

UC-NRLF



φB 60 632

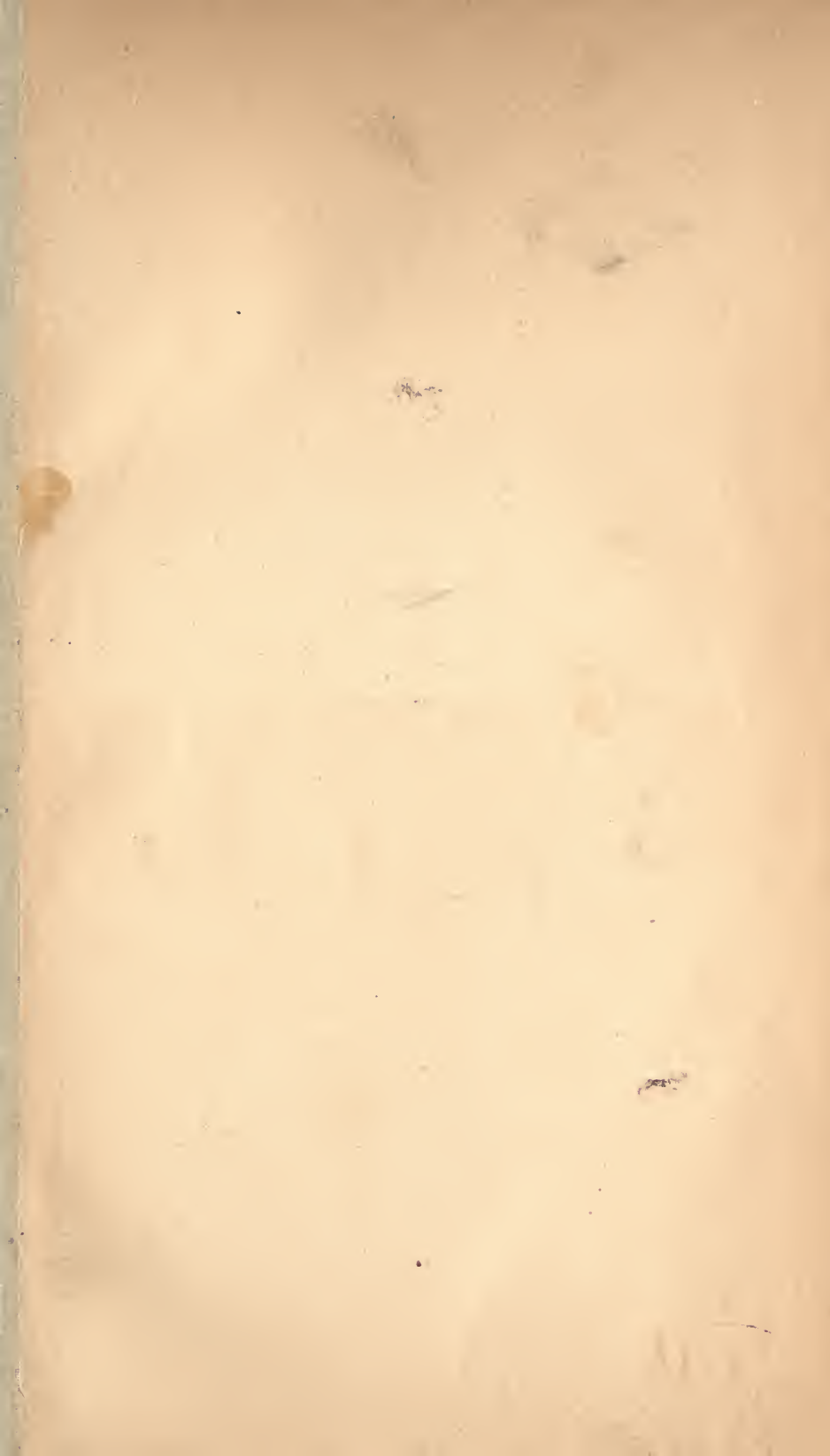


LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.
GIFT OF

Calhoun Monument Assn

Received *May*, 1888.

Accessions No. *36665* Shelf No.



Ladies Calhoun monument association.

A HISTORY

OF THE

CALHOUN MONUMENT

AT

CHARLESTON, S. C.



CHARLESTON, S. C.
LUCAS, RICHARDSON & Co., BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS,
NO. 130 EAST BAY STREET.
1888.

E340
.C2L3

36665

PREFACE.

IN having the following pages strung together the object of the LADIES' CALHOUN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION is to have the incidents connected with their work put in convenient shape for those of the public in general who may take an interest in it, but more especially for those, and the children of those, who have contributed towards it in money and lent to it their every energy. It is also the desire of the ladies to pay Mr. LAMAR the compliment of having his speech, delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument, put in book form so that they can not only place it upon the shelves of their own libraries, but place it upon the shelves of many of the libraries of the schools, colleges and public institutions of the country as an exponent of two great men,—the subject of the oration and orator himself, men whose voices will speak on forever.

CLARENCE CUNINGHAM.

INDEX.

	PAGE.
ADDRESS OF MAYOR COURTENAY	55
BATTERY, ON THE	43
CEREMONIES OF THE UNVEILING	41
GUESTS OF THE CITY, THE	111
ITEMS OF INTEREST	112
MARION SQUARE	52
ODE BY MISS E. B. CHEESBOROUGH	58
ORATION OF THE HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR	63
POEMS BY MRS. MARGARET J. PRESTON	107
PRAYER, BY REV. DR. PINCKNEY	57
PROCESSION	43
SALUTE, THE	110
SKETCH OF THE WORK OF THE ASSOCIATION	2
 LETTERS—	
Ames, Oliver, Governor of Massachusetts	135
Barton, Clara	124
Bayard, T. F., Secretary of State	127
Beauregard, G. T. Gen	144
Beaver, James A., Governor of Pennsylvania	141
Bonham, M. L	125
Bonham, M. L. J., Adjutant and Inspector General of S. C	132
Charleston, City Council of, by W. W. Simons	144
Cleveland, Grover, President	126
Colhoun, James Edward	118
Corcoran, W. W	119
Corcoran, W. W	120
Corcoran, W. W	120
Courtenay, Wm. A., Mayor of Charleston	119
Currier, Moody, Governor of New Hampshire	133
Davis, Jefferson, Ex.-President of the C. S. A	117
Dibble, Samuel, Congressman	132
Earle, A. H	126
Endicot, William C., Secretary of War	128
Fairchild, Charles S., Secretary of the Treasury	128
Fish, Hamilton	122
Fleming, T. P	137
Fredericksburg, Va., City Council of, by J. Hazard	145

	PAGE.
LETTERS—	
Gray, Isaac P., Governor of Indiana	142
Green, Robert S., Governor of New Jersey	140
Harlee, W. W	123
Hill, D. B., Governor of New York, by W. G. Rice	134
Hunter, R. M. T	118
Johnston, Mrs. Eliza Griffin	124
Johnston, George D., Superintendent of Citadel of Charleston	133
Johnston, Wm. Preston	125
Knott, J. Proctor, Governor of Kentucky	138
Lee, Gen. Curtis, by W. C. Ludwig	125
Lee, Fitzhugh, Governor of Virginia	134
Leitner, W. Z., Secretary of State of South Carolina	131
Luce, C. G., Governor of Michigan	141
Lounsbury, Phineas C., Governor of Connecticut, by G. P. McLean	140
Lowry, Robert, Governor of Mississippi	143
Martin, John A., Governor of Kansas	135
McEnery, S. D., Governor of Louisiana.....	136
Pennoyer, Sylvester, Governor of Oregon	138
Perry, Ed. A., Governor of Florida.....	137
Petersburg, Va., City Council of, by T. J. Janatt	146
Richardson, J. P., Governor of South Carolina	130
Richmond, Va., City Council of, by B. T. August.....	147
Russell, F. R.....	146
Seay, Thomas, Governor of Alabama, by J. R. Jackson.....	139
Scales, A. M., Governor of North Carolina, by C. H. Armfield	138
Simonton, C. H., Judge of U. S. District Court for S. C.....	130
Simpson, W. D., Chief Justice of South Carolina.....	130
Sloman, the Misses	124
Stoney, W. E., Comptroller General of South Carolina	131
Thayer, John M., Governor of Nebraska.....	134
Thompson, Hugh S., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.....	129
Whetmore, George P., Governor of Rhode Island.....	136
Whitney, W. C., Secretary of the Navy.....	129
Wilmington, N. C., City Council of, by W. A. Wilson.....	145
Winthrop, Robert C	121
Zulick, C. Meyer, Governor of Arizona.....	139



FORT HILL

The home of John W. Caldwell near Indian Hill





A SKETCH

OF THE

FOUNDATION, PROGRESS AND WORK

OF THE

Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association,

AS PREPARED FROM

THE MINUTE BOOKS.

BY

CLARENCE CUNINGHAM.



BY his domestic and public virtues, and the purity of his character; by his dual nature of woman's sympathy and man's stouter purpose, as well as by his minute and accurate investigation in his search after truth as the basis of all true polity; by his profound and wide generalizations, and his close analyses involving premises and conclusions as broad as his subjects; by his quick perception, his prompt and determined action, and by his constant care for his family and toil for his country's good; by that strict integrity, magnanimity and unflinching courage, as by that thorough knowledge and reliant patience, that rigid logic, prophetic glance and sincere conviction, which he brought into his every public movement, Mr. Calhoun won the love, gained the confidence and awakened to a glow the admiration of his people at home and of the world abroad, and challenged the high respect alike of friend and foe.

The final work of crystallizing this admiration of his people and giving it the shape of a realized ideal or symbol, belongs to our Women of South Carolina, prominent among whom was Mrs. M. A. Snowden. One of her original co-workers has flatteringly said recently in print, "She was the prime mover, tireless worker and chief inspiration of the 'Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association.'" It was Mrs. M. A. Snowden who, as Miss Amarintha Yates, succeeded in gathering, including herself, eleven ladies in her mother's drawing-room, Church street, Charleston, S. C., on the 23d Jan-

uary, 1854, and there and then was organized the said Association. The ladies present were: Mrs. Esther Monk, Mrs. Richard Yeadon, Mrs. I. S. Snowden, Mrs. Normand Porter, Mrs. Richard Stone, Mrs. Henry Gray, Mrs. Richard Scriven, Miss M. A. Yates, Miss Noble, Miss Palmer and Miss Cheesborough. Mrs. Monk was called to the chair, and Miss E. B. Cheesborough was appointed Secretary. The following ladies were then elected officers of the Association: Mrs. Esther Monk, President; Mrs. John M. Fludd and Mrs. Henry Gray, Vice-Presidents; Miss E. B. Cheesborough and Miss L. S. Porter, Corresponding Secretaries; Miss Maria Cheesborough, Recording Secretary; and Miss M. A. Yates, (afterwards Mrs. Snowden) Treasurer.

A Constitution having been framed and adopted by these ladies assembled at Mrs. Yates', it declared their society should be known as the "Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association," and that its object should be "to aid in the erection, in or near the City of Charleston, of a monument sacred to the memory of John C. Calhoun." Article third of the Constitution provided that "any person could become a member after paying one dollar into the Treasury;" while Article fifth provided that "Auxiliary Associations could be established in any part or parts of the State," and hence there were elected as "directresses" a number of ladies, whose duty it was to conduct the general affairs of the Association, and especially to obtain contributions and to extend and increase in every direction the membership.

Before this first informal meeting was dissolved, it was unanimously resolved that circulars be printed containing the Constitution and a statement of the object of the Association; and that said circulars be transmit-

ted to ladies in various districts, towns and villages of the State: while other circulars be prepared and addressed to the young, and be sent to the different schools and colleges. Thus we see that in that first meeting a most thorough system was instituted not only to raise funds for the noble and obligatory object in view, but, also, to put it in the way of every man, woman and child of this State to be approached in behalf of this same object, and to give each and all the opportunity of taking part, and, in that way, claiming a share in the lofty tribute to be paid to the memory of the most distinguished son of the Commonwealth of South Carolina; the most conscientious and profound statesman of the Federal States of the Union; and the broadest and deepest political thinker of his era;—that era during which he reigned over the politics of the Western World for forty years.

What was the result? Prompt encouragement came in from all sides, and substantial success was all but immediate. On March 6th, 1854, when the first regular meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Henry DeSausure, Meeting street, the sum of \$2,500 was handed in to the Treasurer. In this assemblage of a “considerable number of ladies, evincing a lively interest” in the patriotic undertaking, there was the greatest satisfaction shown upon the reports from a large number of the Directresses, who reported collections, but preferred to withhold remittances until a still larger sum should have been taken in. There was sincere rejoicing over the ready aid sent and over the spirit shown by the young in the schools of the city; and prominent among these young people was a volunteer association, which styled itself the “Juvenile Branch.” Oh, good women,

with your noble work! for mark, though your Association has been in operation for only about six weeks, the money has flowed in; and come in not from the Eldorado Mines of the millionaire, but, with few exceptions, from the limited source of one dollar subscriptions.

We see from the minutes of the different meetings that money continued to come in from all sides and from all conditions of men. The Districts send in their collections; Carolina women residing out of the State send their contributions; Grand Juries through their foremen, tender their offerings; the most gifted concert singers of the city lend their services; Young Ladies' Schools, Military Institutes, the South Carolina College itself, catch the enthusiasm and respond. In fact the entire State is aroused, and a number of Societies as well as the Press come forward with commendation and still more substantial aid. In addition, a Tennessee delegation, in attendance here upon a Commercial Convention, step forward and help on the Association.

At the meeting held March 7th, 1855, reports were handed in of large sums that had been received. From the Meagher Guards the proceeds of the lecture of Gen. T. F. Meagher, and from the Misses Sloman the proceeds of their concert, also contributions from parties in Montgomery, Ala., and in Columbus, Ga. At this meeting the following new officers were elected: Mrs. George Robertson, President; Mrs. John Fludd, Mrs. Henry Conner, Mrs. Henry Gray and Mrs. Henry Wigfall, Vice-Presidents; Miss Laura S. Porter and Miss M. Blamyer, Corresponding Secretaries; Miss Maria Cheesborough, Recording Secretary; and Miss M. A. Yates Treasurer. It was resolved the ladies should present

the Misses Sloman a testimonial of gratitude for services rendered the Association; and that a copy of Calhoun's Works be presented as a testimonial of gratitude to Gen. T. F. Meagher, for his generous offices.

The ladies wishing to keep constantly in remembrance Mr. Calhoun's birth-day, settled upon the 18th March as the anniversary day of the Association. Upon their convocation at the first anniversary, the Treasurer reported that over \$8,500 had been collected. The Theatre Association, under the Presidency of Mr. G. W. Brown, assisted the ladies by contributing largely from their receipts. A letter was received from a friend in Rhode Island containing a fraternal and liberal contribution. Floral fairs were got up by the ladies, and the Charleston Gas Company showed their sympathy for the good work by remitting their bills. Ere the second anniversary the Association had over \$16,000, securely invested in City coupon bonds and City six per cent. stock, as well as South Carolina Railroad seven per cent. bonds, and shares in Bank of Charleston. By the hands of Mr. H. W. Conner, the old stockholders of the Charleston Hotel Company made a liberal donation in stock to the Association. The ladies doubled their efforts to enlarge their funds, and they canvassed unceasingly in all directions. Mr. Petit presented the Association with a musical composition of his own, which netted a neat little sum.

