coming is

gloom, but whose continued presence shall be glory. Then the anxious spirit, peering out with intense earnestness into the dark unknown, may, in vain, question earth of the destiny of the soul, and lift to heaven the passionate invocation—

“ Answer me, burning stars of night,
 Where hath the spirit gone ;
 Which, past the reach of mortal sight,
 E'en as a breeze hath flown ?”

And the stars answer him, “ We roll
 In pomp and power on high ;
 But of the never dying soul,
 Ask things that cannot die !”

“ Things that cannot die !” God only can tell us of the spirit-world. He assures us, by his Son, that death is the child of sin. He tells us what is the power of this king of terrors. He shows us that in sinning “ Adam all die.” He declares to us that, sinful by nature and by practice, we are condemned to death ; that we are consigned to wo ; that we are unfit for Heaven ; that the condition of the soul which remains thus condemned and unchanged, is far drearier and more dreadful beyond, than this side, the grave. No wonder that men shrink from converse with death ; for all his messages are woful and appalling.

But, thanks be to God ! though death be here, so also is death's Lord and Master. “ As in Adam

all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." That Saviour, Christ, assures us that all who repent, and forsake their sins, and believe in him, and live to him, shall rise to a life glorious and eternal, with Him and His, in Heaven. He tells us that if we are his, those sharp shafts which death rattles in our ears to-day, shall but transfix, and only for a season, the garment of our mortality; and that the emancipated spirits of the righteous shall be borne, on angel wings, to that peaceful paradise where they shall enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Then it need not be a gloomy message which we deliver to you to-day, that "ye shall die as men and fall like one of the princes;" for it tells us that the humblest of men may be made equal to the angels; and that earth's princes may become "kings and priests unto God!"

In the presence of these simplest yet grandest truths; with these thoughts of death and the conqueror of death; with this splendid trophy of his power proudly held up to our view by death, I need utter to you no commonplace on the vanity of our mortal life, the inevitableness of its termination, and the solemnities of our after-being. Here and now, on this theme, the silent dead is preaching to you more impressively than could the most eloquent of the living. You feel now, in your inmost heart, that that great upper range of things with which you are connected as immortals; that

moral administration of God, who stretches over the infinite of existence; that magnificent system of ordered governments, to whose lower circle we now belong, which consists of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, which rise,

“Orb o’er orb, and height o’er height,”

to the enthroned Supreme;—you feel that this, your high relation to the Infinite and Eternal, makes poor and low the most august and imposing scenes and dignities of earth, which flit, like shadows, through your three-score years and ten. Oh happy will it be, if the vivid sentiment of the hour become the actuating conviction of the life! Happy will it be, if it take its place in the centre of the soul, and inform all its thoughts, feelings, principles, and aims! Then shall this lower system of human things be consciously linked to, and become part of, and take glory from that spiritual sphere, which, all unseen, encloses us, whose actors and heroes are “angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven.” Then would that be permanently and habitually felt by all, which was here, and in the other chamber yesterday so eloquently expressed, that “vain are the personal strifes and party contests in which you daily engage, in view of the great account which you may all so soon be called upon to render;”* and that “it

* Mr. Winthrop’s speech in the House of Representatives.

is unbecoming and presumptuous in those who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were your perpetual home.”* Then, as we see to-day, the sister States, by their Representatives, linked hand in hand, in mournful attitude, around the bier of one in whose fame they all claim a share, we should look upon you as engaged in a sacrament of religious patriotism, whose spontaneous, unpremeditated vow, springing consentient from all your hearts, and going up unitedly to heaven, would be—“Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!”

But I must no longer detain you. May we all

“So live, that when our summons comes to join
 The innumerable caravan, that moves
 To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
 His chamber in the silent halls of death,
 We go not like the quarry-slave at night
 Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
 By an unfaltering trust, approach our grave
 Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
 About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.”

* Mr. Clay's speech in the Senate.

THE
DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES
OF
JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN,
CONTAINING
THE SPEECHES, REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
CONNECTED THEREWITH,
THE
ORATION OF THE HON. R. B. RHETT,
BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE
&c. &c.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
PRINTED BY A. S. JOHNSTON.
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 551

PROBLEM SET 1

DATE: _____

NAME: _____

SECTION: _____

PROBLEM 1

PROBLEM 2

PROBLEM 3

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MESSAGE

OF

THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

TO THE LEGISLATURE,

IN RELATION TO

THE DEATH OF MR. CALHOUN.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
COLUMBIA, Nov. 27, 1850. }

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives :*

Since your adjournment in December last, South Carolina has presented a scene of sadness and affliction. In a few months, four of her faithful public servants, exercising distinguished and highly responsible public trusts, under the Federal and State Governments, have passed from time to eternity. To this bereavement, it behooves us as a people, humbly to submit, in the encouraging assurance that the chastenings of Providence are tempered with mercy and loving kindness.

On the 31st of March, in the City of Washington, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, one of the Senators from this State, terminated his earthly career. The announcement of the death of so eminent a citizen called forth the strongest manifestations of grief from a

large portion of the Republic. In intensity of feeling and deep pervading gloom, it renewed the heart-felt exhibition of mourning which occurred in December, '99, when the fatal truth was realized that George Washington had ceased to be numbered with the living.

While this great Confederacy of co-equal Sovereignties, through their common agent, portrayed in lofty terms the character and services of the deceased, several of the States themselves, as well as the people of many sections of the Union, in the most impressive forms in which sorrow is susceptible of expression, proclaimed to the political communities of the world that a great man, morally and intellectually, had fallen. The accompanying resolutions of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the reports of the late Mayor of Charleston, and the Committee of 25, appointed by the Executive to bring the remains of our late Senator to South Carolina, alone furnish satisfactory evidence on this subject.

Although it may be with truth affirmed, that personally Mr. Calhoun was unknown to his countrymen, yet, perhaps, no public servant ever had a stronger hold on their affections. This was the result of a settled belief, that to deep sagacity, an enlightened judgment, and profound wisdom, he added a patriotic ardor and integrity of purpose which no force of circumstances could subdue or weaken. If, from a fearless assumption of responsibility, and entire freedom from party trammels, on all questions involving principle, he was occasionally exposed to the rebukes of a certain class of politicians, still, the meed of the people's admiration, if not actual concurrence, was never withheld from him.

With all the lofty qualifications of a consummate statesman, our great leader was deficient in the lower, yet not unfrequently important, attributes of the mere politician. In determining the relative influence of circumstances on the progress and destiny of nations, and in estimating the force of their combinations, his perspicacity was pre-eminent. Unadapted to the character of his mind, and the elevated ends at which he aimed, the task of car-

rying an assailable point by address, adroitness in contrivance, or other expedients, formed no part of his labors. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the human mind, and the springs of human action, political causes and their effects, he could, with rare penetration, unfold. In the moral, as in the physical world, there are fixed laws, which, under the same circumstances, produce like results. In steadfastly adhering to these as his guide, he was at all times able to eliminate the truth of a case amidst the obscurity and embarrassment that encompassed it. Far in advance of the age in which he lived, the discoveries of his intellectual vision, which the ordinary eye was incapable of appreciating, were, on certain subjects, often considered as the visionary speculations of an habitual alarmist. In illustration of his prophetic power, the wide-spread effects of abolition aggression might be appropriately cited. If his admonitions and warnings, so early and solemnly uttered in the Senate, had been practically attended to, the present perilous condition of the Southern community never would have been reached; nor would the mind of the public have been startled by a proposition to amend the charter of Union, as a measure necessary to secure the permanenece and safety of the domestic institutions of the South.

Because it was the fundamental law, Mr. Calhoun was among the most ardent and undeviating supporters of the Federal Constitution. Guided by the soundest principles of political ethics, he justly maintained that the only safe and effectual mode of preserving a partnership, whether among individuals or States, was to resist every encroachment on the terms of agreement. One act of unchecked usurpation, he was well aware, would constitute a precedent for another, until, by a series of unwarrantable measures, adopted at various, and it may be distant dates, the distinctive characteristics of the original covenant no longer existed in practice. The time of resistance to unlawful authority is at the commencement of its assaults, because the power of the many, under the panoply of might, is perpetually encroaching on the rights of the few. The tendency of all majorities, moreover, is to despotism. In their recognition of the Ordinance of '87,

unwarrantably enacted by the old confederation, and in assenting to the Act admitting Missouri into the Union, the Plantation States unwittingly inflicted perhaps an incurable evil upon their institutions and domestic quiet.

Mr. Calhoun's name is intimately associated with the history of the United States for the last forty years. During that eventful period, every measure of high public interest received the impress of his master mind. On the science of Government, as exemplified in the operation of our institutions, and that of the Republics of antiquity, his speeches and writings have shed a flood of light. While he admitted that the Constitution of our country was the work of pure and patriotic men, and is a proud monument of human wisdom, yet, in neglecting to provide ample securities for the weaker section of the community, and relying too confidently on parchment barriers for the protection of the social organization of the respective parties, its framers have furnished instruments for the destruction of their own labors, by a slow, but certain, process.

Always on the side of liberty and justice, the South Carolina statesman was sleeplessly vigilant in detecting the insidious advances of power, and confining the central authority within its strictly constitutional orbit. Aware of the centripetal tendency of all political associations, under a federal head, he labored so unceasingly to maintain the Union by preserving the integrity of its members, as to subject himself, among the latitudinarians, to the imputation of Southern predilection. Duty and patriotism alike impelled him to the adoption of this course.

The Congress, at an early period of our history, had not only exercised ungranted powers, but had applied them to the promotion of sectional purposes, first by openly plundering, through the forms of law, the property of one half the States for the benefit of the other half; but more recently by other means, which threatened the extinction of their independence and sovereignty. To compel submission to its edicts, the authority of the Executive had been unwarrantably enlarged. Prior, indeed, to that despotic enactment—the Force Bill—the President of the United

States had announced his solemn resolution that, should resistance by a State to any measure of the General Government be attempted, he would suppress it with the entire military force of the country. In fine, separately and unitedly, the Executive and Legislative departments had each avowed and assumed the right of determining the extent of its own powers, and thereby repudiating any title in the States to enforce the restrictions they had originally imposed on the several fiduciaries of the Federal Compact.

In opposing, on every occasion, with all the strength of his gigantic intellect, these bold and reckless attempts to convert a Republic of checks and balances into a Democracy, governed by the will of an interested and irresponsible majority, the pen of the eulogist is alone furnished with abundant matter to exhibit in its true light Mr. Calhoun's reverence for the noble bequest of our fathers, and his deep devotion to the principles of constitutional liberty. His elaborate exposition of the prominent doctrine of the State Rights school; that the Union of '89 was a Union of States, and not of individuals; and as an unavoidable deduction, that "in cases of deliberate and dangerous infractions of the Constitution, the States, as parties to the compact, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose to arrest the progress of the evil, and to maintain within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them;" is unsurpassed for clearness of conception, logical reasoning, and sound conclusion, by any intellectual effort of ancient or modern days. If the important truths it embodies be disregarded by the American people, it is not difficult to predict that, at no distant day, the bond which unites their respective sovereignties will be severed forever.

Had Mr. Calhoun been a party zealot, he probably would have been elevated to the post of Chief Magistrate. It is certain that at one time, the road of ambition was open before him, but he "chose to tread the rugged path of duty." For a quarter of a century, the acknowledged leader of the State Rights party, he labored assiduously, by precept and example, to detect and establish its land-marks. Keeping steadily in view the great ends of

his system, the possibility of their immediate or prospective attainment, depending on the comparative difficulty of the circumstances under which he was called to act, was nevertheless an aim, in his judgment, to be constantly kept in view. For this reason, he would, at times, in his Senatorial capacity, assail the measures of his own political friends, and by co-operating with their opponents, render himself liable to the charge of inconsistency, if not dereliction of duty, while in reality he was only maintaining his own independence and consistency. These occasions involved generally considerations affecting directly, or incidentally, the relative powers of the Federal and State Governments.

Our faithful sentinel died at his post, his mind dwelling to the latest moment on the mighty topic which had for many years engrossed his undivided attention. He had long seen the dangers the domestic institutions of the South would have to encounter, unless averted by the influence of wise and patriotic counsels. His last speech so ably portrayed the peril of our situation, and the causes which had produced it, that had it pleased Providence to give him the hour he seemed so anxious to possess, another successful invasion of the guaranties of the Constitution, unless truth proved powerless on the occasion, would not have resulted from federal action. His potential voice, alas, will never again be heard! The record of his opinions and acts constitute his legacy to his countrymen. By scrupulously avoiding the guidance of a levelling philosophy, and crushing in embryo the delusive and unfraternal measures which the spirit of a turbulent and restless age has engendered, we shall be following the example of him whose whole life was a continuous effort to adapt his intellectual energies to their proper function—the search of immutable truth.

Mr. Calhoun had nearly attained the full age allotted to man; he had rendered invaluable services to his country, and the cause of constitutional government; his public career having been as distinguished for the political evils he had averted, as the good he had accomplished; whilst his character, in all the relations of

private life, was such as the breath of calumny had never ventured to assail. Let, then, the erection of a memorial, worthy both of his exalted reputation and of the enduring gratitude of the people of South Carolina, be the crowning act of their constitutional authorities. Erect it where the framers of our laws and the youth of our State may, as they contemplate it, imbibe the noblest principles of patriotism, of wisdom, and of virtue.

In accordance with these views, I recommend that the lot of four acres in front of the State House be purchased, with the consent of the owners of the property, at a fair valuation; that a monument to receive his remains, composed entirely of the products of our soil, be erected in the centre; and that the grounds, skilfully ornamented with shrubbery, be converted into a public walk.

It is known that for several years Mr. Calhoun employed the intervals of leisure left him by pressing public engagements, in preparing for the press some political works, which he deemed of importance, not only to his own reputation, but to the interests of the country. These, embracing an elementary treatise on Government, and an elaborate disquisition on the Constitution of the United States, he had just completed before his death. The two would make, perhaps, an octavo volume of about 450 pages. An inspection of the lesser work, that at my request was exhibited to me by his eldest son, during a visit which I made at the family residence, and the opinion of a highly competent judge, who has given to the larger work a rigid examination, warrant me in saying, that perhaps no contribution on the same or similar subject, equals them in amount of thought, argument and research. It may safely be predicted, that the entire composition will stand as distinguished in the political literature of the day, as the illustrious statesman himself was preeminent among the public characters of his time. The exalted fame of the author, and the honor and proud position of the State which he so long loved and served, forbid that these monuments of his genius, and of his untiring industry and devotion to the public weal, should be given to the world in the ordinary way. Nor

would the common usage, so often condemned by the deceased, of appealing to the Federal Government for its countenance and support, be sanctioned by the people of the State. I feel assured, too, that his family, who have yielded his mortal remains to the land of his birth, will never surrender into other hands, the distinctive memorials of his predominant intellect, and of his public and private virtues.

I therefore recommend that these, as well as other important papers which he left behind him, be applied for and published in this State, by legislative authority ; that the Governor be authorized and requested to employ a suitable person to superintend the publication of two editions, one in the best style of modern typography, and the other to be furnished at as cheap a rate as possible ; and that whatever profits may accrue, be for the benefit of Mr. Calhoun's family.

Every citizen within our limits should possess a copy of this legacy to the cause of constitutional liberty. It will teach him not only to understand, but to estimate the value of his rights. As the time of decisive action has arrived, let it be entered on the record, that South Carolina has not only preserved the unconquerable spirit of independence, but the sacred oracles of political wisdom.

WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Monday, April 1st, 1850.

On the motion of Mr. KING, the reading of the Journal of Thursday was dispensed with.

Mr. BUTLER rose and said :—

Mr. PRESIDENT, I rise to discharge a mournful duty, and one which involves in it considerations well calculated to arrest the attention of this body. It is, to announce the death of my late colleague, the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He died at his lodgings in this city, yesterday morning, at half-past seven o'clock. He was conscious of his approaching end, and met death with fortitude and uncommon serenity. He had many admonitions of its approach, and without doubt, he had not been indifferent to them. With his usual aversion to professions, he said nothing for mere effect on the world, and his last hours were an exemplification of his life and character, truth and simplicity.

Mr. CALHOUN, for some years past, had been suffering under a pulmonary complaint, and under its effects, could have reckoned but on a short existence. Such was his own conviction. The immediate cause of his death was an affection of the heart. A few hours before he expired, he became sensible of his situation ;

and when he was unable to speak, his eye and look evinced recognition and intelligence of what was passing. One of the last directions he gave was to a dutiful son, who had been attending him, to put away some manuscripts which had been written a short time before, under his dictation.

Mr. CALHOUN was the least despondent man I ever knew ; and he had, in an eminent degree, the self-sustaining power of intellect. His last days, and his last remarks, are exemplifications of what I have just said. Mental determination sustained him, when all others were in despair. We saw him a few days ago, in the seat near me, which he had so long and honorably occupied ; we saw the struggle of a great mind exerting itself to sustain and overcome the weakness and infirmities of a sinking body. It was the exhibition of a wounded eagle, with his eyes turned to the heavens in which he had soared, but into which his wings could never carry him again.

Mr. PRESIDENT, Mr. CALHOUN has lived in an eventful period of our Republic, and has acted a distinguished part. I surely do not venture too much, when I say that his reputation forms a striking part of a glorious history. Since 1811 until this time, he has been responsibly connected with the Federal Government. As Representative, Senator, Cabinet Minister, and Vice President, he has been identified with the greatest events in the political history of our country. And I hope I may be permitted to say, that he has been equal to all the duties which were devolved upon him in the many critical junctures in which he was placed.— Having to act a responsible part, he always acted a decided part. It would not become me to venture upon the judgment which awaits his memory. That will be formed by posterity before the impartial tribunal of history. It may be that he will have had the fate, and will have given to him, the judgment that has been awarded to Chatham.

I should do the memory of my friend injustice were I not to speak of his life in the spirit of history. The dignity of his whole character would rebuke any tone of remark which truth and judgment would not sanction.

Mr. CALHOUN was a native of South Carolina, and was born in Abbeville district, on the 18th March, 1782. He was of an Irish family. His father, Patrick Calhoun, was born in Ireland, and at an early age came to Pennsylvania, thence moved to the western part of Virginia, and after Braddock's defeat, moved to South Carolina, in 1756. He and his family gave a name to what is known as the Calhoun settlement in Abbeville district. The mother of my colleague was a Miss Caldwell, born in Charlotte county, Virginia. The character of his parents had no doubt a sensible influence on the destiny of their distinguished son. His father had energy and enterprise, combined with perseverance and great mental determination. His mother belonged to a family of revolutionary heroes. Two of her brothers were distinguished in the Revolution. Their names and achievements are not left to tradition, but constitute a part of the history of the times.

Mr. CALHOUN was born in the Revolution, and in his childhood felt the influence of its exciting traditions. He derived from the paternal stock, intellect and self-reliance, and from the Caldwells, enthusiasm and impulse. The traditions of the Revolution had a sensible influence on his temper and character.

Mr. CALHOUN, in his childhood, had but limited advantages of what is termed a literary tuition. His parents lived in a newly-settled country, and among a sparse population. This population had but a slight connection with the lower country of South Carolina, and were sustained by emigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania. There was, of course, but limited means of instruction to children. They imbibed most of their lessons from the conversation of their parents. Mr. CALHOUN has always expressed himself deeply sensible of that influence. At the age of thirteen, he was put under the charge of his brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, in Columbia county, Georgia. Scarcely had he commenced his literary course before his father and sister died. His brother-in-law, Dr. Waddel, devote dhimself about this time to his clerical duties, and was a great deal absent from home.

On his second marriage, he resumed the duties of his acade-

my; and, in his nineteenth year, Mr. CALHOUN put himself under the charge of this distinguished teacher. It must not be supposed that his mind, before this, had been unemployed. He had availed himself of the advantages of a small library, and had been deeply inspired by his reading of history. It was under such influences that he entered the academy of his preceptor.—His progress was rapid. He looked forward to a higher arena, with eagerness and purpose.

He became a student in Yale College in 1802, and graduated two years afterwards with distinction, as a young man of great ability, and with the respect and confidence of his preceptors and fellows. What they have said and thought of him would have given any man a high reputation. It is the pure fountain of a clear reputation. If the stream has met with obstructions, they were such as have only shown its beauty and majesty.

After he had graduated, Mr. CALHOUN studied law, and for a few years practised in the courts of South Carolina, with a reputation that has descended to the profession. He was then remarkable for some traits that have since characterized him. He was clear in his propositions, and candid in his intercourse with his brethren. The truth and justice of the law inculcated themselves on his mind, and when armed with these, he was a great advocate.

His forensic career was, however, too limited to make a prominent part in the history of his life. He served for some years in the Legislature of his native State; and his great mind made an impression on her statutes, some of which have had a great practical operation on the concerns of society. From the Legislature of his own State he was transferred to Congress; and from that time his career has been a part of the history of the Federal Government.

Mr. CALHOUN came into Congress at a time of deep and exciting interest—at a crisis of great magnitude. It was a crisis of peril to those who had to act in it, but of subsequent glory to the actors and the common history of the country. The invincibility of Great Britain had become a proverbial expression, and a

war with her was full of terrific issues. Mr. CALHOUN found himself at once in a situation of high responsibility—one that required more than speaking qualities and eloquence to fulfil it. The spirit of the people required direction ; the energy and ardor of youth were to be employed in affairs requiring the maturer qualities of a statesman. The part which Mr. CALHOUN acted at this time has been approved and applauded by cotemporaries, and now forms a part of the glorious history of those times.

The names of CLAY, CALHOUN, CHEVES, and LOWNDES, GRUNDY, PORTER, and others, carried associations with them that reached the *heart of the nation*. Their clarion notes penetrated the army,* they animated the people, and sustained the Administration of the Government. With such actors, and in such scenes—the most eventful of our history—to say that Mr. CALHOUN did not perform a second part, is no common praise. In debate he was equal with Randolph, and in council he commanded the respect and confidence of Madison. At this period of his life he had the quality of Themistocles—to *inspire confidence*—which, after all, is the highest of earthly qualities in a public man ; it is a mystical something, which is felt, but cannot be described.

The events of the war were brilliant and honorable to both statesmen and soldiers, and their history may be read with enthusiasm and delight. The war terminated with honor ; but the measures which had to be taken, in a transition to a peace establishment, were full of difficulty and embarrassment. This distinguished statesman, with his usual intrepidity, did not hesitate to take a responsible and leading part. Under the influence of a broad patriotism, he acted with an uncalculating liberality to all the interests that were involved, and which were brought under review of Congress. His personal adversary at this time, in his admiration for his genius, paid Mr. CALHOUN a

* Governor Dodge, (now a Senator on this floor,) who was at that time a gallant officer of the army, informs me that the speeches of Calhoun and Clay were publicly read to the army, and exerted a most decided influence on the spirits of the men.

beautiful compliment for his noble and national sentiments, and views of policy. The gentleman to whom I refer is Mr. Grosvenor, of N. Y., who used the following language in debate :

“He had heard with peculiar satisfaction, the able, manly, and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina. (Here Mr. Grosvenor recurring in his own mind to a personal difference with Mr. CALHOUN, which arose out of the warm party discussions during the war, paused for a moment, and then proceeded.)

“Mr. SPEAKER, I will not be restrained. No barrier shall exist which I will not leap over, for the purpose of offering to that gentleman my thanks for the judicious, independent and national course which he has pursued in this House for the last two years, and particularly on the subject now before us. Let the honorable gentleman continue with the same manly independence, aloof from party views and local prejudices, to pursue the great interests of his country, and to fulfil the high destiny for which it is manifest he was born. The buzz of popular applause may not cheer him on his way, but he will inevitably arrive at a high and happy elevation, in the view of his country and the world.”

At the termination of Mr. Madison's administration, Mr. CALHOUN had acquired a commanding reputation ; he was regarded as one of the sages of the Republic. In 1817, Mr. Monroe invited him to a place in his Cabinet. Mr. CALHOUN's friends doubted the propriety of his accepting it, and some of them thought he would put a high reputation at hazard in this new sphere of action. Perhaps these suggestions fired his high and gifted intellect ; he accepted the place, and went into the War Department, under circumstances that might have appalled other men. His success has been acknowledged. What was complex and confused, he reduced to simplicity and order. His organization of the War Department, and his administration of its undefined duties, have made the impression of an *author*, having the interest of originality, and the sanction of trial.

To applicants for office, Mr. CALHOUN made few promises, and hence he was not accused of delusion and deception. When a

public trust was involved, he would not compromise with duplicity or temporary expediency.

At the expiration of Mr. Monroe's administration, Mr. CALHOUN's name became connected with the Presidency; and from that time to his death he had to share the fate of all others who occupy prominent situations.

The remarkable canvass for the President to succeed Mr. Monroe, terminated in returning three distinguished men to the House of Representatives, from whom one was to be elected. Mr. CALHOUN was elected Vice President by a large majority. He took his seat in the Senate as Vice President, on the 4th of March, 1825, having remained in the War Department over seven years.

While he was Vice President, he was placed in some of the most trying scenes of any man's life. I do not now choose to refer to anything that can have the elements of controversy; but I hope I may be permitted to speak of my friend and colleague in a character in which all will join in paying him sincere respect. As a presiding officer of this body, he had the undivided respect of its members. He was punctual, methodical and impartial, and had a high regard for the dignity of the Senate, which, as a presiding officer, he endeavored to preserve and maintain. He looked upon debate as an honorable contest of intellect for truth. Such a strife has its incidents and its trials; but Mr. CALHOUN had, in an eminent degree, a regard for parliamentary dignity and propriety.

Upon General Hayne's leaving the Senate to become Governor of South Carolina, Mr. CALHOUN resigned the Vice Presidency, and was elected in his place. All will now agree, that such a position was environed with difficulties and dangers. His own State was under the ban, and he was in the national Senate to do her justice under his constitutional obligations. That part of his life posterity will review, and I am confident will do it full and impartial justice.

After his senatorial term had expired, he went into retirement, by his own consent. The death of Mr. Upshur—so full of mel-

ancholy associations—made a vacancy in the State Department ; and it was by the common consent of all parties, that Mr. CALHOUN was called to fill it. This was a tribute of which any public man might well be proud. It was a tribute to truth, ability and experience. Under Mr. CALHOUN's counsels, Texas was brought into the Union. His name is associated with one of the most remarkable events of history—that of one Republic being annexed to another by the voluntary consent of both. He was the happy agent to bring about this fraternal association. It is a conjunction under the sanction of his name, and by an influence exerted through his great and intrepid mind. Mr. CALHOUN's connection with the Executive department of the Government, terminated with Mr. Tyler's administration. As a Secretary of State, he won the confidence and respect of foreign ambassadors, and his dispatches were characterized by clearness, sagacity and boldness.

He was not allowed to remain in retirement long. For the last five years he has been a member of this body, and has been engaged in discussions that have deeply excited and agitated the country. He has died amidst them. I had never had any particular association with Mr. CALHOUN, until I became his colleague in this body. I had looked on his fame as others had done, and had admired his character. There are those here who know more of him than I do. I shall not pronounce any such judgment as may be subject to a controversial criticism. But I will say, as a matter of justice, from my own personal knowledge, that I never knew a fairer man in argument, or a juster man in purpose. His intensity allowed of little compromise. While he did not qualify his own positions to suit the temper of the times, he appreciated the unmasked propositions of others. As a Senator, he commanded the respect of the ablest men of the body of which he was a member ; and I believe I may say, that where there was no political bias to influence the judgment, he had the confidence of his brethren. As a statesman, Mr. CALHOUN's reputation belongs to the history of the country, and I commit it to his countrymen and posterity.

In my opinion, Mr. CALHOUN deserves to occupy the first rank as a parliamentary speaker. He had always before him the dignity of purpose, and he spoke to an end. From a full mind, fired by genius, he expressed his ideas with clearness, simplicity and force; and in language that seemed to be the vehicle of his thoughts and emotions. His thoughts leaped from his mind, like arrows from a well-drawn bow. They had both the aim and force of a skilful archer. He seemed to have had little regard for ornament; and when he used figures of speech, they were only for illustration. His manner and countenance were his best language; and in these there was an exemplification of what is meant by Action in that term of the great Athenian orator and statesman, whom, in so many respects, he so closely resembled. They served to exhibit the moral elevation of the man.

In speaking of Mr. CALHOUN as a man and a neighbor, I am sure I may speak of him in a sphere in which all will love to contemplate him. Whilst he was a gentleman of striking deportment, he was a man of primitive taste and simple manners. He had the hardy virtues and simple tastes of a republican citizen. No one disliked ostentation and exhibition more than he did. When I say he was a *good neighbor*, I imply more than I have expressed. It is summed up under the word *justice*. I will venture to say, that no one in his private relations could ever say that Mr. CALHOUN treated him with injustice, or that he deceived him by professions or concealments. His private character was illustrated by a beautiful propriety, and was the exemplification of truth, justice, temperance, and fidelity to all his engagements.

I will venture another remark. Mr. CALHOUN was fierce in his contests with political adversaries. He did not stop in the fight to count losses or bestow favors. But he forgot resentments, and forgave injuries inflicted by rivals, with signal magnanimity. Whilst he spoke freely of their faults, he could with justice appreciate the merits of all the public men of whom I have heard him speak. He was sincerely attached to the institutions of this

country, and desired to preserve them pure and make them perpetual.

By the death of Mr. CALHOUN, one of the brightest luminaries has been extinguished in the political firmament. It is an event which will produce a deep sensation throughout this broad land, and the civilized world.

I have forborne to speak of his domestic relations. They make a sacred circle, and I will not invade it.

Mr. BUTLER then offered the following resolutions :

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed by the Vice President to take order for superintending the funeral of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, which will take place to-morrow, at 12 o'clock meridian, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved unanimously, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, deceased, late a member thereof, will go into mourning for him for one month, by the usual mode of wearing crape on the left arm.

Resolved unanimously, That, as an additional mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. CLAY.—Mr. PRESIDENT, prompted by my own feelings of profound regret, and by the intimations of some highly esteemed friends, I wish, in rising to second the resolutions which have been offered, and which have just been read, to add a few words to what has been so well and so justly said by the surviving colleague of the illustrious deceased.

My personal acquaintance with him, Mr. PRESIDENT, commenced upwards of thirty-eight years ago. We entered at the same time, together, the House of Representatives at the other end of this building. The Congress of which we thus became members, was that amongst whose deliberations and acts was the declaration of war against the most powerful nation, as it respects us, in the world. During the preliminary discussions

which arose in the preparation for that great event, as well as during those which took place when the resolution was finally adopted, no member displayed a more lively and patriotic sensibility to the wrongs which led to that momentous event than the deceased whose death we all now so much deplore. Ever active, ardent, able, no one was in advance of him in advocating the cause of his country, and denouncing the foreign injustice which compelled us to appeal to arms. Of all the Congresses with which I have had any acquaintance since my entry into the service of the Federal Government, in none, in my humble opinion, has been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men, as were in the House of Representatives of that Congress which declared the war, and in that immediately following the peace; and, amongst that splendid constellation, none shone more bright and brilliant than the star which is now set.

It was my happiness, sir, during a large part of the life of the departed, to concur with him on all great questions of national policy. And, at a later period, when it was my fortune to differ from him as to measures of domestic policy, I had the happiness to agree with him generally as to those which concerned our foreign relations, and especially as to the preservation of the peace of the country. During the long session at which the war was declared, we were messmates, as were other distinguished members of Congress from his own patriotic State. I was afforded, by the intercourse which resulted from that fact, as well as the subsequent intimacy and intercourse which arose between us, an opportunity to form an estimate, not merely of his public, but of his private life; and no man with whom I have ever been acquainted, exceeded him in habits of temperance and regularity, and in all the freedom, frankness, and affability of social intercourse, and in all the tenderness, and respect, and affection, which he manifested towards that lady who now mourns more than any other, the sad event which has just occurred. Such, Mr. PRESIDENT, was the high estimate I formed of his transcendent talents, that if, at the end of his service in the Executive Department, under Mr. Monroe's administration, the duties of

which he performed with such signal ability, he had been called to the highest office in the Government, I should have felt perfectly assured that under his auspices, the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of our country would have been safely placed.

Sir, he has gone! No more shall we witness from yonder seat the flashes of that keen and penetrating eye of his, darting through this chamber. No more shall we be thrilled by that torrent of clear, concise, compact logic, poured out from his lips, which, if it did not always carry conviction to our judgment, always commanded our great admiration. Those eyes and those lips are closed forever!

And when, Mr. PRESIDENT, will that great vacancy which has been created by the event to which we are now alluding, when will it be filled by an equal amount of ability, patriotism, and devotion, to what he conceived to be the best interests of his country?

Sir, this is not the appropriate occasion, nor would I be the appropriate person to attempt a delineation of his character, or the powers of his enlightened mind. I will only say, in a few words, that he possessed an elevated genius of the highest order; that in felicity of generalization of the subjects of which his mind treated, I have seen him surpassed by no one; and the charm and captivating influence of his colloquial powers have been felt by all who have conversed with him. I was his senior, Mr. PRESIDENT, in years—in nothing else. According to the course of nature, I ought to have preceded him. It has been decreed otherwise; but I know that I shall linger here only a short time, and shall soon follow him.

And how brief, how short is the period of human existence allotted even to the youngest amongst us! Sir, ought we not to profit by the contemplation of this melancholy occasion? Ought we not to draw from it the conclusion how unwise it is to indulge in the acerbity of unbridled debate? How unwise to yield ourselves to the sway of the animosities of party feeling? How wrong it is to indulge in those unhappy and hot strifes which too often exasperate our feelings and mislead our judgments in the

discharge of the high and responsible duties which we are called to perform? How unbecoming, if not presumptuous, it is in us, who are the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were our perpetual home!

In conclusion, sir, while I beg leave to express my cordial sympathies and sentiments of the deepest condolence towards all who stand in near relation to him, I trust we shall all be instructed by the eminent virtues and merits of his exalted character, and be taught by his bright example to fulfil our great public duties by the lights of our own judgment and the dictates of our own consciences, as he did, according to his honest and best comprehension of those duties, faithfully and to the last.

MR. WEBSTER.—I hope the Senate will indulge me in adding a very few words to what has been said. My apology for this presumption is the very long acquaintance which has subsisted between Mr. CALHOUN and myself. We are of the same age.—I made my first entrance into the House of Representatives in May, 1813, and there found Mr. CALHOUN. He had already been in that body for two or three years. I found him then an active and efficient member of the assembly to which he belonged, taking a decided part, and exercising a decided influence, in all its deliberations.

From that day to the day of his death, amidst all the strifes of party and politics, there has subsisted between us, always, and without interruption, a great degree of personal kindness.

Differing widely on many great questions respecting the institutions and government of the country, those differences never interrupted our personal and social intercourse. I have been present at most of the distinguished instances of the exhibition of his talents in debate. I have always heard him with pleasure, often with much instruction, not unfrequently with the highest degree of admiration.

MR. CALHOUN was calculated to be a leader in whatsoever association of political friends he was thrown. He was a man of

undoubted genius, and of commanding talent. All the country and all the world admit that. His mind was both perceptive and vigorous. It was clear, quick, and strong.

Sir, the eloquence of Mr. CALHOUN, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public bodies, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned—still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner. These are the qualities, as I think, which have enabled him, through such a long course of years, to speak often, and yet always command attention. His demeanor as a Senator is known to us all—is appreciated, venerated by us all. No man was more respectful to others; no man carried himself with greater decorum, no man with superior dignity. I think there is not one of us but felt, when he last addressed us from his seat in the Senate, his form still erect, with a voice by no means indicating such a degree of physical weakness as did, in fact, possess him, with clear tones, and an impressive, and, I may say, an imposing manner, who did not feel that he might imagine that we saw before us a Senator of Rome, when Rome survived.

Sir, I have not in public nor in private life known a more assiduous person in the discharge of his appropriate duties. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not connected with the immediate discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends. Out of the chambers of Congress, he was either devoting himself to the acquisition of knowledge pertaining to the immediate subject of the duty before him, or else he was indulging in those social interviews in which he so much delighted.

My honorable friend from Kentucky has spoken in just terms of his colloquial talents. They certainly were singular and eminent. There was a charm in his conversation not often found.

He delighted, especially, in conversation and intercourse with young men. I suppose that there has been no man among us who had more winning manners, in such an intercourse and conversation, with men comparatively young, than Mr. CALHOUN. I believe one great power of his character, in general, was his conversational talent. I believe it is that, as well as a consciousness of his high integrity, and the greatest reverence for his intellect and ability, that has made him so endeared an object to the people of the State to which he belonged.

Mr. PRESIDENT, he had the basis, the indispensable basis, of all high character; and that was, unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, and honorable, and noble. There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or the heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused, and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the republic, I do not believe he had a selfish motive, or selfish feeling.

However, sir, he may have differed from others of us in his political opinions, or his political principles, those principles and those opinions will now descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name. He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country. He is now a historical character. Those of us who have known him here, will find that he has left upon our minds and our hearts a strong and lasting impression of his person, his character, and his public performances, which, while we live, will never be obliterated. We shall hereafter, I am sure, indulge in it as a grateful recollection that we have lived in his age, that we have been his cotemporaries, that we have seen him, and heard him, and known him. We shall delight to speak of him to those who are rising up to fill our places. And, when the time shall come when we ourselves shall go, one after another, in succession, to our graves,

we shall carry with us a deep sense of his genius and character, his honor and integrity, his amiable deportment in private life, and the purity of his exalted patriotism.

Mr. RUSK.—Mr. PRESIDENT : I hope it will not be considered inappropriate for me to say a word upon this solemn occasion.—Being a native of the same State with the distinguished Senator whose death has cast such a gloom upon this Senate and the audience here assembled, I had the good fortune, at an early period of my life, to make his acquaintance. At that time he was just entering on that bright career which has now terminated.—I was then a boy, with prospects anything but flattering. To him, at that period, I was indebted for words of kindness and encouragement ; and often since, in the most critical positions in which I have been placed, a recurrence to those words of encouragement has inspired me with resolution to meet difficulties that beset my path. Four years ago, I had the pleasure of renewing that acquaintance, after an absence of some fifteen years ; and this took place after he had taken an active part in the question of annexing Texas to the United States, adding a new sense of obligation to my feeling of gratitude.

In the stirring questions that have agitated the country, it was my misfortune sometimes to differ from him, but it is a matter of heartfelt gratification for me to know that our personal relations remained unaltered. And, sir, it will be a source of pleasant though sad reflection to me, throughout life, to remember, that on the last day on which he occupied his seat in this chamber, his body worn down by disease, but his mind as vigorous as ever, we held a somewhat extended conversation on the exciting topics of the day, in which the same kind feelings, which had so strongly impressed me in youth, were still manifested toward me by the veteran statesman. But, sir, he is gone from among us ; his voice will never again be heard in this chamber ; his active and vigorous mind will participate no more in our councils ; his spirit has left a world of trouble, care, and anxiety, to join the spirits of those patriots and statesmen who have preceded him to a bright-

er and better world. If, as many believe, the spirits of the departed hover around the places they have left, I earnestly pray that his may soon be permitted to look back upon our country, which he has left in excitement, confusion, and apprehension, restored to calmness, security, and fraternal feeling, as broad as the bounds of our Union, and as fixed as the eternal principles of justice in which our Government has its foundation.

MR. CLEMENS.—I do not expect, Mr. PRESIDENT, to add anything to what has already been said of the illustrious man, whose death we all so deeply deplore ; but silence upon an occasion like this, would by no means meet the expectations of those whose representative I am. To borrow a figure from the Senator from Kentucky, the brightest star in the brilliant galaxy of the Union has gone out, and Alabama claims a place among the chief mourners over the event. Differing often from the great Southern statesman on questions of public policy, she has yet always accorded due homage to his genius, and still more to that blameless purity of life which entitles him to the highest and the noblest epitaph which can be graven upon a mortal tomb. For more than forty years an active participant in all the fierce struggles of party, and surrounded by those corrupting influences to which the politician is so often subjected, his personal character remained not only untarnished, but unsuspected. He walked through the flames, and even the hem of his garment was unscorched.

It is no part of my purpose to enter into a recital of the public acts of JOHN C. CALHOUN. It has already been partly done by his colleague ; but, even that, in my judgment, was unnecessary. Years after the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ, a traveller, on visiting the spot, found a monument with the simple inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Lacedæmon that we died in obedience to her laws." "Why is it," he asked, "that the names of those who fell here are not inscribed on the stone?" "Because," was the proud reply, "it is impossible that any Greek should ever forget them." Even so it is with him of whom I speak. His acts are graven

on the hearts of his countrymen, and time has no power to obliterate the characters. Throughout this broad land

“The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
Rolls mingling with his fame forever.”

Living, sir, in an age distinguished above all others for its intelligence, surrounded throughout his whole career by men, any one of whom would have marked an era in the world's history, and stamped the time in which he lived with immortality, Mr. CALHOUN yet won an intellectual eminence, and commanded an admiration not only unsurpassed but unequalled, in all its parts, by any of his giant compeers. That great light is now extinguished; a place in this Senate is made vacant which cannot be filled. The sad tidings have been borne upon the lightning's wing to the remotest corners of the Republic, and millions of free-men are now mourning with us over all that is left of one who was scarcely “lower than the angels.”

I may be permitted, Mr. PRESIDENT, to express my gratification at what we have heard and witnessed this day. Kentucky has been heard through the lips of one who is not only her greatest statesman, but the world's greatest living orator. The great expounder of the constitution, whose massive intellect seems to comprehend and give clearness to all things beneath the sun, has spoken for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. From every quarter the voice of mourning is mingled with notes of the highest admiration. These crowded galleries, the distinguished gentlemen who fill this floor, all indicate that here have

“Bards, artists, sages, reverently met,
To waive each separating plea
Of sect, clime, party, and degree,
All honoring him on whom nature all honor shed.”

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

Tuesday, April 2, 1850.

The remains of the deceased were brought into the Senate at 12 o'clock, attended by the Committee of Arrangements and the Pall-bearers.

Committee of Arrangements.

MR. MASON,
MR. DAVIS, of Miss.
MR. ATCHISON,

MR. DODGE, of WISCONSIN,
MR. DICKINSON,
MR. GREENE.

Pall-Bearers.

MR. MANGUM,
MR. CLAY,
MR. WEBSTER,

MR. CASS,
MR. KING,
MR. BERRIEN.

The funeral cortege left the Senate chamber for the Congressional Burial-Ground, where the body was temporarily deposited, in the following order :

The Chaplains of both Houses of Congress.