About this time, September, 1855, through their President, the late General Wilmot G. DeSaussure, the "Gentlemen's Calhoun Monument Association, Fire and Military Departments," made a proposition to the "Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association" to unite with them and "endeavor to lay the foundation of

the Calhoun Monument, at as early a date as practicable," but the ladies after several months of reflection decided "they would not give the proceeds of their exertions to the Gentlemen's Association, but that they would continue their efforts until a sufficient sum was raised to justify their laying the foundation of the Calhoun Monument." A year before, the same Gentlemen's Association, through a letter from the then acting president, R. M. Bacot, Esq., enquired of the Ladies' Association what sum the ladies intended to contribute towards the erection of the monument. The ladies replied they would give \$500 towards laying the corner stone if the gentlemen would raise as much for the same purpose. There the matter rested until the letter from Gen. DeSaussure. In June of 1856, the Gentlemen's Association and the Fire and Military Departments for the third time approached the Ladies' Association. Its president, F. Y. Porcher, Esq., wrote to the said Ladies' Association that a committee of gentlemen had been appointed to confer with them "in reference to all matters connected with the erection of the monument," and that they had "abandoned the project of erecting a monument after the plan they had already adopted." But the Ladies' Association invited to act as a committee in their behalf the following gentlemen: Messrs. Henry Gourdin, H. W. Conner, Wm. D. Porter, W. J. Bennett, Wm. P. Miles, P. C. Gaillard, R. Lucas, Geo. Robertson, Richard Yeadon, Edward Manigault, Francis Cart, John L. Nowell, G. H. Ingraham, and Gen. W. E. Martin. These gentlemen, as the minute book reports, the ladies chose "not only for their public spirit, but also for their correct judgment and energy." The summer meeting, however, being too

sparsely attended, matters of importance were not acted upon by the ladies and nothing was done on that special question.

It seems that previous to 1853 an association of the Fire and Military Departments was organized to raise a monument to the great Carolinian, and that it progressed with sufficient success to justify its obtaining a charter, but this association was finally absorbed by that of the ladies, and all of its funds turned over to them ; although when the ladies' appeal to the daughters of South Carolina first appeared they were warned "that they were trespassing upon the sphere of the other sex, and that ridicule would be their only reward."

At the meeting held December 6th, 1856, the welcome news came from the Hon. Wm. D. Porter "that the Legislature had granted a charter of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, having withdrawn the three months notice required by resolution in such cases." The ladies now felt they were strong in something more than a mere local habitation and a name—a corporate body! one that must have rules! and that its funds and securities must be transferred to its corporate name.

In that meeting it was resolved that a letter be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee chosen by the ladies as above stated, requesting him to summon his Committee, and make regulations for the laying of the corner stone as soon as practicable. It was further resolved that a letter be addressed to the Hon. Lawrence M. Keitt, inviting him to be present and deliver an oration on that occasion.

The financial condition of the Association continued to improve; and among the Association's patrons were

Gen. James Gadsden, the Hon. Wm. Aiken, Mrs. Bennett, Prof. Rivers, Mr. B. Alston, Mr. Wm. DuBose, Wm. B. Dorn, Esq., of Edgefield, Dr. Gibbes Elliott, and the Masons.

In June, 1858, Mr. Henry Gourdin, Chairman of the Gentlemen's Committee, reported that at their last meeting it was resolved "as the opinion of the Committee that the funds now in possession of the two Associations warrant the commencement of the work as soon as the preliminary arrangements can be made to do so, and that the Association may safely undertake the construction of a monument to cost the sum of fifty thousand dollars."

During this same year the ladies were called to mourn the death of Mrs. Esther Monk. After fitting remarks upon the services, energy and devotion on the part of the deceased in behalf of the cherished undertaking, it was

Resolved, That in token of our respect for the memory of our first President, we do hereby direct that a page in our Record Book be devoted to her memory, and the Secretary do insert upon the Minutes of the Association this brief memorial of our sorrow:

I N M E M O R Y
O F
M R S . E S T H E R M O N K ,

*First President of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument
Association.*

On the 28th June, 1858, chosen because it was the anniversary of the battle of Fort Moultrie—a day particularly dear and sacred to the heart of each and every

Carolinian—the corner stone of the monument was laid on the Citadel Square. The ceremonies were performed in the presence of a large concourse of people. Under the command of the late Gen. Wm. E. Martin there was formed on the Battery a procession comprising the Military, the Masons and other civic societies, as well as the ladies of the Association in carriages. It repaired in state to the spot chosen as the location where the stone should be laid. Prayer having been offered by the Rev. Dr. Bachman, the Masons, with ceremonies peculiar to their order, conducted by M. W. Grand Master Henry Buist, placed the corner stone. It is a free-stone block two feet eight inches wide and one foot two inches deep, and thus inscribed:

THIS CORNER STONE

OF THE

CALHOUN MONUMENT,

LAI D BY HENRY BUIST,

M. W. Grand Master of Grand Lodge, A. F. M. of S. C.

June 28th, A. L. 5858.

In its cavity were deposited the following articles:

A cannon ball which had been recovered from the harbour, and which is supposed to have been used in the battle of Fort Moultrie. Presented by James M. Eason.

A case containing a banner that had been carried by the Seamen in the funeral procession in honor of Calhoun, with the motto: "The children of old ocean mourn him." Presented by the Rev. Wm. B. Yates.

One hundred dollars in Continental money; a lock

of Mr. Calhoun's hair, in a small case, presented by an officer and active member of the Ladies' Association.

Lists containing names of the different Cabinets of the General Government from the inauguration of Washington; the Governor of the State of South Carolina; Mayor of the City of Charleston; Officers of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association; Committee of Arrangements, Marshals, Orator, Officers of the M. W. Grand Lodge A. F. M. of South Carolina, and Proceedings of the last session of the Board of Firemasters, Fire Engine Companies with date of charter and number of members; Board of Field Officers Fourth Brigade; Officers of the Calhoun Monument Association of the Firemen and Military; an historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association; the last speech of John C. Calhoun delivered in the United States Senate on 4th March, 1850.

When the Grand Chaplain of the Masons had closed the masonic ceremonies with prayer, and the Grand Master, the Hon. Henry Buist, had delivered a few remarks, the Hon. Lawrence M. Keitt arose and held the close attention of the masses, assembled to do honour to the occasion, by his eloquent oratory and his clear exposition of the character and of the life-work of Mr. Calhoun. The magnetic orator did justice to his subject and he truly suggested Mr. Calhoun's was not a borrowed light, but one that respired with his very breath, and was fed with the essence of his soul. We may add that even the immortal Goethe, whose last prayer was for "light, more light," could have illumed his lamp from this sun of deep insight into, and broad moral observations upon, all human action.

And here closed the first chapter of that much cher-

ished work undertaken by the women of Carolina. They were now forced to turn their attention from rendering honours to the dead to administering to the living; to staying the blood that gushed from many a wound; to alleviating the pangs of hunger, and giving the drop of cool water to stay the tortures of thirst; to smoothing the pillows of thousands who could murmur, "now I rest more easy;" to cheering on and inspiring fortitude in the hearts of an army of heroic souls, possessed of the conviction of the right, and battling for a cause. In one of the short meetings held just before the breaking out of the war between the States, these women

Resolved, "That it is the wish of this Association, that the Calhoun Monument shall be the first public work carried on after the restoration of Peace, as a just tribute to the memory of our Political Father, John C. Calhoun."

The struggle came; and during that four years of bloody strife and destruction of property, of course the work of the Association was all but suspended. Though no new contributions came in, the entire fund heretofore collected, excepting some few investments made in Confederate securities, was saved to the Association by the heroic conduct and self-sacrifice of its noble, courageous and large-hearted Treasurer, Mrs. M. A. Snowden, to whom we have already referred as the energetic Amarintha Yates. Like the great Rothchild, the founder of that family illustrious in the departments of finance, and whom his king raised to the exalted position of a nobleman of the realm for his having faithfully preserved, while losing his own private fortune, the public funds intrusted to his keeping, she,

loosing her own property, preserved that of the Association. During those days and nights when the pall of despair wrapped every heart and the blood ceased from its fevered course to stagnate at the fell deeds that flourished in the mart, and when Sherman's torch made Columbia a beacon that lighted us to the skies, this woman of South Carolina carried the securities of the Association, stitched in the folds of her dress,—sublime in her forgetfulness as to her own losses and in her holding inviolate her sacred trust!

Mrs. M. A. Snowden was assisted by her sister, Mrs. I. S. Snowden in her occupation of quilting the bonds in her skirt. At the dead of night, by the imperfect light of a lamp, these two ladies, with trembling and flying fingers, plied their task, observed, as they thought, only by the eye of God, under the spell of whose countenance they had addressed themselves to their work. Think of their astonishment, yet agreeable surprise and satisfaction when some time after, and the bonds were out of danger, they were told by their mother's maid, a negro slave, that she was delighted the soldiers did not get the things sewed up in the garment. It seems, she, from her position in the piazza, had witnessed, by peeping through the venetians, the whole performance of the two ladies. The faithful creature, acting upon her own high instincts of honesty, kept the secret. To this incorruptible, though unlettered daughter of African descent, all honour is due, for honesty, though not an object of reward, is a thing to be especially honoured, when the very air is putrid with the dishonesty of those who claim to be high up, not only in the scale of learning, but of gently-dealing and humane-teaching civilization—yea, of those whose offi-



cial position placed them in the front ranks of that highest and mightiest of races, which calls itself the Caucasian.

The civil struggle ceased. A new dynasty at the head of affairs, new forces and circumstances impelling the wheel of fortune, the women of Carolina had to give up their nurtured hope and resolve of making the monument to their hero, now more sacred than ever, their first duty, and had to turn their energies to facing and effectually meeting the stern lots necessity cast upon them. In this they triumphed, and, could it be possible, they arose out of their troubles calmer, stronger and more beautiful; — purified priestesses around the altar of home.

When, in 1871, the Association began again its regular meetings, Mrs. Conner reported that the Treasurer's books had been examined and found correct. The ladies agreed to place in the hands of Col. P. C. Gaillard, one of their long and zealous co-workers, all the records of the Association, so as to enable him to make a full statement of its affairs. This statement he made to the fullest satisfaction and handed it in, January, 1874. In his report he remarked: "In the history of the Association there occurs three distinct periods, effecting its interests so materially, that there is almost a necessity, in giving a full statement, to deal with each separately." The first period, from March, 1854, to March, 1861, was the period of increase of funds by donations, collections and subscriptions. The second period, from March, 1861, to March, 1866, was the period when Confederate Currency circulated and investments were made in Confederate securities. The third period was from March, 1866, to January, 1874.

In the first period the actual amount received from all sources amounted to \$35,509.63, which being invested, it was found at the close of the period the stocks and securities amounted to \$39,610. As in the second period all investments were in Confederate securities they amounted to nothing, so were not reported. But in the third period, the various municipalities and corporations within the State, having been restored to their former rights and privileges, provisions were made by most of them to meet the arrears of interest due to their securities.

Few expenses were incurred by the Association beyond taxes and the \$100 paid after the war for the removal of Mr. Calhoun's remains back to their original resting place in the western division of St. Philip's churchyard. The par value of the securities was, on :

March 12th, 1861.....	\$39,610 00
Securities received since Jan'y, 1866, par value..	24,295 52
Par value of all securities held at Jan'y 1st, 1874,	64,504 12
Estimated market value of the same.....	27,920 10

The amount on hand had been derived from the following sources up to the beginning of the war :

Fairs in the City of Charleston	\$11,071 81
Concerts in the City of Charleston.....	2,195 31
Lectures in the City of Charleston.....	563 00
Legacies from residents of the City of Charleston	600 00
Collections and donations in the City	5,709 00
Charleston District.....	578 25
All the other Districts of South Carolina... ..	3,737 54
From persons, residence unknown.....	66 30
Donations from State Senators.. ..	102 00
Donations from Prof. Rivers	1,000 00
Donations from other States.....	491 50
Interests and dividends.....	9,399 92
Total.....	<u>\$35,514 63</u>

The receipts since January 1st, 1866, have been derived from interests only, except a small amount, say \$19.00, received from the Savings Bank at its winding up in 1869.

Thus we see that after the suspension of hostilities it was found that such was the nature of the investments that scarcely one was without value. The Association was now fully re-organized and again upon its feet. And now the time had come to discuss a question, not foreseen at the time of the organization of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, in 1854, but which was of vital importance, and second only to that of the creation of the Society itself. Being keenly alive in their wisdom to the vast importance of education, having from their wide and deep experience, gained in the late conflict, seen the force and power of mental culture, knowing as they did, that their country was utterly prostrate, and that her sources of wealth were all choked up and had in many respects entirely disappeared; and, realizing only too well that the means could not be procured to give even a primary and practical education to thousands of her war-caused illiterate young men and women, as well as their children; many of the noble-hearted women managing the affairs of the Association conceived the idea and made the proposition, which met with favour in many quarters, that the fund raised to build a monument to the memory of John C. Calhoun, in, or near Charleston, be appropriated to the use of establishing a John C. Calhoun educational fund, by means of which the boys and girls of South Carolina could be given those privileges of learning enjoyed by their forefathers, and for which not only a universal civilization, but necessity itself calls

aloud. They sincerely believed such would have been the wishes and views of Mr Calhoun himself; and they were careful to get the opinion on the subject of most of the absent directresses—and that opinion was favourable to the change. The daughter of our illustrious citizen showed her feelings on the point discussed when she said that while she could not permit the use of her name as advocating the donation of the monumental fund to the Confederate Home in the manner indicated, “yet,” she says in her letter, “I too feel deeply on this subject, and am most desirous of seeing the monumental fund devoted to that (educational) purpose, as the noblest memento to my dear father’s memory, knowing as I do, his true modesty, his devotion to the State, and his high estimation of the necessity of education. I am sure such a monument would be the one he would choose above all others, and I agree with you, (Mrs. M. A. Snowden,) that to erect a monument of stone or bronze, in the present state of our affairs, to any man, would be more to our shame than his honour.”

To divert the fund to even so laudable a purpose was too grave a responsibility to be assumed by the small number of subscribers that could have been brought together. Many of the original ones, and, among them, some of the largest contributors, were dead or removed from the State, and inaccessible, so under the circumstances the Association solicited from the Hon. Henry Gourdin, Col. I. W. Hayne, Gen. Jas. Conner, Gen. W. G. DeSaussure, Hon. W. D. Porter and W. J. Bennett, Esq., advice upon the subject. These gentlemen had been ever the warmest of friends to the Association. But, as these gentlemen, “failed to come to any agreement as to the legality of the change,” they suggested

that the ladies consult the three surviving Chancellors of the old Carolina Bench: Chief Justice Dunkin and Chancellors Lesesne and Carroll; and, further, that the ladies abide by the decision of the majority. The ladies unanimously agreed to the suggestion. Having accepted the request and weighed the proposition, the Chancellors replied:

“Having given our best consideration to the question, and to the views of counsel on either side, with which we have been favoured, we are of opinion that the Association cannot lawfully apply the funds in their hands to the purchase of “grounds or an edifice or building, to be known as the Calhoun Monument Institute, to be applied to educational purposes,” such not being in our judgment the sort of monument intended by the word as used in their Constitution.

“We are also of the opinion that the temporary investment of the funds in the purchase of such grounds and buildings to be used as above stated, until a suitable time may arrive for erecting a monument of the kind contemplated in the Constitution, is not such an investment of trust funds as a Court of Equity would authorize or sanction.

[Signed,]

BENJ. F. DUNKIN.
HENRY D. LESESNE.”

A resolution offered by Mrs. M. A. Snowden and passed, stated that as the above educational question had been referred to the three living Chancellors of South Carolina, and “whereas the majority of the Chancellors has given a decision advising against the measure: Therefore, Be it resolved, That the Board of Directresses while deeply regretting that their proposed plan is considered inadvisable, a plan which contemplated the entire preservation of the fund and which, if carried into effect would, in their view, have proved the best and noblest monument to Mr. Calhoun, still yield to the

opinion of their friends and advisers and will hold the fund until a more fitting day arrives for the consummation of the original plan." Thus ended the most important question considered since the foundation of the Association.

At the anniversary meeting held 18th of March, 1874, the venerable President offered a resolution to the effect that the Association owed a vote of thanks to its Treasurer for "her zealous and scrupulous care and great success in the arrangement and preservation of its funds through the many years past, especially in those during and immediately succeeding the war, when its utter destruction was frequently threatened and feared." Unanimously passed.

Immediately after said meeting the following officers were elected: Mrs. George Robertson, President; Mrs. H. W. Conner and Mrs. Henry Wigfall, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Joseph Blackman, Corresponding Secretary; Miss S. B. Hayne, Recording Secretary; Mrs. M. A. Snowden, Treasurer.