Physicians who attended the deceased.

Committee of Arrangements.

Pall-Bearers.

The family and friends of the deceased.

The Senator and Representatives from the State of South Carolina, as mourners.

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate of the United States.

The Senate of the United States, preceded by the Vice President of the United States and their Secretary.

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives, preceded by their Speaker and Clerk.

The President of the United States.

The Heads of Departments.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and its officers.

The Diplomatic Corps.

Judges of the United States.

Officers of the Executive Departments.

Officers of the Army and Navy.

The Mayor and Councils of Washington.

Citizens and Strangers.

A SERMON
PREACHED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER,
APRIL 2, 1850,
AT THE FUNERAL OF THE
HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,
SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY THE REV. C. M. BUTLER, D. D.,

CHAPLAIN OF THE SENATE.

I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High ; but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.—PSALM lxxxii. 6, 7.

One of the princes is fallen ! A prince in intellect ; a prince in his sway over human hearts and minds ; a prince in the wealth of his own generous affections, and in the rich revenues of admiring love poured into his heart ; a prince in the dignity of his demeanor—this prince has fallen—fallen !

And ye all, his friends and peers, illustrious statesmen, orators, and warriors—"I have said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most high ; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like this one of the princes !"

The praises of the honored dead have been, here and elsewhere, fitly spoken. The beautifully blended benignity, dignity, simplicity, and purity of the husband, the father and the friend ; the integrity, sagacity, and energy of the statesman ; the com-

pressed intensesness, the direct and rapid logic of the orator; all these have been vividly portrayed by those who themselves illustrate what they describe. There seem still to linger around this hall echoes of the voices, which have so faithfully sketched the life, so happily discriminated the powers, and so affectionately eulogized the virtues of the departed, that the muse of history will note down the words, as the outline of her future lofty narrative, her nice analysis, and her glowing praise.

But the echo of those eulogies dies away. All that was mortal of their honored object lies here unconscious, in the theatre of his glory. "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye"—*there he lies!* that strong heart still, that bright eye dim! Another voice claims your ear. The minister of God, standing over the dead, is sent to say—"Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; *but* ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." He is sent to remind you that there are those here, not visible to the eye of sense, who are greater than the greatest of ye all—even DEATH, and DEATH'S LORD AND MASTER.

Death is here. I see him stand over his prostrate victim, and grimly smile, and shake at us his unsated spear, and bid us all attend this day on him. He is King to-day, and leads us all captive in his train, to swell his triumph and proclaim his power. And there is no visitant that can stand before the soul of man, with such claims on his awed, intent, and teachable attention.—When, as on a day, and in a scene like this, he holds us in his presence and bids us hear him—who can dare to disregard his mandate? Oh, there is no thought or fact, having reference to this brief scene of things, however it may come with a port and tone of dignity and power, which does not dwindle into meanness, in the presence of that great thought, that great fact, which has entered and darkened the Capitol to-day—DEATH! To make us see that by a law perfectly inevitable and irresistible, soul and body are soon to separate; that this busy scene of earth is to be suddenly and forever left; that this human heart is to break through the circle of warm, congenial, familiar and fostering sympathies and associations, and to put off, all alone, into

the silent dark—this is the object of the dread message to us of death. And as that message is spoken to a soul which is conscious of sin ; which knows that it has not within itself resources for self-purification, and self-sustaining peace and joy ; which realizes, in the very core of its conscience, retribution as a moral law ; it comes fraught with the unrest, which causes it to be at once dismissed, or which lodges it in the soul, a visitant whose first coming is gloom, but whose continued presence shall be glory. Then the anxious spirit, peering out with intense earnestness into the dark unknown, may, in vain, question earth of the destiny of the soul, and lift to heaven the passionate invocation—

“ Answer me, burning stars of night,
Where hath the spirit gone ;
Which, past the reach of mortal sight,
E'en as a breeze hath flown ?”

And the stars answer him, “ We roll
In pomp and power on high ;
But of the never dying soul,
Ask things that cannot die !”

“ Things that cannot die !” God only can tell us of the spirit-world. He assures us, by his Son, that death is the child of sin. He tells us what is the power of this king of terrors. He shows us that in sinning “ Adam all die.” He declares to us that, sinful by nature and by practice, we are condemned to death ; that we are consigned to wo ; that we are unfit for Heaven ; that the condition of the soul which remains thus condemned and unchanged, is far drearier and more dreadful beyond, than this side, the grave. No wonder that men shrink from converse with death ; for all his messages are woful and appalling.

But, thanks be to God ! though death be here, so also is death's Lord and Master. “ As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.” That Saviour, Christ, assures us that all who repent, and forsake their sins, and believe in him, and live to him, shall rise to a life glorious and eternal, with Him

and His, in Heaven. He tells us that if we are his, those sharp shafts which death rattles in our ears to-day, shall but transfix, and only for a season, the garment of our mortality; and that the emancipated spirits of the righteous shall be borne, on angel wings, to that peaceful paradise where they shall enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Then it need not be a gloomy message which we deliver to you to-day, that "ye shall die as men and fall like one of the princes;" for it tells us that the humblest of men may be made equal to the angels, and that earth's princes may become "kings and priests unto God!"

In the presence of these simplest yet grandest truths; with these thoughts of death, and the conqueror of death; with this splendid trophy of his power proudly held up to our view by death, I need utter to you no commonplace on the vanity of our mortal life, the inevitableness of its termination, and the solemnities of our after-being. Here and now, on this theme, the silent dead is preaching to you more impressively than could the most eloquent of the living. You feel now, in your inmost heart, that that great upper range of things with which you are connected as immortals; that moral administration of God, who stretches over the infinite of existence; that magnificent system of ordered governments, to whose lower circle we now belong, which consists of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, which rise,

"Orb o'er orb, and height o'er height,"

to the enthroned Supreme;—you feel that this, your high relation to the Infinite and Eternal, makes poor and low the most august and imposing scenes and dignities of earth, which flit, like shadows, through your three-score years and ten. Oh happy will it be, if the vivid sentiment of the hour become the actuating conviction of the life! Happy will it be, if it take its place in the centre of the soul, and inform all its thoughts, feelings, principles, and aims! Then shall this lower system of human things be consciously linked to, and become part of, and take glory from that spiritual sphere, which, all unseen, encloses us, whose actors and heroes are "angels and archangels, and all the company of

Heaven." Then would that be permanently and habitually felt by all, which was here, and in the other chamber yesterday so eloquently expressed, that "vain are the personal strifes and party contests in which you daily engage, in view of the great account which you may all so soon be called upon to render;"* and that it is unbecoming and presumptuous in those who are "the tenants of an hour in this earthly abode, to wrestle and struggle together with a violence which would not be justifiable if it were your perpetual home."† Then, as we see to-day, the sister States, by their Representatives, linked hand in hand, in mournful attitude, around the bier of one in whose fame they all claim a share, we should look upon you as engaged in a sacrament of religious patriotism, whose spontaneous, unpremeditated vow, springing consentient from all your hearts, and going up unitedly to Heaven, would be—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

But I must no longer detain you. May we all

"So live, that when our summons comes to join
 The innumerable caravan, that moves
 To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
 His chamber in the silent halls of death,
 We go not like the quarry-slave at night
 Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
 By an unfaltering trust, approach our grave
 Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
 About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

* Mr. Winthrop's speech in the House of Representatives.

† Mr. Clay's speech in the Senate.

IN THE SENATE OF THE U. S. }
 April 3d, 1850. }

Resolved, As a mark of the respect entertained by the Senate, for the memory of the late JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, a Senator from South Carolina, and for his long and distinguished service in the Public Councils, that his remains be removed at the pleasure of his surviving family, in charge of the Sergeant-at-arms, and attended by a committee of the Senate, to the place designated for their interment, in the bosom of his native State; and that such committee, to consist of six Senators, be appointed by the President of the Senate, who shall have full power to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

IN THE SENATE OF THE U. S. }
 April 4th, 1850. }

In pursuance of the foregoing resolution,

MR. MASON,		MR. WEBSTER,
MR. DAVIS, OF MISSISSIPPI,		MR. DICKINSON, and
MR. BERRIEN,		MR. DODGE, OF IOWA,

were appointed the committee.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKENS, *Secretary*.

IN THE SENATE OF THE U. S. }
 April 9, 1850. }

Mr. Webster having been, on his motion, excused from serving on the committee to attend the remains of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN to the State of South Carolina: On motion by Mr. Mason,

Ordered, That a member be appointed by the Vice President to supply the vacancy, and Mr. Clarke was appointed.

(Attest.) ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

IN THE SENATE OF THE U. S. }
 April 3d, 1850. }

Resolved, That the Vice President be requested to communicate to the Executive of the State of South Carolina, information of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, late a Senator from the said State.

(Attest.)

ASBURY DICKINS, *Secretary*.

SENATE CHAMBER, }
 April 3d, 1850. }

SIR:—In pursuance of a resolution of the Senate, a copy of which is enclosed, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, the painful intelligence of the decease of the Hon. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, late a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina, who died in this city, the 31st ultimo.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE,

Vice President of the U. S. and

President of the Senate.

His Excellency,

Governor of the State of South Carolina,

Columbia.

SENATE OF THE U. S. }
 Washington City, April 4, 1850. }

To His Excellency, Whitmarsh B. Seabrook,

Governor of South Carolina.

SIR:—I have the honor to make known to you, that a committee of the Senate has been appointed to attend the remains of their late honored associate, Mr, CALHOUN, to the place that may be designated for his interment in his native State, when the surviving family shall express a wish for their removal.

It is desirable to the committee to know whether this removal is contemplated by them; and should it be, that they be informed as soon as may be, (but entirely at the convenience of the family) *when* they may desire it.

Knowing the deep interest that will be taken by the State of South Carolina in the matter spoken of, I take the liberty, by this note, of asking that you will at proper time learn what may be necessary to answer the foregoing inquiry, and apprise me, as Chairman of the committee, a few days in advance.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be,

&c. &c. &c.

J. M. MASON.

WASHINGTON, April 16, 1850.

His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,

Governor of South Carolina.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. handed to me by Mr. Ravenel; and on behalf of my associates on the committee of the Senate and of myself, to accept the hospitalities you have kindly proffered to us on behalf of the State, on our arrival in South Carolina.

We are directed, by the order of the Senate, to attend the remains of Mr. CALHOUN "to the place designated for their interment in his native State"—a duty we expect strictly to discharge, and are gratified to find by your communication, that it will be in accordance with the wishes of your fellow citizens of Carolina.

Mr. Ravenel, of the committee of South Carolina, will have apprized you of the time of our probable arrival in Charleston, which we learn will be on Thursday, the 25th of this month.

With great respect,

I have the honor to be,

&c. &c. &c.

J. M. MASON, *Chair. Com. Senate.*

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Washington, April 1st, 1850.

Mr. VINTON, rising, said that the House might soon expect to receive the usual message from the Senate, announcing the melancholy event occurring yesterday, (the death of the honorable Senator CALHOUN.) Instead of proceeding with the ordinary business of legislation, he would therefore move the suspension of the rules, that the House might take a recess until the Senate were ready to make that communication.

The question on this motion being put, it was unanimously agreed to.

So the House then took a recess until one o'clock and ten minutes, p. m. at which hour the Secretary of the Senate, Mr. Dickins, appearing at the bar,

The Speaker called the House to order.

The Secretary of the Senate then announced that he had been directed to communicate to the House information of the death of JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina, and delivered the resolutions adopted by the Senate on the occasion.

Mr. HOLMES, of South Carolina, rose and addressed the House as follows :

It becomes, Mr. Speaker, my solemn duty to announce to this House the decease of the honorable JOHN C. CALHOUN, a Senator of the State of South Carolina. He expired at his lodgings in this city yesterday morning, at seven o'clock. He lives no longer among the living; he sleeps the sleep of a long night which knows no dawning. The sun which rose so brightly on this morning, brought to him no healing in its beams.

We, the Representatives of our State, come to sorrow over the dead; but the virtue and the life and the services of the deceased, were not confined by metes and bounds; but standing on the broad expanse of this Confederacy, he gave his genius to the States, and his heart to his entire country. Carolina will not, therefore, be suffered to mourn her honored son in secret cells and solitary shades; but her sister States will gather around her in this palace of the nation, and bending over that bier, weep as she weeps, and mourn with the deep, afflictive mourning of her heart. Yes, sir, her honored son—honored in the associations of his birth, which occurred when the echoes and the shouts of freedom had not yet died along his native hills, born of parents who had partaken of the toils, been affected by the struggles, and fought in the battles for liberty—seemed as if he were baptized in the very fount of freedom. Reared amid the hardy scenery of nature, and amid the stern, pious, and reserved population, unseduced yet by the temptations, and unnerved by the luxuries of life, he gathered from surrounding objects and from the people of his association, that peculiar hue and coloring which so transcendently marked his life. Unfettered by the restraints of the school house, he wandered in those regions which surrounded his dwelling, unmolested, and indulged those solitary thoughts, in rambling through her mighty forests, which gave that peculiar cast of thinking and reflection to his mighty soul. He was among a people who knew but few books, and over whose minds learning had not yet thrown its effulgence. But they had the Bible; and with his pious parents, he gathered rich lore, which surpasses that of Greek or Roman story. At an age when youths are generally prepared to scan the classics, he was

yet uninitiated in their rudiments. Under the tuition of the venerable Doctor Waddel, his relative and friend, he quickly acquired what that gentleman was able to impart, and even then began to develop those mighty powers of clear perception, rapid analysis, quick comprehension, vast generalization, for which he was subsequently so eminently distinguished. He remained but a very short time at his school, and returned again to his rustic employments. But the spirit had been awakened—the inspiration had come like to a spirit from on high ; and he felt that within him were found treasures that learning was essential to unfold. He gathered up his patrimony, he hastened to the College of Yale, and there, under the tuition of that accomplished scholar and profound theologian, Rev. Dr. Dwight, he became in a short period, the first among the foremost, indulging not in the enjoyments, in the luxuries, and the dissipations of a college life, but with toil severe, with energy unbending, with devotion to his studies, he became (to use the language of a contemporary) “a man among boys.” In a conflict intellectual with his great master, the keen eye of Dr. Dwight discerned the great qualifications which marked the man, and prophesied the honors that have fallen in his pathway. He was solitary, and associated not much with his class. He indulged his propensity to solitude ; he walked among the elms that surround that ancient college ; and in the cells, in the secret shades of that institution, he felt that dawning on his mind which was to precede the brighter and the greater day ; and raising himself from the materiality around him, he soared on the wings of contemplation to heights sublime, and wending his flight along the zodiac, raised his head among the stars. The honors of the college became his meed, and departing thence with the blessings and the benedictions of his venerable instructor, he repaired for a short period to the school of Litchfield, and there imbibed those principles of the common law, based upon the rights of man, and throwing a cordon around the British and the American citizen. He left, and upon his return home was greeted by the glowing presence of his friends, who had heard from a distance the glad tidings of his

studies and his success. He took at once his position among his neighbors. He was sent by them to the councils of the State ; and there, amid the glittering array of lofty intellects and enobled characters, he became first among the first.

But that sphere was too limited for the expansibility of a mind which seemed to know no limit but the good of all mankind. At the age of twenty eight, he was transferred to this hall. He came not, sir, to a bower of ease ; he came not in the moment of a sunshine of tranquility ; he came when the country was disturbed by dissention from within, and pressed out by the great powers of Europe, then contending for the mastery of the world, and uniting and harmonizing in this, and this alone—the destruction of American institutions, the annihilation of American trade. The whole country (boy as I then was, I well remember) seemed as if covered with an eternal gloom. The spirits of the best men seemed crushed amid that pressure, and the eye of hope scarce found consolation in any prospect of the future. But he had not been long in these halls, before he took the gauge and measurement of the depth of these calamities, and the compass of its breadth. He applied himself most vigorously to the application of the remedies to so vital a disease. He found that mistaken policy had added to the calamities on the ocean, that still further calamity of fettering, with a restrictive system, the very motions and energies of the people. He looked down and saw that there was a mighty pressure, a great weight upon the resources of this country, which time had gradually increased, and he resolved at once, with that resolution which characterized him—with that energy which impelled him direct to his purpose—to advise what was considered a remedy too great almost for the advice of any other—once, weak as we were in numbers, unprepared as we were in arms, diminished as were our resources, to bid defiance to Britain, and assume the attitude of a conflicting nation for its rights.

Fortunately for the country, that advice was taken, and then the great spirit of America, released from her shackles, burst up and made her leave her incumbent, prostrate condition, and stand

erect before the people of the world, and shake her spear in bold defiance. In that war, his counsels contributed as much, I am informed, as those of any man, to its final success. At a period when our troops on the frontier, under the command of the Governor of New York, were about to retire from the line, and that Governor had written to Mr. Madison that he had exhausted his own credit, and the credit of all those whose resources he could command, and his means were exhausted, and unless in a short period money was sent on to invigorate the troops, the war must end, and our country bow down to a victorious foe; sir, upon that occasion, Mr. Madison became so disheartened, that he assembled his counsellors, and asked for advice and aid, but advice and aid they had not to give. At length Mr. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, said to Mr. Madison—you are sick; retire to your chamber; leave the rest to us. I will send to the Capitol for the youthful Hercules, who hitherto has borne the war upon his shoulders, and he will counsel us a remedy. Mr. CALHOUN came. He advised an appeal to the States for the loan of their credit. It seemed as if a new light had burst upon the cabinet. His advice was taken. The States generously responded to the appeal. These were times of fearful import. We were engaged in war with a nation whose resources were ample, while ours were crippled. Our ships-of-war, few in number, were compelled to go forth on the broad bosom of the deep, to encounter those fleets which had signalized themselves at the battles of Abouker and Trafalgar, and annihilated the combined navies of France and Spain. But there was an inward strength—there was an undying confidence—in the hearts of a free people; and they went forth to battle and to conquest.

Sir, the clang of arms and the shouts of victory had scarcely died along the dark waters of the Niagara—the war upon the plains of Orleans had just gone out with a blaze of glory—when all eyes were instinctively turned to this youthful patriot, who had rescued his country in the dark hour of her peril. Mr. Monroe transferred him to his Cabinet; and upon that occasion, so confused was the Department of War, so complicated and disor-

dered, that Mr. Wm. Lowndes, a friend to Mr. CALHOUN, advised him against risking the high honors he had achieved upon this floor, for the uncertain victories of an Executive position.—But no man had pondered more thoroughly the depths of his own mind and the purposes of his own heart—none knew so well the undaunted resolution and energy that always characterized him; and he resolved to accept, and did. He related to me what was extremely characteristic; he went into the Department, but became not of it for awhile. He gave no directions—he let the machinery move on by its own impetus. In the mean time he gathered, with that minuteness which characterized him, all the facts connected with the working of the machinery—with that power of generalization which was so remarkable, combined together in one system all the detached parts, instituted the bureaus, imparting individual responsibility to each, and requiring from them that responsibility in turn, but uniting them all in beautiful harmony, and creating in the workings a perfect unity. And so complete did that work come from his hands, that at this time there has been no change material in this department. It has passed through the ordeal of another war, and it still remains fresh, and without symptoms of decay. He knew that if we were to have wars, we should have the science to conduct them; and he therefore directed his attention to West Point, which, fostered by his care, became the great school of tactics and of military discipline, the benefits of which have so lately been experienced in the Mexican campaign.

But, sir, having finished this work, his mind instinctively looked for some other great object on which to exercise its powers. He beheld the Indian tribes, broken down by the pressure and the advances of civilization, wasting away before the vices, and acquiring none of the virtues, of the white man. His heart expanded with a philanthropy as extensive as the human race. He immediately conceived the project of collecting them into one nation, of transferring them to the other side of the great river, and freeing them at once from the temptations and the cupidity of the Christian man.

Sir, he did not remain in office to accomplish this great object. But he had laid its foundation so deep, he had spread out his plans so broad, that he has reared to himself, in the establishment of that people, a brighter monument, more glorious trophies, than can be plucked upon the plains of war. The triumphs of war are marked by desolated towns and conflagrated fields; his triumphs will be seen in the collection of the Indian tribes, constituting a confederation among themselves, in the schoolhouses in the valleys, in the churches that rise with their spires from the hill-top, in the clear sunshine of Heaven. The music of that triumph is not heard in the clangor of the trumpet, and the rolling of the drum, but swells from the clang of the anvil, and the tones of the water-wheel, and the cadence of the mill-stream, that rolls down for the benefit of the poor red man.

Sir, he paused not in his career of usefulness; he was transferred, by the votes of a grateful people, to the chair of the second office of the government. There he presided with a firmness, an impartiality, with a gentleness, with a dignity, that all admired. And yet it is not given unto man to pass unscathed the fiery furnace of this world. While presiding over that body of ambassadors from sovereign States, while regulating their councils, the tongue of calumny assailed him, and accused him of official corruption in the Riprap contract. Indignantly he left the chair, demanded of the Senators an immediate investigation by a committee, and came out of the fire like gold refined in the furnace. From that time to the day that terminated his life, no man dared to breathe aught against the spotless purity of his character.

But while in that chair, Mr. CALHOUN perceived that there was arising a great and mighty influence to over-shadow a portion of this land. From a patriotic devotion to his country, he consented on this floor, in 1816, upon the reduction of the war duties, to a gradual diminution of the burdens, and thus saved the manufacturers from annihilation. But that interest, then a mere stripling, weak, and requiring nurture, fostered by this aliment, soon increased in strength, and became potent, growing

with a giant's growth, and attained a giant's might, and was inclined tyrannously to use it as a giant. He at once resigned his seat, gave up his dignified position, mingled in the strifes of the arena, sounded the tocsin of alarm, waked up the attention of the South, himself no less active than those whom he thus aroused, and at length advised his own State, heedless of danger, to throw herself into the breach for the protection of that sacred Constitution, whose every precept he had imbibed, whose every condition he had admired. Sir, although hostile fleets floated in our waters, and armies threatened our cities, he quailed not; and at length the pleasing realization came to him and to the country, like balm to the wounded feelings, and by a generous compromise on all parts, the people of the South were freed from onerous taxation, and the North yet left to enjoy the fruits of her industry, and to progress in her glorious advancement in all that is virtuous in industry and elevated in sentiment.

But he limited not his scope to our domestic horizon. He looked abroad at our relations with the nations. He saw our increase of strength. He measured our resources, and was willing at once to settle all our difficulties with foreign powers on a permanent basis. With Britain we had causes of contention, of deep and long standing. He resolved, if the powers of his intellect could avail aught before he departed hence, that these questions should be settled for a nation's honor and a nation's safety. He faltered not. I know (for I was present) that when the Ashburton treaty was about to be made—when there were apprehensions in the cabinet that it would not be sanctioned by the Senate—a member of that cabinet called to consult Mr. CALHOUN, and to ask if he would give it his generous support. The reply of Mr. CALHOUN at that moment was eminently satisfactory, and its annunciation to the cabinet gave assurance to the distinguished Secretary of State, who so eminently had conducted this important negotiation. He at once considered the work as finished; for it is the union of action in the intellectual, as in the physical, world that moves the spheres into harmony.

When the treaty was before the Senate, it was considered in

secret session ; and I never shall forget, that sitting upon yonder side of the House, the colleague of Mr. CALHOUN—who at that time was not on social terms with him—my friend, the honorable Mr. Preston, whose heart throbbed with an enthusiastic love of all that is elevated—left his seat in the Senate, and came to my seat in the House, saying “ I must give vent to my feelings : Mr. CALHOUN has made a speech which has settled the question of the Northeastern boundary. All his friends—nay, all the Senators—have collected around to congratulate him, and I have come out to express my emotions, and declare that he has covered himself with a mantle of glory.”

Sir, after a while, he retired from Congress ; but the unfortunate accident on board the Princeton, which deprived Virginia of two of her most gifted sons, members of the cabinet, immediately suggested the recall of Mr. CALHOUN from his retirement in private life, and the shades of his own domicil, to aid the country in a great exigency. His nomination as Secretary of State was sent to the Senate, and, without reference to a committee, was unanimously confirmed. Sir, when he arrived here, he perceived that the Southern country was in imminent peril, and that the arts and intrigues of Great Britain were about to wrest from us that imperial territory which is now the State of Texas. By his wisdom, and the exercise of his great administrative talents, the intrigues of Great Britain were defeated, and that portion of the sunny South was soon annexed to this Republic.

With the commencement of Mr. Polk's administration, he retired once more from public life, but he retired voluntarily. Mr. Buchanan (for I might as well relate the fact) called upon me, took me to the embrasure of one of those windows, and said : “ I am to be Secretary of State ; the President appreciates the high talents of Mr. CALHOUN, and considers the country now encircled by danger upon the Oregon question. Go to Mr. CALHOUN, and tender to him the mission to the Court of St. James—special or general, as he may determine—with a transfer of the Oregon question entirely to his charge.”

Never can I forget how the muscles of his face became tense,

how his great eye rolled, as he received the terms of the proposal. "No, sir—no, (he replied.) If the embassies of all Europe were clustered into one, I would not take it at this time; my country is in danger; here ought to be the negotiation, and here will I stand." Sir, he retired to his farm; but the President in his inaugural, had indicated so strongly his assertion of the entirety of the Oregon treaty; had inspirited the people of the West almost to madness, and in like manner had dispirited the merchants of the East, and of the North and South, that a presentiment of great dangers stole over the hearts of the people, and a war seemed inevitable, with the greatest naval power of the earth. Impelled by their apprehensions, the merchants sent a message to Mr. CALHOUN, and begged him again to return to the councils of the nation. His predecessor generously resigned. He came, and when he came, though late, he beheld dismay on the countenances of all. There was a triumphant majority in both parts of this Capitol of the Democratic party, who, with a few exceptions, were for carrying out the measures of Mr. Polk. The Whigs, finding that they were too few to stem the current, refused to breast themselves to the shock. But when Mr. CALHOUN announced on the floor of the Senate, the day after his arrival, his firm determination to resist and save from the madness of the hour, this great country, they immediately rallied, and soon his friends in this House and in the Senate gathered around him, and the country was safe. Reason triumphed, and the republic was relieved of the calamities of a war. This was the last great work he ever consummated.

But he saw other evils; he beheld this republic about to lose its poise from a derangement of its weights and levers; he was anxious to adjust the balance, and to restore the equilibrium; he exercised his mind for that purpose; he loved this Union, for I have often heard him breathe out that love; he loved the equality of the States, because he knew that upon that equality rested the stability of the government; he admired that compact—the Constitution of our fathers—and esteemed it as a great cove-

nant between sovereign States, which if properly observed, would make us the chosen people of the world.

At length the acting of the spirit chafed the frail tenement of mortality, and to the eye of his friends, the tide of life began to ebb; but, sir, with an undying confidence in his powers—with a consciousness of the dangers which encircled his physical nature, but without regard to his own sufferings, in the solitudes of disease, unable in the midst of disease even to hold a pen, he dictated his last great speech. That speech has gone forth to the world, and the judgment of that world will now impartially be stamped upon it.

Sir, when his health began gradually to recover, his spirit impelled him, against the advice of his friends, into the Senate chamber; and there, with a manliness of purpose, with a decision of tone, with a clearness of argument, with a rapidity of thought, he met and overthrew his antagonists one by one, as they came up to the attack. But weakened by the strife, although he retired victorious and encircled with a laurel wreath, he fell exhausted by his own efforts, and soon expired on the plains. And now where is he? Dead, dead, sir; lost to his country and his friends.

“For him no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Nor wife nor children more shall he behold,”

nor sacred home. But he shall shortly rest amid his own native hills, with no dirge but the rude music of the winds, and after awhile, no tears to moisten his grave but the dews of Heaven.

But though dead, he still liveth; he liveth in the hearts of his friends, in the memory of his services, in the respect of the States, in the affections, the devoted affections of that household he cherished. He will live in the tomes of time, as they shall unfold their pages, rich with virtues, to the eyes of the yet unborn. He lives, and will continue to live, for countless ages, in the advance of that science to which, by his intellect, he so much contributed, in the disenthralment of man from the restrictions of government, in the freedom of intercourse of na-

tions, and kindreds, and tongues, which makes our common mother earth throw from her lap her bounteous plenty unto all her children. And it may be, that with the example set to other nations, there shall arise a union of thought and sentiment, and that the strong ties of interest, and the silken cords of love, may unite the hearts of all, until from the continents and the isles of the sea, there will come up the gratulations of voices, that shall mingle with the choral song of the angelic host—"Peace on earth; good will to all mankind."

I move, sir, the adoption of the following resolutions.

Resolved, That this House has heard with deep sensibility, the announcement of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a testimony of respect for the memory of the deceased, the members and officers of this House will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this House, in relation to the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, be communicated to the family of the deceased, by the Clerk.

Resolved, That this House will attend the funeral of the deceased in a body; and, as a further mark of respect for his memory, that it do now adjourn.

Mr. WINTHROP rose to second the resolutions offered by Mr. Holmes, and proceeded as follows:

I am not unaware, Mr. SPEAKER, that the voice of New England has already been heard to-day, in its most authentic and most impressive tones, in the other wing of this Capitol.—But it has been suggested to me, and the suggestion has met with the promptest assent from my own heart, that here, also, that voice should not be altogether mute on this occasion.

The distinguished person, whose death has been announced to us in the resolutions of the Senate, belonged, not indeed, to us. It is not ours to pronounce his eulogy. It is not ours, certainly, to appropriate his fame. But it is ours to bear witness to his character, to do justice to his virtues, to unite in paying honor to

his memory, and to offer our heart-felt sympathies, as I now do, to those who have been called to sustain so great a bereavement.

We have been told, sir, by more than one adventurous navigator, that it was worth all the privations and perils of a protracted voyage beyond the line, to obtain even a passing view of the *Southern Cross*—that great constellation of the Southern hemisphere. We can imagine, then, what would be the emotions of those who have always enjoyed the light of that magnificent luminary, and who have taken their daily and their nightly direction from its refulgent rays, if it were suddenly blotted out from the sky.

Such, sir, and so deep, I can conceive to be the emotions at this hour, of not a few of the honored friends and associates whom I see around me.

Indeed, no one who has been ever so distant an observer of the course of public affairs, for a quarter of a century past, can fail to realize that a star of the first magnitude has been struck from our political firmament. Let us hope, sir, that it has only been transferred to a higher and purer sphere, where it may shine on with undimmed brilliancy forever!

Mr. Speaker, it is for others to enter into the details of Mr. CALHOUN'S life and services. It is for others to illustrate and to vindicate his peculiar opinions and principles. It is for me to speak of him only as he was known to the country at large, and to all, without distinction of party, who have represented the country of late years, in either branch of the national councils.

And speaking of him thus, sir, I cannot hesitate to say, that, among what may be called the second generation of American statesmen, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, there has been no man of a more marked character, of more pronounced qualities, or of a wider and more deserved distinction.

The mere length and variety of his public service, in almost every branch of the National Government, running through a continuous period of almost forty years—as a member of this House, as Secretary of War, as Vice President of the United

States, as Secretary of State, and as Senator from his own adored and adoring South Carolina—would alone have secured him a conspicuous and permanent place upon our public records.

But he has left better titles to remembrance than any which mere office can bestow.

There was an unsullied purity in his private life ; there was an inflexible integrity in his public conduct ; there was an indescribable fascination in his familiar conversation ; there was a condensed energy in his formal discourse ; there was a quickness of perception, a vigor of deduction, a directness and a devotedness of purpose, in all that he said, or wrote, or did ; there was a Roman dignity in his whole senatorial deportment ; which, together, made up a character which cannot fail to be contemplated and admired to the latest posterity.

I have said, sir, that New England can appropriate no part of his fame. But we may be permitted to remember that it was in our schools of learning and of law that he was trained up for the great contests which awaited him in the forum of the Senate chamber. Nor can we forget how long and how intimately he was associated in the Executive or deliberative branches of the Government with more than one of our own most cherished statesmen.

The loss of such a man, sir, creates a sensible gap in the public councils. To the State which he represented, and the section of country with which he was so peculiarly identified, no stranger tongue may venture to attempt words of adequate consolation. But let us hope that the event may not be without a wholesome and healing influence upon the troubles of the times. Let us heed the voice, which comes to us all, both as individuals and as public officers, in so solemn and signal a providence of God. Let us remember that, whatever happens to the Republic, we must die ! Let us reflect how vain are the personal strifes and partisan contests in which we daily engage, in view of the great account which we may so soon be called on to render ! As Cicero exclaimed, in considering the death of Crassus : “ *O fallax*

cem hominum spem, fragilem que fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones."

Finally, sir, let us find fresh bonds of brotherhood and of union in the cherished memories of those who have gone before us; and let us resolve that, so far as in us lies, the day shall never come when New England men may not speak of the great names of the South, whether among the dead or among the living, as of Americans and fellow-countrymen!

Mr. VENABLE rose and said: Mr. Speaker, in responding to the announcement just made by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Holmes,) I perform a sad and melancholy office. Did I consult my feelings alone, I would be silent. In the other end of this building we have just heard the touching eloquence of two venerable and distinguished Senators, his cotemporaries and compatriots. Their names belong to their country as well as his; and I thought, while each was speaking, of the valiant warrior, clothed in armor, who, when passing the grave of one with whom he had broken lances and crossed weapons, dropped a tear upon his dust, and gave testimony to his skill, his valor, and his honor. He whose spirit has fled needs no effort of mine to place his name on the bright page of history, nor would any eulogy which I might pronounce, swell the vast tide of praises which will flow perennially from a nation's gratitude. The great American statesman who has fallen by the stroke of death, has left the impress of his mind upon the generations among whom he lived—has given to posterity the mines of his recorded thoughts to reward their labor with intellectual wealth—has left an example of purity and patriotism on which the wearied eye may rest,

"And gaze upon the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state."

For more than forty years his name is conspicuous in our history. Born at the close of the revolutionary war, he was in full maturity to guide the councils of his country in our second contest with England. Never unmindful of her claims upon him, he has devoted a long life to her service, and has closed it, like a

gallant warrior, with his armor buckled on him. "Death made no conquest of this conqueror; for now he lives in fame, though not in life." The only fame, sir, which he ever coveted—an impulse to great and honorable deeds—a fame which none can despise who have not renounced the virtues which deserve it. It is at least some relief to our hearts, now heaving with sighs at this dispensation of Heaven, that he now belongs to bright, to enduring history; for his was one of "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." Of his early history the gentleman who preceded me has spoken; of his illustrious life, I need not speak; it is known to millions now living, and will be familiar to the world in after times.

But, sir, I propose to say something of him in his last days. Early in the winter of 1848-'9 his failing health gave uneasiness to his friends. A severe attack of bronchitis, complicated with an affection of the heart, disqualified him for the performance of his senatorial duties with the punctuality which always distinguished him. It was then that I became intimately acquainted with his mind, and, above all, with his heart. Watching by his bedside, and during his recovery, I ceased to be astonished at the power which his master-mind and elevated moral feelings had always exerted upon those who were included within the circle of his social intercourse. It was a tribute paid spontaneously to wisdom, genius, truth. Patriotism, honesty of purpose, and purity of motive, rendered active by the energies of such an intellect as hardly ever falls to any man, gathered around him sincere admirers and devoted friends. That many have failed to appreciate the value of the great truths which he uttered, or to listen to the warnings which he gave, is nothing new in the history of great minds. Bacon wrote for posterity, and men of profound sagacity always think in advance of their generation. His body was sinking under the invasion of disease before I formed his acquaintaintance, and he was passing from among us before I was honored with his friendship. I witnessed with astonishment the influence of his mighty mind over his weak physical structure. Like a powerful steam engine on a frail bark, every

revolution of the wheel tried its capacity for endurance to the utmost. But yet his mind moved on, and, as if insensible to the decay of bodily strength, put forth, without stint, his unequalled powers of thought and analysis, until nature well-nigh sunk under the imposition. His intellect preserved its vigor while his body was sinking to decay. The menstruum retained its powers of solution, while the frail crucible which contained it was crumbling to atoms. During his late illness, which, with a short intermission, has continued since the commencement of this session of Congress, there was no abatement of his intellectual labors. They were directed as well to the momentous questions now agitating the public mind, as to the completion of a work which embodies his thoughts on the subject of government in general and our own Constitution in particular; thus distinguishing his last days by the greatest effort of his mind, and bequeathing it as his richest legacy to posterity.

Cheerful in a sick chamber, none of the gloom which usually attends the progress of disease annoyed him; severe in ascertaining the truth of conclusions, because unwilling to be deceived himself, he scorned to deceive others; skilful in appreciating the past, and impartial in his judgment of the present, he looked to the future as dependant on existing causes, and fearlessly gave utterance to his opinions of its nature and character; the philosopher and the statesman, he discarded expedients by which men "construe the times to their necessities." He loved the truth for the truth's sake, and believed that to temporize is but to increase the evil which we seek to remove. The approach of death brought no indication of impatience—no cloud upon his intellect. To a friend who spoke of the time and manner in which it was best to meet death, he remarked: "I have but little concern about either; I desire to die in the discharge of my duty; I have an unshaken reliance upon the providence of God."

I saw him four days after his last appearance in the Senate chamber, gradually sinking under the power of his malady, without one murmur at his affliction, always anxious for the interest of his country, deeply absorbed in the great question which agi-

tates the public mind, and earnestly desiring its honorable adjustment, unchanged in the opinions which he had held and uttered for many years, the ardent friend of the Union and the Constitution, and seeking the perpetuity of our institutions, by inculcating the practice of justice and the duties of patriotism.

Aggravated symptoms, on the day before his death, gave notice of his approaching end. I left him late at night, with but faint hopes of amendment; and, on being summoned early the next morning, I found him sinking in the cold embrace of death; calm, collected, and conscious of his situation, but without any symptom of alarm, his face beaming with intelligence, without one indication of suffering or of pain. I watched his countenance, and the lustre of that bright eye remained unchanged, until the silver cord was broken, and then it went out in instantaneous eclipse. When I removed my hand from closing his eyes he seemed as one who had fallen into a sweet and refreshing slumber. Thus, sir, closed the days of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the illustrious American statesman. His life and services shall speak of the greatness of by-gone days with undying testimony. Another jewel has fallen from our crown; an inscrutable Providence has removed from among us one of the great lights of the age. But it is not extinguished. From a height to which the shafts of malice or the darts of detraction never reach, to which envy cannot crawl, or jealousy approach, it will shine brighter and more gloriously, sending its rays over a more extended horizon, and blessing mankind by its illumination. The friend of constitutional liberty will go to his writings for truth and to his life for a model. We, too, should be instructed by his experience, while his presages for the future should infuse caution into our counsels, and prudence into our actions. His voice, now no more heard in the Senate, will speak most potentially from the grave. Personal opposition has died with his death. The aspiring cannot fear him, nor the ambitious dread his elevation. His life has become history, and his thoughts the property of his countrymen.

Sir, while we weep over his grave, let us be consoled by the

assurance that "honor decks the turf that wraps his clay." He was our own, and his fame is also ours. Let us imitate his great example, in preferring truth and duty to the approbation of men, or the triumphs of party. Be willing to stand alone for the right, nor surrender independence for any inducement. He was brought up in the society of the men of the Revolution, saw the work of our Constitution since its formation, was profoundly skilled in construing its meaning, and sought by his wisdom and integrity to give permanency to the Government which it created. If such high purposes be ours, then our sun, like his, will go down serenely, and we shall have secured "a peace above all other dignities—a calm and quiet conscience."

The question was then taken on the resolutions offered by Mr. Holmes, and they were unanimously agreed to.

And thereupon the House adjourned.

REPORT
OF
THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

CHARLESTON, May 24th, 1850.

*His Excellency, Whitemarsh B. Seabrook,
Governor of the State of South Carolina.*

DEAR SIR:—I have received your Excellency's note of the 29th ultimo, addressed to me, as Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-five, on the removal of the remains of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN; and desiring of me, "as early as my convenience may permit, a narrative of the occurrences on the way, from the day of our leaving Charleston, to the time when the body was surrendered to you."

Your note has been laid before the committee, and with their concurrence, the following report is respectfully submitted.

The committee was appointed by your Excellency, under the second resolution of the meeting held in this city, on the evening of the 2d ultimo, to give expression to the public sorrow, on the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN. We were desired "to proceed to Washington, to procure and bring home his remains, and to co-operate in all other measures for their final disposition."

On the 5th ult. the day the committee met to organize, our newspapers announced the appointment, by the Senate of the United States, of a committee of six members of that distinguished body, to take charge of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, and to attend them to their final resting place in his native State. [This high honor modified the duty which had been assigned to us. It

had become the office of the Senators, to convey and deliver the remains; ours, in manifestation of the respect of our people, to attend them as mourners.

A general understanding in reference to the melancholy duty to be performed, was held by correspondence, between the Hon. James M. Mason, the chairman of the committee of the Senate, and the chairman of this committee; and under a resolution of the latter, three of our number were requested to proceed to Washington, to confer with the committee of the Senate, and keep our authorities and committee at home advised of their arrangements. The chairman being one of this sub-committee, H. A. DeSaussure, Esq. was appointed chairman *pro tempore* of the committee of twenty-five.

The departure of the sub-committee, however, was to be deferred until Mrs. Calhoun should have been consulted, and her desires ascertained respecting the removal and ultimate disposition of the remains. This object having been effected, and her acquiescence in the measures proposed by your Excellency received, the sub-committee, consisting of the chairman, and Messrs. A. Huger and C. G. Memminger, proceeded to Washington, and arrived there on the 13th and 14th April.

Mr. Mason, the Chairman of the Senate's committee, had been called by business from Washington. He returned on the 15th, and on the next morning his committee met, and appointed Monday, the 22nd April, as the day of departure with their solemn charge. Communications by telegraph to the committee, through Mr. DeSaussure, the Chairman *pro tem.* gave information of this arrangement, and of our expectation that the cortege would arrive in Charleston on Thursday morning, the 25th April.

On the arrival of the sub-committee in Washington, they found all the public buildings draped with emblems of mourning, by order of the President of the United States; and their reception by the committee of the Senate, and by other distinguished citizens, manifested the deep interest felt in the purpose of their visit.

On the morning of the 16th April, Robert Beale, Esq. Sergeant-

at-arms of the Senate, called on the sub-committee by direction of the committee of the Senate, to express their desire that we should consider ourselves guests, during our stay in Washington; informed us that apartments had been provided for our accommodation, and requested us to appoint an hour to receive the committee, who would call and conduct us to the hotel they had selected. We accordingly named an hour, at which they called with carriages, and conducted us to the City Hotel, introduced us to a private parlour and comfortable rooms, informed us that instructions had been given to meet our directions in all respects, and that a carriage would be in waiting subject to our orders.

The invitation was extended to our associates of the committee of twenty-five, to consider themselves guests on their arrival, with information that like arrangements would be made for their comfort and convenience.

Of the twenty-five gentlemen originally named on the committee, four were deprived, by circumstances, of the privilege of uniting in the duties of our appointment, viz: Messrs. Henry W. Conner, Arthur P. Hayne, A. G. Magrath and James Gadsden; and in their stead, Messrs. George S. Bryan, Matthew I. Keith, P. H. Seabrook and J. E. Leland, joined us by your Excellency's request.

Twenty members of the committee arrived in Washington on Saturday, the 20th April, and were met at the landing by the Sergeant-at-arms with carriages, and conducted to the lodgings provided for them. These gentlemen had been expected on the previous day, and the Sergeant-at-arms was at the landing to receive them. But their passage from Charleston had been boisterous, and they arrived at Wilmington after the cars had left it. It thus became necessary for them to remain in Wilmington till the next day. They were immediately requested to consider themselves the guests of the city; and enjoyed the kindest attentions from the authorities and citizens. These attentions were acknowledged by the committee, in resolutions adopted at Wilmington, and communicated by Mr. DeSaussure, the Chairman *pro tem*.

All of our committee were now in Washington, excepting two, the Hon. Wm. Aiken, who was unexpectedly detained, and Jno. E. Carew, Esq. who accompanied his colleagues as far as Richmond, where he received information by telegraph of the sudden illness of his father, which obliged him to return.

We were joined on our way homeward, at Wilmington, by Mr. Aiken, and at the wharf in Charleston, by Mr. Carew. Our number therefore was complete during the ceremonies in Charleston.

Two of the sons of Mr. CALHOUN, Mr. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, and Maj. Patrick Calhoun, of the U. S. Army, accompanied the committee of twenty-five from Charleston to Washington, and were received by the committee of the Senate as guests.— Their presence at all the ceremonies incident to our mournful duty, deepened their solemnity.

To the Sergeant-at-arms, the immediate charge of the remains, from the vault in Washington to their delivery in South Carolina, had been committed by the Senators. To six respectable attendants, selected by him, had been assigned the duty of bearing them whenever removed during the journey. The remains were enclosed in an iron coffin, furnished with six handles, which rendered the transfer from one conveyance to another, safe and convenient,

In accordance with a programme issued by the Hon. Chairman of the Senate committee, the remains were brought to the eastern front of the Capitol at 8 o'clock, on Monday morning, the 22d April, in charge of the Sergeant-at-arms and his attendants, all in full suits of black. The committee of the Senate, with the two sons of the deceased, the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and the Hon. Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, members of the House of Representatives, invited by the Senate's committee to join the escort; the committee of South Carolina, and many distinguished citizens, were in attendance.— These, in a long train of carriages, followed the hearse in slow procession from the steps of the Capitol, along the south side of Capitol Hill and down the Maryland Avenue, and thence to the

wharf on the Potomac, where the steamer Baltimore awaited us. The steamer bore appropriate insignia of the melancholy service she was to perform, both the exterior and interior being shrouded in mourning. The body was carried on board and placed in the upper saloon, which had been prepared for its reception, and for the accommodation of the committees and friends.

Immediately after this, the corpse of a young gentleman recently appointed a Cadet at West Point, a son of the Hon. H. W. Hilliard, of Alabama, a member of the House of Representatives, was brought in and placed by that of Mr. Calhoun. The afflicted parents were in attendance, and a general sympathy with their deep private grief was added to the public sorrow.

We were now ready to leave the city of Washington. Of the committee of the Senate, five were present, viz: the Hon. James M. Mason, of Virginia, Chairman, the Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, the Hon. John H. Clarke, of Rhode Island, the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and the Hon. Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa. The Hon. John M. Berrien, of Georgia, had been called to Savannah by the illness of a member of his family, but we are gratified to say, that he was enabled to meet his colleagues on their arrival in Charleston, and there to unite with them in the solemnities of the occasion.

Among the attendants on the solemn offices just commenced, were the Hon. William Seaton, the Mayor of Washington, and Lieut. Thomas B. Huger, of South Carolina, appointed by Commodore Parker, of the Home Squadron, in expression of his respect, to accompany the remains as his flag officer. These gentlemen attended us officially to the landing on the territory of Virginia. Mr. Clarke Mills, the artist, of this city, now employed at Washington in completing the equestrian statue of Jackson, accompanied the committee of South Carolina by invitation.—The public are indebted to Mr. Mills for having prepared himself for perpetuating not only the head and countenance of Mr. Calhoun, but his manly form. A study of his manner in the Senate and in private, with other advantages which he has secured, will enable him to apply his genius to a representation in

statuary, of this distinguished son of Carolina, of which we may confidently anticipate the highest value.

The Hon. Mr. Webster, one of the six Senators first appointed on the committee of that body, who found it necessary to ask to be excused from the duty which the appointment involved, was nevertheless desirous of paying a last tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. CALHOUN, by accompanying us to the landing in Virginia. The state of his health preventing him, it is due to the occasion to transmit with this report his two notes, communicating his intention, and his reasons for relinquishing it.

Crowds of person had collected to witness the mournful departure; but an unbroken silence prevailed as our boat moved from her moorings.

On approaching Alexandria, we found the flags of the shipping, and flags displayed from the public buildings, at half mast, and in mourning. No incident of special interest occurred on our further progress down the Potomac, except the passing of Mount Vernon. As we drew near, the speed of our boat was moderated. Moving slowly on, we paused, as it were, in silent respect.

Mount Vernon belongs to history. It commands the attention of every traveller. It associates, throughout the world, the dignity of worth in private life with all that is rational in civil liberty, with all that is wise in government, with all that is pure in the service of country. To us it is sacred ground, impressing every mind with awe; filling every heart with gratitude—an unseen presence is there; and no unhallowed thought finds place. Every packet that passes tolls its bell in honor of the Father of his Country. On this occasion, the customary answer of the heart was wrought into high emotion. We bore what was mortal of one illustrious man, by all that is mortal of the great type of illustrious men. No bosom was unmoved; scarcely an eye was tearless. "Deep called unto deep," as the muffled knell of our boat paid its passing tribute.

Arrived at Aquia Creek, we found in readiness a special train, provided by the Richmond and Aquia Creek Rail Road Company; and deputations of distinguished citizens from Richmond and

from Fredericksburg, together with a military escort from the latter city, awaiting our arrival. The deputation from Fredericksburg were a joint committee of officers of the corporation and citizens, and consisted of the Hon. R. B. Semple, Mayor, B. S. Herndon, Recorder, John Minor, member of Council, Thos. B. Barton, Commonwealth's Attorney, John J. Chew, Clerk, and Col. Hugh Mercer and Eustace Conway, Esq. citizens. The military escort consisted of the Fredericksburg Guards, under command of Captain Wm. S. Barton.

The deputation from Richmond were the Hon. John Y. Mason, J. Lyons, G. A. Myers, and Wm. F. Ritchie, Esquires; and were accompanied by Edward Robinson, Esq. the President of the Richmond and Aquia Rail Road Company.

The remains were landed on the shores of Virginia, and received with honors by the deputations and by the military. During a solemn dirge by the Band of the Fredericksburg Guards, the remains were conveyed to a car prepared for them, and for the special attendants. The committees of the Senate and of South Carolina, the Sons, and others in attendance with the deputations, were conducted to another car; and the Fredericksburg Guards preceded them in a third. Our approach to Fredericksburg was announced by minute guns; our passage by the city honored by the tolling of bells and solemn music. We stopped a short time to interchange courtesies with the citizens, when we proceeded to Milford, at which place we were invited to partake of a collation, and here the deputation from Fredericksburg took leave of us. Resuming our journey, we arrived at Richmond at half past 4 o'clock, P. M. and were met at the boundary of the city by marshals on horseback, and by assemblages which indicated a reception of no ordinary character.—Military and civic honors, public and private tributes, were harmoniously combined. A hearse, prepared for the occasion, with solemn decorations, and drawn by four black horses appropriately clad, each led by a groom in mourning; a splendid military escort; a large procession of citizens; and an array of equipages, to receive the committee, deputations and public officers; were

the manifestations of the general desire in the capitol of Virginia to honor the departed, and to show respect to those who accompanied his remains. The silence was not once broken by the immense throng of spectators. The stores and places of business were closed—the bells were tolled—the procession moved onward to mournful dirges until it reached the capitol. Here the military were placed in open order, and the body, borne by the attendants, the several committees and deputations, the Governor, public officers, and citizens uncovered, passed through them, entered the capitol, and were conducted to the hall of the House of Delegates, where the remains were deposited for the night, under a military guard, appointed by his Excellency Gov. Floyd. The solemnity was closed by a short address and prayer from the Rev. Stephen Taylor. This simple, touching ceremony over, the committees and their friends were conducted in carriages to apartments provided for us at the Exchange Hotel, as the guests of the city; at half past 7 o'clock, the escort (with the exception of the sons of Mr. CALHOUN, to whom a private parlor had been assigned) were conducted to dinner. The Hon. John Y. Mason, the chairman of the committee of citizens, presided, assisted by J. Lyons, Esq. His Excellency the Governor and Council, the Mayor and City Council of Richmond, and the gentlemen composing the deputations from other parts of the State, being present. After dinner, Judge Mason rose, and delicately intimating his unwillingness, under the circumstances which had brought us together, to encroach upon the liberty of their guests to retire at pleasure, addressed the meeting as follows, viz :

“The gentlemen, whom it is our happiness to entertain as the honored guests of the city of Richmond, are engaged in the melancholy duty of conveying the lifeless remains of an illustrious citizen from the scene of his public service, where he has fallen in the discharge of his duty, to their final resting place, in the bosom of his native State. On this mournful occasion, the interchange of sentiment common in festive entertainments, would not be appropriate; but before we separate, there is one sentiment which I venture to propose—a sentiment to which the people of

Virginia would cordially respond, and in which, I am sure, all present will take pleasure in uniting.

“Honored be the memory of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the beloved and lamented son of South Carolina; a son worthy of the utmost love of an adoring mother.”

The delicate compliment of the Chairman to the guests, and the respect to our State and her lamented son, expressed in the sentiment, were acknowledged by the Chairman of the committee, in a reply to the following effect, viz :

“MR. CHAIRMAN: You have said rightly, that the present is not an occasion for the interchange of sentiment common to festive entertainments. We have met under mournful circumstances. But the sentiment you have been pleased to offer, accords with the solemnity of the occasion; and an acknowledgment in the same spirit, will not be deemed inappropriate. Indeed I should fail to do justice to my own feelings, and, I am very sure, to the feelings of my colleagues, were I not to embrace the opportunity, to express our deep sense of the respect shown to our State and to her lamented dead, not only in the sentiment just offered, and in its reception, but in the impressive ceremonies through which we have this day passed. It is impossible, sir, to dissociate them. They came together, and fill our hearts. Allow me, then, for these noble and generous tributes, to tender our cordial thanks.

“Our whole country has made its offerings of honor to the departed; and we would not indicate any insidious distinction among these spontaneous expressions of public feeling. They are all acceptable; all valued. But under circumstances like the present, I may be permitted, without the risk of such an imputation, to ask from what quarter of our wide-spread country, can sympathy and honor be more gratifying, than from the Commonwealth of Virginia? Virginia, the eldest in this sisterhood of States! Virginia, nurtured in the principles of a sound, rational, regulated liberty! Virginia, which has at all times furnished so ample a contingent of talent and worth, to the service of our common country! Virginia, whose soil intombs the Fa-

ther of his Country ! Associations such as these, impart their character to her tributes, and add to the power and comfort of her sympathy.

“I have said, Mr. CHAIRMAN, that the soil of your State intombs the Father of his Country. This privilege has conferred upon her a distinction which all lands would be proud to possess. But let me add, in reference to a sentiment I am about to propose, that she enjoys a higher and nobler distinction—*she educated Washington*. Washington was a Providential man ; reared up by God for Providential purposes ; purposes not confined to one country, but comprehending in their results the civil interests of the world ; not limited to the age, but destined to influence ages to come. And Washington was the son of Virginia. Born and nurtured within her borders, his character was formed, and his mind developed under her influences. He derived from her, and gave to her, his first energies. It was through her confidence, and in her service, that he was prepared for his more enlarged relations ; for his high destiny ; his great mission. In accordance with these views, Mr. CHAIRMAN, I offer “The land that nurtured Washington.”

Both sentiments were drunk standing, and in silence ; and after the last, the company retired.

The two committees and their friends enjoyed every possible comfort and attention at the hotel ; and in accordance with arrangements for resuming our journey, we were conducted in carriages at 10 o'clock, on Tuesday morning, to the Capitol. Gov. Floyd was present, to receive us, and to re-deliver to the committee of the Senate the charge he had taken for the night. On this occasion His Excellency made the following address, viz :

“ *Gentlemen of the Committees of Congress,
and of Citizens of South Carolina :*

“I deliver to your hands the precious charge which, as the Governor of Virginia, was deposited with me for the night. Virginia has performed the last sad office within her power of reverence and respect to the remains of the honored dead. And I

can say for her citizens, that no sad and sorrowful duty could have been executed by them with a more melancholy interest.

“The spontaneous outpouring of our population, which you witnessed yesterday, is but a slight manifestation of the exalted admiration which beats strong in the bosom of the Commonwealth for the virtues and the genius of the departed statesman.

“His virtues were enough to redeem this generation; his genius sufficiently great to enrich the empire. But this is not the time for eulogy. In your sorrows and bereavement we offer you all we have, and all you can receive, our deep and heart-felt sympathy. Virginia will mingle freely her tears with those of Carolina, over the fresh earth which is so shortly to cover all that can ever perish of the illustrious dead.

“I take a mournful pleasure in officiating personally, in these ceremonies. I knew him well, and esteemed him for those virtues which won the hearts of the nation; and admired him for that intellect which secured to him the admiration of the world.”

Mr. JAMES M. MASON, the Chairman of the Senate committee, rose and said:

“Governor FLOYD:—The committee of the Senate of the United States receive back at your hands from the State of Virginia, the remains of their late colleague, the illustrious CALHOUN. The solemn and imposing reception which awaited them yesterday, at the confines of this city, by the citizens and the civil authorities of the City of Richmond, and their honored repose during the past night in the halls of their Capitol, under the safe-guard of the State, most touchingly evince the deep sense entertained by Virginia of the pure and lofty patriotism which ever guided him in life, and will remain a proud memorial to future ages. In discharge of the trust confided to us by the Senate, we shall pursue our melancholy way, sir, to the final resting place allotted for his remains, in his native State, bearing with us a grateful sense of the tribute paid to his memory at the Capital of Virginia, by these imposing solemnities, and of the generous hospitalities which have been extended to the entire

escort, by the City of Richmond. Before taking leave, however, you will allow me to refer to the committee of citizens of the State of South Carolina, who have been deputed to repair to Washington, and to unite on this sad occasion, in rendering merited honor to the memory of her illustrious dead ; a deputation of her most grave and valued citizens, whose presence here most feelingly manifests their own profound respect for the statesman who is no more, whilst it testifies how deeply Carolina mourns the loss of her patriot son—the gifted sage—the virtuous man, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.”

The Chairman of our committee then said :

“Governor FLOYD:—I am at a loss for words to express, for myself and my associates from South Carolina, the feelings excited by this solemn occasion ; and in the attempt to give them utterance, the sincerity of the heart must supply the place of set forms of speech.

We are deeply affected by the honors with which the remains of the lamented dead were yesterday received at the border of Virginia ; by the manifestations of respect during our progress ; by the touching ceremonies of the reception here ; by those through which we are now passing ; and by the kindness shown to all who have been deputed to the melancholly offices in which we are engaged. These generous testimonials on the part of Virginia, to the worth of this cherished son of South Carolina, will find a cordial answer from every heart within his native State.

“Senates and assemblies of the people and distinguished individuals, have recorded their sense of the merits of the departed statesman and of the public loss. These valued tributes will impress the country. But those of Virginia are enhanced by her sympathy, so manifest at every stage of our passage through her territory.

“And, sir, her offerings are full of associations of the highest interest. They recall the talent and worth which Virginia herself has given to the country. She is the mother of great men.

Her sons walk by the light of a galaxy of her own. She has a right to praise, and we feel the value of her tributes.

“Your Excellency, and the Hon. Chairman of the committee of Senators, have both been pleased to refer, in strong and grateful terms, to the pure and elevated character of Mr. CALHOUN. Of all the grounds of public favor, this is the most gratifying.—It is the recognition of high moral worth that gives to all public honors their chief value. Wisdom may command, eloquence may win, and station influence; but it is virtue only that consecrates our powers. “Power to do good,” said Lord Bacon, “is the true and lawful end of all aspiring.” Ambition, to be virtuous, must be virtuously directed; and moral worth is an essential element in any just standard of public character. These ceremonies, then, are no mere pageant. They are the testimony of public opinion, to high virtue guiding high intellect. They will fix the attention of the young on the true grounds of all desirable distinction. Let our young men be incited to virtuous distinction; let them emulate virtuous example; let them draw their fires from the altars of a pure devotion, and our country must be safe.

“In taking leave, permit me to offer our thanks for the part which you have taken personally in these mournful honors; and to express my regret that the feelings appropriate to an occasion so imposing, have received from me so inadequate an expression.”

A most touching and solemn offering to the Throne of Grace, by the Rev. Mr. Reed, concluded the ceremonies in the capitol. The remains were then conveyed to the hearse, and the procession being formed, we went in carriages, as on the preceding day, to the sounds of solemn music and the tolling of bells, to the Railroad depot. We were received in cars specially provided and prepared for us, and proceeded to Petersburg. We were accompanied from Richmond to the boundary of the State, by a deputation appointed by his Excellency, Gov. Floyd, and consisting of T. T. Giles, G. M. Carrington, B. B. Minor, and H. C.

Cabell, Esqrs. We arrived at Petersburg about noon, and were met by his Honor, Mr. Corling, the Mayor, the entire magistracy and common council, and by the venerable Judge May, the Chairman, and his committee of citizens, with a large military detachment. The whole cortege were accommodated in private carriages, followed by a numerous procession of citizens, to St. Paul's Church, on Walnut street. We found the Church hung throughout in mourning. Here the remains were deposited, on a bier in charge of the military, to await our departure, with the regular train of that evening, for Wilmington. During the procession every store was closed, and some of the houses exhibited badges of mourning.

The church was filled with ladies and gentlemen, to witness the silent but impressive ceremony. The committees, with all associated with them, and the deputation from Richmond, were conducted from the church to the hotel at the Petersburg and Roanoke Railroad depot, where we were received as guests of the city. Here a sumptuous dinner awaited us, after receiving the visits and courtesies of the citizens: The Hon. Judge May, Daniel Lyon, and Thomas Wallace, Esqrs. representing the city at dinner. At 8 o'clock that evening, we proceeded on our way to Weldon, and travelled all night. At about 2 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, we reached Weldon, whither a detachment from four uniform companies of Petersburg, under the command of Lieut. Allfriend, had accompanied us. Here they were to take leave. The detachment was formed into line, and the Chairman of the Senate and South Carolina committees addressed to them appropriate acknowledgments. To these, Lieut. Allfriend replied, assuring us that "however mournful the occasion, the part they had taken was deemed by them a duty and a privilege."

At the distance of about 40 miles from Wilmington, we were met by a deputation of ten gentlemen from that city, consisting of Dr. De Rossett, Sen. (a gentleman 83 years of age,) Chairman, and Messrs. J. F. McCrea, Sen. P. R. Dickinson, W. C. Bettencaurt, James Owen, Thos. H. Wright, John Walker, and Thom-

as Loring, of Wilmington, and F. J. Hill, of Brunswick, and James Iredell, of Raleigh. These gentlemen tendered to us the hospitalities of Wilmington. We reached that city at 1 o'clock. A gun was fired on our arrival as a signal, at which the flags of the public buildings and the shipping were struck at half mast; the bells began to toll and the military to fire minute guns. We were now informed that arrangements had been made for the reception of the whole company at the hotel, as guests of the city; but that it having been suggested to them that delay in leaving Wilmington might interfere with the ceremonies of the reception in Charleston the next day, they requested that their desires should not interfere with our arrangements. This delicate and considerate course left us at liberty to embark without delay.—To this end, the body was placed on a hearse, appropriately decorated for the occasion, drawn by a white horse, with coverings of black, and a procession formed from the cars to the steamer. The citizens were arranged in a long double line, and stood uncovered, whilst the procession passed through them to solemn music. The ceremony was deeply impressive. The body was placed on board the steamer *Nina*, which had been prepared and sent by your Excellency to receive it, with the committees in attendance. We were here met by Capt. William Blanding, who had been requested by the City Council to proceed to Wilmington in the *Nina*, as Master of Ceremonies. The Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company had also in waiting one of their boats, the *Wilmington*, the use of which had been kindly tendered to and accepted by our city authorities. A part of the company in attendance went in each boat; and by this arrangement, the comfort of all was greatly promoted. We were accompanied to Charleston by a deputation of sixteen citizens of Wilmington, of whom Dr. De Rossett, the elder, was chairman; and also by a deputation of four from the Board of Directors of the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company, of whom Gen. James Owen was Chairman. The two steamers left Wilmington together about 3 o'clock, P. M. for Charleston.

On the detail thus given of the honors paid to the memory of

Mr. Calhoun, it may be remarked, that at each of the cities through which we passed, the ceremonies had some appropriate peculiarity. The simple and silent movement from the capitol at Washington, where the eloquence of public and individual sorrow had so recently been heard ; the emblems of respect at Alexandria ; the honors to our sad procession as it moved slowly through Fredericksburg, with the military and civic escort of that city ; the more elaborate arrangements at Richmond for the reception and charge of the remains for the night, and their re-delivery the next day, with the kind attention to the comfort of the committees ; the full and imposing procession through Petersburg, the church draped in crape, and the informal courtesies of the citizens ; the numerous array of private citizens at Wilmington, through whom the procession passed to the boat ; all exhibited the common purpose in these several communities, with variety in the modes, of manifesting their respect to the memory of the dead, and their kindness to the living.

To these more formal tributes were added other testimonials less imposing, but not less touching. At several small places along the road, the discharge of cannon was the manifestation of respect. As we passed a farm near Wilmington, North Carolina, the owner, an elderly man, stood at the road-side, uncovered, his right hand resting on a small pine, hung with emblems of mourning, with his two servants standing behind him, also uncovered. And a short time before this, a distant bell had sounded the modest tribute of a rural neighborhood, where no assemblage was seen. It ought also to be remembered that at every place, all who composed the cortege were received as guests ; that through the entire line of travel, conveyances had been tendered, and were provided without charge ; and that the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company would permit no charge to the South Carolina Committee on their way to Washington.

And whilst the committee of twenty-five thus report the distinguished honors paid to the memory of the lamented CALHOUN, they gratefully recall the respect and kindness shown to

themselves, for their work's sake. To the Honorable the committee of the Senate of the United States, to the citizens of Washington, Fredericksburgh, Richmond, Petersburg and Wilmington, and especially to the authorities and committees of the several cities, their thanks are due, and they would thus record their acknowledgments.

We entered the harbor of Charleston at 9 o'clock on Thursday morning, the 25th April. A fog made the city indistinct to view, until we had approached quite near to it, when we observed that the houses were hung with emblems of mourning. The tone of deep feeling produced by the silent eloquence of these tokens, was made deeper by the Sabbath-like stillness of the city. On our approaching the revenue cutter Crawford, in the roads, she commenced the firing of minute guns. The *Nina* took her in tow, and a procession of boats was formed, consisting of the *Nina* and Wilmington, the revenue cutter and the steamers *Matamora* and *Pilot*; the two latter with citizens on board. These vessels, all displaying emblems of mourning, arranged with remarkable care and taste, moved slowly several times along the entire line of the city, from the Southern point of the Battery to the landing place at Smith's wharf, until the hour appointed for the landing. This novel procession was felt by all to increase the deep solemnity of the occasion. At 12 o'clock, the body of J. C. CALHOUN was landed on the soil of his native State, to receive the honors of his own sorrowing people. The description of these honors belongs to others.

In conclusion, the committee would remark, that the manifestations of respect to the memory of our lamented fellow citizen, were tributes both to distinguished talents and services, and to moral excellence universally felt and acknowledged. With the public tributes were combined the most gratifying private recognitions of the purity and elevation of purpose exhibited throughout his life.

Mr. CALHOUN was indeed in the vale of years; venerable for ripe knowledge and long service; but the bond between his country and himself, amid the conflicts of opinion, and the as-

perities of parties, was this moral element, which adorned not only the evening of his life, but its morning and noon. This, joined to great powers, made up the man, whose memory the country deems it a privilege to honor.

Let us trust, then, that the regrets and the honors which have followed him to the tomb, will impress upon the young men of our country, the value of high character and virtuous purposes. With these, the useful employment of talent is limited to no one period of life; "for honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age."

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL RAVENEL, *Chairman*

Com. Twenty-five.

The Committee of Twenty-five consisted of the following gentlemen.

DANIEL RAVENEL,
C. G. MEMMINGER,
ALFRED HUGER,
H. A. DESAUSSURE,
JAMES ROSE,
HENRY GOURDIN,
G. A. TRENHOLM,
CHAS. EDMONDSTON,
Col. J. A. LELAND,
S. Y. TUPPER,
MM. M. MARTIN,
P. C. GAILLARD,
WM. AIKEN,

JOHN E. CAREW,
CHAS. T. LOWNDES,
P. DELLA TORRE,
THOMAS LEHRE,
Col. JAMES LEGARE,
Col. E. M. SEABROOK,
GEO. N. REYNOLDS,
JOHN RUSSELL,
Col. M. I. KEITH,
A. MOISE, jr.
GEO. S. BRYAN,
PAUL H. SEABROOK.

PAPERS

ACCOMPANYING THE PRECEDING REPORT.

PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS IN WASHINGTON.

The remains of Mr. CALHOUN will be brought to the Capitol in a hearse, by 8 o'clock, A. M. in the morning of Monday, the 22d inst. in charge of the Sergeant-at-arms, and will so remain in his charge, and with those assistants present who are to accompany it to the South. They will be at the Eastern front.

Carriages will be sent for the committee of the Senate and Mr. Venable and Mr. Holmes, of S. C. their guests, and for the committee from South Carolina, to their respective lodgings, to be there *punctually at half past seven*. They will rendezvous at the eastern front of the Capitol; and at 8 o'clock punctually, a baggage-wagon, in charge of a messenger, will convey the baggage of the South Carolina committee, and have it on board before the procession arrives.

The body, in charge of the Sergeant-at-arms with his assistants, and the committee, will leave the Capitol at 8 o'clock, punctually, and proceed to the mail boat—passing on the southern side of Capitol Hill, and along Maryland Avenue.

The Sergeant-at-arms will communicate a copy of this to Daniel Ravenel, Esq. Chairman of the committee for South Carolina, and to Mr. Venable and Mr. Holmes.

(Signed)

JAMES M. MASON.

PASSAGE THROUGH FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA.

The following information has been kindly furnished by the Hon. R. B. Semple, Mayor of Fredericksburg, in compliance with a request from the Chairman of the Committee.

Names of the individuals who participated in the demonstrations of respect to the remains of Mr. CALHOUN on their passage through Fredericksburg.

Officers of the Corporation :

R. B. SEMPLE, Mayor,	}	Committee.
DR. B. R. HERNDON, Recorder,		
JOHN MINOR, Councilman,		
THOMAS B. BARTON, Commonwealth's Attorney,		
JOHN J. CHEW, Clerk of Hustings Court.		

Citizens :

Col. HUGH MERCER,	}
EUSTACE CONWAY.	

Military :

Capt. WILLIAM S. BARTON, of Fredericksburg Guards.		
First Liet. JAS. H. LAWRENCE,	"	"
Second " J. L. JONES,	"	"
Third " WM. A. METCALF,	"	"
Fourth " C. B. WHITE,	"	"

Band :

Capt. JOHN W. ADAMS, and twelve others.

The following orders were issued on the occasion :

1st. A committee, consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Col. Hugh Mercer, (only surviving son of Gen. Hugh Mercer,) and Messrs. Barton, Conway, Chew and Minor, to meet the remains at the Creek and accompany them to town.

2nd. That the Fredericksburg Guards, accompanied by their Band, attend the committee to the Creek, and perform such evolutions as may be suitable to the occasion.

3rd. That a hearse be prepared to carry the remains through the principal streets of the town.

4th. That minute guns be fired from 10 o'clock, A. M. to 3 o'clock, P. M.

5th. That the bells of the town be tolled from 10 o'clock, A. M. to 3 o'clock, P. M.

All these orders were fully executed, save the third, which, the committee were informed by the Richmond committee, would interfere with previous arrangements, and therefore could not be carried out.

The Mayor concludes his communication with the following remarks.

“Upon no occasion, have we seen the people of this town more disposed to pay honor to the memory of one, for whose transcendent abilities, and undimmed virtues, however they may have differed with him politically, they entertained the utmost reverence. And personally, it gives me great pleasure to say, that upon no occasion in the course of my official duties, have I been more conscious of discharging a duty, than in these offices to the memory of one of the greatest patriots and purest men this country has produced.”



RESOLUTIONS OF “THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND.”

At a meeting of the Council of the City of Richmond, called by the President, and held on Thursday, the 18th day of April, 1850.

Present, Gustavus A. Myers, President, William C. Allen, Jas. Boshier, Joseph M. Carrington, Samuel D. Denoon, Simon Cullen, Wellington Goddin, Conway Robinson, David J. Saunders, James M. Talbott, Richard O. Haskins, and Lewis W. Chamberlayne.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Council—

Whereas, it is understood that the remains of JOHN C. CAL-

HOUN, late a Senator from our sister State of South Carolina, will be brought to this city on Monday afternoon, in charge of a joint committee from his native State, and from the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States; and this Council, being desirous, on the part of the citizens of Richmond, of manifesting every respect to the memory of a man not less distinguished for the purity of his private life than illustrious as a statesman and patriot,

Resolved, That Messrs. Haskins, Chamberlayne and Allen, be a committee on the part of the Council; and Messrs. Loftin, N. Ellett, George E. Sadler, George M. Carrington, James H. Poindexter, James Winston, Hugh Riliegh, Richard B. Haxall, William F. Ritchie, Thomas R. Price, Col. John Rutherford, Nicholas Mills, Judge John S. Caskie, William H. Macfarland, William Rutherford, Mann S. Valentine, Robert G. Scott, and Joseph Mayo, a committee of the citizens of Richmond, to cooperate with any committee that may be appointed by the Executive of this Commonwealth, in making suitable arrangements for the reception of the remains of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN, on their arrival in this city. And that the committee, on behalf of the Council and citizens, be requested to invite the joint committee and all others attending the remains, to consider themselves as the guests of this city.

Resolved, That the said committee of the Council and citizens inform the joint committee thereof, and make the necessary arrangements for their accommodation.

On motion of Mr. Chamberlayne,

Ordered, That the President be added to the committee on the part of the Council.

And then the Council adjourned.

A copy from the journal of the Council.

WM. P. SHEPPARD, C. C. R.

His Excellency, Gov. Floyd, also appointed a Committee to act with the committee of the citizens. At a meeting of the

joint committees, a sub-committee of arrangements was appointed, of which the Hon. John Y. Mason was named the Chairman, and the Hon. John Y. Mason, Gustavus A. Myers, James Lyons and Wm. F. Ritchie, Esquires, were requested to proceed to the Potomac River, and receive those in charge of the remains at the border of the State.

At the request of the Governor, deputations were in attendance from other parts of the State.

The following programme of the arrangements was published in the Richmond papers of Monday morning, 22d April, viz :

ORDER OF PROCESSION,

To be observed on reception of the remains of the late Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, Monday afternoon, the 22d inst.

Military Escort.

The Hearse.

Relations and friends of the deceased, with committees of Congress and South Carolina in charge of the remains.

The Joint Committee of Arrangements, appointed by the Governor, Council and Citizens of Richmond.

The Clergy.

The Governor, Council and Officers of the State.

The Judges of the State and Federal Courts.

Officers of the Army and Navy of the United States.

The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of Richmond.

The different Societies of the City.

The Citizens.

The procession will be formed at 4 o'clock, at a point near the entrance to Buchanan's Spring; its right upon the left of the Military.

The following named gentlemen are appointed as Assistant Marshals: Col. Jno. A. Meredith, Col. Henry W. Quarles, Col. George W. Munford, Col. George N. Johnson, Col. J. W. Spaulding, Major Thomas H. Ellis, Major H. C. Cabell, Capt. R. G.

Scott, Jr. Capt. Thomas J. Evans, B. B. Minor, D. C. Randolph, and Thomas J. Deane, Esqrs.

The Marshals are requested to meet at the Chamberlain's Office at 10 o'clock, on Monday morning.

BENJ. SHEPPARD, Chief Marshal.

The Governor requests the following named gentlemen to act as pall-bearers at the funeral ceremonies of the late Mr. JOHN C. CALHOUN: Messrs. John Y. Mason, James D. Halyburton, Wm. Daniel, John M. Patton, B. W. S. Cabell, J. B. Harvie, Wm. H. Richardson, and John A. Meredith.

PROCEEDINGS AT PETERSBURGH, VA.

From information afforded by the Hon. CHARLES CORLING, Mayor,

Programme of Arrangements, from the Petersburg Papers of 23rd April.

COMMON HALL.

The members of the Common Hall are requested to meet at their room this morning at 10 o'clock, for the purpose of meeting the remains of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, deceased.

April 23.

CHAS. CORLING, Mayor.

The Committee appointed by the Common Hall to arrange the details of the reception of the remains of the lamented patriot and statesman, JOHN C. CALHOUN, report as follows:

1st. That the Common Hall assemble at the Court House at 10 o'clock, A. M., and proceed to the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad depot in a body, and accompany the remains thence to its temporary resting place at the Episcopal Church, on Walnut street.

2nd. That the citizens desirous of uniting in the sad offices of respect to the illustrious dead, be respectfully requested to assemble at the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad depot, at half past 10, A. M. of this day.

3rd. That the commandants of our Volunteer Companies be requested to furnish detachments of their different corps to escort and guard the remains while in our town; that the Artillery Company be requested to fire minute guns, and the bells of the different churches be tolled while the procession is moving.

4th. That the church in which the remains shall be temporarily deposited, be clothed in mourning, and that the citizens be requested to close their doors from half past 11, A. M., when the body will arrive at this place, until the procession shall have passed.

5th. That John F. May, Francis Major, Wm. T. Joynes, Wm. Brownley, H. B. Gaines, James Dunlop, Robert Birchett, Robert R. Collier, John Sturdivant, Jno. W. Syme, Jos. C. Swan, D. M. Bernard, G. V. Scott and Peter P. Batte, committee of citizens, be requested to act with the committee of the Hall, to receive and entertain the Joint Committee of Congress, the committee of the State of South Carolina, and the friends and mourners of the deceased, as guests of the town.

6th. That Jordan Branch, Esq. be appointed Marshal, with authority to appoint assistants.

7th. That the citizens be requested to send their carriages to the depot at half past 10 o'clock.

CHARLES CORLING, }
 ANDREW KEVAN, } Committee.
 THOMAS WALLACE. }

The following extracts from Mr. Corling's letter, will be read with interest.

"I rejoice to say that our entire Magistracy and Common Council, in a body, attended the remains from the Richmond depot; and the citizens with great unanimity, responded to the recommendations of the committee, sanctioned by the people and our Common Hall. The third resolution only contemplated de-

tachments of the Volunteers to protect the procession and guard the remains; but all the Volunteers insisted upon uniting in the last offices of respect to one whose death is felt to be a common loss."

"The Petersburg Grays—Capt Joseph V. Scott.

" Petersburg Artillery—Capt. D'Arcey Paul.

" Cockade Blues—Capt. Robert Downan.

and " Petersburg Riflemen—Capt. James S. Gilliam, constituted the military who took part in the procession.

"We deeply regretted that we could not, by more than mere outward demonstrations of respect, evince to you how deeply we sympathised in South Carolina's and our country's loss. We loved and admired JOHN C. CALHOUN. With a mind that could grasp the affairs of a universe, he possessed a heart that made him ever accessible to the humblest of his fellow citizens. Differ with him as men might, yet all admitted him to be *the man* of the age. The fame of South Carolina will grow prouder in the annals of history, because her glories are linked forever with the memory of her illustrious son."

Marshall.

JORDAN BRANCH, Esq.

Assistant Marshalls.

CHAS. F. COLLIER,	JOHN ROWLETT,
ROBERT FOSTER,	DANIEL DODSON,
G. V. RAMBANT,	FRANKLIN PEGRAM.

The array of equipages both at Richmond and at Petersburg, attracted general attention. Many of them were elegant; all of them in good taste. These were all private equipages, sent by the citizens for the accommodation of the committees, officers, deputations, and others composing the cortege. The coachmen and footmen at both cities were distinguished by long bands of fine white cambric, on black hats, and tied with black ribbons, and by like bands tied around the left arm.

PROCEEDINGS AT WILMINGTON, N. C.

Extract from the Programme of Arrangements.

“A committee of ten, consisting of—

A. J. DE ROSSETT, Sen.	JAMES OWEN,
JAMES F. McREE, Sen.	THOMAS H. WRIGHT,
P. R. DICKINSON,	JOHN WALKER,
WM. C. BETTENCAURT,	THOMAS LORING,
F. J. HILL, of Brunswick,	JAMES IREDELL, of Raleigh,

will proceed up the line of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad, to receive the remains, and escort them on their passage through this place. These gentlemen will also act as Pall-bearers in the procession.

“The citizens generally, are requested to close their stores, to suspend all operations of business, and to meet at the depot at 12 o'clock. There the procession will be formed, under the direction of W. C. Howard, Chief Marshall; receive the remains in open order, and escort them to the foot of Market street, where the boat from Charleston will be in waiting.”

The following gentlemen acted as Marshalls.

Chief Marshall.

WILLIAM C. HOWARD.

Assistant Marshalls.

J. G. GREEN,

E. W. HALL.

Crape was provided by the City for the Clergy, Pall-bearers, and citizens.

The following gentlemen formed the deputations from the City of Wilmington, and the Board of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad company, who accompanied the remains to Charleston, by invitation, viz :

Dr. A. J. DEROSSETT, Sen. Chair. of deputation of Wilmington;
Gen. JAS. OWEN, Chairman of deputation of Railroad Board.

C. W. HULL,	J. T. M'KEE,
R. H. COWAN,	J. G. GREEN,
C. D. ELLIS,	A. A. BROWN,
L. H. MARSTELLER,	Dr. J. SWANN,
E. CANTWELL,	P. M. WALKER,
H. NUTT,	JAS. T. MILLER,
J. FULTON,	H. R. SAVAGE,
M. COSTIN,	Dr. DEROSSETT, Jr.
JOHN COWAN,	WM. C. BETTENCAURT.

MINUTES OF THE FINAL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Charleston, 24th May, 1850. }

At a meeting of the Committee of Twenty-five, appointed by his Excellency the Governor, there were present, Daniel Ravenel, Esq. Chairman, Samuel G. Tupper, Secretary; Messrs. DeSaussure, Huger, Lowndes, Aiken, E. M. Seabrook, Bryan, Moise, Jr. Reynolds, Jr. Torre, Russell, Legare and Edmondston.

The Chairman submitted a communication, received by him from his Excellency Governor Seabrook, requesting him to furnish a narrative of the proceedings of the committee from the time of their departure from Charleston until their return. The Chairman then read a letter in reply, which he had prepared; being a full report of proceedings and incidents connected with the visit of the committee to Washington, in which particular reference was made to the many and imposing solemnities which marked the transit of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN from Washington to Charleston.

Mr. DeSaussure, after expressing his great satisfaction with the report, moved that it be approved of by the committee, and

that the Chairman be requested to place the same in the hands of His Excellency the Governor; which was unanimously adopted,

On motion of Ex-Gov. Aiken, it was

Resolved, That the Chairman be requested to write out and communicate to the Governor, with his report for publication, the addresses made by him at Richmond.

Mr. Moise having expressed a desire to offer a resolution in reference to the Chairman, the Chairman retired, when Alfred Huger, Esq. was called to the Chair. Mr. Moise then offered complimentary resolutions in reference to the Chairman and Chairman *pro tem.* of the committee, which were *unanimously* adopted, and Mr. Huger was requested to transmit them to the Governor.

On the return of the Chairman, Mr. Ravenel, he was impressively addressed by Mr. Huger, and the substance of the above resolutions communicated to him; to which Mr. Ravenel feelingly responded in acknowledgment of the compliment.

Col. Seabrook then offered a resolution of thanks to the Secretary and Treasurer of the committee, which was unanimously adopted, with a request that the Chairman would communicate the same to Governor Seabrook.

The committee then adjourned *sine die*.

S. Y. TUPPER, Secretary.

NOTE.—In compliance with one of the above resolutions, the report of the Committee of Twenty-Five was so modified as to include, as part of the narrative, the several addresses made at Richmond.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

The Chairman having left the room, after the adoption of his report by the committee, the Hon. Alfred Huger was requested to take the Chair.

A. Moise, Jr. Esq., then rose, and solicited for a short time the attention of the committee, as this meeting would, in all probability, be its last. It had been charged with duties the most sacred and responsible. The mission upon which it had been sent by South Carolina, was perhaps the most solemn, delicate and interesting, which she had ever delegated to her sons. That mission had now become a subject of deep historic interest, and the touching incidents associated with it, would not soon fade from the public mind and heart. It was indeed vividly impressed upon both. It was an event in which not only South Carolina, but the whole nation, had manifested an intense interest, and yielded a universal and spontaneous sympathy.

Mr. Moise said that much of the difficulty and responsibility which the duties of the committee involved, had necessarily fallen upon its Chairman, Daniel Ravenel, Esq.; and he would avail of the temporary absence of that gentleman to submit what he felt assured would meet a prompt and cordial response.

Mr. Moise then offered the following resolutions—

Resolved, That the committee appointed by his Excellency the Governor, to convey to South Carolina the remains of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, desire to place on record their high appreciation of the services of their Chairman, Daniel Ravenel, Esq. The entire propriety, and delicacy of sentiment, conspicuous in the discharge of his varied duties, have not failed deeply to impress his colleagues; and the unaffected modesty which graced his whole deportment, while it has increased their estimation of the successful service he has rendered, admonishes them to say no *more* on the present occasion. *Less*, they could not say, in justice to themselves.