The ladies having the best advice as to the repeated investments of the interest on their fund, had the leisure to actively discuss the question of a model for the monument. This question, of course, had been talked about for a long time, and as early as 1856, communications had been received from Jones and Lee, as well as Edward B. White, Esq., relative to designs they had prepared for the Calhoun Temple or Monument. We notice in the Minutes of the first Quarterly Meeting of the Association for the year 1859, mention is made of a letter from Mr. Henry Gourdin, Chairman of the Ladies' Advisory Committee, stating that at a previous meeting of the Committee it was resolved to advise the ladies to

adopt, as a Calhoun Monument, "a colossal bronze statue of Mr. Calhoun standing on a base of South Carolina granite." At the same time a design for such monument was submitted for the ladies' inspection.

At a meeting in 1876 we find the ladies concurring in the idea of having it a bronze figure on a native granite base and pillar; the statue to be on the model of that executed in marble for the City of Charleston by Powers. To aid them in carrying out their plan a committee of thirteen gentlemen were forthwith nominated and elected. Some of the gentlemen elected were the same the ladies had chosen, for the same purpose, twenty years before, in 1856, previous to the civil strife. The names of the thirteen were as follows: Mr. Henry Gourdin, Chancellor Henry Lesesne, Hon. W. D. Porter, Col. Edward McCrady, Jr., Gen. Conner, Col. P. C. Gaillard, Col. S. B. Pickens, Col. Henry E. Young, Messrs. Isaac Hayne, C. R. Miles, R. Siegling, Kirkwood King and Louis D. DeSaussure. By choice of the Association Col. Henry E. Young was made chairman.

A year later we find the same discussion going on, and the ladies, after again deciding that the site for the monument be the Citadel Green, announce, "the monument will consist of a life-size statue of Calhoun in his usual dress, draped with a cloak and resting on a palmetto tree, and holding in his hand a scroll representing "Truth, Justice, and the Constitution"; the other minutiae of the monument to be left to the "artist who may obtain the contract for the work." In March, 1878, Col. Henry E. Young submitted, in behalf of the committee of gentlemen, several plans for the monument, but no definite action was taken just then. Col. Young also handed in the resignation of Mr. Kirkwood King. Mr. S. Prioleau Ravenel succeeded to his place.

In March, 1879, at an especial meeting it was determined upon to request the committee of gentlemen to select a European artist to furnish designs for the monument, including the pedestal. It was forthwith resolved that notices be put in the art journals of the United States, England, Rome, Florence and Berlin, inviting artists to present designs for the monument and referring them to some well-known banking houses for reference. The committee of thirteen gentlemen gave the matter the closest attention, and they corresponded with and about, and also held in consideration, such men as J. Q. A. Ward, of New York; John Bell, one of the foremost British sculptors; Carl Echtenmeyer, an eminent sculptor and artist, of Dresden, Germany; Valentine, of Virginia, also Eziekel, of that State; Rogers and Ives, Ware and Van Brunt, of Boston; Simmons and Harnisch, of Philadelphia. The committee knew from experience that great artists will not consent to enter into contests and compete with each other, hence it was put upon its inquiry and research, and after careful discussion and reflection, it decided to recommend to the Association Mr. A. E. Harnisch as the sculptor most suited to execute the statue and design the base. Among those who bear strong testimony as to this sculptor's merits and character are Mr. Richard Vaux, as seen in his letter to the Hon. Samuel Randall; Mr. How, of Boston; Mr. Clement Barclay, as also Mr. John Sartain, the eminent artist and literateur; Clement and Hutton; Miss Brewster, and Mr. W. W. Story, the celebrated sculptor, as quoted in letters of Mr. How and other well-known personages.

In June of the same year, 1879, the report embodying the choice of artists was handed in to the ladies as

the unanimous recommendation of the gentlemen forming the committee. The recommendation was approved and the committee was desired to begin forthwith a correspondence with Mr. Harnisch. Some of the works of Mr. Harnisch which entitled him to the notice of the public were his Cupid, Love in Idleness, Wandering Psyche, Little Protector, Little Hunter and Boy in the Eagles' Nest; the last of which the Art Commission of Philadelphia Park with one accord ordered without even having seen the model. At the time he was recommended to the ladies he was engaged on a model for the proposed equestrian statue of Gen. Lee to be erected at Richmond. Another point in his favour was that he was a native artist. In discussing with a talented critic living abroad whether it would be best to employ a foreign or a native artist, she remarked with a great deal of insight and truth: "I do not think it advisable to employ a foreign artist for such a monument as this of Calhoun. They would do it in a conventional or commercial way without any interest or spirit. The subject would not materially inspire their enthusiasm, and a Frenchman makes every figure French, while a German makes his figures German."

Clement and Hutton in their "Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works," published in 1879, speaking of Harnisch, said: his statues are deemed excellent, "such as only a sculptor who is an anatomist, can model," and, "his portrait busts are especially characteristic of his subjects and give their best and strongest personalities." It was further urged he was about thirty years of age and "on the sill of success;" that he was "realistic in the best sense and makes real individual and not conventional lay figures as is too often

seen." His uncle, a professor of sculpture at Berlin, came to America and "directed the boy in the right path;" instructed him in the old belief of sculpture with broad horizons; and influenced him to aim at that well-balanced effect produced in the whole of a work by broad outlines and simple form, as seen in the specimens of ancient art. In his native city of Philadelphia he studied for several years architecture under Collins and Andenreed; under Struthers he learned all the mechanical detail of stone work, and in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts he was a pupil under Joseph Bailey. At the Roman University he studied in the dissecting room until he could construct the human form from memory, and the collection of ancient sculpture in the Roman galleries, remarks one of his critics, were to him as large libraries to a scholar and writer. He had already sent designs to the Association, and at the very meeting when his name was proposed and accepted the committee of gentlemen advised that the base of the monument be of native granite, according to the designs sent, and that it be executed here, if possible. The bronze figure of Calhoun to surmount the base they recommended to be of heroic size, in the costume of Calhoun's day and with the cloak he usually wore. The general plan of the whole to be something like the statue of Count Cavour at Milan. The head to be that from Powers's statue, when the statesman was in the full vigour of both mind and body. The scroll "Truth, Justice, and the Constitution" and the palmetto tree to be appropriately introduced by the artist.

In March, 1880, Mr. Robert N. Gourdin took the place of his deceased brother, Mr. Henry Gourdin, on the Gentlemen's Advisory Committee; and Mr. George

Ingraham was elected by the ladies a member of the same.

A model arrived from Mr. Harnisch in June, 1880. Col. Young reported in behalf of the committee that the model, as a whole met with their unanimous approval, and that "the statue itself seems to them remarkable for its ease, life and grace." The artist wrote from Rome in the preceeding March: "In model No. 1, I gave as much likeness as was in the picture sent me. I found Mr. Powers's bust of little or no use; it is so very morose in expression; moreover one of the most prominent characteristics of Mr. Calhoun's head—his hair—is cut short in said bust. Those of my friends who knew Mr. Calhoun, give me credit for having produced his prominent points of character. When I model the large statue, and have better portraits of him to study from, I shall be able to make a stronger likeness." Again he writes in April: "The long hair is especially effective and ought not to be removed; it is an artistic feature that should be expressed." The Committee collected as many likenesses of Mr. Calhoun as they well could. Mr. V. K. Stevenson, of New York, gave them a photographic copy of Healey's portrait of the statesman; Miss Mathews gave one of Scarborough's portrait, and Mr. Willis a copy of that of Harding. These likenesses were sent to Mr. Harnisch with instructions to use them in connection with head of Powers's statue. The eminence of Powers being so universally acknowledged, it was insisted upon still that Mr. Harnisch should make use of the Powers's head. The portraits by Healey and Scarborough were preferred, as they represented Mr. Calhoun as Senator, while Harding's represented him as Secretary of War, and when Senator our states-

man was most specially endeared to this State. The Committee reminded the ladies that they, of course, had the right to express themselves as to which likeness they preferred, and what should be the inscription on the pedestal, but the statue itself was the work of Mr. Harnisch, and he would be responsible for it. The objections the gentlemen themselves made to the model sent, they made subject to the artist's judgment. One of their objections was: 'That the palmetto post behind be higher, reaching up to about the middle of the figure, so that the cloak, resting on it, would fall in folds, and lose its present stiff and ungraceful appearance.' The following extract from a letter, dated July, 1880, will not only show how Mr. Harnisch meets that objection, but how carefully he was studying his work, how minutely he was studying the mental habits and characteristics of his subject, so as to be able to make the outer form and its accompaniments a true exponent of the inner man; he says: "Mr. Calhoun was noted for his decided, firm and unbending nature. He was true to his State, he indulged in no rhetoric, but always went straight to his end at all costs, therefore, the break up of folds at the back and all accessories to his own figure, would be at variance with the portrait character I am trying to represent. The drapery, when not interfered with by the action or movement of the body, should fall in solid, straight, firm lines, otherwise its effect would be weakened when placed on high against the sky." The ladies, in objecting to the same model, expressed themselves as "not pleased with the hair as represented;" they said, further, 'they did not object to the citizen's dress, but the style was not such as Mr. Calhoun wore, it fitting more closely than was consis-

tent with grace and ease. As they had fifty thousand dollars to expend on the monument, they hoped for something more imposing than the model suggests.'

On the 5th of September, 1881, the ladies offered a fitting tribute to the memory of Mrs. H. W. Conner, very recently deceased. She was an original member and directress of the Association, and at the time of her death, a Vice-President.

In March, of 1882, Mrs. Dr. DeSaussure and Mrs. Joseph Walker were elected Vice-Presidents, and Miss F. E. DeSaussure Corresponding Secretary.

Although as early as March, 1881, the ladies and their Gentlemen Committee had come approximately to a decision as to Mr. Harnisch's model, and although, in the meantime the artist himself had come to Charleston, and submitted several designs, no official report had been made upon it until the anniversary meeting of March 18th, 1882, when Col. Young, on the part of the Committee, reported the following: "That the Committee recommend to the Association the acceptance of model No. 1, modified as to the head, to conform to the cast which Mr. Harnisch had obtained in Charleston; and as to the other details which may be suggested by their Committee and accepted by him." The vote was taken upon this resolution and carried, approving and endorsing the selection of model No. 1, which "is hereby chosen with certain modifications." The contract finally made with Mr. Harnisch called for a bronze statue of Calhoun on a Carolina granite pedestal, and surrounding it four allegorical figures, representing Truth, Justice, the Constitution and History, for the sum of \$44,000. The cast of Mr. Calhoun which Harnisch had obtained in Charleston was that by

Mills, and given the artist by the Hon. William D. Porter.

In a meeting held April 1st, of 1882, the action of the President and the Recording Secretary, in retaining Judge Magrath, Gen. B. H. Rutledge and Major Brawley to represent the Association in the event of any legal complications, was confirmed, and the President and Recording Secretary were authorized to sign and seal the contract with Mr. A. E. Harnisch, which had been submitted for the approval of the ladies.

By the number of votes from the Districts entered on the Minute Book we have evidence of the greatest public confidence in the Board of Directresses, and, in the act of their having chosen as their sculptor Mr. Harnisch. Mr. Harnisch having fairly begun his work and being altogether absorbed in it, the ladies watched its progress with great interest. The editor of the News and Courier, of Charleston, having written in 1883 a private letter from Rome, wherein he mentioned that he frequently visited Harnisch's studio, and was very much pleased with the model of the statue of Mr. Calhoun he saw there, and, that he highly approved of the selection of Mr. Harnisch as sculptor by the ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association; the ladies invited him, upon his return to Charleston, to attend their anniversary meeting, to be held the 18th of March, 1883, and make some remarks on the subject so near to their hearts. The Minutes of that meeting report his remarks as follows: "Mr. Dawson spoke at some length; the substance of his remarks being that he was most favourably impressed with the merit and earnestness of Mr. Harnisch. He feels confident that he will give the Association a monument to Calhoun which will be en-

tirely worthy of the subject. He said this with much earnestness, because before he had had the opportunity of gauging the talent of Mr. Harnisch, he had thought the Association had acted hastily in selecting an artist who had not already acquired a European reputation. He was much pleased to find that Mr. Harnisch occupied a high position in artistic circles in Rome, and he feels confident that no one could be found in Italy who would devote himself more assiduously to the execution of the monument. He thinks that the action of the Association in selecting Mr. Harnisch will be most completely and entirely justified by the result of his labours. The central figure of Calhoun is nearly completed in clay, and when finished the Calhoun Monument will be by far the most imposing work of art in the South, an ornament to the City of Charleston and a credit to the State, as well as a worthy memorial to the constancy which preserved the memorial fund, and the genius which gave shape and form to Carolina's undying veneration of her great son."

With what sincere and enthusiastic delight the ladies of the Association read from time to time the criticisms upon Mr. Harnisch and his work; criticisms that came from the pens of able and brilliant writers. Mr. Sartain, President of the Philadelphia Art Association, a resident for several years at Rome, and a man perfectly familiar with the highest types of ancient and modern art, writes from Paris, November 2nd, 1883: "My first impression (of statue) was pleasurable surprise; surprise at the magnitude of the work and pleasure at the style and character of its execution. The action of the right hand and the expression of the face, convey the idea of a man reasoning closely. He appears to have risen from

his chair and to be in the act of addressing an audience. The weight of his body is thrown chiefly on the right leg, and the left is advanced forward in an easy position and bent at the knee, of course. The face is wrought to an artistic finish, and I judge must be a good likeness from the conception I have formed from portraits said to be good. The drapery is gracefully disposed, and with a free and bold execution, so important for effect, especially in large work. One thing I like in it is the absence of the extreme of gesticulation I have seen in some statues of public men."

The correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, writing about December, 1883, from Rome, speaks in glowing and appreciative terms of the subject in a long letter, extracts of which we are only able to give, because of the want of space: "This statue model of the great Calhoun is indeed animated clay. I can remember seeing Calhoun when I was in the spring and he in winter of life. Indeed, I sat opposite him at the dinner-table for many a day. * * * In this colossal model I again see the great 'Nullifier.' He is here, perhaps, made to appear rather in the midsummer, than in the winter of life. The prime of age is the happy mean for the artist. There is none of that shaggy long hair thrown back fitfully; none of that lion like crouching that marked the declining days of the hero of the palmetto forest. He now stands erect in that pose which gave him the greatest prominence in the United States Senate and caused every eye and every ear to be directed to the Southern orator. * * * His head erect and well posed, on a lithe, nervous, yet firm frame; his deep-set, stern eyes, beneath a massive brow; his pulsating nostrils and his compressed rigid lips with the

well-defined lines of the cheek and chin of the oratorical type, are all before you in this model. The nervous right hand and arm are half extended; the former being one of those 'great, yet not large hands that speak.' The left foot is advanced, and gives to the figure that 'light, livingness of Senatorial grace,' as Cicero would say. * * * Standing in front of his Senatorial chair, on which is flung the cloak, he was wont to wear, you have before you the great formulator of 'State Sovereignty,' in all his earnest, breathing, life-like character. * * * As a work of art it will be unique, not only in the vitality of the chief figure and the repose of the secondary figures, but in the ornate and appropriate ensemble. * * * Mr. Harnisch can afford to rest his reputation on this work, and South Carolina can equally afford to be proud of the good taste in the selection of the artist for this work. * * * This work is simply true and truly simple. The spirit of Calhoun comes up before you as well as the outer man. * * * Mr. Harnisch has reproduced the accessories of dress, the broad facings of the frock coat, the close-fitting, yet semi-neglige pantaloons strapped over the boots."

The criticism of Miss Anne Hampton Brewster also deserves a place here, not only because of her acknowledged ability and knowledge in art subjects, but because of her representing another and important part of the States. She also writes from Rome, and writes to the Boston Daily Advertiser: "The heads of these figures (Truth, Justice, the Constitution and History) are enveloped in sybil-like drapery. They are large framed, vigorous women, Michaelangesque in pose and body; have calm, thoughtful faces, large, tranquil eyes

that look out and beyond, as the prophetesses of Bible days. From the summit of the step-base, on which are seated these figures, rises the pedestal of the main statue, the subject of the monument. Calhoun stands upon it, as a Roman orator on the rostra or suggestum of the Roman forum. * * * The committee may well congratulate themselves upon having made so judicious a selection of sculptor and model."