Resolved, That the acknowledgments of the committee are also due the Hon. Henry A. DeSaussure, for the zeal, urbanity, and dignity, with which he conducted the duties of Chair, during the necessary absence of the Chairman.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be sent by the Secretary to the Hon. Alfred Huger, with the request that they be

transmitted to his Excellency the Governor for publication, with the report of Daniel Ravenel, Esq.

The resolutions were seconded by Col. P. Della Torre, and unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL Y. TUPPER, Secretary.

CHARLESTON, May, 1850.

CHARLESTON, June 1st, 1850.

Dear Sir :—At the last meeting of the Committee of Twenty-five, the preamble and resolutions herewith enclosed, were, during the temporary absence of Mr. Ravenel, unanimously adopted.

The committee have instructed me to request that these resolutions be appended to the "Narrative" of our mournful mission; a document which is submitted to your Excellency by your own desire.

I have the honor to be,
with great respect,
Your obd't. serv't.

ALFRED HUGER.

His Excellency, Gov. Seabrook.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
FUNERAL HONORS
PAID TO THE HON. J. C. CALHOUN,
AT CHARLESTON, S. C.

On the evening of the 31st March, 1850, telegraphic dispatches from Washington announced the death of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, at the seat of Government. The next day, when the intelligence became generally known, the dejection that dwelt upon the countenances of all, revealed the public sense of the deep calamity that had fallen upon the country; a settled gloom rested upon the city of Charleston; the busy operations of life were suspended, and the heart of the whole community seemed for awhile to stand still. The bells of St. Michael's Church were tolled throughout the day, and the shipping in harbor displayed their colors at half mast; the melancholy truth was apparent that CALHOUN was no more!

All that now remained for an afflicted people, was to endeavor to clothe the public sentiment of love and veneration for his memory, with those external demonstrations of respect to all that was mortal, commensurate with his exalted virtue and public service.

The City Council immediately convened, when the sad intelligence was officially communicated by the Mayor, and the following resolutions unanimously adopted.

“*Resolved*, That Council have heard with feelings of deep emotion, the death of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, in whose decease the country has lost a patriot, distinguished by long and illustrious service, and the State a cherished and devoted son.

“*Resolved*, That in token of respect to the eminent abilities and elevated virtues of the deceased, a suitable monument be forthwith erected to his memory in the centre of the city square, and that a committee of Council, of which his Honor the Mayor shall be Chairman, be appointed to carry out the intention of this resolution.

“*Resolved*, That a committee of Council be also appointed to co-operate, if desired, with any committee of citizens that may be appointed to-morrow evening, in making all proper and necessary arrangements for the reception of the body of the deceased, as well as in paying other suitable marks of respect to his memory.

“*Resolved*, That the Mayor be requested to communicate these resolutions to the family of the deceased, tendering to them the sympathies of Council in this, their afflicting bereavement.”

The next evening, the 2nd April, pursuant to a call at the desire of the citizens, a public meeting was held at the City Hall. Long before the appointed hour, a dense crowd, representing all classes and interests, thronged the hall. The meeting was organized by the call of the Hon. T. L. Hutchinson, Mayor of the city, to the chair, and the appointment of F. P. Porcher and H. P. Walker, Esqrs. Secretaries. The Chairman thus announced the object of the meeting.

“*Fellow Citizens* :—The occasion that draws us together is the saddest that has ever darkened the hearts of Carolinians. A great affliction has befallen the land; an especial calamity has overshadowed us. A nation mourns, but ours is the peculiar grief. CALHOUN is no more! The foremost spirit of the time has been quenched forever. The incorruptible patriot, the

statesman without guile ; the orator upon whose accents Senates hung in silence ; the honest politician, whose love of country taught him to forget the love of self ; the public man who, with every incentive and every opportunity for personal aggrandizement, scorned all ways as unsanctified, that swerved one hair's breadth from truth and rectitude ; who devoted a life of forty years to the service of his country, moving in an independant sphere, for it may justly be said, that he was allied to no political sect, but held himself aloof, to stand forth when duty called him to sway by his reason and his judgment, the impulses of the hour to the right course ; and amid the perils and contentions of forty years, the strife of party and the asperity of prejudice, has left a spotless fame, and a career that makes ambition virtue.

“ He was the defender of Southern rights, the guardian of the Constitution, an ardent lover of the Union ; his searching foresight first detected in their remotest depths those evils which he foretold would arise to endanger the political bands that secure this Confederacy—and whose shadows now darkening around and above us, have endowed him with a prophet's vision ; whose dying words, spoken as if from the tomb, have pointed the means whereby these dangers may be averted, and the peace and harmony of the country restored—his last legacy to the people and the Union he loved so well.

“The death of Mr. CALHOUN is an affliction that comes directly home to “men's business and bosoms ;” at this parlicular period, when the eyes of all men were upon him, and the hopes of the South rested in him, as an ark amid the political blackness lowering around, this dispensation of Providence comes with stunning effect. He has left his life as a model, his precepts as our guide. High as is the estimate of his ability and public service, he stands too near us to permit his intellect and its effects upon the age, to be vlewed in all its noble proportions—time will place future generations in the proper position to survey him with just admiration. He belongs to posterity ; but even now, since death has veiled the mortal man, he appears to the mental eye like some great statue of antiquity—classic in outline, digni-

fied in posture, majestic and serene—his purity gleaming from the lustre of the marble, and standing in bold relief against the blue of heaven.

“He has taken his place among the master spirits of the universe, sent for some wise end, whose mission is to be achieved. “Though dead he yet speaketh.” The work allotted to him by his Divine master may be left unfinished, but the foundation is traced, the structure designed, the influence of his mind and its deep-seated wisdom remains—the future will confirm that he is one of

“The dead but scepter’d sovereigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.”

“The annals of his country, for nearly a half century, are his biography. His proper eulogy belongs to the historian, who has only to recount with truthfulness the actions of his life, in their public and private relations, to shew to the world the excellence of the gift bestowed by God, and the reasonableness of a nation’s grief that deplores his loss.

“The object of the present meeting is to give expression to the bereavement felt by this community, and to adopt such measures of respect to his memory as the occasion demands.”

The Hon. F. H. ELMORE, laboring under severe indisposition, addressed himself briefly to the subject of the meeting, and moved the adoption of the following Preamble and Resolutions.

The citizens of Charleston, in common with the people of the whole State of South Carolina, feel that an irreparable misfortune has befallen us in the death of our Senator JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. He has been endeared to us by more than forty years of faithful services, first in our State Legislature, and afterward in the Federal Government. In all that time, and on all occasions of public need, when his State or his country called (and on no great emergency did they fail to do so) he put every object of personal or selfish advantage aside, and surrendered himself wholly to the public good.

To us, to South Carolina—we all know he gave the unlimited devotion of his pure heart. To us, and to his whole country,

in common, he yielded, with prodigality, all the capacities of his mighty mind ; a wisdom gained in the deepest study of our Constitution and system of government, and ripened by his own long experience and reflections on its administration ; a knowledge of national and State affairs, and of their relations with great measures and interests, unsurpassed ; abilities pre-eminent in every department of governmental science, and our internal policy ; and a statesmanship and sagacity far-seeing, profound, comprehensive and patriotic.

Honesty, candor and truthfulness, imparted to these great and shining qualities, a higher power and wider influence over the opinions of his countrymen and the policy of their government, than even his brilliant genius and commanding intellect. And this power and influence so honorably acquired, was ever as usefully employed, on all domestic questions, in the side of justice, moderation and constitutional right ; and in our relations with Foreign Powers, for the maintenance of our National honor, and the preservation of peace with all nations of the world.

By the use he made of his great capacities, Mr. CALAOUN has run up a heavy debt on his country, and on mankind—a debt which will be more and more felt and acknowledged in the progress of future times. The lessons of his wisdom and the lights of his knowledge cannot now be lost. They will guide, not only our own and other times, but our own and other nations. Although he has gone from us forever, these and his example remain—a great example of forty years in the affairs of life—forty eventful and trying years, in which, while discharging many high public trusts, and fulfilling the duties of the home circle, as the father of a family, friend and neighbor, there is not a blot or stain upon his purity or uprightness as a public man or private citizen ; no reproach for backwardness or doubt in assuming the position of duty, or of slackness or want of firmness or fidelity in maintaining it.

In all that long period, he was ever in the advanced front of every great national question, and maintained openly and manfully, on all occasions, what he deemed right, with a courage that

was never subdued or gave way. In his private life, he was deserving of all commendation for the simplicity and frugality of his style of living; for his modest and hearty hospitality; for his constant and active industry. He was no less deserving of admiration in public affairs, for his high resolve and unconquerable spirit. And above all others, in this last act, which is just finished, has he, at a moment and in a cause where such an example has inappreciable value, given us a lesson of patriotism and of exalted courage, far more heroic than a thousand deaths in the field of battle, in calmly and resolutely surrendering his life, through the slow process of months and months of wasting disease, rather than abandon the post where the call of duty stationed him. Be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the citizens of Charleston, deplore the death of our Senator, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, as a heavy and irreparable public misfortune.

Resolved, That we concur in the arrangements made by the City Council for the reception of the body of Mr. CALHOUN, and that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to appoint a committee, to consist of twenty-five persons, to proceed to Washington, to procure and bring his remains to Charleston, and to co-operate in all other measures for their final disposition.

Resolved, That this meeting also highly approve the resolution of the City Council to erect a monument to his memory in the city square, as a fitting tribute to a faithful and illustrious public servant.

Resolved, That the City Council of Charleston be requested to select some fit and proper person to prepare and deliver an eulogy and funeral oration on the life, character, and services of Mr. CALHOUN.

Resolved, That this meeting recommend that the usual badge of mourning be worn by all for thirty days.

Resolved, That this meeting deeply sympathise with the family of Mr. CALHOUN in their affliction and loss; and that the Chairman of this meeting be requested to forward them copies of these proceedings.

His Excellency Governor Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, in seconding the motion of the Hon. F. H. Elmore, feelingly alluded to the loss the State had sustained.

The meeting was then eloquently addressed by the Hon. B. F. Porter and Col. Arthur P. Hayne, when the question was taken, and the preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

O. A. Andrews, Esq. rose and felicitously alluded to the assiduous attention paid by the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and other friends, to our deceased Senator, during his last illness; and moved the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That the devoted attention and active sympathy which marked the course of the Hon. Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, and other friends, to our deceased Senator, have excited our profound sensibility. We feel that in ministering to *him*, they have also ministered to us. We will cherish these offices of kindness to our departed statesman in grateful recollection.

Which was also unanimously adopted.

In accordance with the 2nd resolution adopted at the public meeting, his Excellency, the Governor, appointed the following Committee of Twenty-five :

DANIEL RAVENEL, *Chairman*,

H. W. Conner,	John E. Carew,
H. A. DeSaussure,	Col. James Gadsden,
James Legare,	C. G. Memminger,
E. M. Seabrook,	C. T. Lowndes,
James Rose,	P. Della Torre,
Henry Gourdin,	Thos. Lehre,
Alfred Huger,	Col. A. P. Hayne,
S. Y. Tupper,	Chas. Edmondston,
W. M. Martin,	A. G. Magrath,
P. C. Gaillard,	A. Moise, Jr.
William Aiken,	G. N. Reynolds,
G. A. Trenholm,	John Russell.

* The duties assigned to this committee, and the completeness with which they were performed, are detailed in the interesting report of the Chairman of the committee.

On the 5th April the City Council again assembled, and in conformity with the 4th resolution, adopted at the public meeting of citizens, appointed General Hammond to deliver the funeral oration on the life, character and services of Mr. CALHOUN. The following communication was then read :

CHARLESTON, April 5th, 1850.

To the Honorable the

Mayor and Aldermen :

*Gentlemen :—*At a meeting, held this day, of the Committee of Twenty-five, appointed by his Excellency, the Governor, to proceed to Washington to receive and bring home the remains of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN, the following resolution was adopted, which is respectfully submitted for the consideration and action of your honorable body :

Resolved, That as it has been communicated to this committee that the Senate of the United States has made a special deputation to attend the body of Mr. CALHOUN to the State of South Carolina, the Chairman of this committee be requested to communicate this information to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Charleston ; and that in consequence of this information, it be respectfully suggested to the City Council to appoint a committee from the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, to co-operate with the committee of Council, in reference to such arrangements as may be necessary in connection with the expected arrival of the body of Mr. CALHOUN:

DANIEL RAVENEL, Chairman.

Whereupon the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the Mayor appoint a committee of forty citizens of the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, to co-operate with the committee from Council, in making all necessary arrangements for the reception of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN.

The following resolutions were also severally moved and adopted :

Resolved, That in the opinion of Council, the city of Charleston, the chief metropolis of the State, may, with propriety, ask for herself the distinction of being selected as the final resting

place of the illustrious CALHOUN; and that the Mayor, in behalf of Council and the citizens of Charleston, be requested to communicate with the family of the deceased, and earnestly entreat that the remains of him we loved so well should be permitted to repose among us.

Resolved, That the Mayor be further requested to communicate with his Excellency, the Governor of the State, and respectfully solicit his co-operation in this matter.

Resolved, That his Honor the Mayor, by proclamation, request the citizens of Charleston to suspend all business on the day of the arrival of the remains of our late Senator, JOHN C. CALHOUN, in order that every citizen may be able to pay a last tribute of respect to him who served us so long, so faithfully, and so well.

In conformity with the resolutions adopted by the City Council, the following committee of citizens was appointed to co-operate with the committee from Council in making all arrangements incident to the occasion.

Chan. B. F. Dunkin,
 Hon. E. Frost,
 Hon. J. S. Ashe,
 Hon. W. D. Porter,
 Hon. W. J. Grayson,
 N. Heyward,
 James Simons,
 D. E. Huger, junr.
 Nelson Mitchell,
 F. D. Richardson,
 W. H. Houston,
 J. L. Petigru,
 F. Lanneau,
 I. W. Hayne,
 W. B. Pringle,
 W. C. Dukes,
 Jno. Rutledge,
 Gen. Schmierle,
 T. Tupper,
 Robert Adger,
 G. N. Reynolds,
 W. M. Lawton,

E. Sebring,
 Robert Martin,
 David Lopez,
 Dr. Bellinger,
 J. H. Ladson,
 And. McDowall,
 A. J. White,
 W. J. Bennett,
 R. N. Gourdin,
 J. F. Blacklock,
 M. C. Mordecai,
 Wm. Lloyd,
 Wm. Middleton,
 S. J. Wagner,
 Wm. Bird,
 Dr. T. Y. Simons,
 G. S. Bryan,
 R. W. Hare,
 Alex. Gordon,
 Dr. Horlbeck,
 E. L. Kerrison,
 Chas. Brennan.

The committee on the part of the City Council were Aldermen Banks, Gilliland, Porcher, McNellage, and Drummond.

The committees at once entered upon the varied duties assigned them—they divided themselves into sub-committees, each charged with its specific duty. The magnitude of the arrangements, the short period of time allowed for their completion, and the ultimate success that crowned the whole when put into action, attest the energy, zeal, and correct taste exercised on the occasion. A chief Marshal, A. G. Magrath, Esq., twelve Marshals and twelve assistant Marshals, were appointed to prepare and arrange the order of Procession. A special Guard of Honor, Col. A. O. Andrews, Chairman, was nominated, charged with the duty of being in constant attendance on the remains, to render all necessary aid in their removal, from the time of their arrival to their deposit in the City Hall. A committee, consisting of two hundred of some of the most respected citizens, the venerable Jacob Bond Pon, Chairman, was also appointed to serve as an Honorary Guard over the remains while they lay in state in the City Hall, and to distribute themselves into separate watches during the night.

In various parts of the State, public meetings were held expressive of the general grief, and deputations appointed to repair to Charleston to participate in the funeral ceremonies—to these deputations the hospitalities of the city of Charleston were tendered, through the municipal authorities, and committees appointed to meet them on their arrival and provide for their comfort.

The Directors of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad tendered a free passage along their line, and the Steamers of the Company, to the committee appointed by the Executive of South Carolina—the friends and relatives of the deceased, and the funeral cortege that should accompany the remains—the States through which the Body was to pass on its homeward way seemed with one accord to rise up and do reverence to his memory.

The boom of the signal gun over the waters of Charleston harbor, on the morning of the 25th of April, announced that the mortal remains of Carolina's great Statesman were approaching their

native shores to receive the last honors of a mourning people. At 12 m., the steamer *Nina*, bearing the Body, touched Smith's wharf—on board were the committee of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, the committee of citizens from Wilmington, North Carolina, the committee of twenty-five from South Carolina, and the subcommittee of arrangements. The revenue cutter *Gallatin*, the steamers *Metamora* and *Pilot*, acting as an escort, with colors at half mast and draped in mourning, lay in her wake. Profound silence reigned around—no idle spectator loitered on the spot—the curiosity incident to the hour was merged into a deep feeling of respect, that evinced itself by being present only where that sentiment could with most propriety be displayed. The solemn minute gun—the wail of the distant bell, the far off spires shrouded in the drapery of grief—the hearse and its attendant mourners waiting on the spot, alone bore witness that the pulse of life still beat within the city—that a whole people in voiceless woe were about to receive and consign to earth all that was mortal of a great and good citizen. The arrangements for landing having been made, the committee of Reception advanced, and through its Chairman tendered a welcome, and the hospitalities of the city, to the committee of citizens from Wilmington, North Carolina—to which the Chairman of that committee feelingly responded. The body, enclosed in an iron case, partially shaped to the form, was then borne by the Guard of Honor (clad in deep mourning, with white silk scarfs across the shoulder,) from the boat to the magnificent funeral Car drawn up to receive it; the pall prepared of black velvet, edged with heavy silk fringe, and enflounced in silver, with the escutcheon of the State of South Carolina in the centre and four corners, was spread over it. The Pall Bearers, composed of twelve Ex-Governors and Lt. Governors of the State, arranged themselves at the sides of the Car, the procession advanced preceded by a military escort of three companies, the German Fusiliers, Washington Light Infantry, and Marion Artillery, under the command of Captain Manigault. The various committees and family of the deceased followed in carriages, the dri-

vers and footmen clad in mourning, with hatbands and scarfs of white crape. In this order the funeral train slowly moved forward to the sound of muffled drums to the Citadel square, the place assigned in the arrangements made where the committee from the Senate of the United States would surrender the remains under their charge to the Executive of South Carolina, and the funeral procession proceed to the City Hall.

At the Citadel a most imposing spectacle was presented. The entire front and battlements were draped in mourning, and its wide portal heavily hung with black—the spacious area on the South was densely filled with the whole military force of the city drawn up in proper array; at different points, respectively assigned them, stood the various orders of Free Masons, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Sons of Temperance, the Order of Rechabites, in their rich regalia, the different Fire Companies in uniform, the various Societies and Associations—the pupils of public and private schools with their tutors, bearing banners inscribed with the names of the several States of the confederacy, their arms and mottoes. The Seamen with their Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Yates, bearing a banner with this inscription “The Children of Old Ocean mourn for him”—and citizens on horse and foot. The most perfect order prevailed, no sound was heard, but the subdued murmur of the collected thousands. At the appointed hour the funeral Car slowly entered the grounds from the east, and halted before the gates of the Citadel; the hush of death brooded over all as the hearse towering aloft, its mourning curtains waving in air revealed to the assembled multitude the sarcophagus reposing within.

In the centre of the square, and directly fronting the gates of the Citadel, stood the Governor of the State, attended by the members of the Senate and House of Representatives and the Delegates from different sections of the State. On the right the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, habited in deep mourning, their wands of office bound with crape; on the left, the Rev'd. the Clergy of all denominations. In front of the funeral car were arranged the various committees who had attended the removal of

the remains from the seat of Government ; at the proper moment they slowly advanced with heads uncovered, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. Senate, with his golden rod, to the spot occupied by the Governor and Suite. Alderman Banks, Chairman of the Committee of Reception, stood forth, and announced to the Governor the presence of the Hon. Mr. Mason, Chairman of the Senate's Committee, who, with a manner deeply solemn and impressive, thus surrendered his sacred trust.

“ Governor Seabrook :

“The Senate of the United States by its order has deputed a committee of six Senators, to bring back the remains of their colleague, your illustrious statesman, JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, to his native State. He fell in the fullness of his fame, without stain or blot, without fear and without reproach, a martyr to the great and holy cause to which his life had been devoted, the safety and equality of the Southern States in their federal alliance.

It is no disparagement to your State or her people, to say their loss is irreparable, for CALHOUN was a man of a century ; but to the entire South, the absence of his counsels can scarcely be supplied : with a judgment stern, with decided and indomitable purpose, there was united a political and moral purity, that threw around him an atmosphere which nothing unholy could breathe and yet live. But, sir, I am not sent here to eulogise your honored dead ; that has been already done in the Senate House, with the memories of his recent triumphs there clustering around us, and by those far abler than I. It is our melancholy duty only, which I have performed on behalf of the committee of the Senate, to surrender all that remains of him on earth to the State of South Carolina, and having done this, our mission is ended. We shall return to our duties in the Senate, and those performed, to our separate and distant homes, bearing with us the treasured memory of his exalted worth and the great example of his devoted and patriotic life.”

Mr. Mason having concluded, Governor Seabrook responded :

“I receive, Mr. Chairman, with the deepest emotions, the mortal remains of him for whom South Carolina entertained an un-

bounded affection. Implicitly relying on the faithful exercise of his great moral and intellectual endowments, on no occasion, for a period of about forty years, which constituted indeed his whole political life, did her confidence in him suffer the slightest abatement. Although the spirit that animated its tenement of clay now inhabits another and a purer mansion, yet the name of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN will live while time shall be permitted to endure. That name is printed in indelible characters on the hearts of those whose feelings and opinions he so truly reflected, and will forever be fondly cherished, not only by his own countrymen, but by every human being who is capable of appreciating the influence of a gigantic intellect, unceasingly incited by the dictates of wisdom, virtue and patriotism.

“In the name of the people of the State he so dearly loved, I tender, through you, to the Senate of the United States, their warmest acknowledgments for the honors conferred by that distinguished body on the memory of our illustrious statesman; and, by this committee, I ask their acceptance of their heartfelt gratitude for the very kind and considerate manner in which, gentlemen, the melancholy yet honorable task assigned you has been executed.

“The first of April, 1850, exhibited a scene in the halls of the Federal Congress remarkable for its moral sublimity. On that day, the North and the South, the East and the West, together harmoniously met at the altar consecrated to the noblest affections of our nature, and moved by a common impulse, portrayed in strains of fervid eloquence, before the assembled wisdom of the land, the character and services of him around whose bier we are assembled. To every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, whose voice was heard on that solemn occasion, South Carolina proffers the right hand of fellowship.

“I trust it will not be considered a departure from the strictest rules of propriety, to say to an honorable member of Congress before me, that the Palmetto State owes him a debt of gratitude which, at her bidding, and in obedience to my own feelings, I am imperatively summoned at this time to liquidate in part.—

From the first day of Mr. CALHOUN'S protracted illness, to the moment when death achieved his victory, you, Mr. Venable, were rarely absent from his bed-side. With the anxious solicitude of a devoted friend, you ministered to his wants, and watched the reflux of that noble stream whose fertilizing powers were about to be buried in the great ocean of eternity. For services so disinterested, spontaneously bestowed by a stranger, I offer the tribute of thanks, warm, from overflowing hearts."

Mr. VENABLE replied :

"The manner in which your Excellency has been pleased to refer to the attention which I was enabled to bestow on our illustrious friend, has deeply affected my heart. It is but the repeated expression of the feelings of the people of Charleston, on the same subject, contained in a resolution which has reached me, and for which manifestation of kindness, I now return to you and to them my most sincere and heartfelt thanks. Nothing has so fully convinced me of the extended popularity, I should rather say, feeling of veneration, towards the statesman, whose death has called us together to-day, as the high estimate which you and your people have placed upon the services of an humble friend. Sir, the impulses of humanity would have demanded nothing less, and that man is more than rewarded who is permitted to soothe the pain or alleviate the suffering of a philosopher, sage, patriot, and statesman, so exalted above his cotemporaries, that were we not admonished by his subjection to the invasion of disease and death, we might well doubt whether he did not belong to a superior race. To be even casually associated with his memory, in the gratitude of a State, is more than a reward for any services which I could render him. Sir, as his life was a chronicle of instructive events, so his death but furnished a commentary on that life. It is said of Hampden, when in the agonies of death, rendered most painful by the nature of his wound, that he exclaimed—'O God of my fathers, save, save my country !'" thus breathing the desire of his soul on earth into the vestibule of the court of heaven. So our illustrious friend, but a few hours before his departure, employed the last effort in

which he was enabled to utter more than a single sentence, saying, 'If I had my health and strength to devote one hour to my country in the Senate, I could do more than in my whole life.'—He is gone! and when, in my passage here, I saw the manifestations of deep feeling, of heartfelt veneration, in Virginia and my own Carolina, I felt as one making a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father, whose sad heart was cheered by spontaneous testimonials of the merits of the one he loved and honored. But when, with this morning's dawn, I approached your harbor and saw the city in the peaceful rest of the Sabbath, heard not the stroke of a hammer or the hum of voices engaged in the business of life; when, from the deck of the steamer, in the midst of your harbor, I could descry the habiliments of mourning which consecrated your houses; the stillness—the solemn stillness—spoke a language that went to my heart. But when, added to this, I behold this vast multitude of mourners, I exclaim: 'A people's tears water the dust of one who loved and served them.' No military fame was his; he never set a squadron in the field. The death of the civilian and patriot who loved his country, and his whole country, gave rise to this great demonstration of sorrow and regard. Permit me again to assure your Excellency and the people of Charleston, and of South Carolina, that I shall ever cherish, as one of the dearest recollections of my life, the expressions of kindness which have been made to me as the friend and the companion in the sick chamber of JOHN C. CALHOUN. His society and his friendship were more than a compensation for any attentions which any man could bestow. Such were his gifts, that whether in sickness or in health, no man retired from a conversation with him who was not greatly his debtor. By the courtesies of this day and the association of my name with his, I am both his debtor and yours; the sincere acknowledgment of which, I tender to your Excellency, requesting that it may be received by you, both for yourself and the people whose sovereignty you represent."

Governor Seabrook now turned to the Hon. T. Leger Hutchinson, Mayor of the city, and said—

“ *Mr. Mayor* :—I commit to your care these precious remains. After the solemn ceremonies of the day, I request that you put over them a Guard of Honor, until the hour shall arrive to consign them to their temporary resting place.”

To which the Mayor replied—

“ *Gov. Seabrook* :—As the organ of the corporation of the city of Charleston, I receive from you, with profound emotion, the mortal remains of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN—a sacred trust, confided to us, to be retained until the desire of the people of South Carolina, expressed through their constituted authorities, shall be declared respecting their final resting place.”

The ceremony of the reception of the body from the hands of the Senatorial committee by the Executive of the State being over, the members constituting the civic and military portions of the solemn pageant were, with consummate skill, arranged in their respective positions by the Chief Marshal and his assistants. With order and precision each department fell into its allotted place, and the whole mass moved onward, a vast machine, obeying, with perfect motion, the impulse given by the directing power.

The gates opening from the Citadel square upon Boundary street, (the name since changed to Calhoun street,) through which the procession passed, were supported on each side by Palmetto trees, draped in mourning; from the branches which over-arched the gate-way hung the escutcheon of the State; between the folds of funeral cloth, in which it was enveloped, appeared the inscription—“ Carolina mourns.” The following was the order and route of procession as laid down in the programme of the Marshals.

Marshal.

Music.

Cavalry.

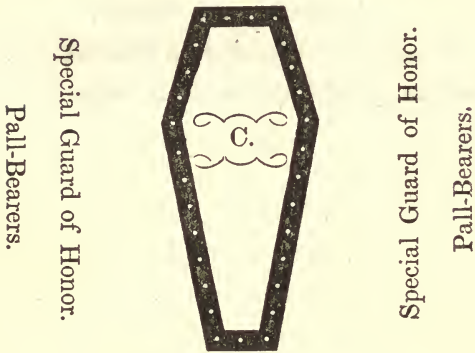
Detachment of U. S. Troops from Fort Moultrie, under
Col. Irwin.

Troops of the 4th Brigade.

Marshal.

Sub-Committee of Ten.

Mayor and Aldermen of the City.
Funeral Car with the Body.



Family of the deceased.
Senate Committee, and Committee of House of Representatives.
Committee of Twenty-five.
Committee of Pendleton.
Committee of Forty, and other Committees in attendance on
the Body.
Marshal.
Music.
His Excellency the Governor, and Suite.
Foreign Consuls.
Civil and Military Officers of the United States.
Civil and Military Officers of the State of South Carolina.
Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.
Revolutionary Officers and Soldiers.
Surviving Officers and members of Palmetto Regiment.
Committees and Delegates from South Carolina, and other
States.
Marshal.
Music.
Fire Department.
Marshal.
Music.

Professors and Students of the Colleges of the State and City.

Teachers and scholars of High Schools, and of private
Academies and Schools.

Teachers and Scholars of Free Schools.

Instructors and Children of the Orphan House.

Marshal.

Music.

St. Andrew's Society.

St. George's Society.

South Carolina Society.

Charleston Library Society.

Fellowship Society.

German Friendly Society.

The Cincinnati.

The '76 Association.

St. Patrick's Benevolent Society.

New England Society.

Charleston Port Society.

Hibernian Society.

Medical Society.

Hebrew Orphan Society.

Mechanics' Society.

Charleston Marine Society.

Typographical Society.

Charleston Chamber of Commerce.

Hebrew Benevolent Society.

French Benevolent Society.

South Carolina Mechanics Association.

Methodist Benevolent Society.

The Bible Society.

4th of July Association.

The Irish Mutual Benevolent Society.

Marshal.

Music.

Order of Ancient Free Masons.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

Order of the Sons of Temperance.

Independent order of Rechabites.

Marshal.

Temperance Societies.

Marshal.

Music.

Captains of Vessels.

Seamen in Port.

Marshal.

Citizens of the State, and adjoining States.

Marshal.

Citizens on Horseback.

The procession moved from the Citadel square down Boundary to King Street, down King Street to Hasell, through Hasell to Meeting street, down Meeting to South Bay Battery, along the Battery to East Bay, up East Bay to Broad Street to the City Hall.

Along the streets through which the procession passed, the public and private buildings and Temples of worship were draped with mourning, the windows and doors of the houses were closed, and no one was seen to gaze upon the spectacle ; it seemed that those who did not participate directly in the obsequies, were mourning within.

When the head of the escort reached the City Hall, it halted ; the troops formed into line on the South side of Broad Street, facing the City Hall. The funeral car, drawn by six horses, ca-

parisoned in mourning trappings that touched the ground, each horse attended by a groom clad in black, slowly moved along the line until it reached the front steps of the City Hall. The division composing the procession then passed through the space intervening between the body and the military, with heads uncovered—the Marshals having the respective divisions in charge, dismounted, and leading their horses, proceeded to the points where the divisions were to be dismissed. When the last division had passed through, the body was then removed from the funeral car by the Guard of Honor, borne up the steps, and received at the threshold of the City Hall by the Mayor and Aldermen; it was then deposited within the magnificent catafalque prepared for its reception.

Here the body remained in state until the next day, under the special charge of the Honorary Guard of two hundred citizens, who kept watch at intervals during the day and night. Thousands of citizens and strangers of all sexes, ages and conditions in life, repaired to the City Hall to pay their tribute of respect to the illustrious dead; the most perfect propriety and decorum prevailed; the incessant stream of visitors entered by the main doors, passed upward to the catafalque, ascended, gazed upon the sarcophagus resting within, and in silence retired through the passage in the rear. The iron case that enshrined the body, and the tomb-shaped structure upon which it lay, were covered with flowers, the offerings of that gentler sex, who in sorrow had lingered around its precincts.

The ceremonies of the day completed, the various deputations and committees of this and other States, who had repaired to the city in performance of the mournful duties assigned them, were invited to the Council Chamber, where the hospitalities of the city were tendered by the municipal authorities; they were afterwards escorted to the lodgings provided for them by the committees appointed for the purpose. The committee from the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States repaired to the head quarters of his Excellency, Gov. Seabrook,

where they were received and entertained as the guests of South Carolina during their stay.

The next day, the 26th of April, was appointed for the removal of the remains to the tomb. At early dawn the bells resumed their toll; business remained suspended, and all the evidences of public mourning were continued.

At 10 o'clock, a civic procession, under the direction of the Marshals, having been formed, the body was then removed from the catafalque in the City Hall, and borne on a bier by the guard of honor to St. Philip's Church; on reaching the church, which was draped in deepest mourning, the cortege proceeded up the centre aisle to a stand covered with black velvet, upon which the bier was deposited. After an anthem sung by a full choir, the Right Rev. Dr. Gadsden, Bishop of the Diocese, with great feeling and solemnity read the burial service, to which succeeded an eloquent funeral discourse by the Rev. Mr. Miles. The holy rites ended, the body was again borne by the guard of honor to the Western cemetery of the church, to the tomb erected for its temporary abode, a solid structure of Masonry raised above the surface, and lined with cedar wood. Near by, pendent from the tall spar that supported it, drooped the flag of the Union, its folds mournfully sweeping the verge of the tomb, as swayed by the passing wind. Wrapped in the pall that first covered it on reaching the shores of Carolina, the iron coffin, with its sacred trust, was lowered to its resting place, and the massive marble slab, simply inscribed with the name of "CALHOUN," adjusted to its position. The lingering multitude then slowly passed from the burial ground—

"And we left him alone with his glory."

The last offices of respect and veneration, such as no man ever received from the hearts and hands of Carolinians, had been rendered, but it was felt by all that no monument could be raised too high for his excellence, no record too enduring for his virtue.

"Tanto nomini nullum par elogium."

For many weeks after the interment, the marble that covered the tomb was daily strewn with roses and other fragrant flowers, and vases containing such, and filled with water freshly renewed, were placed around, the spontaneous offerings of the people. An oak, the emblem of his strength of character, was planted at the foot, and a willow, whose branches soon drooped over the grave, became a type of the general sorrow.

T. L. HUTCHINSON, *Mayor of Charleston.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF CHARLESTON, IN RELATION TO THE DISPOSAL OF THE BODY OF MR. CALHOUN

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
April 5th, 1850. }

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That in the opinion of Council, the city of Charleston—the chief metropolis of the State—may, with propriety, ask for herself the distinction of being selected as the final resting place of the illustrious CALHOUN. And that his Honor, the Mayor, in behalf of Council and the citizens of Charleston, be requested to communicate with the family of the deceased, and earnestly entreat that the remains of him whom we loved so well should be permitted to repose amongst us.

Resolved, That the Mayor be further requested to communicate with his Excellency, the Governor of the State, and respectfully solicit his co-operation in this matter.

From the minutes.

JAMES C. NORRIS, Clerk of Council.

To his Excellency,

Governor Seabrook.

TO T. L. HUTCHINSON, IN RELATION TO THE TEMPORARY DEPOSITE OF MR. CALHOUN'S REMAINS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
Edisto Island, April 15, 1850. }

Hon. T. Leger Hutchinson,

SIR: In my letter to you, of the 10th inst. I stated my resolution concerning the disposal of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, on their arrival in this State.

Mr. Gourdin, on the part of the citizens of Charleston, and Mr. Banks, of the City Council, having called on me to reiterate the ardent desire of the people of your city, that the body of our illustrious statesman should temporarily be deposited in the metropolis, there to await the final action of the Legislature, it is only necessary for me to assure you, that to the wish of the sons of Mr. CALHOUN, now, I believe, in Charleston, I shall most cheerfully assent. To them, therefore, I re-refer the delicate matter, in the firm persuasion that their decision will meet with universal approval.

As germane to the subject, it is proper I should repeat what I personally said to you, that whatever arrangements may be made by the people and authorities of Charleston, will be acceptable to me, without any interference on my part. I submit the mode and manner of accomplishing the object in view to their judgment.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient serv't.

WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

FROM LIEUT. W. G. DESAUSSURE, TENDERING THE SERVICES OF THE WASHINGTON ARTILLERY TO GUARD THE REMAINS OF MR. CALHOUN ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON, April 15th, 1850.

To his Excellency, W. B. Seabrook,

Governor of the State of South Carolina:

SIR: Understanding that in the reception of the remains of Mr. CALHOUN, the military of this place will be called upon to

participate in the solemn ceremonies, I beg leave respectfully to tender to you as a Guard of Honor, during the night that the remains will rest in Charleston, the Washington Artillery.

I remain, sir, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

WIMOT G. DESAUSSURE,

Lieut. Comd'g. Washington Artillery.

CHARLESON, 6th May, 1850.

Dear Sir :—At a meeting of the congregation of St. Philip's Church, held yesterday, the 5th inst. the following resolution was unanimously adopted, which I take great pleasure in sending to you :

“ *Resolved*, That the Vestry are hereby authorized to grant to the State the lot or square of land in our cemetery now occupied by the tomb of Mr. CALHOUN, if it be determined upon as his burial place ; and are requested to make no charge for its occupation temporarily for the deposite of his remains, should they be removed.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS G. PRIOLEAU.

Chair'n. of the Vestry of St. Philip's Church.

To Robert N. Gourdin,

Chairman Sub-Committee, &c.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA IN RELATION TO THE DEATH OF MR. CALHOUN.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
Harrisburg, April 22d, 1850. }

To His Excellency W. B. Seabrook,

Governor of the State of South Carolina.

Dear Sir :—The accompanying Resolutions of the Legislature of this State have been presented to me for transmission to your

Excellency, with a request that the same be communicated to the Legislature of South Carolina.

In performing this duty, allow me to express my personal regard for the social and public virtues of the illustrious deceased, and my deep sense of the great loss which this dispensation of Providence has inflicted upon the American Nation.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

WM. F. JOHNSTON.

RESOLUTIONS

Of the Legislature of Pennsylvania relative to the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Whereas, it has pleased an all wise Providence to remove from the scenes of earth, one of America's most distinguished sons, whose name has been associated with her history during the last forty years, and whose distinguished talent, private virtues, and purity of character, have shed lustre on her name.

And whereas, it is becoming and proper that society, whilst humbly bowing to the dispensations of infinite wisdom, should, in such cases, testify its sense of the worth and exalted character of the illustrious deceased, by appropriate tributes of respect to his memory, forgetting all points of difference, and cherishing the recollection only of his virtues.

Be it therefore resolved unanimously by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,

That this General Assembly has heard with profound sensibility and heartfelt sorrow, of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, for whom, in his long and distinguished public career, whilst often differing from his views and policy, we have ever entertained the most profound respect; and

in whose private virtues, and personal character, there has been everything to win admiration, and conciliate affection.

Resolved, That as a further testimony of respect for the memory of the deceased, an extract from the Journal of each House, to be signed by the Speakers, be communicated to the Governor, with a request that he forward the same to the Widow and Family of the deceased, with a letter of condolence, expressing the sincere sympathy of this General Assembly with them in this, their afflicting bereavement.

Resolved, That the Governor be further requested to forward a copy of the foregoing Resolutions to the Governor of South Carolina, with a request that he communicate the same to the Legislature of said Commonwealth.

J. S. McCALMONT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

V. BEST,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

WM. F. JOHNSTON.

NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

Senate—Tuesday.—The Governor transmitted the following communication.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Albany, April 2, 1850.

To the Legislature :

We learn from the public journals, that the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN died at Washington, on the morning of Sunday last. His death is an event of interest, and a source of grief to all sections of the country, in whose service nearly the whole of his active life has been spent. I believe, therefore, that I consult the public sense of propriety, not less than my own feelings, in giving

you this official information of his decease.

Mr. CALHOUN became connected with the Federal Government at an early age, and died in its service. He has been a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Senator in Congress, and Vice President of the United States.

In each of these stations he has been distinguished for ability, integrity and independence. He has taken a prominent part in every great question, which has agitated the country during the last forty years, and has exerted a commanding influence upon the whole course of our public policy.

In his death the nation has lost a statesman of consummate ability, and of unsullied character. It is fitting that this State should evince sorrow at his death, by such action as her Representatives may deem appropriate.

HAMILTON FISH.

Mr. Morgan offered the following resolution :

That a select committee of three be appointed on the part of the Senate, to meet with a committee on the part of the Assembly, to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the Legislature, relative to the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, and that the Senate will meet at 4 o'clock this afternoon, to hear the report of said committee.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Select Committee on the part of the Senate on the CALHOUN resolutions, are Messrs. Morgan, Man and Babcock.

Assembly.

The Governor transmitted to the House a Message announcing the death of Mr. CALHOUN.

The proceedings of the Senate on this subject were read, designating a committee on the part of the Senate, and requesting a like committee on the part of the House.

Mr. Ford, after a few appropriate remarks, moved a concurrence in the resolution of the Senate.

Mr. Raymond concurred in the motion, and paid a brief tribute to the memory of the deceased, as a citizen and statesman.

Mr. Bacon followed, conceding to Mr. CALHOUN great intellect and virtue. Messrs. Monroe and Varnum also sustained the motion.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the chair named Messrs. Ford, Monroe, Godard, Raymond and Church, as the committee on the part of the House. Recess to 4.

Evening Session.

Mr. Morgan, from the Joint Select committee appointed on the Message of the Governor, announcing the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of New York have heard with deep regret, of the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, United States Senator from South Carolina; that they entertain sentiments of profound respect for the pre-eminent ability, the unsullied character and the high-minded independence, which, throughout his life, distinguished his devotion to the public service; and that they unite with their fellow-citizens throughout the Union, in deploring his death as a public calamity.

Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the Senate of the United States, with a request that the same be entered on their journal; and a copy to the Governor of the State of South Carolina, with a request that he transmit the same to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a token of respect to the memory of the deceased, the public offices be closed, and the flag at the Capitol be displayed at half-mast for twenty-four hours, and that the Senate do now adjourn.

The same resolutions were passed by the Assembly, which also adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF
MR. CALHOUN.

At a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society, held at its rooms in the New York University, on Tuesday evening, the 2nd day of April, 1850, the Hon. Luther Bradish, President, presiding.

Dr. Alexander H. Stephens announced the death of the Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, in the following words :

Mr. President :—This is a time of gloom. Yesterday, over our public edifices, the national flag, half hoisted, drooped heavily—its stars obscured. A public calamity was indicated. It was the death of Mr. CALHOUN. His home, sir, was nearly one thousand miles distant. Who will so far forget the Roman maxim, as to despair of the Republic when there is such sympathy between its remote members? It is an evidence of unity, and every expression of it is a new bond of union.

I have risen, Mr. President, to move that the death of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN be entered upon your journal, with the expression of the profound veneration entertained by this Society for his high character, his unsurpassed abilities, and his pre-eminent public services. The name of CALHOUN is historical; it is mete that an historical society should mark its estimate of his character. His was a beacon light to a wide-spread region: lofty, pure, and brilliant. Long the guide of anxious patriotism, it will be seen no more forever.

Let it be permitted even to me, sir, to mingle private grief with universal public mourning. While yet a stripling at Yale, I hung upon the first lispings of his young eloquence, and marked with admiration, the intellectual vigor of the new grown Hercules. In after life, College recollections were a cord of friendship between us, no strand of which was ever broken. We are told by his friend, Mr. Holmes, that he early read the Bible. Your venerable predecessor, the illustrious Gallatin, was also early brought up in the study of that sacred volume, and lived to know its value. He declared to me, and charged me to say to Gen.

Taylor, that he rejoiced in his election, that he occupied a position on which all patriots, all good men, all christian men, could rally around and support him. The facts I state go to show the value of the early study of the Bible as a means of intellectual culture.

Gallatin, tracing his ancestry some centuries back, to a Syndic of Geneva, loved to speak of his maternal parentage; so too, CALHOUN referred with pride to the Caldwell stock, to which his mother belonged. Who does not remember the mother of the Gracchi, and of Napoleon? Sir, if we would improve our race, we should develop the moral and intellectual faculties of our daughters.

The affection of Mr. CALHOUN for his family, his friends, his State, and his section, was so warm as to become, perhaps, too exclusive. Distant friends so thought, and blamed him; they did not know the temptations to which he yielded.

In heart, Mr. CALHOUN was a Raphael, in mind, a Michael Angelo. As an orator and a Cabinet Minister, his most marked features were his power of condensation and of organization. In the first, he had no equal; in the last, since the days of Hamilton, our country has not seen his superior. When he entered the War Department, where he passed the most useful lustrum of his life, order came out of chaos. The incidents of his death suggest a comparison with Chatham. They were alike self-reliant, fearless, incorruptible. But CALHOUN sought only results, Chatham sometimes studied display. One looked only to the matter in hand, the other also to himself. In manner and diction, CALHOUN was ever severely plain. Chatham, in style, was often ornate—in manner, gorgeous. Chatham's inconsistency was in sentiment and action, and it was palpable. CALHOUN, ever consistent in action, was only over refined and subtle in argument. More uniformly than Chatham, he prized true greatness above the trappings of office and of title. In other points of view, CALHOUN was like only unto himself. Had he been forced to act more and think less, the world would have seen in him a more useful, perhaps an unequalled, man.

As a medical man, I am so presumptuous as to suggest this opinion: Mr. CALHOUN'S death (I speak not of the occasion, but the cause of it,) was an intellectual death. An overworked mind dwelling too long on its one object—on its one thought—his country. The rapid current, ever running in one narrow channel, deepened its bed, until the banks caved in, and a scene of desolation succeeded to the fair landscape. What a lesson to intense thinkers! But other landscapes in the skies shall be formed by its waters, and they shall descend again and purify the air.—Even so may his fall purify the political atmosphere.

I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the death of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN be entered upon the journal of this Society, with the expression of the profound veneration entertained by it for his high character, his unsurpassed abilities, and his pre-eminent public services.

The resolution, seconded by J. De Peyster Ogden, Esq. and responded to by the Rev. Dr. DeWitt, was passed unanimously; and

The Society then adjourned.

Extract from the minutes.

ANDREW WARNER, Recording Secretary.

GOVERNOR SEABROOK TO HON. R. BARNWELL RHETT.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
CHARLESTON, April 11th, 1850. }

Dear Sir:—Your intimate relations with Mr. CALHOUN, thorough knowledge of his history, and ability to discharge the honorable trust, have induced me to request that you will, before the Legislature, at its next session, on a day convenient to yourself, deliver an oration on the life, character and public services of the deceased.

With sentiments of respect,

I remain your obedient servant,

WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK.

R. Barnwell Rhett, Esq.

HON. R. B. RHETT TO GOVERNOR SEABROOK.

THE OAKS, April 18th, 1850.

Dear Sir :—I received by the last mail the request of your Excellency, that I would deliver, before the Legislature of the State at its next sitting, an oration on the life, character and services of Mr. CALHOUN. After the able and eloquent pens which have been and will be employed on this distinguished theme, I may not be able to produce anything novel or interesting, beyond what the theme itself will naturally occasion. But your object is to do honor on the part of the State to the illustrious dead. Heartily sympathizing with this object, I will co-operate with your Excellency to the extent of my ability, and accept the appointment.

Believe me, dear sir,

Your most humble,
and obedient servant,

R. B. RHETT.

To His Excellency, Governor Seabrook.

ORATION

OF

THE HON. R. BARNWELL RHETT,

BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

NOVEMBER 28, 1850.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and
House of Representatives :*

The Governor of the State has appointed me to deliver before you, "an Oration on the life, services, and character," of the late JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Great men, in all ages, have been considered as reflecting distinction on the States of their nativity; and therefore, public honors have been rendered to their remains by their country; and the chisel of the Sculptor, the pen of the Poet, and the voice of the Orator, have been invoked to celebrate and perpetuate their memories. This time-honored custom, practiced by every people, should especially be observed by Republics towards great public men, who, whilst living, have lived for their country, and dying, have left behind them enduring monuments of their genius and patriotism. Republics rest on the virtues of their public men. Other forms of Government may live, and often live more surely, without love of country; but with republics, patriotism is life.

To cherish this great virtue, therefore, is not only the impulse of gratitude, but the dictate of the most obvious policy. And to the dying statesman, (so far as this world is concerned, and next only to the remembrance of him by those whose hearts are one with him in the domestic circle,) what can be so cheering, so

consoling, as the conviction that he shall not be forgotten by his country; and that, unmindful of his errors and weaknesses, his countrymen, gathering together as we now do, in the halls of their Legislature, amidst the emblems of mourning hung around them, with all the dignitaries of the State to participate in their sorrow, shall think only of those virtues and services which, bearing him up to a lofty fame, have also borne with him his native State, and united her name with his own, throughout the civilized world! For the sake of the living and the dead, we this day pay public honors to the late JOHN C. CALHOUN.

A distinguished statesman and philosopher has observed, that the characters of men are formed before they are seven years old. This observation, although perhaps a little exaggerated, is true in the general position it is intended to affirm—that all the great elements of character are stamped into the mind before childhood, or boyhood, has ended. Here begins the moral inequality of men, by which one is raised to honor, and another to dishonor. Men seldom change in their moral characteristics, from what they are at their earlier periods of existence. Manhood is not the seed-time, but the harvest, of our principles. We then act upon them, as they are grown within us, and carry them out in the moral warfare of life, for good or evil, to others and ourselves.

Mr. CALHOUN was ushered into life by that first and greatest of all earthly blessings, a good parentage. His father was a brave, intelligent and patriotic man, used to the dangers and privations of a frontier life, and schooled in the great principles of liberty, by the hard contest of our Revolution. His mother was of a family whose sufferings attested their gallant devotion to the cause of freedom. Two out of three of her uncles fell in battle, and the third was long immured in the dungeon of a prison-ship, at St. Augustine. From such parents, a son might well be expected to arise of elevated morality, and of the noblest patriotism. Born in the midst of the Revolution, he grew up by the side of those who had participated in its arduous and bloody conflicts, and caught from their lips the stern lesson they

inculcated with their swords in the battle-field, that "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." The public opinion of our whole community, just after the Revolution, was eminently patriotic. Men were esteemed, not according to the factitious consequence which wealth or fashion can impart, but according to the services they had rendered in that great struggle by which we acquired our liberties. Amidst such influences, such a mind as Mr. CALHOUN'S must have moved as in a kindred element, and drank in the inspirations of patriotism which filled the air with its voiceless but resistless teachings. Living in the country, retirement deepened all his impressions. There were no city pleasures around him, to beckon him away from virtue ; no city vices, to sap the energies and cripple the noble impulses of his nature. Nor did affluence lay its benumbing hand on his aspirations. Self-denial and labour, not ease and luxury, were his early lot ; and the habits these inspired, led him on to a life of continual industry, and of glorious usefulness and success. Under such influences, Mr. CALHOUN'S early life was passed. Youth had nearly flown, and he was engaged in the simple pursuit of planting, when his brother urged him, at the age of nineteen, to enter upon one of the liberal professions. But content with the peaceful and unambitious employment of agriculture, he declined the proposal, placing against it, what he deemed, impracticable conditions. He required that his mother, with whom he lived, should give a free consent to his leaving her ; and that his brother should engage to provide him with the means, for seven years, to educate and prepare him for a profession. Fortunately for his country, these kind and generous relations appreciated him far higher than he appears to have estimated himself. His mother, with that disinterested love which mothers only can feel, freely bade him go from her side, to tread the paths of improvement and usefulness, and his brother pledged the means he required. His classical and collegiate course justified their fondest anticipations. Whilst instructors predicted his future greatness, all his associates at school and college remember their fellow-student with admiration and affection, and tell with

pride and pleasure, of their early connexion with him. His preparation for the Bar was so thorough and ample, that, with his commanding abilities, on entering it, he stepped at once to the head of his profession. Such a man could not long remain in private life. He was soon elected to our State Legislature, at the head of the ticket. From the State Legislature, where he distinguished himself by his thorough knowledge and anticipation of public affairs, he was sent, in 1810, to the Congress of the United States.

Gentlemen, to delineate Mr. CALHOUN's life, we must portray his conduct and services. "Our lives are two-fold," made up of internal and external actions. Our internal life, which is our real life, consists of thoughts, intentions and emotions. This, no eye can see, no hand can write, but the eye and hand of Omnipotence; and it will only be read at the great day of account. Our external life consists of our conduct and services to other men, and to our country. These we can investigate, and from them, we may infer the hidden life, out of which flows all of our visible actions.

Mr. CALHOUN's public life and services cover an immense tract of intellectual achievements. To follow him at every step of his triumphant progress, may well become the biographer, but is not compatible with the brief task assigned to me. I shall not, therefore, attempt what it would be impossible to perform, consistently with your patience or the time allotted me, but shall content myself with the humble endeavour to exhibit him before you as a statesman, upon three subjects only—the war of 1812, the tariff, and slavery. Upon his policy and speeches with respect to these great subjects, I know he chiefly rested his title to future fame.

The war of 1812 was a great war. It was great, not on account of the hosts engaged in battle, or the millions who were slaughtered in its progress, but on account of the *principles* it vindicated, and the *manner* in which those principles were vindicated. Viewed merely as a contest against unjust power, it is by no means an ordinary event in the history of nations. Great

Britain aimed at nothing short of recolonizing the United States. All she ever desired in founding us as colonies—and all she ever sought to accomplish, before her pretensions of taxing us, was the control of our commerce. This she endeavoured to do through her orders in council, and the lawless depredations they authorized. Practically, she asserted, and attempted to enforce the pretension, that the United States should carry on no commerce with Europe, except by her permission, and from her ports. In this point of view, the war of 1812 was a war for national independence. But it was far greater in the principles which it involved. The rights of neutrals, between belligerent nations, have been for ages a matter of contention. The object of this war was to vindicate these rights, against the pretended right of search, and that of paper blockades falsely set up by Great Britain. It did not settle, by distinct acknowledgment, the rights of neutrals on these points, but it practically established them by tacit consent. The United States are now too powerful on the ocean, for any nation to make an enemy of her by attempting to enforce against her as a neutral, the old pretensions of Great Britain. A change of positions is gradually taking place; and at no distant day, Great Britain, no longer the first power on the ocean, will need the protecting shield of these principles, against the greater strength of other nations. With the United States of America in the ascendant, all the great maritime States of the world will thus be in their favor, and will look back to the war of 1812, as the great source of their triumph and vindication.

In such a contest—a contest for national independence and the liberty of the seas—Mr. CALHOUN was found amongst the first to counsel against submission. In the Congress of 1810, and that of 1811, he raised his voice for open and uncompromising resistance. His proud and free spirit disdained the non-intercourse policy, which Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison had put in force throughout the United States. This policy was the result of fear of the power of Britain. She had determined to plunder us; and we, to escape her plundering, denied ourselves

all the benefits of the free commerce to which we were entitled by the laws of nations, and self-infliction, not resistance, was the policy of these distinguished statesmen. Fear is, indeed, the worst of all counsellors; and when, instead of enforcing right, it adds to our wrongs and sufferings, it is as injurious as it is contemptible. The consequence in this case was, that the patriotism of the country seemed to be guaged by our gains; an internal dissatisfaction spread throughout all those parts of the Union most immediately affected by this timid policy. Contrasting it with war, Mr. CALHOUN denounced it, in one of the first speeches he delivered in Congress, in a strain of philosophic invective seldom equalled in the annals of oratory.

“This system,” he argued, “renders Government odious. The farmer enquires why he gets no more for his produce, and he is told, it is owing to the embargo or commercial restrictions. In this he sees only the hand of his own government, and not the acts of violence and injustice which this system is intended to counteract. His censures fall on the Government. This is an unhappy state of the public mind; and even, I might say, in a government resting essentially on public opinion, a dangerous one. In war, it is different. Its privations, it is true, may be equal or greater; but the public mind, under the strong impulses of that state of things, becomes steeled against sufferings. The difference is almost infinite between the passive and active state of the mind. Tie down a hero, and he feels the puncture of a pin; throw him into battle, and he is almost insensible to vital gashes. So in war. Impelled alternately by hope and fear, stimulated by revenge, depressed by shame, or elevated by victory, the people become invincible. No privation can shake their fortitude; no calamity break their spirit. Even when equally successful, the contrast between the two systems is striking. War and restriction may leave the country equally exhausted; but the latter not only leaves you poor, but, even when successful, dispirited, divided, discontented, with diminished patriotism, and the morals of a considerable portion of your people corrupted.—Not so in war. In that state, the common danger unites all, strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flames of patriotism. The national character mounts to energy. In exchange for the expenses and privations of war, you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your administration as are connected with the science of national de-

fence. Sir, are these advantages to be counted as trifles in the present state of the world? Can they be measured by monied valuation? I would prefer a single victory over the enemy, by sea or by land, to all the good we shall ever derive from the continuation of the non-importation Act. I know not that a victory would produce an equal pressure on the enemy; but I am certain of what is of greater consequence, it would be accompanied by more salutary effects on ourselves. The memory of Saratoga, Princeton, and Eutaw, is immortal. It is there you will find the country's boast and pride—the inexhaustible source of great and heroic sentiments. But what will history say of restriction?—What examples worthy of imitation will it furnish to posterity? What pride, what pleasure, will our children find in the events of such times? Let me not be considered romantic. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its courage, its fortitude, its skill and virtue, for protection. These are the only safe-guards in the hour of danger. Man was endued with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance. He is not encrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for a defence. No, sir, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind. It is these that render man the lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition, that nations rise above nations, as they are endued in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities.”

He brought forward propositions at this session of Congress to prepare for war; and at the next session reported, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the declaration of war, written by Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State. After the downfall of Napoleon, in 1813, Great Britain, disembarrassed of the contests in Europe, was left, with her veteran troops, to carry on the war with the United States. The opposition in Congress and out of Congress sought to paralyze the efforts made to carry on the war successfully. They were fully and powerfully represented in Congress. Alluding to the reverses of our arms on our frontiers, Mr. Webster sarcastically exclaimed: “This was not the entertainment to which we were invited!!” And throughout the New England States, the decided front of opposition to its continuance was raised. In this state of things, it was strongly

urged in Congress, that our condition was desperate ; and that, at any cost, the war should be closed. The opposition was developed on the Loan Bill, now brought forward to carry on the war. Mr. CALHOUN advocated a stern prosecution of the war, and delivered that speech which was read at the head of our armies. It is impossible, even at this day, to read the conclusion without catching the fire of its lofty eloquence.

“ This country is left alone to support the rights of neutrals.— Perilous is the condition, and arduous the task. We are not intimidated. We stand opposed to British usurpation, and, by our spirit and efforts, have done all in our power to save the last vestiges of neutral rights. Yes, our embargoes, non-intercourse, non-importation, and finally, war, are all exertions to preserve the rights of this and other nations from the deadly grasp of British maritime policy. But, (say our opponents,) these efforts are lost, and our condition hopeless. If so, it only remains for us to assume the garb of our condition. We must submit, humbly submit, beg pardon, and hug our chains. It is not wise to provoke, where we cannot resist. But first, let us be well assured of the hopelessness of our state before we sink into submission.— On what do our opponents rest their despondent and slavish belief? On the recent events in Europe? I admit they are great, and well calculated to impose on the imagination. Our enemy never presented a more imposing exterior. His fortune is at the flood. But I am admonished by universal experience that such prosperity is the most precarious of human conditions. From the flood, the tide dates its ebb. From the meridian, the sun commences his decline. Depend upon it, there is more of sound philosophy than of fiction in the fickleness which poets attribute to fortune. Prosperity has its weakness, adversity its strength. In many respects our enemy has lost by those very changes which seem so very much in his favor. He can no more claim to be struggling for existence ; no more to be fighting the battles of the world in defence of the liberties of mankind. The magic cry of “ French influence,” is lost. In this very hall we are not strangers to that sound. Here, even here, the cry of “ French influence,” that baseless fiction, that phantom of faction, now banished, often resounded. I rejoice that the spell is broken by which it was attempted to bind the spirit of this youthful nation. The minority can no longer act under cover, but must come out and defend their opposition on its own intrinsic merits. Our example can scarcely fail to produce its effects on other nations interested in the maintenance of maritime rights. But if, unfortu-

nately, we should be left alone to maintain the contest, and if, which may God forbid, necessity should compel us to yield for the present, yet our generous efforts will not have been lost. A mode of thinking and a tone of sentiment have gone abroad which must stimulate to future and more successful struggles.—What could not be effected with eight millions of people, will be done with twenty. The great cause will never be yielded—no, never, never. Sir, I hear the future audibly announced in the past, in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, Java, and Macedonian. We and all nations, by these victories, are taught a lesson never to be forgotten. Opinion is power. 'The charm of British naval invincibility is gone.'

This war was called the Carolina war. More eminent statesmen from South Carolina than from any other State of the Union, enforced and sustained it by their counsels; and it was closed victoriously at New Orleans, by the military prowess of a South Carolinian. But were it not that Lowndes and Cheves and Williams were his colleagues, it might well be called a CALHOUN war. It was a type of all the political contests in which he was afterwards engaged—ever struggling for right and liberty, against oppression and power.

This war placed Mr. CALHOUN amongst the foremost spirits of his time. On the elevation of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, he was called into his cabinet, as Secretary of War. This department was involved in the utmost confusion. But soon order and responsibility arose throughout all its arrangements and details. His genius yet presides over this department in its admirable organization, which no one who has succeeded him has attempted to alter or improve. His great abilities were stamped on all the documents he produced at the call of Congress, or of the Executive; and at the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, he stood prominently forward for the Presidency. Pennsylvania nominated him for this distinguished office; and had South Carolina supported the nomination, the probability is he would, at that early day, have reached the Presidential chair. But she in preference nominated William Lowndes, another of her distinguished sons.

William Lowndes was one of the greatest, yet one of the

blandest and most amiable of men. No one could approach him without emotions of affection and admiration. In conferring with him, you felt as if communing with a bright and serene spirit, fresh from the crystal fountains of truth, without a spot on its snowy vestments. You were not so much dazzled by the splendour, as attracted by the mild light of his clear and beautiful intelligence, like the light of bright but distant stars. He did not, perhaps he could not, crush, by the overwhelming weight of his logic, the mind of his hearer—but softly subduing it to his purposes, he won it away from itself, and made it willing to be won. His native delicacy taught him that most difficult of all achievements to a very superior mind, not to offend by his superiority. You came to him with ease and confidence, you left him full of thought and gladness. Instead of humbling in his intercourse, he lifted up the feebler minds of others, and made them willing to bow to the gentle majesty of so much goodness and so much power. Mr. Lowndes had no enemies. To wound the feelings of another, even to protect his own, was beyond the gentleness of his noble nature. He had, of course, friends, warm friends, whose admiration of him as a man and as a statesman, was equalled only by their love. Between such a man and Mr. CALHOUN, there was an instinctive assimilation. They appreciated and loved each other. When, therefore, they were both nominated for the Presidency, and thus placed in the attitude of rivals, Mr. CALHOUN hastened to Mr. Lowndes. He assured him that he had had no agency in his own nomination by Pennsylvania; and expressed the hope, that the acts of their friends would not at all affect the personal relations of friendship and esteem between themselves. Mr. Lowndes warmly reciprocated the desire of Mr. CALHOUN, and to his death the feelings of confidence and friendship between these two great men remained unimpaired—a striking instance of the nobleness of their generous natures.

Mr. Lowndes died before the Presidential canvass came to a close; and General Jackson, in the meantime, being taken up by Pennsylvania, as a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. CALHOUN

was supported on all the Presidential tickets, for the Vice Presidency. He was elected, of course, to this distinguished office; but Gen. Jackson, although highest by the vote of the electoral colleges, did not obtain the constitutional majority required for electing him to the Presidency. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and by a combination between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was made President of the United States.

This administration was not long in developing its Federal tendencies, and Mr. CALHOUN joined the opposition for its overthrow.

The weak, as well as the vital, point of liberty in all free governments, is in the laying and expending of the taxes; and to this point, consolidation most naturally drifts in consummating its policy. If the government could but be made omnipotent in regard to taxation and expenditure, its omnipotence in all other matters would soon follow. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, by the *habeas corpus* Act, and the trial by jury, had long since thrown indestructible barriers around the liberty of the person, against the encroachments of tyranny; but liberty, as to property, in the imposition of the taxes, is still a matter of strife and contention. It was fought for in the Revolution in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was fought for by our ancestors, in our own Revolution of 1776. We won it in that fierce contest, but lost it almost as soon as it was won, by the operations of the General Government. The concession made by the Constitution to the General Government, of the power of laying duties on imports, was fatal to all equality and justice in taxation. For, even though the duties should be laid with a single eye to revenue, they would be levied upon the commerce created by the exports, and must be unequal in their operation upon those to whom the exports belong. But when, in the working of this method of raising revenue for the support of the General Government, millions of people and sections of the Union become interested to obtain advantages by its perversion or excess, it is vain to look for justice or equality. The taxes, so far from being burdens, as

all taxes should be, are, on the contrary, sources of gain and prosperity. The higher the taxes levied on foreign commodities, the greater are their gains, either from the higher prices which they obtain for articles they manufacture similar to those taxed on importation, or from the total exclusion of the foreign commodity. Under such a policy, injustice and oppression reign in the exercise of the taxing power; and the Government becomes only an instrument for wresting property from one citizen to bestow it on another. Under such a policy, corruption likewise reigns in the *expending* power—for the more the public treasury can be exhausted and wasted, the higher must be the taxes to fill its coffers. Hence arises a tyranny as remorseless as it is sateless. It was this policy, under the name of the American system, which Mr. Adams's administration sought to consummate in the tariff bill of 1828. Fortunately for liberty, tyranny seldom has bounds in its aggressions. It will not be satisfied with light oppressions; but goes on to crush its victims, or drive them to resistance. The tariffs of 1818, of '22, of '24 and '28—shewed the successive steps of its unalterable progress. It was impossible for such a mind as Mr. CALHOUN'S, after the opportunity his election to the vice-presidency, from the leisure it afforded, presented for mature consideration, not to comprehend the whole operation of this policy, and to hate and resist it. When it was supposed that the votes would be equal in the Senate, on this Bill, and thus that, as Vice President, his vote would be wanted to determine its fate, he declared his determination to vote against it, and to forfeit his position as Vice-President, on the electoral ticket of the Democratic party—then certain of success—rather than support this “Bill of abominations.” But the Bill passed without his vote. It was received in South Carolina with the most decided marks of popular indignation. Resistance was openly proclaimed against it at many meetings held by the people, in different parts of the State. In Colleton District, where the first movements were made, the Governor of the State was requested immediately to convene the Legislature together, in order that the State should determine on the mode and measure of redress.

In this emergency, the eyes of many were turned towards Mr. CALHOUN for counsel and direction ; and two of the most distinguished statesmen from the lower country visited him during the summer at his residence, Fort Hill. Mr. CALHOUN was in favour of resistance, but of resistance within the pale of the Constitution, by the peaceable remedy of nullification, whose aim was to check effectually these encroachments upon our rights, but at the same time to preserve the Union. At the succeeding sitting of the Legislature, those in favour of calling a Convention of the people by the Legislature, were defeated ; but an able exposition, the work of Mr. CALHOUN, was put forth by the State, demonstrating the grievances of the tariff, and defending the right of state-interposition, for their redress. A protest was also adopted by the legislature, and sent on to Washington, to be recorded on the journals of Congress. It was prepared by one of Carolina's most gifted sons.

HUGH S. LEGARE was a man of too much heart for politics. His French temperament, quick to resent, yet easy to forgive ; warm, guileless, and confiding, rendered him too unhappy and too disappointed, when tossed on the boisterous and adverse waves of public life. He had none of that cold patience, or buoyant hope, which often makes disaster the occasion of after rejoicing ; or defeat the means of awakening new and higher energies. Yet he had a genius capable of mastering every science—an industry which travelled with untiring steps over the whole domain of literature ; and a spirit of blazing intensity, which drew to itself and consumed all that was great or truthful or beautiful in the thoughts of other men. How often did his oratory resound in this hall ; filling us with admiration at its pure and deep cadences ! Vigorous thought, clothed in the drapery of the warmest and most nervous language, and borne on the wings of a lofty and impetuous spirit, characterized his striking powers in debate. Alas ! the eagle fell as he reached the mountain top ! He died on the very summit, where his glorious scholarship, mighty attainments, and brilliant genius, would have made him a name amongst the great statesmen of the world. Although he deemed

himself slighted and wronged by his native State, he turned to her, to the last, with a full and yearning heart.

“Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versare,
Quam tui meminisse.”

The protest of South Carolina against the Tariff Act of 1828, was recorded on the Journals of Congress; and the Presidential election coming on, Gen. Jackson was elected to the Presidency. His native State had been the first to nominate him for this distinguished office, after his defeat in the House of Representatives. The strong hope entertained of redress through his administration, was a leading cause of the defeat of those in the Legislature of South Carolina, who advocated the call of a Convention. But his first message to Congress dispelled all such hopes. Instead of recommending a reduction of the tariff to the wants of the Treasury, in view of the payment of the public debt, he proposed that the tariff should be kept up, and that the surplus in the Treasury, which must accumulate, should be distributed among the States. If this policy, the policy of the manufacturers, should prevail, it was plain that the tariff would remain, with all its oppressions, unchanged forever—whilst the independence of the States would be swallowed up in the vortex of consolidation. At the next session of Congress, Gen. Jackson, as if to chide the tardy movements of our oppressors, repeated his recommendation of this policy for the adoption of Congress. Thus presenting to the people of South Carolina, either a permanent system of distributing the surplus revenue, and a perpetual protective tariff, or resistance. South Carolina determined to meet this alternative and to *resist*. Although equally assailed by the two great parties of the country, and abandoned by her sister States in the South, under the guidance of her great statesman she moved on to the vindication of her rights and liberties. To prepare her for the contest, and at the same time to defend the principles on which he desired she would ground her resistance, Mr. CALHOUN put forth an address, characterized by his usual great ability. The scheme of the Constitution, by which the people of a country so various in its productions, and so different in climate and institutions, may

live under one Government, consistently with liberty, he exposes as follows:

“So momentous and diversified are the interests of our country, that they could not be fairly represented in a single government organized so as to give to each great and leading interest a separate and distinct voice, as in governments to which I have referred. A plan was adopted better suited to our situation, but perfectly novel in its character. The powers of government were divided; not as heretofore, in reference to classes, but geographically. One general Government was formed for the whole, to which was delegated all the powers supposed to be necessary to regulate the interests common to all the States, leaving others subject to the separate control of the States, being, from their local and peculiar character, such that they could not be subject to the will of a majority of the whole Union, without the certain hazard of injustice and oppression. It was thus that the interests of the whole were subjected, as they ought to be, to the will of the whole; while the peculiar, local interests were left under the control of the States separately, to whose custody only they could be safely confided. This distribution of power, settled solemnly by a constitutional compact, to which all the States are parties, constitutes the peculiar character and excellence of our political system. It is truly and emphatically *American, without example or parallel.*”

“To realize its perfection, we must view the General Government and those of the States as a whole, each in its proper sphere independent; each perfectly adapted to its respective objects; the States acting separately, representing and protecting the local and peculiar interests; acting jointly, through one General Government, with the weight respectively assigned to each by the Constitution, representing and protecting the interest of the whole, and thus perfecting, by an admirable but simple arrangement, the great principle of representation and responsibility, without which no government can be free or just. To preserve this sacred distribution, as originally settled, by coercing each to move in its prescribed orb, is the great and difficult problem, on the solution of which the duration of our Constitution, of our Union, and in all probability, our liberty, depends. How is this to be effected?”

Mr. CALHOUN answered this question, by pointing to the States—at once the creators and guardians of the Constitution—to arrest, by their interposition, the encroachments of the federal head, and thus preserve the distribution of powers under the Constitution.

“The great and leading principle is, that the General Govern-

ment emanated from the people of the several States, forming distinct political communities, and acting in their separate and sovereign capacities, and not from all the people forming one aggregate political community; that the Constitution of the United States is, in fact, a compact, to which each State is a party, in the character already described; and that the several States, or parties, have a right to judge of its infractions, and in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of power, not delegated, they have the right, in the last resort, to use the language of the Virginia resolutions, 'to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.' This right of interposition, thus solemnly asserted by the State of Virginia, be it called what it may—state-right, veto, nullification, or by any other name—I conceive to be the fundamental principle of our system, resting on facts historically as certain as our Revolution itself, and deductions as simple and demonstrative as those of any political or moral truth whatever; and I firmly believe that on its recognition depends the stability and safety of our political institutions."

Such is the doctrine of nullification. It was doubtless first perceived and broached by Mr. Jefferson, and supported by Mr. Madison, as a part of our system of government, in his celebrated Report on the Alien and Sedition Laws, in the Virginia Legislature. But nullification, as a great principle of *all* government—nullification, in its admirable philosophy—is the discovery of Mr. CALHOUN. The difference between his expositions and those of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison on this subject, is the difference between gold in the rock and gold extracted and refined, and prepared for universal use in the commerce of the world. Whether nullification is a part of the system of Government organized by the Constitution of the United States, may be doubtful. The Virginia statesmen generally, and many of our own statesmen, whose abilities and patriotism no one ever doubted, limited the right of a State to secession. The principle, however, as developed by Mr. CALHOUN, must endure forever, as the only foundation on which free governments can be erected. Government is a great practical necessity, resulting from the condition of our fallen nature. If this nature were perfect, no man would do injustice to another, and there would be no need of government;

but because our nature is imperfect, and man will not do justice to his fellow-man, governments are instituted to enforce justice by the power of all. But the power of all in government, on account of the frailty or the wickedness of men, tends again to injustice, because those who control it, or are entrusted with its administration, pervert its powers for their own selfish aggrandizement. Hence the difficulty of maintaining a free and just Government. We are obliged to use the very instruments to guide its operations whose frailty and corruption occasioned its primal necessity. There is but one expedient to guard against this frailty and corruption; and that is, by so organizing and distributing the powers of government amongst its various agents, as to make one a check on the abuse of another, and enable all interests and sections to protect themselves by only yielding such powers as are common and equal in their exercise. In this consists the whole science of confederated republican governments. Unlimited power in government, either in one man or in many, is despotism. Divided power, checking wrong, and enforcing justice, is liberty. In developing and enforcing this great principle, which, like attraction amongst the heavenly bodies, is the great law of all free governments, Mr. CALHOUN stands unrivalled among the statesmen of ancient or modern days. On his labours and accomplishments on this great subject, I know that he chiefly rested his title to future fame. When, during General Jackson's administration, he acted with the Whigs, in the Senate of the United States, and was claimed as one of them, he declared that he belonged to neither of the great parties in the Union, but was a Nullifier. Long after the names of Whig and Democrat should be buried in oblivion, he hoped to live as a nullifier—the great nullifier—whose principles would guide and bless the world with liberty. He lived to see—from a disregard of these principles—that beautiful fabric of free government, organized by the Constitution of the United States, rent to its foundation, and tottering to its fall. But even in its fall shall shine forth more clearly the great truths he inculcated; and future generations, seeking liberty, will avoid the whirlpool of consolidation into

which we have recklessly plunged, in spite of all his warnings, to rise probably again only in divided fragments.

The crisis approached in 1832, in consequence of the payment of the public debt, and Mr. CALHOUN addressed another powerful disquisition on the powers of Government, in a letter, to Governor Hamilton. As the true relations which the States in this Union bear towards the General Government may soon be a matter of practical and vital importance, a few extracts, elucidating this subject, may not be inappropriate. The right of secession rests upon this relation.

“By a *State* may be meant either the government of a State, or the people, as forming a separate and independent community; and by *the people*, either the American people, taken collectively, as forming one great community, or as the people of the several States, forming, as above stated, separate and independent communities. These distinctions are essential in the enquiry. If by the people be meant the people collectively, and not the people of the several States, taken separately; and if it be true, indeed, that the Constitution is the work of the American people, collectively; if it originated with them, and derives its authority from their will, then there is an end of the argument. The right claimed for a State, of defending her reserved powers against the General Government, would be an absurdity. Viewing the American people collectively as the source of political power, the rights of the States would be mere concessions—concessions from the common majority, and to be revoked by them with the same facility that they were granted. The States would, on this supposition, bear to the Union the same relation that counties do to the States; and it would, in that case, be just as preposterous to discuss the right of interposition, on the part of a State, against the General Government, as that of the counties against the States themselves. That a large portion of the people of the United States thus regard the relation between the State and the General Government, including many who call themselves the friends of State-Rights and opponents of consolidation, can scarcely be doubted; as it is only on that supposition it can be explained that so many of that description should denounce the doctrine for which the State contends, as so absurd. But fortunately, the supposition is entirely destitute of truth. So far from the Constitution being the work of the American people collectively, no such political body either now or ever did exist. In that character the people of this country never performed a

single political act, nor indeed can, without an entire revolution in all our political relations.

“I challenge an instance. From the beginning, and in all the changes of political existence through which we have passed, the people of the United States have been united as forming political communities, and not as individuals. Even in the first stage of existence, they formed distinct colonies, independent of each other, and politically united only through the British crown. In their first imperfect union, for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the mother-country, they united as distinct political communities; and passing from their colonial condition, in the act announcing their independence to the world, they declared themselves, by name and enumeration, free and independent States. In that character, they formed the old confederation; and when it was proposed to supersede the articles of the confederation, by the present Constitution, they met in Convention as States, acted and voted as States; and the Constitution, when formed, was submitted for ratification to the people of the several States; it was ratified by them as States, each State for itself; each, by its ratification, binding its own citizens; the parts thus separately binding themselves, and not the whole the parts; to which, if it be added, that it is declared, in the preamble of the Constitution, to be ordained by the people of the *United States*, and in the article of ratification, when ratified, it is declared ‘*to be binding between the States so ratifying*’—the conclusion is inevitable, that the Constitution is the work of the people of the States, considered as separate and independent political communities; that they are its authors—their power created it, their voice clothed it with authority—that the Government formed is really their agent; and that the Union, of which the Constitution is the bond, is a union of States, and not of individuals. No one who regards his character for intelligence and truth, has ever ventured directly to deny these facts so certain; but while they are too certain for denial, they are also too conclusive in favour of the rights of the States for admission.”

The crisis at length came. The passage of the tariff Act of 1832, proclaimed on all sides to be a final adjustment, could not be satisfactory to South Carolina. It was too inconsiderable in the amount of its reductions, to arrest the policy of distribution; whilst, by its exemption from taxation to the manufacturers, it was more of a protective tariff in principle, than the Act of 1828. The resistance party in South Carolina carried the elections in the fall. The Legislature, by the two-thirds majority, called a

Convention of the people. The times were dark and lowering ; and South Carolina required at the helm of her affairs a man of endoubted sagacity, patriotism and courage. She turned her eyes to Gen. Robert Y. Hayne, her Senator in Congress.

Gen. HAYNE was the idol of the people, and repaid their devotion by a fidelity as true as theirs. He loved South Carolina as the knight of old his bride. He loved popularity, not for the sake of its honors or emoluments, but because the heart of his humanity delighted to beat in unison with the warm pulsations of others. He rejoiced in the public service, as the boy who laughs and bounds and drives the ball before him. His manners were the perfection of frank and winning courtesy. But the spirit of the soldier radiated from every look and tone. In obeying the voice of the State, he brought to her service a determination to protect her from aggression or invasion, which no terrors could daunt. He stood, the proud delight and confidence of all. His inaugural address, on assuming the office of Governor, penetrated the souls of all who heard him, and drew tears of kindred sympathy from some of the sternest of us. He was an orator in the full meaning of oratory, the art of persuasion. Free and fast, the words floated on his silvery voice, whilst ingenuous and manly candour gave potency to the arguments of his fine intellect. In the meridian of his powers he left public life ; and borne along by the prosperity and the ambitious imagination of the country, entered, with his usual intrepidity, into the great scheme of uniting, by iron bonds, the South and West in commercial intercourse. His name would be written on the Alleghanies, and future generations would bless the wisdom and energy by which this great work was accomplished. But convulsion and ruin swept over the commercial world. The project failed. His heart sunk beneath the calamity. Eager gain carped at his doings ; jealous misfortune turned upon him her cold reproachful eye. He died, the noblest victim of those disastrous times.

Mr. CALHOUN was elected unanimously to fill the seat in the Senate of the United States, made vacant by the resignation of

General Hayne. The Convention of the State met, and passed an ordinance nullifying the Tariff Laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. Mr. CALHOUN stood forth in the Senate, the leading champion of the State, placed by his policy in opposition to every State in the Union, and to all the authorities of the General Government, with President Jackson at its head.

Gen. JACKSON was a most remarkable man. Born and reared and living, the greater part of his life, in a newly settled country, his character partook of the defects such an existence naturally engenders. His education was very limited. He learned nothing *from books*, of the great thoughts of the great men other ages have produced; but human nature, as he met it in the pathway of life, he thoroughly studied and understood. The feeble enforcement of the laws on our frontiers, necessarily made a man of his bold and reckless temper not very regardful of law. His will was his law, and with his own right arm he enforced it. Thus, from the circumstances of his life, as well as natural disposition, arose that aptitude and skill in contention which made him the most formidable of personal foes; but they also made him the most faithful of friends. He identified himself with those to whom he was attached, with a blind devotion which only very generous natures can feel, but which meaner spirits are so apt to take advantage of, and abuse. To conquer and rule men, if not his leading passion, was certainly his greatest attribute. With a powerful, although rude intellect, to support his fierce and iron will, he could not be otherwise than great—great amongst men—great in the field—great as a civil ruler. No man was ever more feared, no man was ever more implicitly obeyed, wherever he moved; confidence in him, and distrust in others, irresistably spread over the minds of those who came within the charm of his fearful influence. Yet, in his turn, he was easily influenced by those who bowed before his sway, and had won his confidence. Placability was not possible in such a nature. He hated intensely, and forgave only those enemies whom he humbled, or who humbled themselves before his imperious domination.

Such was the man, at least at this period of his life, armed with all the authority of the Government, whom Mr. CALHOUN faced in this great controversy. With General Jackson, it was, perhaps, not only a political, but a personal contest. For in the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. CALHOUN and himself, relative to his Florida campaign, Mr. CALHOUN had fairly towered over him. And to his death, Mr. CALHOUN believed that this correspondence originated in the wily counsels of Mr. Van Buren; who sought, by instigating a quarrel between General Jackson and himself, to supersede him, through the influence of General Jackson, in the commanding position he then occupied in the Democratic party. Most assuredly, Mr. CALHOUN was the only man who stood in Mr. Van Buren's way for the Presidency. But this difference with General Jackson would not have destroyed his lofty position in the Democratic party, as second to General Jackson alone, had he not taken sides with his oppressed and suffering State, and trod with her the rugged paths of nullification. How far General Jackson's feelings of personal hostility carried him in this controversy, it is impossible to affirm; but no one could have pursued a course more reckless and unconstitutional, according to those views of the Constitution which he had ever maintained. At a previous session of Congress, he was so satisfied with the positions assumed by General Hayne, in his speech on Foote's resolutions, in his contest with Mr. Webster, that he had it printed on satin, framed and hung up, as a memorial of his approbation. This speech distinctly affirmed the doctrine of nullification, and of secession. Yet when South Carolina acted on its principles, and Mr. CALHOUN represented them in the Senate of the United States, General Jackson abandoned them all; and his proclamation laid down the broadest doctrines of consolidation, in order to support the unconstitutional measures he required of Congress, to coerce South Carolina into submission. He virtually denied the right of secession, as well as that of nullification; and surpassed Mr. Webster himself in his federalism. The pen of Mr. Livingston was used in writing the proclamation; but Mr. Liv-

ingston, like General Jackson, had ever belonged to the Republican party, and had, moreover, delivered a speech on Foote's resolutions, maintaining the rights and sovereignty of the States, and repudiating the very doctrines he afterwards put forth in the proclamation. The tergiversation of General Jackson and Mr. Livingston, supported by the whole Republican party in Washington, in the passage of the Force Bill, shows how vain it is to rely on any principles, or any party, to arrest the policy of the predominating majority in the Union. As the Constitution was then disregarded, to enforce the policy and wishes of a mere majority; and the sword substituted for the guaranties it gave, so most probably it will be, in all future aggressions. Avarice will not give up its prey to right. Power will not put up its sword at the bidding of reason. Force will be the only bond of the Union—the sole arbiter of the limitations of the Constitution.

In his great speech on the Force bill, Mr. CALHOUN manifested the high and dauntless spirit which animated him. He met General Jackson's personal hostility, he met his doctrines and his policy, with a commanding maintenance of the right, and a lofty defiance of power, that must be admired as long as the remembrance of those times shall endure. He did not remain on the defensive, but in repelling General Jackson's imputations on his motives and patriotism in his proclamation, turned the weapons of his assailant against himself.