Drawings and measurements for the foundation for the base were received in July, 1884, from the artist. The sub-committee of the Gentlemen's Auxiliary Committee, appointed to have specifications made for the foundation of the monument, submitted the drawings and measurements of Harnisch to Mr. W. B. W. Howe, Jr., architect, with the request to prepare all the details for the foundation, and the sub-committee recommended that he be chosen as the architect to superintend the erection of the monument. He was chosen. The resolution was also adopted that the Association accept the offer of Patrick Culleton and J. E. Kerregan to build the foundation according to the plans and specifications of W. B. W. Howe, Jr. Out of the thirteen bids, the offer of Mr. Emile T. Viett was accepted to build the monument of Winnsboro' granite, and set the bronze statue in place. During the July session of this same year Gen. C. I. Walker and Samuel G. Stoney, Esq., were chosen by the ladies to fill the vacancies in the committee of thirteen gentlemen, caused by the death of Hon. W. D. Porter and the resignation of Gen. Edward McCrady, Jr. In May, 1885, Gen. B. H. Rutledge resigned. In March, 1886, the names of Hon. A. G. Magrath and Mr. W. H. Brawley were added to the list of the Advisory Committee, thus making fifteen instead of thirteen members.



About March, 1886, it was proposed that instead of the four allegorical figures, "Truth, Justice, the Constitution and History," to be placed around on the base, there should be substituted four statues of distinguished South Carolina contemporaries of Mr. Calhoun. The four statesmen suggested were William Lowndes, Langdon Cheves, Robt. Y. Hayne and Hugh S. Legare. This proposition was never adopted, because, upon consultation with the artist, this substitution was found to be impracticable, as the statue being based on one concentrated idea the substitution would necessitate an entire change of that idea, and hence, of the whole work to the very foundation; and further, the proposition was not adopted, because of the double expense and the greater length of time for completion that would be incurred.

Under the Treasurer and her able business advisers, the fund of the Association had been managed with consummate skill, and upwards of \$60,000 had accumulated. No expense was spared in making the foundation and pedestal solid, symmetrical and imposing. The granite structure stands thirty-six feet square and thirty-three feet in height, while the bronze statue is another fifteen feet high. The statue was cast at the San Michele Foundry, at Rome.

Mr. W. Astor, United States Consul at Rome, having been respectfully requested to do so, acted as the agent of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, and from time to time gave them information on the subject of their work.

The Association invited thirty-four young ladies to fill the role of unveilers at the ceremonies of presenting the statue to the public. Thirty-four were chosen because there are thirty-four districts in the State.

These young ladies were, with few exceptions, related to Mr. or Mrs. Calhoun. There were also eight baby unveilers, great-grandchildren, and very near relatives of the statesman. All were requested by the Association to be dressed in the colours of the State—blue and white—and to wear a tree and crescent of palmetto, as badges.

The Association tendered a vote of thanks to Judge Magrath for having arranged the programme for the ceremonies.

Among others, special invitations were sent to President Cleveland and Cabinet, the President of the Senate pro tem., the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Governors of the States, Mr. Jefferson Davis, Mr. Venable, of North Carolina; Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia; Prof. Rivers, of South Carolina; Ex-Chief-Justice Daly, of New York; the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina; the Speaker of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, the other State officials of South Carolina, the Mayor and City Council of Charleston, the Mayors and City Councils of Wilmington, N. C., of Fredericksburg, Va., and of Petersburg, Va., the survivors of the "Committee of Twenty-five who had been appointed to go to Washington for Mr. Calhoun's body," the survivors of the "Committee of Fifty who had been appointed to make arrangements for the reception of the body," the surviving Marshals and Guard of Honour who officiated at his obsequies, Military and Civic Societies, Citadel Cadets, and to the members of Mr. Calhoun's family. Through a general and published announcement "the Directresses of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, in behalf of themselves and all who assisted them in the accomplishment of the work

so eminently due to the memory of Mr. Calhoun" the entire public were invited to be present and take part in the great celebration.

At the meeting held June 1st, 1886, the Gentlemen's Auxiliary Committee handed in the names of several distinguished statesmen, from whom a choice should be made of an orator to deliver an oration on this occasion of the consummation of the ladies' work, and the dedication of the monument to Calhoun. The choice fell on the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; a mediator of peace and a reformer, a public servant faithful to his people, and efficient in the exercise of his trust, a zealous worker for the promotion of all pure and simple forms of government, he stands out to-day before the world a living example of a true citizen and unblemished statesman, an orator and a patriot, loving and beloved by all the inhabitants of this broad land. In writing to the Chairman of the Gentlemen's Committee, Mr. Lamar says in one of his letters: "The theme magnifies in importance as I study it. The more I consider the career and speeches of Mr. Calhoun the more firmly is the conviction riveted upon my mind that he was among the profound thinkers and great statesmen of the century *primus inter pares*. This can be shown within the limits of a not very long address. I am not sure that I can do it, even with opportunity for study and preparation, but if I can, it will be the proudest achievement of my life, and one that I would be glad to make the peroration of my own humble career."

Miss E. B. Cheesborough and Mrs. Margaret J. Preston accepted invitations to write odes, and Paul H. Hayne, just before his death, wrote to the Associa-

tion and offered to write one for this occasion of pride to South Carolina.

The regular quarterly meeting that should have been called in September of 1886 was omitted because of the terrible earthquake of the 31st of August, and the meeting which should have been called in the following December, was also omitted, as many of the officers and Directresses, driven out of the city by that same catastrophe, had not yet returned. Strange, while the city was almost demolished by that great convulsion of nature, the unfinished base and pedestal of the monument were not in the smallest degree hurt.

And now to-day, the 26th of April, 1887, a day significant, as being the anniversary of the day, when nearly forty years ago the remains of our statesman were received in this city and delivered to the people of South Carolina by the Senators, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; James Mason, of Virginia; Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; John H. Clarke, of Rhode Island; Augustus C. Dodge, of Iowa; J. McPherson Berrien, of Georgia; Mr. Beale, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, and Messrs. Venable, of North Carolina, and Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, both of whom were members of the House of Representatives. This distinguished Committee, in whose charge the remains had been placed by the Congress of the United States had been chosen by Congress to represent the nation on that occasion. And now to-day, the 26th of April, 1887, through the noble efforts and untiring zeal of the women of Carolina, does the State, in presence of many distinguished guests and a vast crowd of her citizens, pay her debt of gratitude to her illustrious son, John C. Calhoun, of whom we can truly say he was great

from his cradle to his grave. As history tells us, even in his childhood he discussed with his father in a surprisingly comprehensive manner, the important principles of government, the choice of professions and the general pursuits of man.

This "great child of honour," though of humble parentage, was "born in the purple of English liberty." With his plough and nature he held communion in his early days, and up to the day of his death ever true to first principles, uninfluenced by passion or prejudice, unassailed by corruption and unawed by violence, he was the best, the wisest and the bravest man that could wear the crown of laurel woven by woman's fingers and embalmed with the fresh dews of woman's love.

Some days after the unveiling, the following letter was written: "The Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, with their fellow-citizens of South Carolina and distinguished guests from all parts of the United States, have heard with gratification your clear analysis of the statesman-like principles, constitutional views and conservatism of the Hon. John C. Calhoun. The Association feel assured that its preservation in a permanent form will be gratifying to the public, and materially add to the exposition of the history of the United States during the first half of the century, they have, therefore, adopted this resolution: 'That the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar be requested to furnish for publication, a copy of his able and eloquent address on the life, character and public services of John C. Calhoun, delivered before the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, and the public at Charleston, South Carolina, on the unveiling of the monument erected to South Carolina's distinguished statesman.'"

REMARKS

OF THE

PRESIDING OFFICER, MAYOR WM. A. COURTENAY,

A DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PROCESSION AND CEREMONIES

AT THE

Unveiling of the Calhoun Monument,

ON 26TH APRIL, 1887,

AT

Charleston, South Carolina,

AND

ODES WRITTEN FOR THE OCCASION,

BY

Mrs. MARGARET J. PRESTON AND Miss E. B. CHEESBOROUGH.



JOHN C. CALHOUN

*in early life from an original portrait
in the possession of the family*



A GRAND CEREMONY AND A MAGNIFICENT CELEBRATION.

[From the News and Courier.]

ROBED in sunshine, redolent with the varied perfumes of her numerous gardens fanned hither and thither by exhilarating breezes from the sea, Charleston, resting in the lap of her encircling bay, smiled a most gracious welcome to her guests on Calhoun Day. Never was sky more clear or atmosphere more balmy. It was as if all the elements had combined to make a glorious, a perfect day. The heavy rains of Monday had washed the paved streets as clean as a new floor, showing off to great advantage this wonderful work of Mayor Courtenay's administration, and giving the soldiers the best marching route to be found in the country, while the rain and wind together had cooled the air so as to make military exercise a pleasure rather than a fatigue. Man seemed in unison with the elements, and from early dawn, when curious visitors began to roam the streets, until late at night, when the last roysterer returned to his lodgings, all went smoothly and happily. The assembly at the Battery, the procession through the streets, the ceremonies at Marion Square, were all grand spectacles, attended by immense throngs and successfully conducted.

At an early hour the city was astir from the Battery to the Forks of the Road and from the Cooper to the Ashley, and long before the time for the formation of the procession gay crowds were wending their way from the remoter quarters of the city to positions where a view could be obtained of one or the other of the great events of the day. Later, the streets were enlivened by military companies marching to and fro, and the music of numerous bands filled the air. By 12 o'clock the Battery and Marion Square were black with the immense throngs of people, while, on both sides of the mile and a half of Meeting street,

along which the procession was to move, and on East and South Battery, and King, Calhoun and Meeting streets, enclosing Marion Square on three sides and the Citadel on the other, every piazza, balcony, window, parapet and other point of vantage was occupied by eager spectators. Many of these people waited patiently for hours, and a large crowd lingered at Marion Square until the last act in the unveiling ceremonies had been performed. Notwithstanding the excitement and enthusiasm of the day, and the unprecedented number of visitors in the city, no accident or disturbance of any kind occurred to mar the perfect success of the celebration.

Truly, the ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association may congratulate themselves on so brilliant a termination to their many years of earnest and consecrated labor. The assemblage of distinguished persons was most notable, the gathering of visitors from all parts of the State most flattering, the military display the grandest that has been seen in Charleston for many a long day, and last, but not least, the orator and the oration were worthy of the great man whose memory was honored.

From the first rays of the sun the warriors were up and in arms getting ready for the pageant. The ladies, too, were up betimes. There were few houses in Charleston where an early and hasty breakfast was not served; the ladies were up and ready, if the truth were known, long before the soldiers, and by 9 o'clock the streets were alive with the gayest, largest and most variegated throng of people that has been seen here for many years. The crowd wandered in every direction—some towards Marion Square, some towards the Battery, some towards the hotels, and some to the various places along Meeting street where they had secured windows or balconies from which to view the procession. Flags fluttered to the crisp morning breeze from almost every building on the route of the procession. It was a bright, bracing day, a glorious April morn, with just a sufficient touch of early spring in the temperature to make a walk in the sun pleasant, and the entire population of Charleston was soon in the streets.

As the day advanced the crowd in the streets increased, until by 10 o'clock pedestrianism was almost impossible on the sidewalks, while the horse-cars rushed along crowded to the platform with men, women and children.

ON THE BATTERY.

By 11 o'clock the stream of travel was divided, about one-third flowing in the direction of the Battery, an equal number in the direction of Marion Square, while the others were safely housed in their special windows along the route. The First Battalion reached the general rendezvous first, taking up their position on East Battery. They were followed by the Regiment of visiting companies, and then by the Artillery, Dragoons and Cadets. Thousands of civilians followed them, and in a short time the place was densely crowded. It was a bright scene. The waters in the harbour were glassy, not a ripple disturbing the bosom of the water, in which numerous vessels lay, gaily decked in bunting from stem to stern. The bayonets of the soldiers glistening in the sun, their handsome uniforms mingling with the varied colors of the many brilliant parasols and dresses of the ladies, with the dark green of the trees in White Point Garden as a background, formed a kaleidoscope of rich colors, the shifting beauties of which would defy the brush of an artist. Gaily caparisoned staff officers galloped hither and thither, moving the troops into line, while the music of a half dozen Military bands enlivened the scene.

THE PROCESSION—A MAGNIFICENT PAGEANT.

Promptly at noon the vast crowd of soldiers and citizens who were to take part in the procession were got into line and the grand pageant moved off in three divisions.

Meeting street from the Battery was by this time entirely blocked with people. It is estimated that there could have been not less than twenty thousand people gathered along the route of the parade. The approach of the column was heralded by an almost endless procession of street cars, which had been packed at the Battery terminus of the City Railway. Then came a single policeman and the procession itself, which took thirty-five minutes to pass a given point, and which was composed as follows:

HON. H. E. YOUNG as Chief Marshal, and his Assistants.
GOVERNOR RICHARDSON and Staff, with Adj't Gen. BONHAM.

Music.

GEN. T. A. HUGUENIN, Commanding the Division, and Staff.

Music.

REGIMENT OF VISITING TROOPS, comprising the following companies:

1. Gordon Light Infantry, of Winnsboro', Capt. W. G. Jordan, Lieut. J. W. Siegler, 32 men. Uniform of dark blue trimmed in light blue, white cross belts and blue and white epaulettes, and blue kepies with white feather plumes.

2. Governor's Guards, of Columbia, Capt. Wilie Jones, Lieuts. E. E. Calvo and George K. Wright, 35 men. Uniform, cadet grey faced with black and trimmed with gold, grey kepies, white plumes, epaulettes of white and gold.

3. Richland Volunteer Rifles, of Columbia, Capt. Chas. Newhagen, Lieuts. J. K. Alston and Chas. Cronenberg, 30 men. Uniform, cadet grey trimmed and faced with black and gold, white and gold epaulettes, cross belts and kepies with white pompons.

4. Catawba Rifles, of Rock Hill, Capt. Allan Jones, Lieut. R. T. Fewell, 30 men. Uniform, cadet grey, faced and trimmed with green and gold.

5. Greenville Guards, Capt. J. M. Patrick, Lieuts. P. W. Seyles and William Hunt, 30 men. State regulation uniform.

6. Abbeville Rifles, Capt. W. C. McGowan, Lieuts. A. W. Smith and G. B. Lythgoe, 30 men. State regulation uniform.

7. Darlington Guards, Capt. E. R. McIver, Lieut. J. K. McIver, Acting Lieut. J. S. Burch, 30 men. Uniform, olive green, faced with buff and trimmed with gold, green kepies with white and green pompons:

8. Florence Rifles, Capt. J. W. Elgie, Lieuts. W. M. Brown and J. P. McNeill, 30 men. State regulation uniform.

9. Sumter Light Infantry, Capt. H. F. Wilson, Lieuts. R. A. Bryan, A. C. Phelps and L. W. Dick, 30 men. State regulation uniform.

Brig.-Gen. R. N. RICHBOURG, of Columbia, commanded the companies of the Second Brigade; Brig.-Gen. W. E. JAMES, of Darlington, the companies of the Third Brigade, and Col. J. Q. MARSHALL those of the Palmetto Regiment.

Music.

Beaufort Volunteer Artillery, Capt. B. B. Sams, Lieut. A. P. Prioleau, 36 men.

The company is uniformed in grey, trimmed with crimson and gold, and paraded as infantry, with muskets and knapsacks, presenting a splendid appearance. Indeed, the entire regiment of visiting troops attracted much attention by their handsome appearance, their soldierly bearing and their evolutions.

Music.

BATTALION OF CITADEL CADETS, 100 strong, Lieut. A. L. Mills, U. S. A., commanding; Cadet Lieut. W. H. Allen, adjutant.

First Company, Cadet Capt. C. B. Ashley, Lieuts. H. A. Brunson and E. E. Lee.

Second Company, Cadet Capt. G. A. Lucas, Lieut. I. I. Bagnal.

Third Company, Cadet Capt. R. R. Jeter, Lieut. B. L. Clark.

Fourth Company, Cadet Capt. W. L. Bond, Lieut. E. A. Laird.