“The canvass, he said, in favor of Gen. Jackson's election to the Presidency, was carried on with great zeal, in conjunction with that active inquiry into the reserved rights of the States, on which final reliance was placed. But little did the people of Carolina dream, that the man whom they were thus striving to elevate to the highest seat of power, would prove so utterly false to all their hopes. Man is indeed ignorant of the future; nor was there ever a stronger illustration of the observation, than is afforded by the result of that election. The very event on which they had built their hopes, has been turned against them; and the very individual to whom they looked as a deliverer, and whom, under that impression, they strove for so many years to elevate to power, is now the most powerful instrument in the hands of his and their bitterest opponents, to put down them and their cause.

“Scarcely had he been elected, when it became apparent, from the organization of his Cabinet, and other indications, that all their hopes of relief through him were blasted. The admission of a single individual into the Cabinet, under the circumstances which accompanied that admission, threw all into confusion. The mischievous influence over the President, through which this individual was admitted into the Cabinet, soon became apparent. Instead of turning his eyes forward to the period of the payment of the public debt, which was then near at hand, and to the present dangerous political crisis, which was inevitable, unless averted by a timely and wise system of measures, the attention of the President was absorbed by mere party arrangements and circumstances too disreputable to be mentioned here, except by the most distant allusion.

“Here I must pause for a moment, to repel a charge which has been so often made, and which even the President has reiterated in his proclamation—the charge that I have been actuated, in the part which I have taken, by feelings of disappointed ambition. I again repeat that I deeply regret the necessity of noticing myself in so important a discussion, and that nothing can induce me to advert to my own course, but the conviction that it is due to the cause, at which a blow is aimed through me. It is only in this view that I notice it.

“It illy became the Chief Magistrate to make this charge. The course which the State took, and which led to the present controversy between her and the General Government, was taken as far back as 1828—in the very midst of that severe canvass which placed him in power—and in that very canvass, Carolina openly avowed and zealously maintained those very principles which he, the Chief Magistrate, now officially pronounces to be treason and rebellion. That was the period at which he ought to have spoken. Having remained silent then, and having, under his approval, implied by that silence, received the support and the vote of the State, I, if a sense of decorum did not prevent it, might recriminate, with the double charge of deception and ingratitude. My object, however, is not to assail the President, but to defend myself against a most unfounded charge. The time alone at which the course upon which this charge of disappointed ambition is founded, will, of itself, repel it, in the eye of every unprejudiced and honest man. The doctrine which I now sustain, under the present difficulties, I openly avowed and maintained, immediately after the Act of 1828—that “bill of abominations,” as it has been so often and properly termed. Was I at that period disappointed in any views of ambition which I might be supposed to entertain? I was Vice President of the United

States, elected by an overwhelming majority. I was a candidate for re-election on the ticket with General Jackson himself, with a certain prospect of a triumphant success of that ticket, and with a fair prospect of the highest office to which an American citizen can aspire. What was my course under these prospects? Did I look to my own advancement, or to an honest and faithful discharge of my duty? Let facts speak for themselves. The road of ambition lay before me—I had but to follow the corrupt tendency of the times—but I chose to tread the rugged path of duty.”

His denunciations of the Force Bill are in a mingled strain of reasoning, invective, and defiance, worthy a great advocate of liberty. It is justly amenable to all his denunciations; for as an aggression on the rights and sovereignty of the States, it stands unparalleled. It was a sufficient cause for a speedy and violent revolution. It was, in fact, a revolution itself; for it reversed the whole order of the system of the Federal Government. Instead of the States being the masters and partners of the system, it made the General Government the master and proprietor of the States. They are its dependents, to be controlled by force, under the dictation of a majority in Congress, and a tyrannical President. There is not a word in the Constitution which justifies the assumption that the States ever intended to concede to the General Government the power to coerce them, by military force, under any circumstances. Even if a State made war on a sister State, there is no authority for the General Government to interfere. The power given to Congress ‘to repel invasions, and suppress insurrections,’ and to the President, ‘to see that the laws are faithfully executed,’ were not conceded by the States to enable the General Government *to coerce them*, but *to aid them* in preserving peace within their borders. But tyranny never wants pretexts for oppression; whilst its precedents never die, but with its power. In view of things around us, it is well to listen to the stern language of Mr. CALHOUN against this last claim of power on the part of the General Government, to seal consolidation by blood:

“This bill proceeds on the ground that the entire sovereignty of this country belongs to the American people, as forming one

great community, and regards the States as mere fractions or counties, and not as an integral part of the Union, having no more right to resist the encroachments of the Government than a county has to resist the authority of a State; and treating such resistance as the lawless acts of so many individuals, without possessing sovereignty, or political rights. It has been said that the bill declares war against South Carolina. No! It decrees the massacre of her citizens! War has something ennobling about it, and, with all its horrors, brings into action the highest qualities, intellectual and moral. It was perhaps in the order of Providence that it should be permitted for that very purpose. But this bill declares no war, except indeed it be that which savages wage—a war, not against the community, but the citizens of whom that community is composed. But I regard it as worse than *savage* warfare—as an attempt to take away life under the color of law, without trial by jury, or any other safeguard which the Constitution has thrown around the life of the citizen! It authorizes the President, or even his deputies, when they may suppose the law to be violated, without the intervention of a Court or jury, to kill without mercy or discrimination! It has been said, by the Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy) to be a measure of peace! Yes, such peace as the wolf gives to the lamb—the kite to the dove! Such peace as Russia gives to Poland, or death to its victim! A peace, by extinguishing the political existence of the State, by awing her into an abandonment of the exercise of every power which constitutes her a sovereign community. It is to South Carolina a question of self preservation; and I pronounce it, that should this bill pass, and an attempt be made to enforce it, it will be resisted at every hazard—even that of death itself. Death is not the greatest calamity: there are others still more terrible to the free and brave, and among them may be placed the loss of liberty and honor. There are thousands of her brave sons, who, if need be, are prepared cheerfully to lay down their lives in defence of the State, and the great principles of constitutional liberty, for which she is contending. God forbid that this should become necessary! It never can be, unless this Government is resolved to bring the question to extremity, when her gallant sons will stand prepared to perform the last duty—to die nobly.

“It is said the bill ought to pass, because the law must be enforced. The imperial edict must be executed. It is under such sophistry, couched in general terms, without looking to the limitations which must ever exist in the practical exercise of power, that the most cruel and despotic acts ever have been covered. It was such sophistry as this that cast Daniel into the lion’s den,

and the three Innocents into the fiery furnace. Under the same sophistry the bloody edicts of Nero and Caligula were executed. The law must be enforced. Yes, the Act imposing the 'tea-tax' must be executed. This was the very argument which impelled Lord North and his administration in that mad career which forever separated us from the British crown. Under a similar sophistry, 'that religion must be protected,' how many martyrs have been tied to the stake! What! acting on this vague abstraction, are you prepared to enforce a law, without considering whether it be just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional? Will you collect money when it is acknowledged that it is not wanted? He who earns the money, who digs it from the earth with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it, against the universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent, except his Government, and it only to the extent of its legitimate wants; to take more is robbery, and you propose, by this bill, to enforce robbery, by murder. Yes: to this result you must come, by this miserable sophistry, this vague abstraction, of enforcing the law, without a regard to the fact whether the law be just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional.

"In the same spirit we are told that the Union must be preserved, without regard to the means. And how is it proposed to preserve the Union? By force! Does any man in his senses believe that this beautiful structure—this harmonious aggregate of States, produced by the joint consent of all—can be preserved by force? Its very introduction will be the certain destruction of this Federal Union. No! no! You cannot keep the States united in their constitutional and federal bonds by force. Force may indeed hold the parts together, but such union would be the bond between master and slave—a union of exaction on one side, and of unqualified obedience on the other. That *obedience* which, we are told by the Senator of Pennsylvania, is the Union! Yes, exaction on the side of the master; for this very bill is intended to collect what can no longer be called taxes—the voluntary contribution of a free people—but tribute—tribute, to be collected under the mouths of the cannon! Your Custom-House is already transformed to a garrison, and that garrison with its batteries turned, not against the enemy of your country—but on subjects (I will not say citizens) on whom you propose to levy contributions. Has reason fled from our borders? Have we ceased to reflect? It is madness to suppose that the Union can be preserved by force. I tell you plainly, that the bill, should it pass, cannot be enforced. It will prove only a blot upon your statute-book—a reproach to the year, and a disgrace to the American Senate. I repeat that it will not be executed; it will

rouse the dormant spirit of the people, and open their eyes to the approach of despotism. The country has sunk into avarice and political corruption, from which nothing can arouse it, but some measure on the part of Government, of folly and madness, such as that now under consideration."

The concluding paragraph of this speech develops so truly the nature of the contest, and its results, that I cannot forbear transcribing it.

"We have now sufficient experience to ascertain that the tendency to conflict, in the action of the General Government, is between the southern and other sections. The latter, having a decided majority, must habitually be possessed of the powers of the Government, both in this and in the other house; and being governed by that instinctive love of power, so natural to the human breast, they must become the advocates of the power of Government, and in the same degree opposed to the limitations; while the weaker section is as necessarily thrown on the other side of the limitations. One section is the natural guardian of the delegated powers, and the other of the reserved; and the struggle on the side of the former will be to enlarge the powers, while that on the opposite side will be to restrain them within their constitutional limits. The contest will, in fact, be a contest between power and liberty, and such I consider the present—a contest in which the weaker section, with its peculiar labor, productions and institutions, has at stake all that can be dear to preserve. Should we be able to maintain, in their full vigour, our reserved rights, liberty and prosperity will be our portion; but if we yield, and permit the stronger interest to concentrate within itself all the powers of the Government, then will our fate be more wretched than that of the aborigines whom we have expelled. In this great struggle between the delegated and reserved powers, so far from repining that my lot and that of those whom I represent is cast on the side of the latter, I rejoice that such is the fact; for though we participate in but few of the advantages of the Government, we are compensated, and more than compensated, in not being so much exposed to its corruptions. Nor do I repine that the duty so difficult to be discharged as the defence of the reserved powers against, apparently, such fearful odds, has been assigned to us. To discharge successfully this high duty, requires the highest qualities, moral and intellectual; and should we perform it with a zeal and ability in proportion to its magnitude, instead of being mere planters, our section will become distinguished for its patriots and statesmen. But, on the other hand, if we prove unworthy of this high

destiny—if we yield to the steady encroachments of power, the severest calamity and most debasing corruption will overspread the land. Every southern man, true to the interests of his section, and faithful to the duties which Providence has allotted to him, will be forever excluded from the honors and emoluments of this Government, which will be reserved for those only who have qualified themselves by political prostitution.”

Mr. CALHOUN was not left to take the whole field of debate to himself. Mr. Webster, the greatest advocate for consolidation, since the day of Alexander Hamilton, undertook to reply to the principles laid down in certain resolutions he had offered in the Senate, affirmative of the constitutional doctrines on which rested the right of State interposition. I am not, I think, governed by any undue partiality, when I say that no unprejudiced mind can read his reply to Mr. Webster, without yielding the palm of victory to Mr. CALHOUN. Take Mr. Webster's concessions, and he was overthrown by their inevitable deductions. Admit that the States were ever sovereign—and that the Constitution is a compact,—and the right of either State interposition or secession is inevitable. A more admirable specimen of logic in debate, was never embalmed in the English language. Mr. CALHOUN seemed to feel that he had at least a foeman worthy of his steel; and that the two great antagonistic principles of government, which had agitated the Union from its foundation, were now to grapple each other in a mortal death-struggle. He conquered. The triumph was ours; but where are the fruits of victory? Where is that constitutional liberty which the blazing sword of his spirit won for us in this great controversy?

The Tariff difficulty was terminated by the Tariff Act of 1833—commonly called the Compromise Act. This Act was introduced by Mr. Clay into the Senate of the U. States; and supported by him as a compromise, and a final adjustment of the Tariff question. Its whole merit consisted in its finality. It proposed to continue the protective policy for nine years, in order that those engaged in manufactures should have due time to accommodate their interests to the change of policy, which it would ordain. For seven years the reductions of the duties were to be

very inconsiderable, being only ten per cent of the excess over 20 per cent ; but in the two last years, the remaining excess was to come down to 20 per cent *ad valorem* : and here, at this level as a maximum, with a free list for the benefit of the manufacturers, the Tariff was to remain forever.

A compromise with wrong doers, is always of doubtful wisdom ; for those who have not principles to restrain them from the perpetration of injustice in the first instance, will seldom be withheld from renewing it by any mere considerations of good faith. Such men are far more apt to practice hypocrisy for the purpose of disarming opposition, than to carry out, with fidelity, engagements which must overthrow their policy. Mr. CALHOUN (as, at the time, the whole world, but the few in his secrets,) *believed* Mr. Clay, when he asserted, in the Senate, that the Act of '33 was a *final settlement* of the Tariff, and a final abandonment of the protective policy. It appears now, by his late confessions in the Senate, that he himself, in concert with the manufacturers, in proposing and passing this Act, meditated and practised a gigantic fraud upon the Senate and the country. Neither he nor they ever *intended* that the protective policy should be abandoned. They never intended that the Act should be in operation longer than the seven years, during which it gave ample protection to the manufacturers. They intended that before the last reductions should take place, by which the South was to be benefited, the Act was to be overthrown, and the protective policy renewed. When, however, by propositions in Congress, in consequence of the overflowing revenue which this Tariff produced, there was danger that the reductions of the first years should be hastened, Mr. Clay did not scruple to make appeals, on the floor of the Senate, to the Senators from South Carolina and the South, to maintain the solemn faith of this compromise. They did maintain it ; and Mr. CALHOUN, in his speech on the Tariff of 1842, alluding to Mr. Clay's pledges on these occasions, says : " That the Act of 1842 would entirely supersede the Compromise Act, and *violate pledges openly given here in this Chamber, by its distinguished author, and the present Governor of Mas-*

sachusetts, (Mr. Davis,) then a member of this body, that if we of the South would adhere to the compromise, while it was operating favorably to the manufacturing interest, they would stand by it when it came to operate favorably to us."

But these public pledges did not alter the secret arrangements entered into with the manufacturers; and true to his secret, but false to his public pledges, Mr. Clay afterwards importuned President Van Buren to overthrow the compromise, by recommending increased duties. Failing in this, in 1842, he offered resolutions in the Senate, just before he resigned his seat, entirely at variance with its provisions. Mr. CALHOUN was ignorant of the premeditated treachery; but could not fail to see the open manifestation of it, in these resolutions, although they professed to respect the compromise. In his speech exposing them, he said, "That while they profess to respect the Compromise Act, they violate it in almost every essential particular but one, the *ad valorem* principle; and even that, I fear, it is intended to set aside by the juggle of home valuation." He was not aware that this Act, from its inception, was a game of juggling, and nothing else, on the part of the manufacturers, and their great leader; and that their faith, like their policy, was only that of robbers. Of course, in 1842, so soon as they had the power, they carried out their secret purposes, and consummated their fraud by the entire overthrow of the Tariff Act of 1833. The Tariff of '42 was modified by the Tariff of '46, although identical in principle; but from the indications at our last session of Congress, the protective policy is again to be renewed in all its oppressive features, as the irrevocable policy of the master section of the Union.

I come now, gentlemen, to that last great subject on which Mr. CALHOUN rendered his last services to us and to the Union—the subject of slavery. His prophetic warnings and earnest endeavors to awake the public mind of the country, to the dangers which environed this question, must afford matter for profound contemplation, and the deepest admiration, to the future historian who shall record our times. He probably will narrate, that when Mr. CALHOUN died the Union lost its last and best counsellor

thick & cloudy, mud

and friend ; and that when his great conservative spirit no longer stood in the councils of the country, to arrest the rising tide of consolidation, it rose unchecked, and bursting over the barriers of the Constitution, buried the Union beneath its foul and turbid waters.

The subject of slavery is difficult of comprehension to those only who study it in the light of abstract principles ; and unfortunately these comprise the greater part of its enquirers. It is very largely a question of facts, which must necessarily qualify and alter all abstract reasoning concerning it. The very leaves of the forest, and the sands on the sea shore, vary in size and form. The whole animal creation, from the insect which crawls, to man, the lord of all, teems with variety. Nothing is equal—nothing is alike ; whilst the broad marks of distinction and inequality are stamped on every species of every kind of animal or human existence. Yet the abolitionists, on the subject of slavery, insist upon it that all men, and races of men, are equal in their moral and intellectual endowments. If the hypotheses are true on which they rest their deductions, there will be no dispute as to their conclusions. Are all men equal ? If so, then all ought to be, and, from the nature of things, will be, equally free. Are the races of men equal in intellectual and moral attributes ? If they are, they ought to enjoy, and must enjoy, equal privileges in society, and equal political rights. But what says Nature to these enquiries, answering from her analogies, throughout all creation, animate and inanimate ? It has pleased the Almighty Creator of the universe, to make men unequal—unequal in intellect, in character and circumstances. As all men differ in external form and features, so do they differ in their internal, mental and moral characteristics. What is the result ? Why, that the strong must rule, the weak serve. Would the weak be happier by ruling, instead of serving ; or would the strong be happier by serving, instead of ruling ? If it were possible to force into existence such an unnatural condition of things, it is plain that nothing but confusion and misery would be the result. Men, instead of occupying the spheres of duty and use-

fulness, to which they are best adapted, would be placed in those for which they are least qualified. By the natural order of things, in every age, and under all forms of government, there have been *the poor*—and there have been *those who serve*. Is it wrong that any should be poor, or that any should serve? Then blame the Creator, who has thus ordained things from the beginning, by making men, and the races of men, unequal; not man, who did not make, and cannot unmake, his nature. Where there is but one race in a community, there may be political equality in rights—but this cannot give equality in mind, character and condition. Servitude still prevails in one form or another, from a necessity as stern as the laws. But, where the races are different—and one race is inferior to the other—the inferior race must be exterminated, or fall into such a state of subjection as to present motives for their preservation to the stronger race. The Anglo-Saxon race, at least, will not amalgamate with others; and when any of the inferior races have been placed in a condition of competition and equality with them, annihilation has always been their doom, or they have left the country to the inferior race. Of all the races of men, the negro race is the most inferior. From the earliest records of history, they have been slaves to the other races, and have never risen, by their own unaided energies, from a condition of barbarism to any degree of enlightened civilization. In the condition of slavery alone have they ever been of any use to the world: and where the governance and protection this condition produces have been withdrawn, they have relapsed into indolence, ignorance and barbarism. This is the experience of the world. The hoarded facts of centuries are before us, to enlighten us on the subject of African slavery. All facts are despised; and fanaticism, with furious and mad abstractions, cries out for emancipation. Mr. CALHOUN was not slow in perceiving the true bearings of the institution of African slavery in the Southern States. He was the first, I believe, of great Statesmen in the country, who denounced the cant—that slavery is an evil—a curse.

“I take higher ground,” he exclaimed, “I hold that, in the pre-

sent state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by colour, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States, between the two races, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called on to speak freely upon this subject, where the honour and interests of those I represent are involved. I appeal to facts. Never, before, has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came amongst us in a low, degraded and savage condition, and, in the course of a few generations, it has grown up, under the fostering care of our institutions, reviled as they have been, to its present comparatively civilized condition. This, with the rapid increase of numbers, is conclusive proof of the general happiness of the race, in spite of all exaggerated tales to the contrary. In the mean time the white or European Race has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparisons; but I appeal to all sides, whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence and patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom, in forming and sustaining this political fabric; and whether we have not constantly inclined strongly to the side of liberty, and been the first to see, and the first to resist, the encroachments of power.”

“The first in Congress to see, and the first to resist the encroachments of power,” on this momentous subject, was, undoubtedly, our great Statesman. Go back with me, gentlemen, fourteen years, and behold Mr. CALHOUN standing in the Senate of the United States. He is opposing the reception of abolition petitions. Mark how his prophetic vision, looking before and after, takes in the whole scope of the past, the present, and the future, on this momentous question.

“Several years since, in a discussion with one of the Senators from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) before this fell spirit had shewed itself, I then *predicted* that the doctrine of the Proclamation and the Force Bill—that this Government had a right, in the last resort, to determine the extent of its own powers, and enforce it at the point of the bayonet, which was so warmly maintained by that Senator—would, at no distant day, arouse the dormant spirit of abolitionism; I told him that the doctrine

was tantamount to the assumption of unlimited power, on the part of the Government, and that such would be the impression on the public mind in a large portion of the Union. The consequence would be inevitable—a large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would believe it to be an obligation of conscience to abolish it, if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that his doctrine would, necessarily, lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then *predicted* that it would commence, as it has, with this fanatical portion of society; and that they would begin their operations on the weak, the ignorant, the young, and the thoughtless, and would gradually extend upwards, till they became strong enough to obtain political control, when he, and others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrine, or be driven into obscurity. But four years have since elapsed, and all this is already in a course of regular fulfilment.

“Standing at the point of time at which we have now arrived, it will not be more difficult to trace the course of *future events* than it was then.

“Those who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North will die away of itself, without a shock or convulsion, have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character. It will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the schools, and, to a considerable extent, of the press; those great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed. However sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States are at present, in a few years they will be succeeded by those who will have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. It is easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible, under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two great sections, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements will burst the Union asunder, as powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union, I openly proclaim it; and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of men to arrest the course of events. * * * * * We love and cherish the Union, we remember with the kindest feel-

ings our common origin, with pride our common achievements—and fondly anticipate the common greatness and glory that seem to await us ; but origin, achievements and anticipations of coming greatness are to us as nothing compared to this question. It is to us a vital question. It involves not only our liberty, but what is greater, (if, to freemen, any thing can be) existence itself. The relation which now exists between the two races in the slaveholding States, has existed for two centuries. It has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength. It has entered into and modified all our institutions, civil and political. None other can be substituted. We will not—cannot permit it to be destroyed. If we were base enough to do so, we would be traitors to our section, to ourselves, our families, and to posterity. It is our anxious desire to protect and preserve this relation, by the joint action of this Government, and the confederated States of the Union ; but if, instead of closing the door,—if, instead of denying all jurisdiction and all interference in this question—the doors of Congress are to be thrown open ; and if we are to be exposed here, in the heart of the Union, to an endless attack on our rights, our character and institutions—if the other States are to stand and look on without attempting to suppress these attacks originating within their borders ; and, finally, if this is to be our fixed and permanent condition as members of this confederacy, we will then be compelled to turn our eyes on ourselves. Come what will, should it cost every drop of blood, and every cent of property, we must defend ourselves ; and if compelled, we would stand justified by all laws, human and divine. * * * * *

“If we do not defend ourselves, none will defend us ; if we yield, we will be more and more pressed as we recede ; and if we submit, we will be trampled under foot. Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics. That gained, the next step would be, to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites ; and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They, and their Northern allies, would be the masters, and we the slaves. * * * * *

“There is but one way to defend ourselves. We must meet the enemy on the frontier—on the question of receiving ; we must secure that important pass—it is our Thermopylæ. The power of resistance, by an universal law of our nature, is on the exterior. Break through the shell—penetrate the crust, and there is no resistance within. In the present contest, the question of receiving constitutes our frontier. It is the first, the exterior question ; that covers and protects all the others. Let it be

penetrated by receiving this petition, and *not a point of resistance can be found within, as far as this Government is concerned.* If we cannot maintain ourselves there, we cannot on any interior position. Of all the questions that can be raised, there is not one on which we can rally on ground more tenable for ourselves, or more untenable for our opponents, not excepting the ultimate question of abolition in the States. For our right to reject this petition, is as clear and unquestionable, as that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in the States."

Gentlemen, fourteen years have passed since the Free-States, by the presentation of abolition petitions, first evinced their intention to interfere with the institution of slavery in the South. Fourteen years have now shed their light on the predictions, warnings, and policy of Mr. CALHOUN. His predictions have been fulfilled, his warnings realized, and his course sustained. It may be a question of doubt whether, after the triumph of consolidation in the Tariff Act of 1828, and the Force-Bill, the Union could possibly have been preserved, or was, indeed, worth preserving, with its warped and vicious tendencies; for interference with the subject of slavery inevitably followed. But if the Union could have been preserved, there was one, and but *one* way of saving it—by shutting out the subject of slavery from the halls of Congress. The 21st. Rule excluded abolition petitions from the consideration of Congress. It was the only expedient by which the South could be protected from incendiary agitations. And upon its preservation depended Southern freedom and equality, and the continuance of the Union. It was, as Mr. CALHOUN said, our *frontier—the Thermopylæ* of the South. And the determination of the North to overleap its barriers, was only proof of the necessity of its continuance, and of the rising and presumptuous spirit of abolition. This determination should have been met by a determination equally strong on the part of the South, to dissolve the Union the instant of its abrogation. If, at this early stage of the controversy, five States, nay two States, of the South, had instructed their Representatives to withdraw from Congress immediately on such an exigency, the Rule would have remained to this day; or if repealed, and the Union in consequence had been dissolved.

the result would have been, new guaranties under a re-Union, which would have assured to the South permanent equality and respect. But after the 21st Rule was repealed in the House of Representatives, and the South had tamely submitted, "it was beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events." The only alternatives left to the South were, an abolition government, or a dissolution of the Union. Things have not since changed. The same alternatives now remain before us. They have only gone on to their maturer development.

The emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands gave a powerful stimulus to anti-slavery fanaticism in the Free States of the Union. England, in this, followed France. She had set the example, when in the drunken and bloody saturnalia of her first Revolution, she liberated the slaves of St. Domingo. And what were the results of that first liberation of the African slave? What encouragement to pursue this policy was afforded by that experiment to other nations? Under negro dominion, the exports of the Island fell, in forty years, from 20,000,000, annually, to 2,000,000. The culture of sugar was abandoned; and the chief source of commerce remaining, was the coffee gathered from the spontaneous production of the ground, in places where old plantations formerly stood. Ignorance and superstition, and a barbarism truly African, settled over the Queen Island of the Antilles. England saw the result, and yet despite experience, borne away by fanaticism, incredulous of the real character of the negro, determined to make herself the experiment of negro emancipation. The dogma, that free-labour is more profitable than slave-labour—because a man will work more for himself than for another—is true of the Anglo Saxon race. The British statesmen supposed it would be true of the negro also. They anticipated increased production from the West India Islands, and, consequently, cheaper supplies to British subjects and to the world, of all the tropical productions. These, in all ages, have been the chief resource and instruments of commerce; because most contributing to the necessities and comforts of man.

In the midst of the experiment, three vessels, with slaves on board, were driven, by stress of weather, at different times, from the coast of the United States into British West India Ports. The slaves were taken forcibly out of the vessels, and were emancipated. The Government of the United States required compensation for the negroes thus liberated. In the case of two of the vessels, the demand was granted, because the apprentice system, preparatory to entire emancipation in the British West India Islands, had not terminated. But it was refused in the case of the third—the *Enterprise*—because, at the time she entered the British port, slavery had been abolished by law. In this decision of the British Government, the administration of Mr. Van Buren acquiesced. But Mr. CALHOUN was not satisfied. He saw that acquiescence had the effect of throwing the institution of slavery without the pale of the laws of nations. All other property was deemed inviolable, was sacredly protected from interference, when driven by the act of God into a friendly port. And if slaves were to be excepted, they were excepted only because, by the laws of nations, they are *not property*. He, therefore, moved Resolutions in the Senate, asserting the true doctrine on this point, and maintained them by a most able speech. The speech was unanswered; the resolutions passed the Senate; and in the negotiations of the Treaty of Washington, assurances were given by the British negotiator, that outrages of this kind should never be repeated. They have never been repeated.

A few years passed by, and in the British West India Islands the practical effects of emancipation became visible. They, too, took the downward course of St. Domingo; and instead of increased supplies of the tropical productions by African free labor, a rapid decline in all productions whatsoever, characterize the daily retrogression of the negro, to his condition in his native jungle. Great Britain awakes from her dream of independence. As her West Indies decline in exports, she sees herself more and more dependent on Brazil, Cuba and the United States for their slave-grown produce. What course shall she pursue to retrieve

her folly? Controlling in any way the tropical productions, she would achieve her own independence and control the commerce of the world. And how can this be done? Abolish slavery in Brazil, Cuba and the United States—let negro indolence and barbarism prevail over these regions, as in Hayti and her own West Indies; and the East Indies, under her direction, would become the only source of supplying the world with the produce of the tropics. This is the only clue (giving the politicians of England credit for statesmanship) to their policy in striving to extend emancipation over Texas, and to keep her out of the Union.

There is no statesmanship in fanaticism. Fanaticism is feeble reason, mastered by a stronger imagination or passion. Its mists, if any had obscured the vision of British statesmen, must have been dispelled when they repealed the duties in favor of their West India colonies, and against slave-grown productions.

MR. CALHOUN saw through this policy: Texas became necessary to the safety of the South—as necessary then, as California and New Mexico are now—to prevent the circumscribing and hemming-in of the South, by free States, hostile to her institutions. With a view to the protection of the South on this great subject, he left his retirement, and accepted the appointment of Secretary of State, tendered him by President Tyler, and unanimously confirmed by the Senate, without a reference. He made a treaty, admitting Texas into the Union. It failed in the Senate; but the discussion awakened at the rejection of the treaty, had entered into the popular mind; and to enlighten it still further, Mr. CALHOUN wrote that admirable dispatch to Mr. King, our Minister to France. Here he exposed the designs of England, exhibiting the true bearing of the annexation of Texas upon other nations. To this dispatch, perhaps, more than to any other cause, we may attribute the final success of the measure. It lifted the question above mere sectional considerations, and gave it an aspect entirely new. Shall we be dependent on England, or England on us? shall England or shall the United States control the commerce of the world? Such views operated powerfully all over the country, but especially in the South, whose

ruin was essential to the success of the British scheme. At the next Congress, the measure of annexing Texas was again brought forward, and was carried. In gaining this great victory for the South, many able men co-operated. It may not be just to them to say, as was alleged in the Senate Chamber, that Mr. CALHOUN was *the author* of this annexation: it is, however, safe to affirm, that, *but* for Mr. CALHOUN, Texas would never have been a part of the Union.

This measure being happily concluded, it was thought by many that the institution of slavery was secure from the intervention of northern fanatics at home, or of foreign nations abroad. It proved, however, to be but another step in the progress of things, making up for the South the grand alternative of *Abolition* or *Disunion*.

Out of the annexation of Texas sprung the Mexican War. Mr. CALHOUN perceived that a war with Mexico would jeopard all advantages the South had just won by the acquisition of Texas. At its very commencement, the North declared their intention to appropriate all territory that might be acquired from Mexico, by either conquest or treaty. Those who believed that the General Government was irreformable—that nothing could arrest its downward progress to consolidation—that it was irretrievably gone under the dominion of the Free States, and that the South would have sooner or later to seek safety from the dangers and oppressions it would spread over them, in a dissolution of the Union, were not at all alarmed at such declarations. Their fulfilment would only force on that issue between the free and slave States which must come, and which every consideration of policy on the part of the slave States required should be speedily determined. But Mr. CALHOUN had no sympathy with views like these. He loved the Union for itself. He loved it, because it had been the object of his great and patriotic labors—the theatre of all his achievements. The South he loved more: “There he had garnered up his heart, where either he must live or bear no life.” And the dread alternative of choosing between them, he could not contemplate without grief and alarm. To

save both, he opposed the Mexican War. He opposed it in its inception, as unnecessary—in its continuance, as boding only evil.

“Every Senator knows,” said he, in one of his speeches during the war, “that I was opposed to the war; but none knows but myself the depth of that opposition. With my conceptions of its character and *consequences*, it was impossible for me to vote for it. When, accordingly, I was deserted by every friend on this side the House, including my then honorable colleague among the rest, (Mr. McDUFFIE,) I was not shaken in the least degree in reference to my course. On the passage of the Act recognizing the war, I said, to many of my friends, that a deed had been done from which the country would not be able to recover for a long time, if ever;” and added, “it has dropped a curtain between the present and the future, which to me is impenetrable; and for the first time in my life, I am unable to see the future.” He also added, “that it has closed the *first* volume of our political history under the Constitution, and opened the *second*; and that no mortal could tell what would be written in it.”

How majestic his solitary position in the Senate on this occasion! How sad his prophetic forebodings! The curtain is lifting, and the hideous features of triumphant Abolition are scowling behind it. The new volume of our political history is opened, and Revolution is written on its pages; revolution, by consolidation—or revolution, by disunion. His speech on the Three Million Bill showed from whence the darkness rose which obscured his mental vision.

“But there is,” he said, “a still deeper, a still more *terrific difficulty* to be met—a difficulty more vital than those to which I have alluded—a difficulty arising out of a division of sentiment, which went to the *very foundation of our Government*. How should these lands be disposed of, if any were acquired? To whose benefit should they accrue? Should they accrue to the exclusive benefit of one portion of the Union? We were told, and he was fearful that appearances too well justified the assertion, that all parties in the non-slaveholding portion of the Union insisted that they should have the exclusive control of this acquired territory—that such provision should be made as should exclude those who were interested in the institutions of the South from a participation in the advantages to be derived from the application of those institutions to the territory thus acquired.

“Sir, if the non-slaveholding States, having no other interest in the question excepting their aversion to slavery—if *they* can

come to this conclusion, with no interest in the matter but this, I turn and ask gentlemen what must be the feeling of the population of the slaveholding States, who are to be deprived of their constitutional rights, and despoiled of the property belonging to them—assailed in the most vulnerable point (for to them this question was a question of safety, of self-preservation, and not a mere question of policy): and thus to be despoiled by those who were not concerned? If there were sternness and determination on one side, they might be assured there would be on the other.”

But not content with expressing his opinions on the Three Million Bill, Mr. CALHOUN afterwards offered a series of resolutions on this “still more terrific difficulty,” affirming the equal constitutional rights of the States to any territory which may be acquired by the war. These resolutions he supported by a speech, which concluded in the following strain:

“I see my way in the Constitution. I cannot in any compromise. A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It gives us no security. But the Constitution is stable. It is a rock. On it we can stand. It is a firm and stable ground, on which we can better stand in opposition to fanaticism than on the shifting sands of compromise. Let us be done with compromises. Let us go back and stand upon the Constitution!

“Well, sir, what if the decision of this body shall deny us this high constitutional right, not the less clear because deduced from the whole body of the instrument, and the nature of the subject to which it relates? What, then, is the question? I will not undertake to decide. It is a question for our constituents—the slaveholding States—a solemn and a great question. If the decision should be adverse, I trust and do believe that they will take under solemn consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I may speak as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are all my hopes. There are my family and connections. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a southern man, and a slaveholder—a kind and merciful one, I trust—and none the worse for being a slaveholder. I say, for one, I would rather meet *any extremity on earth*, than *give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us, as members of this great Republic*. What! acknowledge inferiority? The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowledged inferiority.

“I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future, if we do not stand up as we ought. In my humble

opinion in that case, the condition of Ireland is prosperous and happy—the condition of Hindostan is prosperous and happy—the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the southern States will be, if they should not *now* stand up manfully in defence of their rights.”

The war continued; and the year after, was closed. The “*terrific difficulty*” came. We acquired an immense extent of territory from Mexico, and the free States manifested the determination of excluding the slave States, and of taking the whole of it for themselves. A caucus of the southern representatives in Congress assembled in the Senate Chamber. The result of their counsels was, an Address to the people of the southern States, written by Mr. CALHOUN, and signed by a large portion of the southern representatives. It contained nothing but a simple statement of facts—the more powerful, from its very simplicity. At that session all efforts at compromise were defeated by the free States, in combination with a few southern representatives. It was clear that the free States would be content with nothing short of the total exclusion of the southern States from all our territories. Mr. CALHOUN’S health, long feeble, now gave manifest signs of a sure decline. He fainted three times during the session, in the lobby of the Senate—worn out by anxiety and working—but working on still. On one of these occasions I heard that he had fallen, and had been borne into the Vice President’s room. I hastened to him, and found him sitting on a sofa by the fireside, with his coat and waistcoat off. It was a cold, bitter day. As I approached him, he said, extending his hand—“Ah! Mr. Rhett, my career is nearly done. The great battle must be fought by you younger men.” “I hope not, sir,” was my reply—“for never was your life more precious, or your counsels more needed for the guidance and salvation of the South.” He answered—“*there*, indeed, is my only regret at going—the South—the poor South!” and his eyes filled with tears. I entreated him to put on his clothes. “I cannot,” he said—“I am burning up—wait until I am cool.” He *was* burning up—burning up by the internal fire of his own intense spirit, fed by ever restless anxieties for the Union, and his own, his beloved South. At the earnest remonstrances of friends, he kept

out of the Senate Chamber, and his health seemed to improve towards the close of this session; but few expected to see him again in Washington. They did not know the man—how self-abandoned was his sense of duty—how insignificant was health or life, where the safety or honor of the South or his native State was concerned. He believed—and believed truly, that the next session of Congress would settle—and settle forever, for good or evil, the destiny of the Union and the South.

To have strength enough to reach Washington at the opening of Congress, and to be there—was a necessary sequence in the nature of things. But he was soon driven to his chamber, by the stern hand of approaching death. With his mind and heart labouring and full with the portentous issues before the country, he wrote in his sick chamber that last effort of his great mind—his last speech—that master-piece of lucid logic, calm wisdom and noble patriotism, which *we—we*, his countrymen, for whom he lived and died, “will not willingly let die.” Tablets of brass or marble, on which it may be recorded, may fail; but it shall not fail in its effects. It shall live forever, in the redeemed honour and liberties of the South. It was the last flash of the sun, to show the ship of State her only port of safety, as darkness and the howling tempest closed around her. He died—for his work was done. If the South would not heed his warnings and counsels, why should he live? But if she regarded them—and would more regard them, when uttered by his dying lips—why should he not die? His work was done. Yet he wished for one more hour in the Senate Chamber, ere he departed. What longed he to utter there? Had his mighty spirit devised some new way to save the Union, consistent with the liberties of the South? Or did he wish to utter there that word which all his lifetime he could not speak, although wrong and oppression tortured him—that word, which dying despair could alone wring from his aching heart—disunion!! The secret counsels of that longed-for hour, he was not permitted to disclose, and they lie buried with him in his grave; but he had said enough for duty—enough for liberty and honour—enough for our salvation. If we will not heed his warnings, and follow the counsels he has

left us, neither would we be persuaded, though he arose from the dead.

Gentlemen:—The character of Mr. CALHOUN has been drawn by a hundred pens, which, although differing in their colouring, agree in the grand features which composed it. As a Statesman, he will be estimated in our day according to party affinities. He stood too often above the two great parties of the country, not to be hated by the party bigots of both; but the time will come, perhaps is near at hand, when the passions and prejudices which party awakens, will be allayed—when events will have tested the wisdom of his counsels, and the correctness of his principles,—and history, with her iron pen, will engrave on her imperishable tablets, the true character of his statesmanship. She will, probably, record that, as a practical Statesman, his great defect was, that he pursued principles too exclusively. Principles are unerring; but in their practice and application in the affairs of Government, we have to deal with erring man. Hence, the necessity often of qualification. Hence, too, the necessity, in public life, of address on the part of a great political leader to obtain success in the controul and governance of men—kindness towards their dissent—patience with their errors—and a boundless charity. Mr. CALHOUN sunk himself too much, and put his principles too high, in his personal relations. If this feature of his character made him, apparently, too easily part with friends, it made him, also, the most placable of foes. No matter what had been his former personal relations, he could cooperate with any one in pursuing any policy he thought the interest of the country required. The politics of some men are made by their associations and friendships—the politics of others are controlled by their enmities. Mr. CALHOUN was above all personal influences. The good of his country, according to those great principles he had wrought out, appeared to govern his whole political course. This peculiarity made him a great Statesman; but he was not a great party-leader. He understood principles—he understood how they should be enforced—but he did not understand how best to controul and use, for their enforcement, that compound of truth and error—reason and prejudice—passion and weakness—man. To this cause, perhaps,

more than to any other, it may be attributed that, although the head of his party in creating and elaborating its principles, he never obtained the highest office it could bestow. If he sought this highest office—he sought it and would have accepted it, only for the purpose of enforcing his principles. Conscious of his pure intents and mighty powers, he believed that if he had the controul of the administration of the Government, he could keep it within the prescribed limits of the Constitution, and save and perpetuate the Union. But could he, could any man, however great, popular, and just, have arrested the onward march of consolidation, under the unscrupulous ambition, fanaticism, and avarice of the Free States? Aristotle, Locke, Sydney, Russell, Hume, were theoretical Statesmen. Pericles, Walpole, Chatham, Fox, Peel, were practical Statesmen. Burke was both a theoretical and a practical Statesman—and the greatest in the combination of all the qualifications of statesmanship England has ever produced. But, unfortunately, he lived at a time, and amidst circumstances, which induced him to lean on the side of order, privilege and government, rather than that of liberty. Mr. CALHOUN, although his inferior in cultivation and in the gorgeous splendour of his imagination—was not his inferior in naked reasoning, deep analysis, and a profound knowledge of the principles of free Government. The one had the British Constitution, with all its anomalies and abuses, to defend—the other, the Constitution of the United States, in its federative and free principles, (the most wonderful political production of the world) to elucidate and enforce. Burke exhibited a more beautiful efflorescence—but CALHOUN the soundest fruit. In theoretic statesmanship, Aristotle, from amongst the ancients, will, probably, alone stand beside him; but as a practical statesman, many, both in ancient and modern times, may rank above him; because he failed in enforcing his policy. But he did not look to his personal success, nor to the practical enforcement of his policy, as the measure of his fame. He looked to future ages; and trusting to the improvement of men in civilization, and the extension of free Governments, he anticipated the happy period, when the liberties of the world, in a thousand Republics, would rest on the mighty foundations his genius had wrought

out and laid down for their erection and eternal duration. Turning to the immortality before us in our after life, the remembrance of us by the world we must soon leave, may be of very little moment. This is the voice of reason. And yet, there is a yearning for a name amongst future generations—there is a thirst to live with them, by the blessings we may impart, which has nerved the noblest minds to the noblest efforts and sacrifices. It was from this yearning on earth after a glorious immortality, that the ancient philosopher inferred the soul's immortality in an after life. Mr. CALHOUN, doubtless, believed the great principles of free government he originated and advocated, to be as eternal as truth itself, and as lasting as man; and was he not animated, too, with the inspiring hope, that his name would live with them in all after ages? Thousands of generous spirits, since the entrance of civilized man on this continent, have lived and died with the hope of a prolonged fame amongst future generations; but I can discover but two men who will probably obtain this fame—WASHINGTON and CALHOUN—the former, as the founder of a great Republic—the latter, as the discoverer of the true principles of free government. The political knaves and charlatans of our day, who have overturned the Constitution of the United States, with all its beautiful proportions, and wonderful contrivances for the perpetuation of liberty, will only be remembered, if remembered at all, amongst the vulgar herd who have cursed their generation by their faithless fanaticism, avarice or ambition.