Music.

FIRST BATTALION INFANTRY, 4th brigade, Lieut.-Col. L. DeB. McCrady; Adjutant, Lieut. F. J. Devereux; Surgeon, Dr. P. G. DeSaussure; Quartermaster, Lieut. J. H. Heins; Judge Advocate, Lieut. C. B. Northrop.

1. German Fusiliers, Capt. H. Schachte, 48 men.

2. Palmetto Guards, color company, Capt. E. L. Bull, 45 men.

3. Irish Volunteers, Capt. C. A. McHugh, 30 men.

4. Montgomery Guards, Capt. D. O'Neill, 35 men.

5. Washington Light Infantry, Capt. J. Lamb Johnston, 52 men.

Drum Corps.

SECOND BATTALION OF INFANTRY, 4th brigade, Capt. B. H. Rutledge, commanding.

1. Sumter Guards, Capt. S. Hyde, Jr., 61 men.

2. Carolina Rifles, Lieut. H. M. Tucker, Jr., 30 men.

Music.

FIRST REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, Capt. F. W. Wagener commanding.

1. Pioneer Corps, Capt. F. Melchers.
2. German Artillery Band, Capt. Andreas Wagener.
3. First company German Artillery, dismounted, Lieut. J. F. Meyer.
4. Second Company Battery, Lieut. J. F. Lilienthal, total 150 men.
5. Lafayette Artillery, Capt. H. L. P. Bolger, 40 men.

Music.

FIRST BRIGADE CAVALRY, Gen. C. St. G. Sinkler commanding.

1. German Hussars, Capt. J. Ancrum Simons, 25 men.
2. Charleston Light Dragoons, Capt. S. G. Stoney, 25 men.
3. Eutaw Light Dragoons, Capt. J. S. Porcher, 20 men.

THE SECOND DIVISION.

This Division comprised all the civil organizations. Never, perhaps, since the funeral of the immortal Calhoun have the civil societies of Charleston turned out in such large numbers or with such full ranks to do honour to occasion of any kind. It is not surprising, therefore, that this feature of the procession should have proved one of the most conspicuous and interesting to viewers of the grand pageant, both by reason of its novelty and because of the splendid display made by the various organizations, the members of which paraded in citizens' dress, most of them wearing badges and carrying walking-sticks.

This Division was formed on the south side of South Battery, with right resting on Meeting street, and fell into line behind the Battalion of Artillery in the following order :

Marshals—James F. Redding and John C. Mallonee.

St. Patrick's Benevolent Society, over seventy years old, turned out 300 strong, and headed by President Thomas Flynn and Vice-President William E. Milligan. The members paraded in suits of black with knots of green ribbon in their button-holes, marching beneath the folds of their ancient and honoured banner, which was borne in the funeral pageant of Calhoun thirty-seven years ago.



The German Friendly Society, organized over one hundred and twenty-four years ago, with a membership of one hundred and eighty members, appeared in large force under the supervision of President F. Von Santen and Marshal Jacob Kruse.

The Medical Society of S. C., represented by Drs. F. Peyre Porcher, Robert L. Brodie and John Guiteras.

The High School of Charleston turned out in larger force than at the funeral of Mr. Calhoun in 1850, one hundred and eighty lads being present yesterday. Accompanying them in the procession were Mr. Virgil C. Dibble, principal, and Messrs. G. G. Leland, Thos. Della Torre, W. M. Whitehead, W. H. Schaefer and F. P. Valdez, teachers. Each pupil wore a dainty satin badge bearing the seal of the school and an appropriate legend.

The College of Charleston was represented by President Shepherd and Professors F. W. Capers, G. E. Manigault and Sylvester Primer, of the faculty.

Marshals—R. J. Kirk, George W. Williams, Jr., F. F. Jones.

Mechanics' Union No. 1, organized in 1869. The Union was the first civic organization to appear at the rendezvous, which they did under command of President J. D. Murphy. One hundred and fifty members paraded, each wearing an appropriate white badge.

South Carolina Division of the Travellers' Protective Association, President E. C. Green, of Sumter, commanding; J. A. Enslow, Jr., adjutant. The T. P. A.'s turned out with 75 worthy drummer boys in ranks, including President George W. Clotworthy, of the Maryland Division; President E. N. Carpenter, of the Wilmington Division, and other distinguished members of the fraternity. Each of the members carried canes, which they used while marching, going through the manual of the walking-stick. The escutcheon of the T. P. A.'s, a typical drum mounted on a red wooden frame, was carried by two Africans. Conspicuous about it were the decorations of green laurel, emblematic of the verdant named president of the division, dashed here and there with crushed-strawberry colored ribbons.

Last in order came the Vanderbilt Benevolent Association, headed by Metz's Band, and commanded by Henry Buist, Jr.,

captain; H. A. Pregnall, marshal. The Vanderbilts paraded 175 men, and made a splendid appearance. President Kaufman took position in the ranks, having given way to Mr. Henry Buist, Jr. The Association banner was carried by Mr. John T. Forbes, who was supported on the sides by Vice-Presidents J. F. Witcofskey and J. G. Graddick.

THE THIRD DIVISION.

What might be termed the Third Division of the civic and military pageant was one in which for various reasons much of the interest of the day was centred. First, because it included the distinguished visitors, and the ladies of the Monument Association and the young lady unveilers. This Division began with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and ended with a troop of cavalry of young gentlemen, the line extending for about a quarter of a mile. Among those who had been assigned places in this division were the Free Masons, the Knights of Honor, the Knights of Pythias, the Commissioners of Marion Square, the officers of the South Carolina Military Academy, civil and military officers of the United States, civil and military officers of the State, members of the State Senate and House of Representatives, and surviving officers and members of the Palmetto Regiment. None of the foregoing sub-divisions paraded as such, but were individually represented in other parts of the general parade.

Those who were represented as bodies, however, were as follows :

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 54 strong, in full regalia, under the command of District Deputy Grand Master Gerhard Riecke.

The sub-divisions of the Order and their commanding officers were :

South Carolina Lodge, No. 1, A. J. Tiencken.

Marion Lodge, No. 2, J. J. Rose.

Howard Lodge, No. 3, H. Dublin.

Schiller Lodge, No. 30, J. H. C. Otjen.

The Marshals in charge of the Odd Fellows and that part of the line extending as far as the ladies of the Association, were

Gen. J. M. Johnson of Marion, Messrs. R. J. Kirk, Geo. W. Williams, Jr., and Frank Jones.

The Foreign Consuls who attended the procession, but who did not appear as such, were, Consul Nicanor Lopez, y Chacon ; and Vice Consul Frederico Janer, of Spain; Consul Cridland, of England; and M. Paul Du Jardin, Vice-Consul, representing the French Republic.

The representatives of the officers of the Confederate Army who appeared in that capacity, were, Mr. T. D. Waring, of the old Washington Artillery, and Capt. C. A. Scanlan, of the 1st Regulars South Carolina.

Next in the procession came the distinguished guests of the city and of the Ladies' Association. The arrangements made by the Chief Marshal for these were as follows :

First carriage : Secretary L. Q. C. Lamar, orator of the day, Postmaster General Vilas, Ex-Governor A. G. Magrath, of South Carolina, and Mayor Courtenay, of Charleston.

Second carriage : Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild, United States Senator Hampton, Ex-Governor J. C. Sheppard, of South Carolina, and Col. P. C. Gaillard.

Third carriage : United States Senator D. W. Voorhees, of Indiana, United States Senator Butler, of South Carolina, Col. W. J. DeTreville, of Orangeburg, representing the State of New Jersey, and Gen. B. H. Rutledge, of Charleston.

Fourth carriage : Col. Hooker, representing the State of Mississippi, Congressman J. J. Hemphill, Superintendent of Education Dawson and Major W. H. Brawley.

Fifth carriage : Mr. L. Q. C. Lamar, Jr., Mr. L. Q. Washington, Col. Isaac Hayne, and the Rev. Dr. C. C. Pinckney.

Sixth carriage : Gen. Rudolph Seigling, the Rev. Dr. W. F. Junkin, Hon. Wm. F. Colcock and the Hon. W. Porcher Miles.

Seventh carriage : The Hon. James Simons, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, the Hon. C. H. Simonton, United States District Judge, Ex-Attorney General of the State of South Carolina Charles Richardson Miles and Ex-United States Judge George S. Bryan.

Eighth carriage : Comptroller-General of the State of South Carolina W. E. Stoney, Congressman William Elliott, of the 9th South Carolina District, Mr. S. P. Ravenel and Congressman S. Dibble of the First South Carolina District.

Tenth carriage: Gen. C. I. Walker, Col. Wm. Fleming, representing the State of Florida, the Rev. Dr. Stakely, and the Rev. John O. Willson.

Eleventh carriage: Mr. R. N. Gourdin, Mrs. H. E. Young, Mrs. A. P. Calhoun and Miss Margaret Calhoun.

Twelfth carriage: Commodore D. N. Ingraham, Mrs. D. N. Ingraham, Mr. Geo. H. Ingraham and Mrs. Geo. H. Ingraham.

To these succeeded the carriages containing the members and directresses of the Ladies' Calhoun Monumental Association.

The Association was represented as follows:

Officers—Mrs. George Robertson, president; Mrs. H. W. DeSaussure, vice-president; Mrs. Joseph Walker, vice-president; Mrs. Joseph Blackman, corresponding secretary; Miss Fannie E. DeSaussure, recording secretary; Mrs. M. A. Snowden, treasurer.

Directresses—Mrs. Joseph Aiken, Mrs. S. Atkins, Miss E. B. Cheesborough, Miss Maria C. Cheesborough, Mrs. Louis D. DeSaussure, Mrs. Marion DuBose, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Fitch, Mrs. Cornelia Grayson, Mrs. Mary Gregg, Mrs. E. C. Legare, Mrs. John A. Leland, Mrs. J. Lockwood, Miss Marianne Porcher, Mrs. Sam'l D. Stoney, Mrs. T. J. Pickens.

The carriages containing the ladies of the Association and other ladies and gentlemen were aligned as follows:

First carriage: Mrs. George Robertson, president of the Association, Mrs. M. A. Snowden, treasurer, Mrs. Joseph Blackman, corresponding secretary and Miss May Snowden.

Second carriage: Mrs. Thomas Pickens, Mrs. Samuel B. Pickens, Mrs. Mary Gregg, and Mrs. Joseph Walker, vice-president

Third carriage: Mrs. Samuel D. Stoney, Mrs. Eliza Legare, of Aiken, Mrs. Henry Grayson and Miss Marianne Porcher.

Fourth carriage: Mrs. Elizabeth Fitch, Mrs. J. Lockwood, Mrs. John A. Leland and Mrs. Joseph Aiken

Fifth carriage: Mr. John C. Calhoun with Julia Calhoun, (baby unveiler,) Mr. Patrick Calhoun with Ben Putnam Calhoun, (baby unveiler,) Mr. B. P. Calhoun with William Lowndes Calhoun, (baby unveiler,) and Mr. W. A. Ancrum with Sadie Ancrum (baby unveiler)

Sixth carriage: The Rev. John Johnson with Floride Johnson, (baby unveiler,) Col. S. B. Pickens with Floride Pickens,

(baby unveiler,) Mr. Andrew Calhoun with James and Adam Calhoun (baby unveilers).

A carriage containing Mrs. Governor J. P. Richardson, Miss Belle McCaw, of Yorkville, Miss Coy Youmans, of Columbia, and Miss Anna Keitt.

Next came ten carriages containing thirty-four young lady unveilers, who represented the thirty-four counties of South Carolina. Their names were Misses Conyers Pickens, Emmie Holmes, Camilla Johnson, Saidee Simonds, Eliza Calhoun Carrere, Norma E. Carrere, Irene Bulow, Mary Pickens, Eugenia Calhoun Frost, Bessie P. Ravenel, Virginia Porcher, Emma Boylston, Janie Simons, Edith Courtenay, N. R. Hill, Minnie Vaux, V. Marion Legaré, Dora Kirk, Maria Ravenel, Kate C. Waties, Kate Marshall, Kittie Perrin, Kate C. Parker, Clarkie Cothran, Marion Mitchell, Louise Calhoun, Coodie Calhoun, Sadie Calhoun, Izzie Bratton, Maria Calhoun Butler, Sallie E. Gregg, Annie F. Caldwell, Katie Houston and Miss McIntosh.

The Marshals, or rather Guards of Honor, of the preceding ladies of the Association and their lady friends, were as follows: Mr. Clarence Cuninghame, marshal-in-chief, and Messrs. P. Noble Simons, W. Bonneau Bennett, W. W. Butler, Samuel W. Pickens, Edward Hughes, Gregg Chisolm, W. Moultrie Gourdin, Edward Frost, R. Goodwyn Rhett, William Robertson, Heyward Jervey, Daniel Huger and Julian Wells, all of whom acted under the selection of their lady friends.

Another carriage contained the Rev. Dr. C. S. Vedder, representing the New England Society, and Dr. Middleton Michel, representing the South Carolina Medical Society. The marshal of this special carriage was Mr. C. Fitzsimons. The other marshals in charge of the general line were Messrs. L. R. Staudenmeyer, William Gregg, Yates Snowden and E. B. Hume.

As already mentioned, the procession was closed by a troop of cavalry in citizens' dress.

AT MARION SQUARE.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE VAST ASSEMBLAGE—THE DISTINGUISHED GUESTS WHO WERE PRESENT—THE CEREMONIES OF THE UNVEILING.

The scene on Marion Square at the outset of the ceremonies at that point formed a brilliant and impressive picture, the features of which can scarcely be described in the cold language of print, but will remain indelibly fixed in the mind of every one who was present, as actor or observer.

The great plaza was crowded to its utmost borders with such an assemblage as is rarely seen anywhere. Every county in the State was represented in the throng. The dwellers in the city, who seemed, indeed, to have come together from every side in obedience to a common impulse, found themselves lost in the multitude of their visitors and became as strangers in sight of their own homes. For a considerable distance in every direction around the statue and speaker's stand, people were massed together so densely that it was impossible to pass the living barriers. They who were without could get no nearer, while those who constituted the charmed inner circle could not possibly have escaped from their position of high privilege by any means short of a balloon, or a battery of artillery, or something of that general character. Far out from the centre the plaza was crowded a great deal too thickly for comfort, and if the "touch of the elbow" is indeed a sign of a common purpose between him who gives and him who receives it, there can be no question whatever that all South Carolina had a common object in view yesterday. Looking down from any point of vantage the great square presented, for the most part, the appearance of a sea of human heads—or human hats, to be more accurate—with umbrellas and parasols for breakers, and with new currents flowing in steadily all around its shores without visibly raising the general level. A great wave had evidently

dashed against the grassy slope in the front of the battlemented Citadel, and left many waifs stranded high and dry on its green summit and sides. The Citadel itself seemed to be staring with all its hundred eyes, and with a particularly wide open mouth, at the wonderful spectacle presented to its view without so much as a word of warning. The lines of the streets were wholly blotted out for the time, the crowd covering the plaza, the sidewalks and the roadway alike with a common mantle of humanity, and producing the curious impression that the sea already mentioned had burst its curbstone banks somehow, and overflowed to the foot of the precipitous brick hills beyond. The brick hills, of course, had windows in them. The metaphor should be dropped at this point, therefore to avoid possible embarrassment. Every window, from basement to attic, was full of bright, fair faces, and very many others not so fair, looked out from behind the chimney tops or peered over the edges of the roofs as though seeking a soft paving stone for their owners to fall on, if emergency required. The belfry of the Orphanhouse, a quarter of a mile away, was seen to be filled with spectators. The church steeples nearer at hand suddenly assumed an air of peculiar bleakness and extraordinary roominess as to their outside, simply because of the wasted space they afforded to the view in so marked contrast with all their surroundings.

The stage which occupied a large space between the monument and Calhoun street, was scarcely less crowded than the grounds around it, and presented a truly animated appearance on every account.

The decorations were of the most elaborate kind, perhaps, that have ever been displayed in Charleston. The idea running through all the work was that it should be typical of South Carolina's garden and forest products. For this reason the pine, palmetto and laurel appeared conspicuously among the general features of the design.

The appointments of the stage were made under the superintendence of Dr. H. S. Horlbeck, assisted by Messrs. C. Richardson Miles, James P. Lesesne, C. F. Hard, Glenn E. Davis and others. The material used was largely furnished by Dr. A. B. Rose, who sent pine boughs, moss, laurel trees, &c., to the city by the car load, for the use of the decoration committee.

The view of the stage from any point in front was exceedingly striking. First might be noted the lavish display of flags—city flags, State flags, our National flags, and flags from the mastheads of nearly every ship of every nationality in port. These were particularly noticeable over and around the speaker's pavilion, and of themselves would have been a conspicuous feature.

The next noteworthy detail of the display was the long and wavy festoons of moss which were stretched along the whole front of the stage. These were the work of the employees at the City Hospital, under the direction of Superintendent Hard. From the middle point of the reverse curve of each loop depended a graceful and emblematic laurel wreath. These were twenty-five in number, and were contributed by a number of ladies of Charleston. Immediately above each wreath rose a staff from which a flag floated gaily, and, indeed, as already stated, the number of banners and bannerets was countless, and had their effect much heightened by the breeze which stirred them into life in keeping with the flutter of excitement around the monument. The securing of the flags and their disposition were the work of Messrs. Tudor Hall and William H. Barnwell. The pine boughs were also a prominent feature of the decoration.

Two of the most remarkable, and at the same time most appropriate of the details were palmetto trees, one on either side of the pavilion. They were brought to the city from Kiawah Island, and were about thirty feet in height, and excellent specimens of the tree. Against each of these trees was placed a shield, on one of which was the familiar *Dum spiro spero*, and on the other the equally familiar *Animis opibusque parati*.

The speaker's stand was literally enveloped with flags, and on the orator's desk was placed a magnificent plateau of roses, the contribution of Master H. Legaré. The whole effect was exceedingly attractive, and was commented upon favorably for the good taste displayed in the arrangements, and for the magnificence of the exhibition.

Immediately under the waving boughs of these symbolic trees of State and under the folds of an immense United States flag draped between their feathery crests, sat Mr. Secretary Lamar, the orator of the occasion. On either side and in the rear of his position, were grouped the distinguished gentlemen who had

accompanied him on his patriotic mission—Secretary Fairchild, Postmaster General Vilas, Senator Voorhees, Mr. T. B. Ferguson, assistant United States commissioner of fisheries, and Mr. L. Q. Washington. Col. Reginald Hart, a distinguished member of the New York bar, though not connected with Mr. Lamar's party, was also present. The State was well represented by her most prominent living sons. Among the number of those who were on the stand were :

Governor Richardson, Lieutenant-Governor Mauldin, Senator Hampton, Senator Butler, Mayor Courtenay, Congressman Dibble, Congressman Hemphill, Congressman Elliott, Ex-Governor Sheppard, Ex-Governor Bonham, Ex-Governor Magrath, Judge Simonton, Judge Bryan, Gen. John Bratton, Gen. Rudolph Siegling, Gen. George D. Johnston, Gen. James F. Izlar, the Hon. W. Porcher Miles, Gen. B. H. Rutledge, Ex-Attorney General Miles, Speaker Simons, Comptroller General Stoney, Judge A. C. Haskell, the Rev. C. C. Pinckney, D. D., the Rev. C. A. Stakely, Judge Aldrich, Solicitor W. Perry Murphy, Representative C. J. C. Hutson, Col. S. B. Pickens, Solicitor H. H. Newton, Col. John B. Palmer, Col. Robert Aldrich, Adjutant-General Bonham, Mr. Jos. W. Barnwell, Major H. E. Young, State Chemist Chazal, Major W. H. Brawley, the Rev. John O. Willson, Hon. D. S. Henderson, Col. John Cuningham.

THE CEREMONIES--MAYOR COURTENAY'S ADDRESS.

By 1 o'clock the crowd had settled into such order as could be expected from so large a concourse, the military had assumed their places, adding greatly, by their appearance, to the attractiveness of the scene, and the ceremonies were begun at that hour, without the delay and confusion usually incident to public occasions.

At the request of the Association, the meeting was called to order by the Chief Marshal Maj. H. E. Young, and Mayor Courtenay invited to preside.

On taking the chair, Mayor Courtenay opened the proceedings with the following address :

LADIES AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: This is a memorable anniversary day ! At this hour thirty-seven years ago the most solemn and

imposing public pageant ever seen in Charleston had emerged from this spacious square and contiguous streets; it wended its way through the greatest length of the city; it embraced in its crowded ranks all the manhood of this community and the thousands who had flocked in from beyond its boundaries, while from window and balcony and every available standing place the fair daughters of our city and State were sad and silent spectators of these public honours, given with one voice, and by a common impulse, to our illustrious dead.

No one, however young, who witnessed that public demonstration of respect and affection can ever forget the 26th of April, 1850—an entire city shrouded with the emblems of mourning, whilst uncounted thousands preserved for hours a continuous and profound silence. “The grief that does not speak, whispers the o’er fraught heart.”

The last sad offices discharged, the remains of John C. Calhoun were buried here, in the heart of this metropolis of South Carolina, confided to us as a precious trust, which our people have watched over with jealous care, and at whose suggestion the State has raised the imposing tomb which now encloses his honored remains.

This thirty-seventh anniversary day witnesses the same devotion to the memory of the illustrious dead. It is, however, peculiarly touching, as the day of successful culmination of the work of the women of Carolina, in perpetuating the name and fame of John C. Calhoun.

“Whatever transports us from the present to the past, from the near to the remote, widens the mind as well as instructs it; makes it reflective, sets it free; whatever recalls to us eminent persons, their commanding intellects and engaging parts, above all their fortitude and self-sacrifice, reinforces our manhood, and encourages our virtue.”

The enduring bronze that is uncovered here, and will here remain a witness to coming generations of honour and veneration, is the tribute of Carolina’s daughters. It is sacred as their thought, their sentiment, and their labor. The truth, the purity, the nobility, the intellectual and moral greatness of the dead, are exalted in the gracious keeping of their tender and loyal hearts.

All honour to them in their work of patriotism and love. All



JOHN C. CALHOUN

*from the original portrait by Healy, painted
after his death for the City of Charleston, and now
in the Council Chamber.*



honor to them in their unflinching following, amid dire trials and fateful struggles, of this high purpose, and its final achievement this day. To them be our gratitude for rearing this grand memorial, that will forever keep before us the form and countenance of him whose mind ruled so majestically in life; who, whatever may have been the fate of some of his public opinions in the logic of events in his country's history, has this day the homage of his countrymen everywhere, for his vast intellectual power, his high moral purpose, his unbending will, his unsullied public and private life, and his supreme devotion to duty.

THE REV. DR. PINCKNEY'S PRAYER.

The opening prayer was delivered by the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, D. D., and was as follows :

O God, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, we adore Thee as the Creator of all things, the Ruler of heaven and earth. Thou art our God, and we will praise Thee, our fathers' God, and we will bless Thee. We acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.

We thank Thee for the goodly heritage Thou hast given us, and for all Thy mercies to our native land. Whom Thou wilt Thou liftest up, and whom Thou wilt Thou casteth down, and in Thy wisdom Thou has given us a place among the nations of earth. We bless Thee, O Lord, for Thy guiding hand in our history, and for the gift of wise and upright rulers to lead Thy people in the right way. We thank Thee for the good example of every patriotic man who has lived, not for himself, but for his country. We gratefully record the virtues of that pure and eminent statesman whose public services we commemorate to-day, and to whose memory we dedicate this monument. May the lasting gratitude of his fellow-citizens incite our public men to follow with equal courage the path of duty. Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, pure, and of good report, may we all follow these things as he did.

Continue Thy mercies, O God, to our native land. Save us from sin, which is a reproach to any people. Deliver us from national judgments, foreign oppression, from intestine strife, from lawlessness and violence. Bless the President of the United

States, and all others in authority. Direct our counsellors, and teach our Senators wisdom, and overrule all events to promote the glory of Thy name, the good of Thy church, the safety, honor and welfare of Thy people. All which we ask in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Spirit, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

After a brief interval the appointed signal was given, and a band in the midst of the plaza suddenly poured forth the inspiring strains of "Dixie." The vast multitude instantly recognized the familiar strains before half a dozen notes had sounded, and began to cheer. In the same instant the chords were drawn by the hands of fair young girls. the flags that had closely draped the statue up to this time mysteriously quitted their place and floated away to the height of the neighboring standard, and the majestic form of the great statesman stood revealed to the eyes of his people—towering high above their heads, as he had towered in life above the men of his day and generation.

It was an impressive moment, and its significance seemed felt by every heart in the assembled host. The shouting was quickly succeeded by a deep silence, and every eye became fixed upon the stern, bronzed face. The attitude of the figure is that assumed by Mr. Calhoun in delivering an address, and it seemed for a few moments as if the people felt themselves to be in his presence and expected him to speak to them again in the long-hushed accents of wisdom and warning.

The silence was more pleasantly broken, however, by the voice of the living instead, and the Rev. Charles A. Stakely reading the following ode, which was composed for the occasion by Miss Cheesborough:

CALHOUN.

ODE, BY MISS E. B. CHEESBOROUGH.

When Truth looked from her starry heights
And called for champions brave,
He heard the summons and went forth
His native South to save.

Her balance in his honest hands
Fair Justice eager placed,
While Wisdom, with her radiant crown,
His subtle genius graced.



The Constitution was his star,
And guided by its light,
He strove to steer the Ship of State
Through the darkness of the night.

Dishonor, worse to him than death,
He sternly kept at bay,
And, on the whitest heights of Truth,
Serenely took his way.

Invincible in logic stern,
All potent in debate,
He sent the arrows winging back
To the envenomed heart of hate.

He bore the odium of reproach
While battling for the right;
His prophet voice in clarion tones
Foretold the coming night

When suns would set o'er fields of blood,
And stars shine o'er the same,
When War's dread torches, hot and red,
O'er Southern homes would flame.

O, prophet of the eagle eye!
O, patriot without stain!
Thou'st given a priceless gift to us
In thy untarnished name.

For this we've sought to honor thee,
Great champion of the Truth;
And fain would have this hallowed spot
A Mecca for our youth.

That journeying hither they may learn
To battle for the right,
Bearing Truth's oriflamme aloft,
Undaunted in the fight.

Through all our golden jasmine bowers,
And through magnolia's bloom,
One name we'll waft on wings of love,
Thy honored name, CALHOUN.

Float it above the city's spires,
And o'er the bay's blue tide,
Tell how he battled for the South,
And battling thus—he died.

We women ask no brighter fate,
We seek no loftier fame,
Than thus to link our memories
With his immortal name.

While History weaves for him her crown,
The fairest ever seen,
Carolina's daughters long will strive
To keep the garland green.

ORATION

ON THE

LIFE, CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association,

AND THE PUBLIC,

AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA,

BY THE

HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR,

AS REVISED BY HIMSELF.

ORATION OF THE HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR.

WE are assembled to unveil the statue which has been erected to commemorate the life and services of John Caldwell Calhoun. It is an interesting fact that this statue is reared, not in the centre of political power, (the Capital of the Nation,) or in the emporium of American material civilization, but in his own native State, where he lived all his life and where he was buried. This circumstance is in harmony with the life and character of the man. One of the most impressive traits of that life and character was the attachment between himself and the people of South Carolina. His devotion to their welfare was sleepless, and they always felt a deep, unfaltering, proud and affectionate reliance upon his wisdom and leadership. This faith in him grew out of the fact that he was, notwithstanding his imposing position as a national statesman, a home man; a man identified in sentiment and sympathy with his own people, who, as neighbors and friends, standing face to face with him, had that insight into his private life and character which is seldom, if ever, disclosed in the public arena—the real life of motive, and purpose, and feeling. In this intimacy of personal intercourse, wherein the qualities of mind and heart are unconsciously drawn out, there was revealed to them a noble, lovely character, full of tenderness and self-sacrifice, gentleness and candor, and a simplicity and beautiful truth of soul which made him the light of their eyes and the pride of their heart.

Mr. Calhoun had a profound faith in the worth and dignity and destiny of man as the noblest of all God's creatures on earth, endowed with those great faculties and capacities which fit him, through society and free institutions, under Divine superintendence, for progress, development and perfection. Conscious of his own great powers, he must have been; but exalted as he was in position, thought and purpose, so far was he from

feeling that these advantages lifted him above and apart from the mass of men, that he regarded them as so many ties of union and brotherhood with his fellow-men, to be devoted to their welfare and happiness. Whenever, therefore, he returned from the brilliant scenes of the National Capital to his home, instead of coming as a great Senator, to be admired at a distance, he met the people as friends and brothers, all of whom, of every degree and class and character, felt in the warm grasp of his hand a fraternal regard that entered with deep and unaffected sympathy into their feelings, their interests, their wants, their sorrows and their joys.

Their instinctive perception of the genuine greatness of the man, of his open-hearted largeness of nature, the simple, unostentatious, disinterested consecration of mind and heart to the promotion of the virtue and happiness and liberty of his people, naturally drew them into a closer attachment, a deeper and an almost personal co-operation in his high aspirations and aims.

When not in the actual discharge of his official duties he spent his time in retirement at his private home at Fort Hill. He was occupied in agriculture, in which he took the deepest interest. Would that I had the power to portray a Southern planter's home! The sweet and noble associations, the pure, refining and elevating atmosphere of a household presided over by a Southern matron; the tranquil yet active occupations of a large land owner—full of interest and high moral responsibilities; the alliance between man's intellect and nature's laws of production; the hospitality, heartfelt, simple and generous. The Southern planter was far from being the self-indulgent, indolent, coarse and overbearing person that he has sometimes been pictured. He was, in general, careful, patient, provident, industrious, forbearing, and yet firm and determined. These were the qualities which enabled him to take a race of untamed savages, with habits that could only inspire disgust, with no arts, no single tradition of civilization, and out of such a people to make the finest body of agricultural and domestic laborers that the world has ever seen; and, indeed, to elevate them in the scale of rational existence to such a height as to cause them to be deemed fit for admission into the charmed circle of American freedom, and to be clothed with the rights and duties of American citizenship.

The Southern planter penetrated the dense forests, the tangled brake, the gloomy wilderness of our river swamps, where pestilence had its abode, and there, day by day and year by year, amidst exposure, hardship and sickness, his foresight, his prudence, his self-reliance, his adaptation of means to ends were called into requisition. In the communion with himself, in the opportunities for continued study, and in the daily and yearly provision for a numerous body of dependents—for all of whom he felt himself responsible, about whom his anxieties were ever alive, whose tasks he apportioned and whose labors he directed—he was educated in those faculties and personal qualities which enabled him to emerge from his solitude and preside in the County Court, or become a member of his State Legislature; to discharge the duties of local magistracy, or to take his place in the National councils.

The solution of the enigma of the so-called slave power may be sought here. Its basis lay in that cool, vigorous judgment and unerring sense applicable to the ordinary affairs and intercourse of men which the Southern mode of life engendered and fostered. The habits of industry, firmness of purpose, fidelity to dependents, self-reliance, and the sentiment of justice in all the various relations of life which were necessary to the management of a well-ordered plantation, fitted men to guide legislatures and command armies.

In confirmation of what I say, I have only to point to the fact that it was in such communities as these that a Washington, a Jackson, a Taylor, a Lee, and a host of others, acquired those qualities which enabled them, in the position in which their country placed them, to add such undying lustre to the American name. It was in such communities that men like Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Polk, Lowndes, Calhoun, Clay, Macon, Marshall, Taney and many others whom I could mention, acquired those characteristics which their countrymen, both North and South, instinctively discerned whenever they were “called upon to face some awful moment to which Heaven has joined great issues, good or bad, for human kind.”