Mr. CALHOUN's mind, in its characteristics, was as striking as it was great. It stood forth like the Egyptian Pyramids—vast, simple, and grand. It was essentially Southern, with none of that affectation, pretension and glitter about it, which deforms the literature and oratory of the Northern people. Meretricious ornament was as unsuitable to it as verdure on the top of the highest Andes. No flowers grew on the banks of the mighty river of his thoughts, as it broke its way through mountains, and left rocks and gigantic cliffs beetling over it. Yet there is an earnestness and elevation in his language, which bears the mind on, as if on a swift, deep current. His close, compact and impregnable logic, moved with the precision and measured tread of a Spartan phalanx. Stone upon stone, he reared the pile of

his fair argument, until at length it stood a lofty temple, with its steeples and domes looking up to heaven, and bathed in the light of eternal truth. If he failed to convince, (for conviction is not always the result of reason) he never failed to elicit admiration or wonder at the expositions of his intellect. In debate, he was collected and deliberate, but when warmed in argument, he looked the embodiment of fiery thought. In conversation, he failed—that is, he failed for such a mind—because his conversation was reasoning. Conversation in society is not sought for the purpose of business or instruction; still less, for the exercise of logical reasoning. It is rather sought, to play with, or to banish thought, than to excite it. Amusement—intellectual amusement—the amusement which wit imparts, or the affections excite, are the great objects of conversation. Mr. CALHOUN, although always cheerful, had but little wit, and still less of that acerbity or malignity of temper, which gives wit its sharpest edge and deepest interest in exposing the folly or weaknesses of others. He discoursed, rather than conversed; and so rapid and forcible were his thoughts, that his hearers listened and admired rather than replied, for comprehension was often at fault. Young men, especially, delighted to look down into his intellect, as if hanging over the deep clear lakes of Florida, where the smallest pebbles and shells are seen at the greatest depths.

But the crowning glory of Mr. CALHOUN'S character was in his private life. He said himself, on one occasion to a friend—"I have been defamed and vilified in every particular but in my private life; and thank God! there, neither envy, malice, nor falsehood has dared to assail me." When the sad news of his death arrived, his neighbors, with whom he had lived thirty years, with one accord assembled together, and having expressed their grief at their loss, they sent a deputation to request that his body may be laid amongst them. They wished to cherish the sad semblance of still being near him; and to bring their children to the green sod where he lay, and tell them of the simple-hearted friend—the good counsellor—the blessed peace-maker—the pure and deathless patriot, whose bosom it covers. But what shall we say of that patience—that purity—that tenderness—with which

he embraced all beneath his roof? Shall we speak of those domestic relations, which give us all that is left us of our first estate; and whose dissolution by the hand of death, there is but one Physician who can cure—there is but one balm which can heal? Shall we enter into his home, where bleeding hearts are still mourning *his* absence and *their* desolation,—and tearful eyes are looking at those places which once knew him, but shall now know him no more forever? No, no!—We turn away in grief for them—in grief for ourselves.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, I have finished, although feebly performed, the mournful task assigned me. Our last honours to the honoured dead, are about to close. *You* were not ungrateful for the services he rendered you; and *he* tried to repay you by a filial devotion, which ceased only with life. State and Statesman, you have held to each other, as only those can do, who esteem and love one another, without doubt, or fear, or shame. *You* have been reproached for trusting him too confidingly; and *he* has been reproached for seeking too intensely and exclusively your interests and honour. Let those without the State, blame or upbraid. We rejoice that we have upheld him, as we have done; and now, when we can no longer feel his mighty arm supporting us, we would not give our *dead statesman* for all the *living* statesmen of this broad continent. We mourn our loss;—but we value the treasures his life and intellect have left us, more than “the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.” We mourn our loss;—but, standing over his remains, we cannot but hate the tyranny that hurried him to his grave,—and love the liberty for which he lived, and wasted, and died. Cherishing his memory, we dare not be slaves. Looking to his example and precepts, we must and will be free. If his home, whilst living, was sacred to purity and honor, his last resting place shall not be polluted by the foul footsteps of traitors to liberty. And, when over the long track of ages to come, the star of his genius shall still shine on, to lead the nations to freedom,—it shall not be forgotten that South Carolina, the land of his nativity, reared him—sustained him—and honoured him to the last.

James Lieber

THOUGHTS SUITED TO THE PRESENT CRISIS,

A SERMON,

ON OCCASION OF

THE DEATH OF HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL

OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE,

APRIL 21, 1850.

BY

JAMES H. THORNWELL,

PROFESSOR OF SACRED LITERATURE AND THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE STUDENTS.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

PRINTED BY A. S. JOHNSTON.

1850.



on many respects excellent,
on p. 20 the responsibility of state
is. This is erroneous and wholly
unphilosophical. I wonder that
Mr Thorewell did not see the atten-
dable of what he writes but
it is as unclear and unphilosophical
as what Archbishop Whately said
in his Bampton Lecture on natural
sin with reference to the
subject as appearing in the Old
Testament. The whole subject is
imply that of the difficulty which
arises everywhere out of the two
positions, viz. that man is an
individual, and all morality and
responsibility attached to his individ-
uality, and that man is a social
being, constantly influenced for weal
and woe by the society, the period
he lives in; that man is influenced
by example &c. We cannot solve
this question here. God alone
can disentangle the tangled
threads of each soul. He will
blaze many a prostitute higher
than many a married woman
who never physically transgressed
but must punish and have penal
laws, yet alas! what would each
of us be had we be born as many
criminals are, had we passed

named parents &

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SERMON.

"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the Earth; serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling."—
PSALM II. 10, 11.

Three weeks ago this day, as the first bell was giving us the signal to prepare for assembling ourselves in the house of God, for the purpose of rendering our morning homage to the Father of all mercies, a spirit endeared to us by many ties was winging its flight to the eternal world. That bell which summoned us to prayer seems to have kept time with his expiring breath—and before we had gathered ourselves in this hall, or assumed the devout posture of worshippers, South Carolina's honoured son—and one of America's distinguished statesmen, was numbered with the dead. On the wings of lightning the sad intelligence was borne to us. The feeling of every heart was that a great man had fallen—and perhaps few were so hardened as not to acknowledge, at least for the moment, that in this death there was a message of God to the people, the councils and rulers of this land. Death, it is true, is no rare visiter in this world of sin—and a refined skepticism might suggest that, as there was nothing extraordinary in the case before us, of an old man, enfeebled by disease and wasted by intellectual toil, sinking beneath the burden of infirmity and care—nothing

extraordinary in the nature or operations of the malady which brought him to his end, that we should undertake to make nothing of it but the natural operation of natural causes. Some may complacently tell us that a great man has sickened—a great man has died—a star has been struck from the firmament—and its light is lost. We may speculate upon the probable effects of the phenomenon—as we speculate upon any other important event—but it is the weakness of superstition and credulity to find in it any immediate interposition of God.

Fortified as this species of skepticism may be by a shallow philosophy, there is something in the time and circumstances of the death we have assembled to contemplate, and the position and relations of the distinguished victim, that will make the heart play truant to the head, and extort the confession of the Egyptian Magicians, that the finger of God is here. Behold the time! Never in the annals of our confederacy has there been a more critical period than this. Never has a Congress met under circumstances so full of moment and responsibility. Never has the Senate of these United States been called to deliberate on questions so solemn and eventful, as those which were before it when our Senator received the mandate that his work was done. To my mind nothing less than the problem of national existence is involved in the issues before the councils of our country. Shall this Union, consecrated by patriot blood—founded on principles of political wisdom which the world has wondered at and admired—and which has conducted us to a pitch of elevation and of influence, which have made us a *study*

among the philosophers of Europe, shall this Union—which in all our past history has been our glory and defence, be broken up—and the confederated States of this republic left to float upon the wide sea of political agitation and disorder? The magnitude of this catastrophe depends not at all upon the shock which it would give to our most cherished sentiments—upon breaking up the continuity of our national recollections and interrupting the current of patriotic emotion—though this deserves to be seriously considered. But there are deeper, more awful consequences involved. To suppose that this confederacy can be dissolved without cruel, bloody, ferocious war, terminating in a hatred more intense than any which ever yet disgraced the annals of any people—is to set at defiance all the lessons of history; and to suppose that in the present state of the world—when the bottomless pit seems to have been opened, and every pestilential vapour tainting the atmosphere—when a false philosophy has impregnated the whole mass of the people abroad with absurd and extravagant notions of the very nature and organization of society and the true ends of government—to suppose that amid this chaos of opinion, which has cursed the recent revolutions of Europe—we could enter upon the experiment of framing new constitutions without danger, is to arrogate a wisdom to ourselves to which the progress of events, in some sections of the land, shows we are not entitled. I cannot disguise the conviction that the dissolution of this Union—as a political question—is the most momentous which can be proposed in the present condition of the world. Consider the position

and influence of these United States. . To say that this vast republick is, under God, the arbiter of the destinies of this whole continent, that it is for us to shape the character of all America—that our laws—our institutions—our manners, must tell upon the degenerate nations of the South, and sooner or later absorb the hardier sons of the North, is to take too contracted a view of the subject. With the Pacific on the one side and the Atlantic on the other—we seem to hold the nations in our hands. With one arm on Europe and the other on Asia, it is for us to determine the political condition of the race for ages yet to come. Our geographical position, in connection with the inventions of modern science and the improvements of modern enterprize, makes us the very heart of the world. Our life must be propelled by the oceans which engirdle our shores through every country on the globe—the beating of our pulse must be felt in every nation of the earth. We stand, indeed, in reference to free institutions and the progress of civilization, in the momentous capacity of the federal representatives of the human race.

But the accomplishment of the lofty destiny to which our position evidently calls us, depends upon Union as well as Progression. Our glory has departed—the spell is broken—whenever we become divided among ourselves. Ichabod may then be written upon our walls, and the clock of the world will be put back for generations and centuries. What a question, therefore, is that—whether we shall go forward in that career on which we have so auspiciously entered, and accomplish

the destiny to which the providence of God seems conspicuously to have called us—or suffer the hopes of humanity to be crushed, and freedom to be buried in eternal night. It is not extravagant to fancy that we can see the unborn millions of our own descendants uniting with countless multitudes of the friends of liberty in all climes, in fervent supplications to the American Congress for the salvation of the American Union. The liberty of the world is at stake. The American Congress is now deliberating upon the civil destinies of mankind.

But the interests of freedom are not the only ones involved. The interests of religion are deeply at stake. To Britain and America, Protestant Christianity looks for her surest friends, and her most zealous and persevering propagators. With the dissolution of this Union, all our schemes of Christian benevolence and duty—our efforts to convert the world—to spread the knowledge of Christianity among all people, and to translate the Bible into all languages, must be suddenly and violently interrupted. It would be the extinction of that light which is beginning to dawn upon the millions of China—the total eclipse of that star of hope which is beginning to rise upon the isles of the sea. The consequences, civil, political, religious, which would result, not simply to *us*, but to mankind, from the destruction of this glorious confederacy, cannot be contemplated without horror—and make the present, beyond all controversy, the most important and solemn crisis that has ever been presented in the history of our country. Such was the time. Behold now the *man!* He was precisely

the individual to whom, in such a crisis, his own State would have most cheerfully confided her destiny. With an understanding distinguished for perspicacity—a firmness equal to any emergency—a perseverance absolutely indomitable—with a masterly intellect and a true and faithful heart, the South looked to him for defence, for protection, for guidance. He is permitted to mingle in the councils of the nation—utter his voice with one foot in the grave—and then he is withdrawn forever—withdrawn, too, when he feels his head clearer and his prospect of usefulness brighter than it had ever been before. Why at this time is his voice stilled in death? Why was he not permitted to utter those last words which lay upon his heart? Why, when the highest of all sublunary interests was at stake, was one of our purest and brightest Statesmen refused permission to continue in the conflict? Surely this was the finger of God. It was no casualty—it was no accident of fortune—it was no decree of destiny—it was the act of the Almighty.

No temper is more constantly commended in the Scriptures than devout contemplation of the events of Providence. The atheism which disregards the works is as severely condemned as the stupidity which despises the word of God. They are said to be wise, who observe and ponder the operation of His hands—who mark His goings forth and contemplate His paths as the great moral Ruler of the universe. They are wise who perceive in Providence its wonderful analogies to grace—who feel that the plans and purposes and principles of the Divine government are stamped to some extent upon

all the Divine proceedings—that the moral, natural and physical, all harmonize with the spiritual and eternal, and that the events which are constantly taking place around them, give emphasis and illustration to the truths of revelation. Beside what may be styled the natural history of the universe, its stability and order, its uniformity and proportion, beside the operation of general laws and the connections and dependencies of a systematic whole, there is a secret lore which the good man gathers from the phenomena of nature---a recognition of God in His moral character, dealing with His moral and responsible creatures. Death, as a natural event, is one thing---as a moral phenomenon another. In the one aspect we may speculate upon its causes, its symptoms, its effects. We may discuss fevers and coughs and agues---talk about the vital organs, and make a consistent theory of physiology. But the whole train of natural events which physiology discusses and which terminate in the dissolution of the frame, must be viewed in subordination to the moral government of God, in order to be properly understood and duly appreciated. It is in this aspect that the contemplation of Providence becomes a matter of religious wisdom, and yields lessons for the improvement of the heart as well as the instruction of the head. To deny the agency of God, because events are brought about in a natural order, which is to make the uniformity of nature a plea for atheism, is a stupidity as absurd as it is deplorably common. Who, we may ask, established this natural order? Who keeps it in continuance? Who brings into being

each successive link in the chain of sequences? And who has arranged the whole series so that every thing occurs at the appointed time and in the proper place?

But while philosophy and religion conspire in teaching that the hand of God must be devoutly recognized in all the operations of Providence, the investigation of final causes is circumscribed within narrow limits. We can only study them in relation to ourselves. To scrutinize the purposes which God means certainly to accomplish, and explore the ultimate reasons of His visitations to the children of men---to say precisely what was the design of the Almighty in such and such a proceeding, were beyond the limits of mortal penetration. He worketh all things according to the counsel of His own will. The hidden springs which move that will---the ends which God actually intends to achieve, we are not competent to discover. But the relations of these events to us---their tendencies and adaptations are obvious and patent---and these tendencies are so many expressions of the Divine pleasure---so many intimations of what God would have us to do or forbear. His Providence often carries lessons on its face which it is criminal stupidity not to perceive, and criminal insensibility not to feel. His visitations are often messages to men, as palpable and clear as if the heavens were opened and an angel commissioned to speak from the skies.

That there are events brought about in the regular operation of secondary causes, which from their importance and their juncture, have all the effect of a miracle, in rousing attention and extorting the confession

of the presence of God, requires only to be stated in order to be owned. Though no encroachments upon the established order of sublunary things, they are *invasions* upon the dull uniformity of thought—they disturb the tranquillity which sees nothing in the world but a succession of antecedents and consequents, which appear and disappear, exciting no other feeling than that they are a matter of course—they break the slumbers of a practical Atheism and provoke the acknowledgement that there is a God in the heavens—who has done whatsoever He pleased---that there are watchers and a Holy one who rule in the kingdom of heaven and distribute dynasties and thrones with sovereign authority. There are events in which the natural is lost in something which is felt not to be a matter of course---we pause before them---we spontaneously give heed to them as having a special significance---we interrogate them as strange and unexpected visiters---and through them, if we are wise, we shall learn lessons that it was worthy of a miracle to teach. Precisely of this character is the event which has hung our own Commonwealth in mourning---has struck the nation with awe---has roused the attention of all classes in the community and has elicited publick expressions of sorrow and lamentation from societies, clubs, schools, colleges, districts, towns, cities and legislative assemblies. This spontaneous expression of grief---every where—from all parties—from every portion of the land—from the pulpit and the press—the intense interest the death of our illustrious Senator has excited—place it beyond all question in the category of those events in

which God solemnly announces His own sovereignty and communicates a message to the children of men as if by a legate from the skies.

Upon occasions of this sort, it has been justly remarked by one, who of all others, knew best how to improve them, "the greatest difficulty a speaker has to surmount is already obviated—attention is awake—an interest is excited, and all that remains is to lead the mind, already sufficiently susceptible, to objects of permanent utility—he originates nothing—it is not so much he that speaks as the events which speak for themselves—he only presumes to interpret the language and to guide the confused emotions of a sorrowful and swollen heart into the channels of piety."

It is not the office of the pulpit, however, to praise the dead or flatter the living. As it surveys departed greatness with a different eye from the eye of sense, it can bring no offerings to the altar of human glory, nor erect a monument to the achievements of human genius. The preacher, in common with other men, may drop a tear at the urn of the patriot, and dwell with delight upon those rare gifts which the Supreme Disposer of all things has conferred upon a mighty statesman. He, too, is a man and a citizen—and in these relations he may feel and weep as others weep at the extinction of a great light. But as the ancient prophets were required, in the proclamation of their messages, to suppress the voice of nature and to speak with a dignity and majesty befitting the oracles of God, so the pulpit must stand aloof from the language of panegyric, know neither friendship nor

hatred, and seek to extract from the dispensations of Providence only those lessons of the Divine word, they are suited to illustrate and enforce. As we bury our dead this day, and as men, patriots and citizens, mourn that the delight of our eyes and pride of our hearts has been removed from us at a stroke, let us recognize the hand of the Almighty and inquire, with solemnity and reverence, what the instructions are which the judge of all truth is imparting to the country by this dark visitation. A Senator has fallen—a statesman has perished—a man has died. In these aspects, the mournful occurrence may be regarded as the voice of God, teaching a fitting lesson to the councils, rulers and people of the land.

I. A Senator has fallen! There is a message here to those who are entrusted with the cares of government and the business of legislation. The introduction of death, in a form so awful and astounding, into the Senate of the United States, was a proclamation from heaven, to all who are called to deliberate upon the affairs of the country, that their ways are before the eyes of the Lord, and that He pondereth all their goings. Whatever may be the cause, it is impossible to contemplate death in our own species as a merely natural event. We may endeavour by a shallow philosophy to persuade ourselves that it was the original lot of our race—that we were designed, like the beasts that perish, to appear and disappear in succession—to fret and strut our hour upon the stage, and then be seen no more—that like drink and food and sleep, it constitutes an element of our destined course—and is

no more remarkable than any other phenomenon of our being. But no philosophy can impress these sentiments upon the heart—our moral nature rises in rebellion against them, and the instinctive feeling of mankind is that it is a dread and awful thing to die. Having sprung, as we are informed by the sure word of prophecy, from a moral cause—being a judicial visitation of God—how natural soever the instruments may be by which it is brought about—the fixed associations of the mind connect it with moral retribution—and every conscience responds to the declaration of the apostle—that it is appointed unto men once to die—and after death the judgment. You cannot behold a corpse—you cannot stand by a grave—without feeling that though the body is there, the soul is gone to receive its final award. The very language in which the event is familiarly described, indicates the instinctive belief that the man is still in being in all the mystery of his identity—and that he has taken a journey to a world from which he is to depart no more. We say that he is gone—gone to his final home—to his fixed and everlasting abode. His being is not extinguished. He has laid aside the habiliments of mortality—the robes and decorations of a sublunary state—to stand in the nakedness of his moral nature before the bar of God. The man—what was simply the man—that upon which the law pressed—the intellectual life—is unclothed that naked, as it came to run its career of probation, naked it may return to give an account of the deeds done in the body. Hence the awful solemnity of death—it is the precursor of judgment. God's minister to summon God's creatures to God's tremendous bar. It

is accordingly a great thing to die. The keys of death and hell are in the hands of Him who sitteth upon the throne—and it is a solemn act of mediatorial government to open the doors of the invisible world and consign a deathless spirit to its destined position. We say that such and such an one is dead. The very sound is ominous and its portentous meaning has been fearfully portrayed—“an immortal spirit has finished its earthly career—has passed the barriers of the invisible world—to appear before its maker, in order to receive that sentence which will fix its irrecoverable doom, according to the deeds done in the body. An event has taken place which has no parallel in the revolutions of time, the consequences of which have not room to expand themselves within a narrower sphere than an endless duration. An event has occurred the issues of which must ever baffle and elude all finite comprehensions, by concealing themselves in the depths of that abyss, that eternity, which is the dwelling place of Deity, where there is sufficient space for the destiny of each, among the innumerable millions of the human race, to develop itself, and without interference or confusion, to sustain and carry forward its separate infinity of interest.” This is true of the departure of the meanest individual to the world of spirits. But the familiarity of the scene and the small degree of interest which attaches to the humble and obscure—the narrow circle within which ~~that~~ dissolution is mourned as a calamity, or deplored as a loss, prevents the impressions which death as a judicial visitation is suited to make upon the mind from exerting their full and appropriate effect. The

“In the private departments of life, the distressing incidents which occur are confined to a narrow circle. The hope of an individual is crushed—the happiness of a family is destroyed—but the social system is unimpaired and its movements experience no impediment and sustain no sensible injury. The arrow passes through the air which soon closes over it and all is tranquil. But when the great lights and ornaments of the world, placed aloft to conduct its inferior movements, are extinguished, such an event resembles the Apocalyptic vial, poured into that element which changes its whole temperature and is the presage of fearful commotions—of thunders, lightnings and tempests.” Such an event reveals the presence of God—and summons imagination and thought to the contemplation of those august realities which await the revelation of the last hour. Such an event brings eternity before us with all its dread and tremendous retributions and presses upon the soul the burden of an awful and oppressive responsibility. It makes us feel the magnitude of our being—and the stoutest heart is roused for a moment and startled at the summons—prepare to meet thy God.

The lesson of responsibility, of course, tells with more direct and powerful effect upon those who are intimately associated in pursuit—friendship—or profession with the victim of the destroyer. He being dead speaks pre-eminently to them. Through his grave they are invited to contemplate eternity, and his departed spirit reminds them of the hour in which they too shall be called to lay aside the vestments of mortality. It tells them to do

their work as in the eye of God—to think and act and deliberate and feel, in full view of the account which they must render at last. It tells them that a moral character attaches alike to their persons and their deeds—and that the complexion of their destiny depends upon the spirit in which they discharge the duties of their station. When consigning a body to the tomb, or witnessing the last gasp of a dying friend---we seem to stand upon the very borders of the unseen world---to be walking on the shore of that boundless ocean---in which all the streams of time are swallowed up---we almost hear the thunder of its billows---and feel the heavings of its waves---and a sense of immortality rushes upon the soul which at once oppresses and expands. We feel like rising and shaking ourselves from the dust---and the resolution is involuntarily adopted---though in the vast majority of cases too speedily forgotten---to do with our might whatsoever our hands find to do---since the night cometh when no man can work.

No lesson could be more seasonable, in the present crisis of our national affairs, than the responsibility of rulers and legislators to God the judge of all. That this doctrine is inadequately apprehended, the history of legislation in this and every other country is a mournful proof. There are two errors---widely prevalent---which have a direct and necessary tendency to despoil it of its full and just proportions---one is, that national responsibility is limited, in its operation and effects, to the dispensations of Providence in the present world---and the other is, that where there exists not, as there should exist

no where, a national establishment of religion, the distinctive sanctions of religion cannot be introduced. The effect of both errors is the same in relation to the retributions of a future world. And although one appears to be widely removed from the other, in that it acknowledges the fact of national responsibility, yet its mistake in limiting the Divine visitations to our present and sub-lunary state, divests the doctrine of all its awful and commanding majesty. It invests the Almighty, as the ruler of nations, with limited power and with temporary judgments—it places at His disposal the plague, pestilence and famine—war, earthquakes and tornadoes—but it robs Him of that thunder which holds individuals in check—of that vengeance which makes the future so terrible to the workers of iniquity. He may ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm—he may grind the nations as the small dust of the balance—he may extinguish their lights—throw them back into barbarism—but for their national sins he cannot visit them in the world of spirits.

As the ordinary course of affairs affords but slight indications of any marked visitation for national iniquities—as communities seem to be dealt with upon very much the same principle as private individuals—one event happening alike to all, this defective theory of national responsibility amounts in practice to a total destruction of any effective sense of responsibility at all. Seed time and harvest—commerce and trade—the various elements of national prosperity, seem to be so largely within the compass of human calculation and foresight, that where appearances, according to the established connections of

antecedents and consequents, promise well for the future, these anticipations will be adopted as the real guide of conduct rather than any apprehensions of sudden and violent interpositions of Divine justice. Men judge of the future by the indications of the present—or the experience of the past—and if they have nothing to deter them from evil but the prospect of immediate calamity, they will seldom find reason to be alarmed. The consequence upon statesmen and legislators is very much the same with the natural effects of the doctrine of universal salvation upon other individuals. The conclusion which they cannot but draw from the facts of Providence would be as unfavourable to moral distinctions and the rectitude of the Divine administration as if they reasoned from the fortunes of individuals. They could not but believe, either that God was indifferent to the moral conduct of organized communities—or that if He punished, it was so seldom—so irregularly, and except in rare and extraordinary cases, so imperceptibly, that no serious estimate should be made of His pleasure or displeasure in settling any great question of national policy. The final result would be a practical atheism which would completely exclude Him from the councils of the country.

The other error conducts to this result directly and immediately. It maintains that as a nation, in its organic capacity, cannot make a profession of religion—cannot worship God nor believe the Gospel of His grace—therefore it is exempt from His controul—and bound to have no special respect to His laws. This doctrine confounds the national obligations of religion with the existence of

a national Church. And as the establishment of any sect, or any particular species of religion, is an encroachment upon the rights of conscience, it is concluded that all religion must be excluded from halls of legislation, courts of judicature or seats of power. The impression prevails, to a melancholy extent, that the administration of the country is an affair in which God has no interest and should, by no means, be consulted, and in conformity with this impression many look for it as a matter of course that all the measures of the State shall be independent of any relations to religion. There are those who would exclude it from public institutions of learning—from the army, the navy,—as well as from the halls of Congress.

In both errors the fallacy is committed of overlooking one of the most obvious and fundamental principles of moral philosophy. All responsibility, in the last analysis, is personal and individual. The responsibility of a nation is not the responsibility of an organic whole considered as such, but of all the *individuals* who collectively compose it. The State is a compendious expression for certain relations in which moral and responsible persons exist towards each other—the duties of the State are all the duties of individuals—the crimes of the State are the crimes of individuals—the sins of the State are the sins of individuals, and the prosperity and the glory of the State are the prosperity and glory of individuals. The State is nothing apart from the men who constitute it. They exist in society, with reciprocal rights and obligations, and the company of individuals so existing is the State. To protect and defend these rights—to maintain

the supremacy of justice—to give each individual the scope for the developement, without interference or collision, of his separate and distinct personality, with a similar privilege to others, is the primary end of government—which must still be conducted by individuals and carries along with it only individual responsibility. In all the relations, in all the employments, in all the departments of the State, every one who is called to act is still only a *man*—and he brings to his labours all the measure of responsibility which appertains to his capacities and knowledge considered simply as a man. He is everywhere—in every office—in every trust, an immortal being, under the law of God—and the sanctions of that law extend as clearly and completely to his political conduct as to any other actions of his life. That law knows no manner of distinction betwixt the statesman and the man—the statesman is only the man, in new relations, involving new applications of the eternal principles of right. An honest man and a corrupt politician are a contradiction in terms.

It is hence obvious how the obligations and sanctions of religion press upon communities and nations. A State is bound to be religious, in the sense that every man in it is bound to fear God and to work righteousness. A State is bound to reverence the gospel, in the sense that all its members are obliged, on pain of the second death, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ—and a State is required to glorify God, in the sense that all its citizens—whether in private stations or posts of dignity and trust—are required, in whatever they do, to seek the glory of

His great name. When a legislature passes a law, it is done by the votes of *individuals*—and these individuals are all responsible *as such*, for the votes that they give. If any man has lent his sanction, in his public and official relations, to aught that transgresses the law of God, or slights the institutions of the Gospel, it is sin upon his soul to be visited and punished as any other wickedness of his life. God treats him as an individual, in such and such relations, with such and such duties growing out of them.

His responsibilities, therefore, as a ruler—a legislator—a judge, are precisely of the same fundamental nature—have precisely the same fundamental character—with his responsibilities in the private walks of life. He is summoned as a *man* to God's bar—and the scrutiny is made into all that the *man* has done, in the various relations which he has been called to sustain—and he is just as liable to be sent to hell for a corrupt vote—a political intrigue—or a political fraud, as for lying, hypocrisy or treachery in the private walks of life. The law of God as completely bound him in one position as in another—and in every position, a man should recognize himself as God's subject who must give an account at God's bar of all that he has done in all the relations in which God's Providence has placed him. This is the doctrine of the Scriptures as well as the plain dictate of unsophisticated reason.

The mandate of the text is given to kings and judges, as individuals, or men occupying high posts of power or renown. "Be wise now therefore O ye kings, be in-

structed ye judges of the earth—serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling—kiss the the Son lest He be angry and ye perish from the way when His wrath is kindled but a little.”

If this doctrine could be impressed upon our public men and upon the heart of the nation, it would soon give us in our national councils, what the present crisis so eminently demands—STATESMEN instead of jobbers and politicians. There is not and cannot be a more painful spectacle, than to see the interests of a great people tossed to and fro by the schemes and intrigues and chicane of men, who have neither the fear of God before their eyes nor the love of their country in their hearts. We cannot but dread some impending calamity when we see the honour and prosperity and glory of a nation made the sport “of the party tactics and the little selfish schemes of little men, who by the visitation of God, happen to have some controul over a great subject and some influence in a great commonwealth.” It is a lamentation and shall be for a lamentation—that the most momentous interests, requiring for their adjustment amplitude of mind, integrity of purpose—simplicity of aim—broad and general considerations of truth and justice—should so often be the sacrifice of dwarfish politicians—who are unable to extend their vision beyond the domain of self—or the almost equally narrow circle of section, party, or clique—that in affairs which call for the counsels of MEN—of men who are in some degree sensible of what it is to be a *man*—who have God’s smile or frown before them—that in such affairs, we should be dependent on

the guidance of pigmies---yea of worse than pigmies---of beings who profess to be immortal---to be working out a destiny for eternity, and yet who can rise to no loftier ends than the flesh pots of Egypt. A statesman is a sublime character---a jobbing politician too little for contempt.

Aristotle, in designating the points of correspondence between a pure democracy and a despotism---the ethical characters of which he makes the same---has noted the affinity between the parasite of a court and a popular demagogue. "They are not unfrequently"---says he---"the same identical men---and always bear a close analogy." The distinguishing characteristic of each is an utter destitution of elevated principle, arising from the absence of any just sense of moral responsibility. The schemes of each are only contrivances for personal aggrandizement. The most momentous interests of the nation are viewed as the occasions or instruments of private or party ends. Every thing proceeds from selfish and sordid calculation, while the supremacy of right and the authoritative voice of duty, the highest policy of a true statesman---are little revered by these pests of the Commonwealth. The parasite of a court is designated in Greek by a term which condenses the very essence of the meanness contained in flattery, hypocrisy and fawning. The cure of such eruptions upon the surface of political society is a pervading sense of personal responsibility. Impregnated with this sentiment---none would assume duties which they were incompetent to discharge---because none would be willing to jeopard the interests

of salvation for the brief importance of an hour. Who would wear a crown steeped in poison or occupy a throne with a drawn sword above his head? The solemnities of eternity would be made to protect the interests of time.

For the purpose of teaching this lesson---the lesson of personal responsibility, for the manner and spirit in which they have discharged the duties of their trust, the event which we this day contemplate, may have been permitted to take place. The bar of God, the tribunal of eternal justice, was reared in the halls of legislation. A signal example was given of one who, in the midst of his duties, was called to his final account. Each survivor was reminded of what soon would be true of him. The scene was touching and solemn beyond description, when the dead body of our departed Senator, in the scene of his greatest glory, was made a monitor of God, eternity and retribution to those who were deliberating upon the greatest question that has ever arisen in the history of any people. From the tomb he seemed to say---remember, Senators, that you must soon give an account of your stewardship. The eyes of God are on you---“raise your conceptions to the magnitude and importance of the duties that devolve upon you,”—“let your comprehension be as broad as the country for which you act---your aspirations as high as its certain destiny”—deliberate, vote—decide---as if the next moment you were to be with me in the world of spirits---at the bar of God---in a changeless state. Remember that you occupy a sublime position---a spectacle to the Deity, to angels and

to men. The civil destinies of the world hang on your decision. Rise to the dignity and grandeur of your calling as immortal beings, and instead of seeking to conciliate a section---to promote a party---or to aggrandize yourselves---instead of contracting your views to the idle and ephemeral applauses of earth, aim at the approbation of angels and of God. This was the language in which He, being dead, yet spoke to his companions and brethren in the Senate---and his voice we trust has not been wholly unheard. The noble eulogy of Webster---the touching tribute of Clay---the tone imparted to the Senate, lead to the hope that, notwithstanding recent and flagrant outrages, there exists in that august assembly a sense of responsibility, which wisely directed may, under God, prove the salvation of the country. But whether regarded or disregarded, it is the office of the pulpit to proclaim to our rulers that God will bring them into judgment for their public and official conduct---that however they may overlook every thing but the success of their selfish schemes or the commendation of their persons, God demands of them a supreme regard for justice, truth and religion---it is the office of the preacher to tell them, that if they say or do aught contrary to the principles of eternal rectitude, they say or do it at the peril of their souls---and to remind them from the memorable example of Herod that, though an infatuated mob may shout in its blindness, it is the voice of God and not of man---the judgments of heaven may consign their souls to the lowest hell.

Lightly and carelessly as it is sought, the office of a legislator is a solemn trust. It is wicked to aspire to it

without being prepared for its duties—and when it is bought or secured by the corruption of the people, it is the wages of iniquity which God will surely turn into a curse. How can that man entertain any adequate conviction of his responsibility to God, in discharging the functions of a place into which he was introduced by an open contempt of the Deity? I confess frankly, that I tremble for my country when I contemplate the deplorable extent to which politicks are turned into a trade—when I see the shocking separation in the national mind betwixt the candidate and the man—the politician and the citizen. To counteract this tendency, to impress upon all, the individual and personal nature of responsibility—to inculcate the supremacy of right every where, in all relations, is an end worthy of the extinction of the brightest lights of the land. To make us feel the all-pervading authority of the moral law and of the Christian faith—to bring us to the recognition of the truth, that in all the diversified scenes to which the Providence of God allots the children of men—they are still to be regarded as Christians and as men—developing the character and manifesting the principles upon which their eternal destiny depends, is a consummation cheaply purchased by events, which in the figured language of the Scriptures, are compared to the eclipse of suns—the destruction of the stars and the convulsion of the heavens. And if the death of our illustrious Senator shall contribute to inspire the breasts of our Senators and Representatives with the sentiments which befit their station, it will be his lot to have served his country as gloriously in death as in life.

II. The lesson which this event, considered as the death of a statesman, is suited to impart, is addressed to the people at large, and comes with pointed emphasis, in the present crisis of affairs, to the people of the South, and particularly to us in South Carolina. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man—it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. In God is my salvation and glory—the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God—trust in Him, at all times, ye people, pour out your heart before Him—God is a refuge for us—surely men of low degree are vanity and men of high degree are a lie—to be laid in the balance they are altogether lighter than vanity. Thus saith the Lord—cursed be the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm—whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall be like the heath in the desert and shall not see when good cometh.” Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me—that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin—that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

The lesson which the Providence of God was continually inculcating upon the heathen nations, whose affairs are incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, is that the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men—and accomplishes His pleasure among the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of earth. The dominion of Jesus Christ as Mediator extends to nations as well as individuals—States

and governments are the instruments of God, ordained in their respective departments, to execute His schemes—and the Divine Redeemer bears written upon his vesture and thigh a name which indicates universal sovereignty ---Lord of Lords and King of Kings. They are a part of that series of Providential arrangements, by which the moral purposes of God, in reference to the race, are conducted to their issue—and as much the appointments of His will as the family, or the Church. There is not the same direct interposition in the organization of civil and political communities as in the constitution of the Church—but the necessity of the State is founded in the nature of man—springs from the moral relations of individuals---grows with the growth and strengthens with the strength of human society. It is the spontaneous offspring of a social state—and in the same sense the creature of God, that the society from which it springs and from which it cannot be severed is the Divine ordination. There never was an absurder, and I may add, a more mischievous fiction, than that political communities are conventional arrangements, suggested by the inconveniences of a natural state of personal independence, and deriving their authority from the free consent of those who are embraced in them. Political societies are not artificial combinations to which men have been impelled by chance or choice, but the ordinance of God, through the growth and propagation of the species, for the perfection and education of the race. The first State, according to the Scriptures, was not distinct from the family. But as households were multiplied, though the tie of consanguinity was still the ground

upon which authority was recognized, and natural affection and habitual association combined to invest the patriarch with the highest jurisdiction, a class of ideas began to expand themselves which rested upon other principles than those of blood. Moral relations---more extensive and commanding than that of father, husband, wife or child, the relations of man to man---of reciprocal rights and reciprocal obligations, were brought into view and the patriarch became a magistrate---the representative of justice, as well as a father---the representative of family affection. That the distinctive boundaries of these distinct relations were at once understood---that they are even now adequately apprehended where the nearest approximations to primitive society obtain, is by no means affirmed. It was only in the progress of a long, slow, providential education that the real nature of the commonwealth, as contradistinguished from other communities, began to be unfolded. The State was developed with the progress of society---and as the necessity of its existence is laid in man's nature---as the supremacy of its claims---its high and awful sovereignty, is nothing but the supremacy of justice and of right, among moral and responsible agents, the State, through whatever organic arrangements its power may be expressed, is the creature of God, the sacred ordinance of heaven. It is not a thing which can be made or unmade, it is part and parcel of the constitution of our nature as at once social and responsible.

This view of the State connects it at once with the moral purposes of the Deity---and the whole history of the world shows that its developement, which is the

progress of liberty, depends upon the providential disposition of events over which the agency of man has no direct controul. All solid governments and all permanent liberty have grown much more out of circumstances than out of fixed and definite purposes of man. A nation of slaves cannot establish a free government—it is a thing for which God must have prepared the way, and all efforts to rise suddenly from a condition of despotism into that of freedom have been attended with licentiousness, anarchy and crime. True liberty is a thing of growth—there is first a stock of acknowledged rights which are transmitted in the way of inheritance---the progress of society enlarges it with fresh and fresh additions ---there is a conglomeration of the new and the old---a connecting link betwixt the past and the present---and the consolidation of inheritance and acquisition is the security of liberty. Hence from the very nature of man and the very nature of the State, and the very nature of liberty, political communities must receive their shape and direction from the circumstances in which the great Disposer of events has placed any people. The doctrine of dependence upon God is, accordingly, intertwined in the very fibres of the commonwealth. The State is a school in which the Deity is conducting a great process of education, and providential circumstances determine alike the lessons to be taught and the capacity of the scholars to learn them. The dangers, as in all schools, are those which spring from indocility of temper—or from rashness and impetuosity, which would outstrip the leadings of Providence. Each indicates a spirit of independence of God—

and each is apt to be rebuked with expressions of His displeasure. The difficulty with communities that have been long accustomed to the reign of despotism is, that they are too dull to learn—they are backward to follow the intimations of circumstances—they stagnate in their corruptions; and the outbreaks of revolutions are sometimes necessary to rouse the people and put them in the attitude of progress. They distrust the Almighty and refuse to move until they are driven.

The difficulty with free and growing communities is, that, in the consciousness of imaginary wisdom and strength, they anticipate the slow progress of events, and casting off their dependence upon God, undertake to accomplish their destiny by their own skill and resources. They rely partly upon principles—partly upon men—partly upon both. Overlooking the concurrence of Providence which is essential to the success of political combinations and arrangements, they vainly imagine that they can create the circumstances upon which they are dependent. There is a magic in their doctrines, or a charm in their schemes, or a power in their champions, which can subdue the elements and accomplish the work of Him whose prerogative alone it is to speak and it is done—to command and it stands fast. But the lesson of the Bible and of experience is “that in the midst of all our preparations, we shall, if we are wise, repose our chief confidence in Him who has every element at His disposal—who can easily disconcert the wisest counsels, confound the mightiest projects, and save, when He pleases, by many or by few. While the vanity of such a preten-

ded reliance on Providence as supersedes the use of means is readily confessed, it is to be feared we are not sufficiently careful to guard against a contrary extreme, in its ultimate effects not less dangerous. If to depend on the interposition of Providence without human exertion be to tempt God ; to confide in an arm of flesh when seeking His aid is to deny Him ; the former is to be pitied for its weakness—the latter to be censured for its impiety, nor is it easy to say which affords the worst omen of success.”

That this lesson is eminently seasonable in the present crisis of the nation, none can be tempted to doubt. It is possible that our confidence in the great statesman, whose death a nation has lamented, may have been such as to provoke the jealousy of that God, who will not give His glory to another. We may have relied more upon his power of argument—his energy of persuasion—his integrity of character—his publick and private influence, than upon the secret operations of that Spirit, who controls the movements of kings and turns the hearts of the children of men as the rivers of water are turned. It is evident that what is needed at the present crisis is a spirit of patriotism—of justice and of loyalty to God. It is the *temper* of the people and of the rulers upon which, under God, the salvation of the country depends. If the whole nation could be animated with a single purpose to do what is right—if factions and parties and local and temporary interests could be forgotten—if the presiding genius in our halls of legislation were the sublime and heroick principle of justice—if every member there could

be brought to feel that he was the representative of the whole nation, bound to promote, cherish and defend the interests of all, in conformity with the spirit and provisions of the constitution—if fanaticism could be rebuked and selfishness suppressed, and power awed into a sense of responsibility—who doubts but that all our difficulties would be speedily adjusted—that the clouds which threaten us would be rolled away, and the sun of union and liberty burst out again in meridian refulgence? The production of this temper is not within the compass of man. To change the current of established associations—to dissolve the charms of prejudice—to break the fetters of interest—to enlighten the blindness of fanaticism and make power obedient to right—these are not the feats of argument or skill—they require the finger of God. It is He alone who can give the spirit of a sound mind. He alone has direct access to the souls of men---and in the removal of him, whom we were tempted to make our stay and our prop---He is exhorting us to trust only in Himself. Well will it be for us if we can learn the lesson.