Another reason why this statue should be erected to his memory is that it is due to him for his intellectual contributions to the age in which he lived. Apart from his career as a statesman in the House of Representatives, where he was conspicuous

for his nationality in maintaining the independence of his country among the powers of the world; apart from his seven years service in a Cabinet office, where his powerful mind impressed itself on the organization and practical operations of the executive department of the Government; apart from his long years of service as Vice-President of the United States; apart from that unparalleled parliamentary career in the United States Senate, where, opposed by those giants of debate, the mighty Webster of the North, and Clay of the West, backed by other Senators gifted with talents of the highest order, he, single-handed, maintained his position in those grand orations, one of which the best of judges has pronounced "unsurpassed by any recorded in modern or ancient times, not even excepting that of the great Athenian, on the crown;" putting I say, out of view all his achievements and measures as a public man, constituting as they do some of the brightest chapters in the history of this country, he has left, in his writings, considered as the productions of an author, a legacy which will perpetuate the sway of his immortal thought over the minds of men. In these writings he has given to the world profound studies and original views upon the principles of government and free institutions; the deepest analysis and the most systematic classification of those universal laws which, hidden from ordinary observation, operate silently on human society and influence the fate of nations in all ages of the world.

His published speeches, although made upon the political measures and the national policies of the particular time, are philosophical expositions of the genius and structure and principles of the American Constitution, replete with the deepest wisdom and the most unerring sagacity. Each speech is a consistent chapter of a continuous discourse, a harmonious part of a connected system of political science, which will place their author among those great spirits who bless and instruct mankind long after the celebrity of politicians and statesmen has faded from remembrance.

But there is a third reason why South Carolina should have on her soil a statue to Calhoun, and that is his stainless purity of life, his sterling virtue and integrity of character. This, more than any other, was the cause of his unparalleled hold upon the love, reverence and trust of his people. With ample

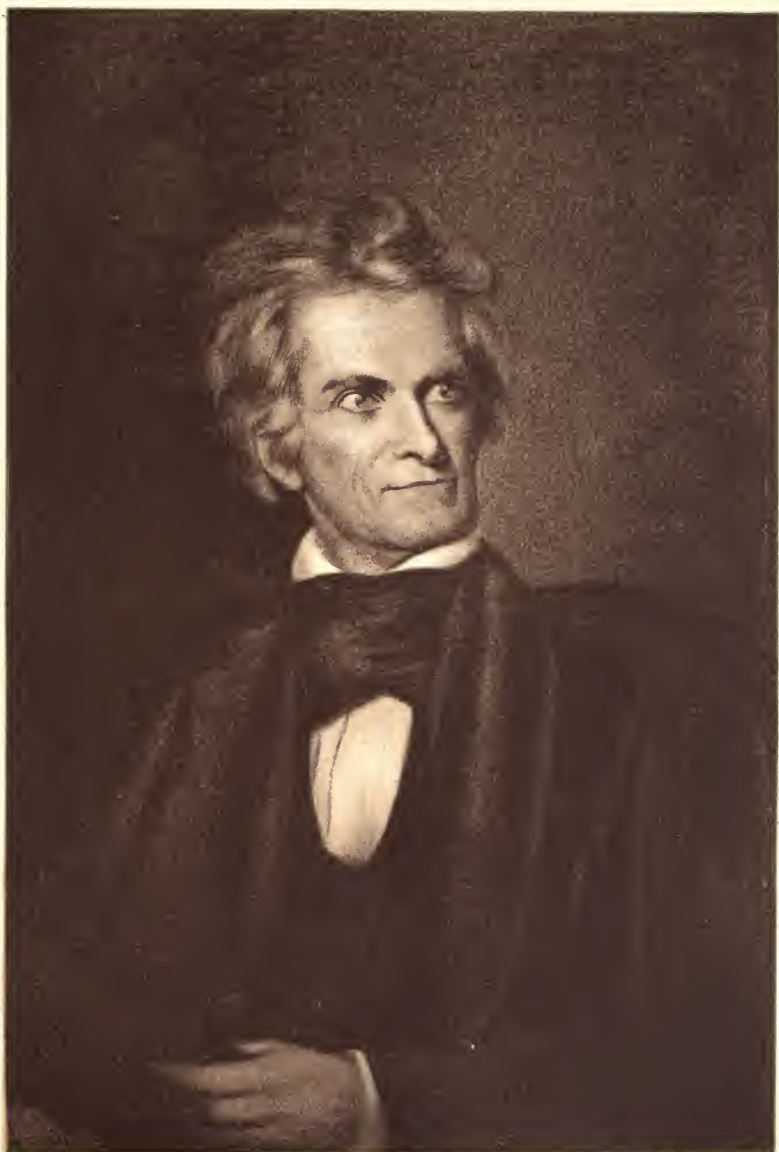
opportunity to promote his private interests in the high trusts he held, he was as fastidious as Washington, and never accepted gifts. So simple was his life, so unostentatious and frugal in his habits that he was never incumbered in his public duties by the thought of a benefaction even from his friends. His was the greatness of a soul which, fired with love of virtue, consecrated itself to truth and duty, and, with unfaltering confidence in God, was ever ready to be immolated in the cause of right and country. This moral excellence, this uprightness of motive and action, was the granite foundation of his character, underlying and supporting the splendid superstructure of his noble and exalted qualities of genius, eloquence, wisdom and patriotism. The people of South Carolina, whatever may be their admiration of brilliant intellect and the achievements of statesmanship, have never yet put their country's interest and honour under the leadership of any one unless they had confidence in his moral superiority. In erecting this statue to Calhoun they feel that they render and perpetuate their homage to the majesty of moral rectitude.

And now, fellow citizens, I must take him away from your hearts, where he is enshrined in choicest affection and reverence; and bear him before those stern, ultimate judges—history, posterity, country and God. These are to take the exact measure of his life, his services, his character and his motives, without any favor or affection, and with the inflexible tests and scrutiny of justice.

In the early history of our Republic two different powers were in the presence of each other—the principle of local State sovereignty and that of National union. Although both of these powers were to be found in the embryo of our political system, they existed in confusion and without precise legal definition, both having claims to urge and facts to allege in support of their respective pretension to supremacy. The principle of State sovereignty was the first brought into operation, and, therefore, preceded the other in legal recognition and actual predominance. Previous to the Declaration of Independence, the colonies were each a distinct political community; each had its own separate political organization, the legislation of which extended no farther than its own territorial limits. The only political bond which held them in union was the sovereignty of

the British nation. When they threw that off, the States had no common Government. The general sovereignty over them as a whole disappeared and ceased to exist, at least in visible, and legal embodiment of organized power, and passed into the several States, which had become each independent and sovereign in its own right. The Constitution was framed by delegates elected by the Legislatures. It was the work of the sovereign States, as independent, separate communities. It was ratified by conventions of these separate States, each acting for itself. By this Constitution certain well-defined and specified powers were delegated to the Federal Government; but it expressly declared that "the powers not herein delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

If the constitutional history of the United States had stopped with the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the original thirteen States, it would hardly be questioned that this Government was a Government of sovereign States with every attribute of State sovereignty retained in its system. But the law of development applies to human society as much as to any other created being. In all nations in which there are any stirrings of constitutional life there is more than one fundamental principle or power. These several principles or elements are not all developed at the same time or in equal degree. Events and influences will develop one element into ascendancy; subsequent conditions and events may cause a different element to shoot forward and overcome the others. Now, although the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States were all based upon the assumption of the independence and sovereignty of the several States, yet in point of historical fact the inhabitants of the American colonies, both before and after independence, were, in many important respects, one people. These colonies, as one body politic, were one people in being subject to the authority of the British sovereign; they were one people as being subject in their civil and social relations to the common law of England; they were one people respecting their rights as Englishmen, which, to the honor of England, were planted by their cradles in the infancy of their colonial existence; they were one people in language, in blood, in manners, and especially in being sub-



JOHN C. CALHOUN

*in his maturity, from a portrait in the possession
of Robt. H. Gourdin, Esq., Charleston, S. C.
(Artist unknown.)*



jected to a common oppression and thrilled by the intrinsic glory of a noble cause into a unity of American patriotism. Although these facts may not be found in State papers and records of legislation, they shot their roots deep into the thought, the belief, the instinct of the great mass of the people, and sometimes found expression in public documents, for instance: "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for *one* people to dissolve," &c., &c.

And, whilst it is true that when this national sovereignty of the British Government was overthrown, there was no organization of national power for the time over the whole people, yet it is also true that even in the absence of such power those States were never for one instant disunited; that, with respect to foreign relations and all matters touching their relations to each other, the sovereign power was ever exercised by the States united and never—not in a single instance—by a several State.

After the adoption of the Constitution, the moral, social and material forces which have always been more powerful in moulding the institutions, in determining the destinies of nations than external legal forms, combined to increase the power and magnify the importance of the General Government of the Union at the expense of that of the particular government of the States. When independence was first achieved the original States lay stretched along the Atlantic coast, sparsely peopled, separated by vast wildernesses, with no means of internal communication and trade, except by stages, pack-horses and sumtermules on land, and flat-boats, rafts and bateaus on the water. Since then the locomotive and the steamboat not only annihilate distance, but, "like enormous shuttlecocks, shoot across the thousand various threads" of disconnected sections, localities, interests and influences, and bind them into a web, while the electric telegraph transmits to every part of the country, at the same moment, the same intelligence, thus uniting the minds of a vast population in the same thought and emotion.

But a cause more potent than any yet mentioned has operated to determine the character and tendency of our political system. I refer to the acquisition by the Federal Government of the vast territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase, and that ceded by Spain and Mexico to the United States. These territories, far exceeding in area that of the original thirteen States, be-

longed exclusively to the Federal Government.* No separate State Government had the slightest jurisdiction upon one foot of the soil of that vast domain. The public lands were surveyed by officers of the Federal Government, and titles to them were conveyed by the Federal Government in its character of private proprietor as well as of public sovereign. The population who settled these territories had no political rights save those imparted to them by the Federal Government. Their very limited powers of self-government were enjoyed under territorial constitutions framed and prescribed for them by the Federal Congress, and when they became States it was by the permission of Congress, which admitted them under such conditions and terms as it deemed proper under the Constitution. It is true that as soon as these new States were admitted they shared equally with the original States in the general sovereign powers of the whole, and the sovereignty reserved to each. But whilst this was true in constitutional theory, the actual historical fact was that when the forces which had been so long agitating the country culminated in war, the relation of the States to the Federal Government had become almost the reverse of what it was at the birth of the Republic. In 1789 the States were the creators of the Federal Government; in 1861 the Federal Government was the creator of a large majority of the States. In 1789 the Federal Government had derived all the powers delegated to it by the Constitution from the States; in 1861 a majority of the States derived all their powers and attributes as States from Congress under the Constitution.

In 1789 the people of the United States were citizens of States originally sovereign and independent; in 1861 a vast majority of the people of the United States were citizens of States that were originally mere dependencies of the Federal Government, which was the author and giver of their political being. With all these forces on the side of the Union, backed by a majority of State Governments, with their reserved powers, with a very great preponderance of population, resources and wealth, it was a natural consequence that the unity and integrity of the United States as a sovereign nation should be established on the battle-

*The great northwest territory, then a wilderness, out of which powerful States have been subsequently formed, was ceded by Virginia to the United States before the Constitution was adopted.

field; that its Government should come out of the conflict with a prestige and power greater perhaps than any on earth; and that the eleven minority States, after a resistance as heroic as any recorded in the annals of Greece and Rome, should succumb to overwhelming forces.

It is not necessary here to go over the policy of Reconstruction. It was the offspring of misconception and distrust of the Southern people. Its theory was that the Federal success in arms over the South was only a partial one; that the sentiments, passions and aims of the Southern people were still, and would continue to be, rebellious to the authority and hostile to the policy of the Nation; that the termination of the war having put an end to the absolute military control, it became necessary to substitute another organization which, though not purely military, would be no less effectual in its function of repression and force. Its unmistakable purpose was the reversal of every natural, social and political relation on which, I will not say, the civilization of the South, but of the world and of the whole Union, rested. But in process of time a large portion of the dominant section saw not only the odious injustice of the system fastened upon the South, but the danger to the whole country which its maintenance threatened. Then followed a course of magnanimity on the part of the Northern people, unexampled in the annals of civil war and accepted by the South in a spirit not less magnanimous and great-hearted. The result was the full and equal restoration of the Southern States, with all their rights under the Constitution, upon the one condition that they would recognize, as elements of their new political life, the validity of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, guaranteeing and establishing the indissolubility of the American Union and the universality of American freedom. The disfranchisements and disqualifications imposed in an hour of passion and excitement upon a mistaken theory of public necessity, and unwisely retained from a lingering prejudice and distrust, have been in the main removed, or have ceased to apply to the majority of the Southern population. Those which yet remain on the statute book are hardly defended by the public sentiment of the Northern States, and must ere long be offered upon the altar of the free and equal citizenship of the Republic.

From that time we have seen those States, by their faithful adherence to this pledge, steadily advancing year by year, in their right of self-government, taking their place with larger numbers and wider influence in the councils of the nation, and doing all this with a temper, moderation and patriotism that is fast commanding a general belief among the mass of the Northern people that the full and equal presence of the South, according to the measure of her population and resources in every department of the Government, so far from being a danger to the national security, is a contribution to its highest and best interests.

I have prefaced what I have to say of Mr. Calhoun with this brief sketch of the controversy in which he bore a part, because I believe if he were here to-day and could see his own South Carolina, the land of Rutledge, Moultrie, Laurens, Hayne, Lowndes, Sumter and Marion, restored, largely through the the efforts of her lion-hearted Hampton, to her proud position of dignity and equality in the Union, he would say to her that the great controversy being closed at the ballot-box, closed by the arbitrament of war, and above all, closed by the Constitution, always deemed sacred and inviolable by her, she sacrifices no principle and falsifies no sentiment in accepting the verdict—determined, henceforth, to seek the happiness of her people, their greatness and glory, in the greatness and glory of the American Republic.

He would have told her, if such counsel were necessary, that a people who, in form surrender and profess to submit, yet continue to secretly nurse old resentments and past animosities and cherish delusive schemes of reaction and revenge will, sooner or later, degenerate into baseness and treachery and treason. He would say that a heroic and liberty-loving State, like South Carolina, should cherish for the great Republic, of which she is part, that ardent, genuine patriotism which is the life and soul and light of all heroism and liberty. Ah, fellow-citizens, had he lived, his great talents would have been, as they had ever been before, directed to save this people from the horrors of disunion and war. In this I am confirmed by one whom the South placed at the head of her great movement, Mr. Jefferson Davis. He says: “It was during the progress of these memorable controversies that the South lost its most trusted leader and the Senate

its greatest and purest statesman. He was taken from us like a summer-dried fountain, when our need was greatest, when his intellectual power, his administrative talent, his love of peace, his devotion to the Constitution, might have averted collision."

In the brief compass of this address I cannot undertake to review the incidents of Mr. Calhoun's early youth. He had arrived nearly at the age of manhood ere his school life began, but his constant contact with men, his access to books, and the social life to which I have already alluded, gave him opportunities which were well calculated to develop those qualities in a gifted and aspiring youth which would fit him for a life of usefulness and honorable distinction. He had thought profoundly upon the nature of man and human society. He had studied the science of government, its origin, its forms and its administration. He read the best treatises on politics, ancient and modern, within his reach, and made himself conversant with the constitutions of Greece and Rome, the British system and the polity of modern States. When he entered Congress, therefore, at the age of twenty-eight years, his mind was stored and fortified with principles which were the guide of his political conduct.

He rejected alike the dogma of the sovereignty of monarchies and aristocracies on the one hand, and on the other the shallow fiction of the social contract as the foundation of government. He asserted boldly that society and government both were of Divine ordination; that the Supreme Creator and Ruler of all had in His infinite wisdom assigned to man the social and political state as the best adapted to the development of the moral and intellectual faculties and capacities with which He had endowed him. The fundamental principles of government—please remember, fellow-citizens, that I am giving you his views, and not my own—he found in the wants and feelings and tendencies of man, wrought there by the hand of God, which, in their development, assumed the attributes and functions of formal governments. The external forms and organizations designed to prevent the tendency of government to disorder and injustice, called constitutions, are the contrivances of men, who are left to perfect by their reason and free will the government that the Infinite has ordained, just as He created the material laws of the earth, and left man to impress it with his own per-

sonality. The right to prescribe these constitutions and to coerce society into submission to them is sovereignty. That power in a nation which holds this supreme authority in the last resort, from which there is no appeal to a higher power, is the sovereign power of that nation. Where that supreme, absolute and ultimate power resides is a question which has not only challenged the speculations of philosophers in the closet and statesmen in the national councils, but has also been debated on bloody fields in arms. On this question Mr. Calhoun was, from profound conviction, always a Republican and an American Democrat. He maintained that the people were the legitimate source of all political power; that governments ought to be created "by them and for them;" that powers conferred upon government are not surrendered, but delegated, and as such are held in trust and not absolutely, and can be rightfully exercised only in furtherance of the objects for which they are delegated; and in order to guarantee the responsibility of the rulers to the ruled and to secure the control of those electing over those elected, universal suffrage is the primary and indispensable foundation of Republican governments.