It becomes us, however, to remember that a people can trust in God only when they are seeking the ends of righteousness and truth. Our dependence upon Him should teach us the lesson that righteousness exalteth a nation and sin is a reproach to any people. We cannot expect the patronage of heaven to schemes of injustice and of wrong. The State is an element of God's moral administration---and to secure His favour it must sedulously endeavour to maintain the supremacy of right.

He may overrule the wickedness of the people for good--- He may even permit unrighteous kingdoms to flourish notwithstanding their iniquity---but as the habitation of His throne is justice and truth, it will be found, in regard to communities, as well as individuals, that Godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come. "There is in the bosom of all human societies a desire and a power of ceaseless progress. It is struggling now---it will struggle to the end. Many failures have passed---many are still to come. Not until men clearly see the real and the only security for their great developement, will these failures cease. If they will put their hands in the great hand of God, He will lead them firmly in the way. What is just, what is right, what is good, let them do these and they will fail no more---what is wrong, what is unjust, what is evil, let them do these, under whatever pretext of political necessity and they cannot but suffer and fail ---renew the struggle, and suffer and fail again---it is this great lesson which an open Bible and free institutions are teaching the human race." Freedom must degenerate into licentiousness unless the supremacy of right is maintained. We must co-operate in our spirit and temper and aims with the great moral ends for which the State was instituted, if we would reach the highest point of national excellence and prosperity. The ultimate purpose of God is that the dominion of Jesus should be universally acknowledged---and that nation only will finally and permanently prosper, whose people have caught the spirit and habitually obey the precepts of the

Gospel. Every weapon that is formed against Him must be broken; and the people that will not submit to His authority must be crushed by His power. Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against His anointed, saying---let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh---the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath and vex them in His sore displeasure. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion--I will declare the decree. The Lord hath said unto me---thou art my Son---this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I shall give the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron---thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now therefore O ye kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth---serve the the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling---kiss the Son lest He be angry and ye perish from the way when His wrath is kindled but a little.

If the accounts, which the Scriptures give, of the exaltation and universal dominion of Jesus, are to be relied on, there can be no doubt but that Christianity lies at the foundation of national prosperity. People and rulers must be imbued with the spirit and observe the institutions of the Gospel. We insist upon no national establishment of religion---upon no human encroachments on the rights of conscience, but we do insist upon the individual and

personal obligations of every man, throughout the broad extent of the country, to be a Christian, and the corresponding obligation to act as a Christian in all the departments of life, whether public or private. As Christianity is the presiding spirit of all modern civilization, it is the only defence of nations against barbarism, rudeness, anarchy and crime. Let Jesus be enthroned in every heart---and the nation that is made up of Christian men will soon be a praise and a joy in every land.

But where the people and rulers know not the mediatorial King, whom God has set upon the Holy hill of Zion—where His Sabbaths are profaned, His temples deserted, His grace despised—His favour must be withdrawn—the fountains of national virtue must dry up—and that land must ultimately be given to wasting and desolation. The strongest security within which the institutions of this country can be entrenched, is the prevalence of the Christian religion. The State is an ordinance of God as God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself; and to those who have considered the bearings of the mediatorial government upon the prosperity of States, there is nothing surprising in the present darkness which overshadows the land. It is the rebuke of ungodliness and infidelity. From the highest to the lowest gradations in Society—from the chair of State, the halls of legislation, the courts of justice, the popular assemblies of the land, the cry of blasphemy, profaneness and atheism, has gone to heaven. God's Sabbaths are polluted for the purposes of gain—licentious and unprincipled demagogues make it a business to

cheat the people with flatteries and adulations which are alike dangerous and blasphemous—offices are sought by open chicanery and corruption; and amid scenes of revelry and riot—more befitting the orgies of Bacchus than the deliberations of a free people, the greatest questions of the nation are discussed. The debauchery of the people, and the triumph of demagogues, has always been attended with the worst form of slavery—that bondage of the soul in which every man is afraid to entertain an opinion of his own—in which the individual is merged in the mass; and when this result is reached, the moral economy of the State being defeated, we can look for nothing but the righteous judgments of God.—The reign of licentiousness is the prelude of national dissolution. The people that will not have Jesus to reign over them, must be slain before Him. He is exalted at God's right hand, above all principality and power and dominion, and we must submit to his sceptre, or perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.

III. But this event may be finally considered as the death simply of a man, and in this aspect of the case, the pulpit, it seems to me, would but inadequately discharge its duty, if it failed to inculcate the distinctive provisions of the Gospel, as the only means of securing a triumph over this last enemy. There are many who admire the morality and praise the spirit of Christianity, but who are content to form no higher conception of its power than that of a moral institute, distinguished from the philosophical systems of men, by the larger compass of its views, and the more commanding influence of its sanc-

tions. This is particularly the case with the educated men of the country. It is painful to witness the fact that so many of this class—to which it will be your distinction to belong—while professing, from the superficial attention they have given to the subject, to believe that there is something in the Gospel; yet either from a lurking skepticism, or the absorbing influence of other cares and pursuits, are, for the most part, profoundly ignorant of what constitutes its essence and its glory. They view it from a distance—or detect nothing in it but an authoritative statement of the principles and tenets of natural religion. But ask them the question—what a sinner must do to be saved? and the nakedness of their answers will evince too clearly that the great problem of redemption has never been earnestly considered. The difficulty is that they have never felt the malignity of sin. They have never experienced the sentence of condemnation in their own souls; and the consequence is that, however they may respect the voice of Jesus as a teacher, they cannot be brought to submit to Him as a Saviour. The characteristic distinction of the Gospel, is that it is the religion of a sinner. It is a grand dispensation of Providence and grace to rescue man from the condemnation and ruin, into which the whole race has been plunged by rebellion against God. The necessity of its arrangements is laid in the very nature of moral distinctions---from which it results that sin cannot be pardoned by an act of authoritative mercy. Without the shedding of blood there is no remission, and he alone can be properly denominated a Christian, he alone is entitled to the

rewards and blessings of Christianity---who, from a deep consciousness of guilt and ruin, has fled for refuge to the hope set before him in the Gospel. The calumniated doctrines of grace are the life and soul of our religion. Personal union with Jesus by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is indispensable to a real participation in the benefits of redemption. Through faith in the Divine Redeemer death the last enemy is conquered, subdued, destroyed. It becomes a glorious thing to die---it is only a birth into a new and everlasting state of blessedness and glory. It is the prerogative of the faithful, and of them alone, to depart from the world in triumph. There is no case on record---it has never happened in the experience of man---that death was welcomed---hailed with rapture and delight---by any but those for whom its sting had been extracted by the blood of the great Mediator. Still we must guard against the delusion that the condition, of peace or consternation, in which a man expires, is any certain indication of his future state. The righteous, through the temporary darkness of unbelief, through ignorance, or doubt of their acceptance in the beloved, or as a just visitation for past neglect, may be permitted to pass from the world in apprehension and alarm; while the impenitent and wicked may be bolstered, in their last hours, with the same fatal props which have deceived them through life. The errors which have shaped their conduct may cling to them until the veil is withdrawn and eternity has become a matter of experience. It is no uncommon thing, it is true, for conscience, in the final struggle, to assert her supremacy---especially in the case

of those, whose unbelief and disobedience have been a conflict with reason and judgment. They are permitted, yet further, to look into futurity, and to read something of the fearful scroll which will be produced against them at the bar of God; and they shrink back, with shudder and dismay, from the awful catastrophe that awaits them. Stung by remorse and enlightened by the Scriptures, they feel that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Death is, indeed, a terrible object---the very king of terrors---they writhe and agonize and struggle against his encroachments. Clinging to life with the tenacity of despair, compelled and yet afraid to die---they curse the day and the hour in which it was said that a man child was born into the world.

“ In that dread moment, how the frantic soul
 Raves round the walls of her clay tenement ;
 Runs to each avenue and shrieks for help,
 But shrieks in vain! How wishfully she looks
 On all she's leaving, now no longer her's !
 A little longer, yet a *little* longer,
 Oh ! might she stay to wash away her stains,
 And fit her for her passage. Mournful sight !
 Her very eyes weep blood ; and every groan
 She heaves is big with horrors. But the foe
 Like a staunch murderer, steady to his purpose,
 Pursues her close through every lane of life,
 Nor misses once the track, but presses on ;
 Till forced at last to the tremendous verge,
 At once she sinks to everlasting ruin.”

Such is the end of an awakened sinner !

There are others who depart from life with as much insensibility as they eat or drink or sleep. Such men are

preeminently sensual. They have never risen to any just conceptions of themselves—of moral responsibility—of final retribution—of an immortal being. They have never felt that life was an earnest or serious reality—it has been to them merely a routine of mechanical observances, and as they have lived like beasts, they die like dogs.

There are others, of a nobler mould, who reconcile themselves to dissolution by the considerations of a stoical philosophy. They look upon death as an appointment of nature—an inevitable event, and they endeavour to prepare themselves to submit to it with dignity and grace, since resistance is vain and escape impossible. They meet it, therefore, with the fortitude and courage with which they would encounter any other calamity. But still it is a calamity—it is not a messenger to be greeted—not an object of congratulation, of triumph and of joy. To this attainment paganism was competent before life and immortality were brought to light in the Gospel. The philosophers of the ancient world, by their dim and misty speculations, were nerved to die like heroes, though none could die like conquerors. But to be content with submission when victory is within our reach is heroism no longer. To endure when we might subdue is a low ambition. How different is the death of a Christian! I am now ready to be offered, says the apostle, and the time of my departure is at hand—I have fought a good fight—I have finished my course—I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day,

and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing. We are conquerors and more than conquerors through him that loved us. Through death He has destroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and delivered them who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage. It is the glory of Christianity to erect its trophies upon the tomb. Death and hell were alike led in triumph at the chariot wheels of Christ, and those who are in Him can sing the song of exaltation and of victory amid the agonies of their dissolving clay.

Let me beg you, my young friends, however you may be tempted by the examples of the great, not to be contented with distant, partial, defective views of the economy of God's grace. It is not the greatness of their intellects which keeps them at a distance from Christ—it is not that they have discovered religion to be a cheat—not that they have weighed its evidences in the balances and found them wanting—it is simply because they have never examined the subject. From the natural alienation of the heart from God, the influence of early prejudice, the distractions of business—the turmoil of ambition—the absorbing power of their pursuits—they have kept aloof from this inquiry—and though they have won for themselves a name which posterity will not willingly let die—the very qualities of mind by which they have been enabled to do so, would lead them, if properly directed, to condemn their inattention to religion as an act of folly, of distraction and of madness. Deceive not yourselves with vain hopes—Jesus is the only Saviour—in

the day of final retribution there will be no respect of persons. On that great day shall be seen “no badge of State, no mark of age, or rank, or national attire—or robe professional or air of trade.” As in the grave whither we are all hastening, the rich and the poor are promiscuously mingled together, the distinctions of honour and of wealth vanish away as colours disappear in the dark, so in the last day none can be found to claim the titles which were only current upon earth. It will then be only “a congregation vast of men—of unappendaged and unvarnished men—of all but moral character bereaved.” The virtues or the crimes which appertain to each are all that he can carry to the bar of the Judge. All else will be left in the tomb—as the worthless badges of mortal and not immortal men.

There is a distinction, however, that shall never fade away—the distinction created among men by the possession of the Spirit and a personal union with Christ. In the great day to which we have referred, when God shall arise to shake terribly the earth, and the destinies of all the race shall be irrevocably fixed—our right to life will depend entirely on the witness of the Holy Ghost. None can sustain their title as sons, but those whom He has sealed unto the day of redemption. To appear without His signet on our foreheads and His impress upon our hearts is to awake to shame and everlasting contempt. It will not be a question whether we have been great or mean, honoured or despised—rich or poor—it will avail nothing that Senates hung in rapture on our lips and nations bowed obedient to

our nod—but it will be a question—the question—the turning-point of destiny—whether we have the Spirit of God's Son. If we have been among the miserable skepticks—who have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost—if our Christianity has been nothing more than a baptized paganism—if we have despised evangelical religion under the name of fanaticism—and laughed at pretensions to grace as the effervescence of enthusiasm—if, from any cause, we have failed to be born again and to become new creatures, in Christ Jesus, however admiring multitudes may have chaunted our requiem and shook the very arches of heavens with their plaudits---unlimited duration will be the period assigned us to lament our folly and bewail the consequences of our terrible delusion. My young friends be not deceived---an endless duration is your destiny---feel its greatness---look above the earth---look to your home in the skies—seek for glory, honour, immortality---but seek them only in the Gospel of God's grace. Resolve first to lay hold upon eternal life---and then you shall never need any good thing on earth. What stronger proof could you demand of the undying nature of the soul than that which is furnished in the last moments of our departed Senator? What stronger proof that our *real existence* begins only at the point of death? Prepare for that existence---and your life here will be glorious---your death triumphant---and your end everlasting peace.

*with kind regards
W. H. Barnwell*

UTION AGAINST HUMAN DEPENDENCE.

A SERMON.

DELIVERED

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CHARLESTON,

ON SUNDAY, THE 7th OF APRIL, 1850.

BY WM. H. BARNWELL,
RECTOR OF ST. PETERS.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH

OF THE

ION. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.
DEEPLY AFFLICTED,
BY THE LOSS OF THEIR GREAT STATESMAN,
THIS SERMON PREACHED ON THE OCCASION OF HIS DEATH,
AND DESIGNED,
NOT SO MUCH TO SET FORTH THE VIRTUES OF THE DECEASED,
AS TO INCULCATE THE NECESSITY
OF RELYING UPON THE LIVING GOD,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY THEIR FRIEND AND FELLOW CITIZEN,
WM. H. BARNWELL.



CHARLESTON, APRIL 13, 1850.

REV. WM. H. BARNWELL,

Rev. and Dear Sir—Permit us, as members of your congregation, to express our gratification at your Sermon preached on Sunday last, in reference to the death of Mr. CALHOUN, and to request a copy of the same for publication.

We are, dear sir,

Yours very respectfully,

CHAS. EDMONDSTON,
JAS. ROSE.
GEO. M. COFFIN,
GEO. A. TRENHOLM,
C. G. MEMMINGER,
CHAS. A. DESAUSSURE,
W. C. BEE,
HOPSON PINCKNEY.
C. T. MITCHELL,
ROBT. A. PRINGLE,
M. W. COLCOCK,
JAS. S. GIBBES.
CHAS. N. HUBERT,
THEO. D. WAGNER.

CHARLESTON, APRIL 15, 1850.

Gentlemen—Yours of the 13th was duly received. It affords me satisfaction to learn that you were gratified with the discourse referred to in your communication; and in compliance with your request I herewith enclose a copy for publication.

Very sincerely and respectfully,

Your friend and pastor,

WM. H. BARNWELL.

MESSRS. CHAS. EDMONDSTON, JAS. ROSE, and others.





S E R M O N .

Isaiah, 2-22.—“ *Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*”

THE name of this Prophet, Isaiah, literally the Salvation of God, expresses the chief topics of his predictions—the coming of the Messiah, and the deliverance it was to accomplish. His disclosures of the birth, person, sufferings and glory of the Redeemer, are so vivid and full, as to entitle him to the name of the Evangelic Seer. His vision overleaps time and space, and places before himself and his hearers, events to occur in periods and countries exceedingly remote. The general scope of his writings, was to rebuke the sins, not only of Judah, but of the ten tribes of Israel and the Gentiles; to invite persons of every rank and nation to repentance, by promises of pardon and peace; and to comfort the truly pious (in the midst of all the calamities and judgments denounced against the wicked) with prophetic assurances of the true Messiah, which in their distinctness seem almost to anticipate the Gospel History.

The particular prophetic discourse from which the text is taken, includes the second, third and fourth chapters of this Sacred writer; and while the kingdom of the Messiah, and the conversion of the Gentiles are foreshown in the former part of it; the punishment of the unbelieving Jews, for their idolatrous practice, their confidence in their own strength and distrust of God's protection; the destruction of idolatry consequent to the coming of Christ; the calamities of the Babylonian invasion and captivity; together with an amplification of the distress of the proud and luxurious daughters of Zion, would form a picture utterly appalling, but for the promises, with which it closes, to the remnant who shall have escaped, of a future restoration to the favor and protection of God.

It is in the midst of the minatory part of these prophetic announcements, that the inspired bard, in the peculiarly parabolic style of Hebrew poetry, which under images taken from

things natural, artificial, religious and historical, exhibits things divine, spiritual, moral and political, utters one of the most striking descriptions of the abasement of human pride before the majesty of Jehovah, that the mind of man has ever conceived and given expression to.

*“ Enter into the Rock ! and hide thee in the dust,
 For fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his Majesty.
 The lofty looks of man shall be humbled,
 And the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down,
 And the Lord alone, shall be exalted in that day,
 For the day of the Lord of Hosts shall be
 Upon every one that is proud and lofty,
 And upon every one that is lifted up, and he shall be brought low ;
 And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up,
 And upon all the oaks of Bashan,
 And upon all the high mountains,
 And upon all the hills that are lifted up,
 And upon every high tower,
 And upon every fenced wall,
 And upon all the ships of Tarshish,
 And upon all pleasant pictures.
 And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down,
 And the haughtiness of men shall be made low :
 And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.
 And the idols He shall utterly abolish.
 And they shall go into the holes of the rocks,
 And into the caves of the earth,
 For fear of the Lord, and for the glory of His Majesty,
 When He ariseth to shake terribly the earth.
 In that day, a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold,
 Which they made, each one for himself to worship,
 To the moles and to the bats ;
 To go into the clefts of the rocks,
 And into the tops of the ragged rocks,
 For the fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty,
 When He ariseth to shake terribly the earth.”*

Then, as if to intimate, that God's judgment was provoked

by an idolatrous dependence upon human means, he cautions them against this, in the words before us—

*“Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils;
For wherein is he to be accounted of?”*

We have here then, a solemn remonstrance against undue reliance upon man, based upon his mortality and insufficiency. And the use to be made of it is, I presume, anticipated by you.

The nation seems to feel afflicted, and our commonwealth mourns over her departed statesman, like a mother over an only son. Whatever prejudices may have prevailed against him, during his life, are apparently, dispersed by the stroke of that Divine hand, which has removed him from earth; and those who in the discharge of their public duties, had felt themselves constrained to differ from him most widely, have seemed to take a mournful satisfaction in proffering their prompt and decided testimony to the purity of his character, and the greatness of his abilities.

You will not, of course, expect me, either to touch upon party politics, or to attempt any thing like a eulogy of the illustrious dead. The pulpit is certainly not the appropriate place for political discussions; nor is there any disposition on my part, to interfere at present with the allotted province of others, by obtruding upon you my own views, either of the great questions which have agitated the nation, since this distinguished statesman entered upon public life, or of the course he has pursued in reference to them.

My object is, only as your Minister, to improve to your spiritual good, a striking event in the Providence of God, which has probably occupied more of your thoughts and conversation, since last we met, than any other subject, unconnected with your personal concerns.

One who is set as a watchman upon the Towers of Zion, ought not to be an unobservant or uninterested spectator of events which engross the public mind. Hoping to influence for God, as it is his province to do, so far as he may, the wills of his hearers; and expecting to accomplish this pious end, by appeals to their understandings and their hearts; it is important

that he should not only be familiar with the intellectual and emotional nature of man in general; but that for the timely inculcation of Divine Truth, he should avail himself of any insight he may obtain into the particular state of mind and feeling, which passing occurrences produce, either in his own congregation or in the community at large. "*A word spoken in due season, how good is it.*"

That there is needed at present, throughout our Union, a solemn remonstrance against an undue reliance upon human abilities, whether to devise plans for the better government of mankind, or to carry them into operation, can scarcely be questioned; and if the death of one whose profound political sagacity was universally acknowledged, and whose noble, devoted patriotism has been signally evinced for so long a period, shall have the effect of turning the confidence of the people from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and who in his highest and best developments of mental power is but little to be accounted of, to God who liveth forever, and who only is a *present help in every time of need*; the loss, which not only our native State, but the civilized world, has sustained in this afflictive event, will be more than compensated.

The Jews, to whom Isaiah's warning was delivered, were prone to rely upon their alliances with the surrounding Heathen Nations, the Egyptians, Syrians and Assyrians, instead of confiding in their own covenant God; and His jealousy, which is represented in Scripture, as one of His chief though most terrible attributes, is thus incessantly exasperated against them. "*The Egyptians,*" saith He, in a woe denounced against this practice, through this same Prophet, Isaiah, "*The Egyptians, are men, and not God; and their horses flesh and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down; and they shall all fail together.*"

It can scarcely be charged upon the people of these United States, that they are inclined to rely upon any foreign power for aid; or that they are tempted to forget God, by entanglements with the affairs of other nations. In this respect, the counsel of him who has justly been called the Father of his Country, has been in general complied with; though a political philosopher who should attempt to trace our

last war with Great Britain to its hidden springs, may perhaps discover some of them in the sympathies, by which the two great parties that divided the country, had become respectively attached to France and England, the chief belligerents of the day.

But whether as a nation, we are not withdrawn from a proper dependence upon the Almighty, by an extravagant estimate of ourselves, is a question, which it is to be feared even the most overweening admirer of our country, would be constrained to settle against us. Nor is there reason to hope, that the jealousy of the Great Sovereign of the Universe, will be less provoked by an estrangement from Him, which results out of an undue dependence upon talent, education, attainment, experience, skill, popular opinion, and our Federal and State Constitutions, than by those Heathenish alliances which were the great source of idolatry on the part of the Jews.

Not that these things are unimportant in their place ; or are not to be often times regarded as the grounds for devout gratitude to God. Who that contemplates with the most sober consideration, that innate force of the human mind, which inclines it spontaneously to the easy acquisition of knowledge, or the successful execution of practical affairs, but must admire its mysterious power ? And who that witnesses the steady but almost miraculous results of education, applying as it were a vegetative principle to the mental faculties, and causing them to grow, bud, blossom and bear fruit ; can fail to appreciate it highly, as a most efficient instrumentality ? Or who can reflect upon the immense power derived from knowledge ; putting one man in possession of the experience of ages—or who can turn his thoughts to the vast advantages of experience ; judging of men and things, not upon the vague basis of conjecture, but upon the certain conclusions of one who has tried them—or who can observe the consummate effects of skill ; marshalling and arranging the substances of matter, or the principles of nature, or the thoughts of the mind, nay and often the purposes and actions of men in a wonderful manner ?—Who can take such a view of these advantages, without being thankful, that the Ruler of the Universe has bestowed them so largely upon our fellow countrymen ? Or who can notice without awe,

the insensible, yet tremendous agency of popular opinion, heaving like some billow from shore to shore? Or who can examine the admirably contrived, and beautifully balanced system of our Great Federal Republic—without regarding it as a model for all men capable of self-government, and desiring not only its perpetuity here, but its extension every where? Yet to one of spiritual discernment, all of these blessing with which we have been so highly favored by a beneficent Providence, may clearly appear to have become Idols;—and it may be justly said—not only of the more worldly and sensual, but of the more refined and intellectual and virtuous and patriotic.

*“ They worship the work of their own hands,
That which their own fingers have made.”*

In the history of nations, as of individuals, there occur critical periods, when the most important consequences hang upon particular acts, which impart to the future its cast and color. That such a crisis is at hand in our national affairs, seems to be the general apprehension; and that one, who of all others was the best qualified in talent, education, knowledge, experience, skill, control over popular opinion, and familiarity with the principles of the Confederacy, to give direction to affairs, should be struck down in his sphere of high and responsible duty, just at the time when his services were most needed, and when too, according to his own calm judgment, as expressed but the evening before his death, he could accomplish more good, by an hour's speech, than he had ever done before; seems a forcible illustration of the Prophet's warning to cease relying upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils.

Nor is it probable that had his valuable life been prolonged, and health been restored to him, he would have been able to produce the effect he desired and toiled for. It seems incidental to the very nature of Republican Governments, that public men of extraordinary ability and sterling integrity, should be viewed with jealousy, not only by those whose political views and interests differ from theirs; but by those who in the main agree with them. Hence, statesmen of the first order, have been frequently superseded, by persons far inferior, but from circumstances, more popular.

It cannot be doubted, that the deceased, was regarded with the more jealousy out of his native State, on account of the unbounded influence, which for so long a time, he had enjoyed within it. By both of the political parties, he was looked upon as one who would not hesitate in any public emergency, that seemed to demand it, to act an independent part. By both of the sections, North and South, he was regarded as standing somewhat in the way of some present or prospective favorite candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the Union. So that even of him, who had made Government, especially our own Constitutional Government, his ardent and laborious study; who had filled with the most signal success, and spotless purity most of the highest offices of that Government;—who carried habitually into every duty that he undertook, a lofty enthusiasm, a comprehensive forecast, an intrepid purpose, and an indefatigable assiduity, even of him so profound, so experienced, so honored and so efficient, there is reason to think, that many who could not but admire him, were beginning to say with the Prophet, *wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

The reciprocal attachment between himself and his native State, one of the most remarkable features of his character, and circumstances of his life, should impress with peculiar force upon her citizens, the necessity of ceasing from man.

True, he never forsook, never betrayed her. Never ceased to watch over her political welfare, with a sleepless vigilance—never failed to warn her of even distant danger—never hesitated to front every foe that assailed her,—and to sacrifice freely in her cause, every high hope of personal ambition. If ever there was a Statesman, who in that stern and hazardous, yet necessary warfare of politics, where so many of the greatest talents and experience, have suffered themselves to be frightened from their steadfastness, or corrupted from their integrity, or enticed from their devotion—if ever there was a Statesman, who could claim from his constituents entire confidence; the voice of South-Carolina, not sobbing as it now is over his loss, but in the firm and unaltered tones of more than forty years proud and affectionate reliance, proclaims—this was he. And yet see the vanity of making man our stay! His breath flickers from his nostrils, when most needed to make his last appeal in

her cause ; and into that hall which had been to him the field of so many intellectual battles—less bloody it is true, but not less severe and galling than those of the sword—he is brought forth like a slain, but unconquered hero, stretched upon his bier.

If there be no impropriety in so applying the touching passage of Scripture, it seems to me, our beloved commonwealth might be personified, as the Royal Minstrel of Israel uttering that pathetic lamentation over his best earthly friend.

*“ How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle !
O Jonathan ! thou wast slain in thine high places.
I am distressed for thee my brother Jonathan :
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me.
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women,
How are the mighty fallen.
And the weapons of war perished !”*

He, does not seem to me, to have studied profoundly either the nature of man, or the characteristics of the age, who is not ready to acknowledge the vast ascendancy of energy over numbers, of mind over matter, of virtue over every thing else ; and glancing back upon the history of our common country, for the last forty years, and inquiring into the causes of that immense influence, which our great Statesman exerted ; we shall discover an illustration of these truths, so important, not only to the political and social, but to the moral welfare, both of the public and of individuals. Had he been the citizen of a large and populous State, whose votes in the Electoral College, might have settled almost any Presidential question ; or had he been possessed of great wealth, which with shame be it spoken, exercises but too potent a sway over the people ; or had he condescended to those arts of chicanery, by which popularity is too often obtained ; we might the less wonder at the almost magical power, which for so long a time he wielded. But his native State was comparatively small and feeble—bright it is true, in the waning prestige of Revolutionary glory, and in the character of many of her living sons—but yet gradually

losing her rank in the scale of confederated constellations, as State after State emerged from the horizon and ascended above her. His private means were always limited ;—probably, never more than enough to sustain and educate his family. His lofty scorn of every thing mean and debasing, kept him aloof from the petty intrigues of personal and party politics. Yet what a vast place has he filled in the public history of his generation, and what a strong impulse has his genius given to the spirit of his age—that invisible, impalpable, but mighty influence, which pervades and moulds and in the end, controls affairs. Whence was this? Even his enemies will be now ready to ascribe it to his mind, his energy, his virtue. And when they say this, they not only place his character upon the firmest and loftiest human pedestal ; but they render involuntarily perhaps, a high homage to the Deity ; while they add force and emphasis to the Prophet's warning. "*Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils ; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

It would be treason to Natural as well as Revealed Religion, not to maintain the legitimate supremacy of intellect, will and benevolence. Fame would be worthless, nay, would be pernicious, if accorded to one who could lay no claim to these. But God and man, concur in this ; that without a mind to discern duty, and without a purpose to perform it, and above all without a heart disinterestedly to desire its performance ; none can be fully qualified for that proper fulfilment of high and responsible offices, which in all ages and nations entitles one to the confidence of his contemporaries, and the praises of posterity. You need not be informed, that God is the author and preserver of every clear and vigorous mind, of every firm and energetic will, and of every virtuous and benevolent emotion. The student of Scripture, and the mere observer of human conduct, however they differ in other things, probably agree in ascribing ultimately to the Deity, not only many of the results of human actions, but much that contributes to the formation of individual character. Nor can any but an Atheist, contemplate such a life as that we are noticing, without perceiving what the deceased himself believed in, the controlling

influence of a Divine Mind, and a particular Providence, fulfilling all events, and shaping all characters, according to an infinitely wise and good and fore-ordained plan. To conceive of a mind like that of the deceased, being constituted by chance ; or to conceive of his purposes, fraught as they have been with momentous consequences, being determined without God ; or to conceive of his virtuous principles being formed, and his kind emotions, being exercised without any control whatever from Him in "*whose hands are the hearts of all men as streams of water ;*" would be as contrary to the deductions of sound philosophy as to the teachings of Scripture. If, in any piece of complicated machinery, you should perceive a combination of powers, directed with force to one end, and that end a useful one ; would you not laugh to scorn the impertinence, whether learned or simple, which should attempt to convince you, that natural laws merely, and not mind ; accident and not design ; curiosity and not the desire of usefulness, had wrought such an instrument ? If you beheld a body of troops, composed of the various kinds of the service, performing with mechanical, almost noiseless precision, a great variety of military evolutions ; would you not smile at the childlike simplicity, which should surmise that, each weapon, and each war-horse, and each rank and each man, was moved by some magical or some independent influence ; and not, that there was one commanding mind, who had settled it all at his council board, and was reviewing his machinery to see how it worked ? And if you saw a terrible yet grand mass of living valor like this, glowing to evince its skill, not on mere fields of sport, but on the bloody arena of battle, against those who were conceived to be enemies ; should you see a large, well disciplined, well officered army, red-hot for war, restrained in the desired work of destruction, or invasion ; and reserved only for purposes of peace and usefulness ; you would wonder at the perverseness, which ascribed so beneficial and humane, and philanthropic a result, to any but a good motive on the part of him who originated it. The wisdom, the energy, the humanity, which would be conspicuous in one who deeming an efficient army, necessary for the safety of his country—prepares one, and then, when it had been prepared, advocates Peace ; would command forever the

world's admiration. It will be for the eulogist of this departed son of South-Carolina—with the blood of revolutionary heroes in his veins—born and living among scenes teeming with traditions of British cruelty—bred in habits of hardy independence, which looked only at the end, and despised intervening obstacles—entering upon public life at a time when the women of our country, glowed at the insults which the haughty cross of St. George, dominant on every wave, inflicted upon the Eagle; and when “*Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*” was the watchword of our very boys—having carried by his immense influence, against an old and talented and most respectable party, the party of Washington himself, the party of the leading minds in his own native State, measures preliminary to the Declaration of war with England—having conducted with triumphant executive ability, in the face of immense difficulties, the hostilities to a prosperous close—having re-organized the War Department with wonderful method and efficiency—having contributed to develop all the resources of the country even at the expense of the General Revenue, and at the sacrifice of some of his cherished political theories—having previously favored the acquisition of new territory—and having just completed the annexation of Texas, through his jealousy of British interference—it will be for the eulogist of Mr. CALHOUN to say how much credit he ought to receive on the score of philanthropy, when thus descended, thus trained, thus stimulated to war with England, by all the associations of the past, and perhaps all the prospects of personal elevation for the future—he stood forth in the Senate Chamber—on the Oregon Question—and against his party—advocated Peace. But I refer to the subject now, not so much to excite in your minds admiration for the dead,—though trusting as I do, that the time will come, referred to by Isaiah in the very chapter before us, when

*“Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks,
When nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.”*

I doubt not this instance of wise and strong and humane

forbearance, will beam forth among the brightest of History. I refer to it, however, for the purpose of awakening gratitude to God, and cautioning you not to rely upon man, but upon Him concerning whom the Psalmist has declared—“*The shields of the earth belong unto God ; He is greatly exalted.*” To admire the character and conduct of the human instrument, who under such circumstances, served to protect our country and Great Britain, nay, our common humanity from such a war ; and yet to withhold admiration from that exalted Being, upon whom that instrument professedly relied, and who, unquestionably had both prepared him for that crisis, and that crisis for him ; would be as illogical as irreligious. I do not say that we have any right to withhold from the man, the praise which is justly due to him for his foresight and firmness and enlarged benevolence. What, as God’s Minister, I claim, is, that the Chief Supreme Honor of making the man, what he was, and enabling him to act as he did, be ascribed to Him—and what I entreat of you is, be persuaded by the very case before us, to cease from man, *for wherein is he to be accounted of?* Lauded as the humanity of our Statesman was, for acting so nobly as a “shield” against war with England, and for attempting to prevent, and bring to a close that with Mexico—still, when after a life spent, not in the service of the South, but of the whole Union,—with a frame broken down by Senatorial toils, and burnt out, by the workings of its ardent and patriotic spirit—with a foresight acknowledged to be almost prophetic, he implores, with confessions of weakness, which coming from such a source, ought to have proved overpowering—one section of his country, to forbear from aggressions upon the chartered Institutions of the other.—Institutions among which many of our noblest and best men had grown up, had lived and died—Institutions which he had proved to demonstration, were essential to the very existence of the inferior race subject to them, and without which, he had conclusively shown, that the prosperity of the whole country, and the cause of civilization would be thrown back—when, with almost dying lips—nay, through the lips of another, for his own were too feeble for the utterance of his last weighty charge—he solemnly implored forbearance and the preservation

of Constitutional Equality, he is censured even by some of his political friends, and his enlarged humanity, and conservative wisdom, misconstrued into self-interest, and sectional prejudice by the most generous of his opponents. "*Cease ye then from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?*"

The infinite disparity which exists, between the mind, will and excellence of man, even in his highest condition, and those of God, should impress upon all the admonition of the text.

The human mind is, unquestionably, an object of great interest, and a source of immense power. When originally large and strong and fully developed and disciplined, it sets man upon an eminence only little lower than the angels. It looks intuitively, not only into the nature of things around; but into its own nature, and aspires to know somewhat of the nature of God. It analyses, not only material, but immaterial objects. It investigates, not only the Laws which regulate matter, and ascertains and establishes the principles of Natural Science; but it searches with deep and earnest scrutiny, those still more hidden laws, which govern the political state, and forms and arranges the difficult science of Government. None of the pursuits of the human mind ought to be discouraged or despised. But next to Theology, the science of the soul, and Metaphysics the science of the mind, Government is entitled to be regarded as the most noble and dignified study; whether we view the materials, upon which it works, the mental powers it demands, or the momentous results that flow from it. While the Naturalist is classifying the physical world; informing us of the nature and habits and qualities of objects animate and inanimate which belong to our globe; the Political Philosopher contemplates the History of Nations, diving down into the fundamental principles, upon which generations of the human race have been governed, and determining the conditions upon which rational and intelligent beings, having emerged from the savage state, have been enabled to live together in harmony, and prosper in Political Union.

When a mind of high order, qualified by nature and education and experience for such a study, puts forth its powers in

close application, it is engaged in a work, that tasks it to the utmost, and the conclusions to which it comes, must be regarded with great deference, so long as man continues to be the subject of Government. The welfare of the remotest Nations, that important welfare which consists in good government, may be affected by its labors. In the judgment of mankind, those minds which have toiled successfully in these pursuits, have ranked among the highest and noblest. Their abstractions and theories sway multitudes, long after they are departed. But compare with the greatest of these, the Divine Mind, and how infinite the disparity! Conceive, so far as you can, of this Mind of Minds—Original—Omniscient—One—enthroned in Eternity; and planning in the counsel of the Mysterious Trinity in Unity, the Constitution and Government not of all mankind only, but of Angels and Arch-Angels—nay, arranging with infallible precision how fallen men are to be redeemed, and revolted spirits to be controlled—how innumerable myriads of rational, free, responsible beings, in Heaven, on earth, and under the earth, are to be so swayed and directed forever, as to bring most glory to God, and most good to His elect!

Follow the movements of this inconceivable Mind; see it inspiring the Prophets, raising up Judges, and Rulers, and Teachers of Righteousness—see it preparing those who were to build up and destroy Heathen Kingdoms—making use of Philosophers, Orators, Poets and Lawgivers—wielding to its purposes the swords of conquerors,—the enterprize of voyagers—the ingenuity of inventors, the genius of artists, and the policy of cabinets—nay, pervading, informing and governing every other mind in the whole Moral Dominion! Think of this, and say whether such a Mind may not justly warn you to cease from all dependence upon created Intelligences, and to trust implicitly upon its wisdom and counsel.

But the measureless superiority of God's power over all human energy, should conduct us to the same conclusion.

Not that in the conduct of human affairs, that hidden force, that power of will is to be despised, which, when it has an end to accomplish, turns the very elements into its servants, and converts obstacles into the means of success. Invested with executive power, this energy of purpose achieves results almost

supernatural. Order is educed out of confusion—promptness supplants delay—vigor expels inertness—prosperity overspreads the gloomy face of every thing, and that cheerful confidence, so essential to success, and which grows out of a mutual consciousness of power, fills every bosom. Such is the effect which a strong and active will, guided by an intelligent mind, exerts almost instantaneously upon human affairs.

But how can we compare this with the Almighty power and irresistible energy of God? Unseen except in its results—Omnipresent, filling all space at one and the same time—coming into contact with every being, and every object, every instant; and giving to all not only their motive powers, their inherent forces, but their very existence—entering insensibly into the very spirits of men and Angels, and imparting their impulses—riding upon the wings of the winds—sweeping onward in the flames of fire—breathing in the storm—teeming in the vegetative principle—working in the laws of gravitation—flashing in the electric fluid—operating in every way that can be conceived of—what limit is there to the power of God? How entire then, should be our dependence upon him! How singular to rely upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and whose energy if not wasted by disease or indolence is utterly extinguished by death! How strange the infatuation, to trust in man, and not in God whose power is infinite, incomprehensible, irresistible, universal, perpetual!

But the Divine Goodness, as compared with that of the best of men, renders still more impressive the warning of the text. It is not necessary to deny to many whose souls do not seem to be spiritually renewed, a natural benevolence and kindness, and an enlarged philanthropy, which prompt them not only to fulfil the offices of affection to their friends and families; but to seek to promote the happiness and welfare of the world at large. Sacrifices of time, and thought, and ease, and comfort, and even of influence and personal aggrandizement, are thus often made, for the service, not of oneself, but of others, strangers it may be or enemies. The beneficent fruits of human kindness are chiefly to be seen and felt, in the domestic and friendly circle; but they are not confined there. There is often in minds of the highest order, and greatest energy, a

strong and earnest desire to promote the happiness of all. And in public measures, which are suspected of being set on foot chiefly for personal or party purposes, there is often a broad and deep under-current of good feeling and wholesome benevolence, which coming from God, and benefiting man, ought not to be disparaged. Indeed, without some degree of goodness and benevolence, a character is exceedingly defective, and unworthy of confidence. Philanthropy, true, intelligent, considerate, warm, yet sober philanthropy, lies at the foundation of both public and private virtue. Kindness, genuine kindness, is the social bond of nations and communities, as well as families. Love pure, fervent love, is the badge of Christian discipleship. And thanks be to God!—our earth and our country are still blessed and adorned with many examples of these beneficent emotions. But, contrast with them all, not only that now are, but that have ever been, the goodness and loving kindness of God! Is it necessary that I shall dwell upon these? Need I do more than simply advert to them? Are you not as familiar with my views and feelings on this grand and inspiring, yet melting theme, as with the names of your friends and children? What has my ministry been among you, from the first time it began, until this day? What is it now? What is it hereafter to be, but an attempt, earnest, sincere, yet too often fruitless attempt to exhibit to you the wonderful love of God as evinced in the gift of His Son? What theme has been brought to your notice so constantly, as the amazing goodness of God, which beams forth from the doctrine of a Crucified Redeemer—a Messiah, coming to conquer not by the sword, but by suffering—a Prince of Peace—preserving and restoring harmony between God and His Moral Intelligencies,—not by intrigue—not by deception—not by a surrender of any of the Majesty of the Godhead—or of any of the moral and intellectual privileges of man,—but by a Mediation—based upon his own sacrificial death, and perfect obedience—a King of Kings—reigning, not over the mere persons and property, but over the hearts of his people—a Comforter of the afflicted—teaching them not to forget their sorrows or drown them in dissipation and business, but to cast them upon him—a Friend to sinners—

assuring them of forgiveness, if they repent and trust in Him—a Helper to the poor and needy—and despised and injured—pointing them to his own earthly condition, who *though rich, became poor, that they through his poverty might be made rich*—and promising them if faithful, a seat and crown at his side on His glorious Throne.

If all that, as God's minister, and your servant for Christ's sake, I have said to you upon the warranty of the Holy Scriptures, of the Divine Goodness and Love in Christ, has not satisfied you, of its all-sufficiency, as a foundation for your reliance—let me then, this day, entreat you, in all the emergencies and perplexities, whether political, ecclesiastical, social or personal, that may arise and annoy you—listen to the voice of God through the Prophet—“ *Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils ; for wherein is he to be account of !*”

Whether as a judgment for our public and private transgressions, God in his Providence means to shake in our hitherto happy and united country, the Political Heavens and Earth, as he has done in Europe—and abase before His Majesty here, as he has done there, the high personages, and offices, which have been lifting up their heads against him—it is not for us to know. At least, let us bear in mind—that in such distressing agitations—the Rock that we are to get into is the Rock of Ages—based upon the eternal counsel of God—and sheltering all who resort to it, by the covenanted Wisdom, Power and Love, of the one only and true God, the Holy Blessed and Glorious Trinity ! That the family of the deceased, and all in our native State, and our whole country, who lament his removal from earth, may be led to trust in his Great and Adorable Being—is my fervent prayer.

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