Fellow-citizens, are these mere common-place truisms? They were not so in his day. At that time disparagement and distrust of Republican governments were prevalent. Alexander Hamilton, the founder of that school of politics to which Mr. Calhoun was opposed, and whose disciples have always opposed his doctrines, was not in favor of a Republican government.

It is due to this eminent American statesman and ardent patriot to say that at the close of the Convention he expressed his anxiety that every member should sign the constitution, "although no man's ideas were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be. The question was between anarchy and confusion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other." He afterwards advocated its ratification in the *Federalist*, and the action of New York was no doubt brought about by his powerful influence. And yet he to the very last expressed his doubts of what he called "the experiment."

He did not think it could be established successfully in America. In the debates of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution he openly avowed his opinion that the mon-

archy of England was the best Government in the world; that the aristocracy of that nation was a most noble institution and that her hereditary king was the only model of good executive government; and he expressed his doubts that anything short of it would do for America. As he was a classical scholar he no doubt derived these doubts from the history of ancient and modern Republics. Aristotle declared that the worst of all tyrannies was the tyranny of Democracy; Thucydides often dwelt upon the fact that the evils and vices of society always rose to the ascendant among the Athenian *demos*; while Tacitus and Livy made frequent references to the disorganizing and demoralizing influences of the Roman populace. Even Montesquieu and Guizot and Gibbon and Hume, and those eloquent Liberals, Burke, Mackintosh and Macauley, have all expressed apprehensions as to the permanence and the blessings of pure Democratic governments. But Mr. Calhoun's faith in man and his capacity for self-government under proper conditions never for an instant in his life deserted him. Nothing in the works of theological writers can be found stronger than his repeated assertion of the superintendence of Divine Providence over the government of man. He also firmly believed that the voice of a great people uttered for the benefit of the whole community through organs so constituted as to suppress the voice of selfish factions and interests, and to express the sentiment of the entire community was, without impiety, the voice of God.

I know of nothing in Mr. Calhoun's career more striking than what occurred on the very threshold of his public service.

Mr. Clay more than once has declared that in no Congress of which he had knowledge has there been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were in the House of Representatives of that Congress which declared war against England in 1812. Mr. Calhoun was elected to that Congress at the age of twenty-seven years. He had been admitted to the Bar only two years before. Yet this unknown young man, and obscure attorney from an obscure country village, a stranger to the elegant accomplishments and the graces of scholarship, before he had made a speech, took his place at the head of these distinguished and brilliant men, as their equal and even their superior, and maintained it with increasing power and ever-widening fame to the end. In the light of after events the cause of this extra-

ordinary circumstance could be easily discerned. In the presence of a great impending crisis, full of solemn import to men of sense and virtue, whose extent the most far-sighted cannot fully measure, and before whose dangers the most resolute naturally quail; when the voice of faction is hushed, and rivalries and animosities cease; in such a crisis demanding immediate action, mastery and leadership go of their own accord to the master spirit, to the man of transcendent intellect, bravery of soul, promptness of decision, energy of action, all strengthened, sustained and vivified by an ardent and disinterested patriotism. Just such a momentuous crisis was upon that Congress of 1811-'12, when Mr. Calhoun took his seat, and the qualities just mentioned found their embodiment in his character.

From the day that our Government was established our relations with foreign nations were troubled and uncertain. Soon after the Constitution was put into force a mighty war broke out between France and England, during which both belligerents disregarded the rights of the United States and their interests as an independent nation. Washington and his successors, who were statesmen in the Revolution, anxious to secure our as yet untried political institutions from the hazards of war until they could be settled and established, patiently bore these wrongs, although they would have justified a resort to war. Under the influence of this policy, when these wrongs reached to the spoliation of our ships and the seizure of our citizens, the United States Government withdrew our commerce and our citizens from the ocean and appealed to the justice of these nations to cease their outrages. Unheeding these appeals, the Government of England pursued a course which amounted to a desolating war upon American commerce. American vessels, laden with the product of American industry and skill, were seized in our own ports and confiscated, while three thousand American seamen were seized and imprisoned, and made to serve on English men-of-war. It was in the midst of the agitation caused by these wrongs that the Congress of 1811 met. Mr. Calhoun was placed second on the most important committee, that of Foreign Relations. He was at once its animating spirit and the mainspring of its action, and under his influence it soon submitted a report, said to have been written by him, which recommended immediate preparations for war with Great Britain.



In the debate that followed Mr. Calhoun made a speech in its support, which stamped him as an orator and a statesman of the first rank, and made him the foremost champion of the war and the author and supporter of the measures for its vigorous prosecution. The effect of his speech in arousing the country to a sense of wrong and danger, and to the vindication of our national honor and threatened independence, was like magic. He showed that the object of England was really to remand the United States to the condition of commercial dependency which existed in her colonial state. He made the people of the country see that the simple issue was war or submission to the loss of independence and nationality. The commanding power of the speech lay in the intrinsic force and the grandeur of truth, and its eloquence in the noble utterances which appeal to the moral sentiments of the people and address themselves to the highest faculties of the intellect and the noblest aspirations of the heart.

“The question,” said he, “is reduced to this single point: Which shall we do, abandon or defend our maritime rights and the personal liberties of our citizens in exercising them? * * * The gentleman from Virginia is at a loss to account for what he calls our hatred to England. He asks us how we can hate the country of Locke, of Newton, Hampden and Chatham; a country having the same language and customs with ourselves and descending from a common ancestry. If we have so much to attach us to that country, potent, indeed, must be the cause which has overpowered it. * * * But the gentleman in his eager admiration of that country has not been sufficiently guarded in his argument. Has he reflected on the cause of that admiration? Has he examined the reason of our high regard for her Chatham? It is his ardent patriotism, the heroic courage of his mind that could not brook the least insult or injury offered to his country, but thought that her interest and honor ought to be vindicated at every hazard and expense. I hope that when called upon to admire we shall also be asked to imitate. I hope the gentleman does not wish a monopoly of those great virtues for England. * * * Our rights are vitally attacked. * * * The only alternative is war or degradation. * * * I hope the decision is made already by a higher authority than the voice of any man. It is not for the human tongue to instill the sense of independence and honor.

This is the work of nature, a generous nature that disdains tame submission to wrongs."

What he said was true, but it is the prerogative of genius to put into the materialism of words the thoughts which lie inarticulate in the consciousness of a brave people, whose heart leaps in spontaneous sympathy to her voice.

It is not necessary to repeat to this audience the glorious incidents of that war, and after many vicissitudes of reverses and success, its victorious termination and its effect in giving to the United States a proud and established position of dignity, equality and power among the nationalities of the world.

Nor have I the time to dwell upon the measures which Mr. Calhoun introduced or supported during his service in the House of Representatives, which terminated in 1817, or of his services as Secretary of War under President Monroe, or as Vice-President of the United States.

Perhaps a better idea can be given of his position before the country during that period by restating the opinions of him expressed by the great statesmen of that day. Mr. Dallas, who was in the Cabinet of Mr. Madison, as Secretary of the Treasury, said Mr. Calhoun was "the young Hercules who carried the war on his shoulders." After one of his speeches during this service in the House, Mr. Grosvenor, of New York, one of the ablest and most distinguished members of the opposition, between whom and Mr. Calhoun an unpleasant difference had arisen during the discussion of a war measure, said: "I have heard the able, manly and constitutional speech of the gentleman from South Carolina." Here Mr. Grosvenor paused, remembering this personal difference, and then resumed: "Mr. Speaker, I will not be restrained; no barrier shall exist which I shall 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 the House for the last year, and particularly upon 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 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 happy elevation in the view of his country and the world."

The great William Pinckney, of Maryland, who was also a member of the House, upon one occasion following Mr. Calhoun in debate on the same side, said of him: "The strong power of genius, from a higher region than that of argument, has thrown on the subject all the light with which it is the prerogative of genius to invest and illuminate everything."

How he performed the duties of his position as Secretary of War can be also better determined in the same way. Henry Clay said of him: "Such 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, he had been called to the highest office of the Government I should have felt perfectly assured that under his auspices the honor and prosperity and the glory of our country would have been safely placed."

John Quincy Adams, who was his colleague in Monroe's Cabinet, thus spoke of him before his judgment was clouded by personal resentment: "Calhoun thinks for himself, independent of all the rest, with sound judgment, quick discrimination and keen observation. He supports his opinion, too, with powerful eloquence. * * * Mr. Calhoun is a man of fair and candid mind, of honorable principles, of clear and quick understanding, of cool self-possession, of enlarged philosophical views and of ardent patriotism. He is above all sectional and factious prejudices more than any other statesman of the Union with whom I have ever acted." (J. Q. Adams's Diary.)

Judge Story said of him in a letter to a friend: "I have great admiration for Mr. Calhoun, and think few men have more enlarged and liberal views of the nation." Mr. Webster at the same time wrote to his brother: "I hope all New England will support Mr. Calhoun for the Vice-Presidency. He is a true man and will do good to the country in that situation." He was elected to the Vice-Presidency, and New England, with the single exception of Connecticut, and one vote from New Hampshire, united in the overwhelming majority that carried him to the Vice-Presidential chair.

A brilliant and able Carolina statesman, on whose shoulders Mr. Calhoun's mantle had worthily fallen, and would have been worthily borne but for the cutting short of his career by death, said that the war of 1812 was the turning-point in the history

of the world, giving, as it did to the United States, independence abroad as the Revolution gave them independence at home; and that Calhoun's course in that war would never fail of the admiration and applause of future times.

But Mr. Calhoun's career in the House of Representatives did more than give him renown as a statesman preeminent for his nationality. The experience of its harsh trials, its obstacles, reverses, disappointments, followed by despondency subsiding into apathy, and from that into dissensions; the ruined trade and depreciated currency and paralyzed industries which it caused; the numerous dangers of utter discomfiture, from which the escapes seemed, and perhaps really were, hair-breadth, made deep and lasting impressions on his mind, the influence of which may be seen in his sentiments and feeling and action, through the whole course of his subsequent career as a statesman. For special reasons hereafter to be disclosed, I ask your attention to one of the principles which that war fixed in his mind and interfused with the very elements of his soul. I will state it in his own words: "The chief object for which the Constitution was formed was to give the General Government power, security and respectability abroad. In our relations with foreign countries, where strength of government and national security are most required, the powers of our Government are undivided. In those exterior relations—abroad—this Government is the sole and exclusive representative of the united majesty, sovereignty and power of the States constituting this great and glorious Union. To the rest of the world we are one. Neither State nor State Government is known beyond our borders."

In that great work upon the Constitution of the United States, some of the pages of which were wet with ink but a short time before he expired, he repeats this principle. Speaking of the two great divisions of Federal power, he says: "One of them embraces all the powers pertaining to the relations of the United States with the rest of the world. * * * From the Declaration of Independence to the present time, in all the changes through which we have passed, the Union has had exclusive charge of this division of powers." Again, speaking of the United States being unknown to the rest of the world, except in their united character, he says: "Abroad, to the rest of the

world, they are but one. It is only at home, in their interior relations, that they are many."

There was another principle which formed one of the foundation stones of his political creed. It is that when a nation is in a state of war, or preparing for war, whenever it undertakes to protect the rights of its people, or to preserve their independence and honor from violations, injustice and oppression, or invasion of another nation, that Government has a legitimate right to the full command of all the resources of the community. He lays down this principle in his *Disquisition on Government* in the following terse words: "When this," (*i. e.*, national security,) "is at stake, every other consideration must yield to it. Self-preservation is the supreme law, as well with communities as with individuals; and hence the danger of withholding from Government the full command of the resources of the entire State." This principle he insists upon, that Government, in order to fulfil the end of protecting its citizens from dangers from without and the devastations of war, must have and must exercise powers sufficient to call forth the entire resources of the community, and be prepared at all times to command them promptly in every emergency that may arise."

I have called attention to these principles not only on account of their vital importance, but for another reason. Mr. Calhoun has been charged with gross inconsistency of conduct at this time with the course pursued by him at a later epoch in his life upon the subject of a protective tariff, internal improvements and a national bank. These measures may be said to have virtually originated in the war, for the conditions and disorders of war continue long in a body politic after terms of peace are entered into and proclaimed. The questions which then agitated men's minds and upon which political parties arranged themselves in support and opposition, were not questions of internal policy; they related exclusively to the National security, growing out of the state of our external relations. Mr. Calhoun advocated in 1816 the protection of manufactures "as a means of National defence and protection against dangers from abroad," with which we were at that time imminently threatened. For the same reason he advocated a bank and the adoption of an improved system of internal communication; and the constitutional authority to adopt such measures he did not look

for in the enumerated powers specifically delegated to Congress, which operated directly upon the individual citizens of the United States, but he felt that it lay in that complete plenary power which pertained to the Government as the sole and exclusive representative of the undivided sovereignty of the Republic in its relations with other nations. That this was his view will be clearly seen by reading the speeches delivered in 1816 in support of these measures.

Irksome as it must be to listen to the reading of documents, I must ask you to give me your attention whilst I read the following extracts from his speech of January 31, 1816, to show that he advocated protection to manufactures as a means of national defense and purely as a temporary measure. In that speech he says: "We are now called on to determine what amount of revenue is necessary for this country in time of peace. * * * The principal expense of the Government grows out of measures necessary for its defense; and in order to decide what these measures ought to be, it will be proper to inquire what ought to be our policy towards other nations? And what will probably be theirs towards us?" After discussing the first question he proceeds to the next, "What will probably be the policy of other nations?" He then says: "With both these nations (Great Britain and Spain) we have many and important points of collision. * * * With both there is a possibility sooner or later of our being engaged in war." Then adverting to our relations with England he says: "But what will be the probable course of events respecting future relations between the two countries? England is the most formidable power in the world; she has the most numerous army and navy at her command. Will Great Britain permit us to go on in an uninterrupted march to the height of national greatness and prosperity? * * * I will speak what I believe to be true; you will have to encounter British jealousy and hostility in every shape—not immediately manifested by open force or violence, perhaps, but by indirect attempts to check your growth and prosperity. * * * Let us now consider the measures of preparation which sound policy dictates." After speaking of England's power to do us injury both upon the coast and from Canada as a point of attack, and our means of defence, he says: "Thus circumstanced on both sides, we ought to omit no preparation fairly within the compass of our

means. Next, as the species of preparation, a question which opens subjects of great extent and importance. The navy most certainly, in any point of view, occupies the first place." After the most admirable argument in favor of the navy as the most powerful agency for our foreign defences, the army, &c., he says: "Now let us consider the proper encouragement to be afforded to the industries of the country. In regard to the question how far manufacturers ought to be fostered, it is the duty of this country, as a means of defence, to encourage its domestic industry, more especially that part of it which provides the necessary materials for clothing and defence. Let us look at the nature of the war most likely to occur. England is in possession of the ocean. No man, however sanguine, can believe that we can soon deprive her of her maritime predominance. That control deprives us of the means of maintaining, cheaply clad, our army and navy, * * * laying the claims of manufacturers entirely out of view, on general principles, without regard to their interests, a certain encouragement should be tendered at least to our woolen and cotton manufactures. The failure of the wealth and resources of the nation necessarily involved the ruin of its finances and its currency. It is admitted by the most strenuous advocates on the other side that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defence; that, at least, our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball ought to be of domestic manufacture. But, what, he asked, is more necessary to the defence of a country than its currency and finance? Circumstanced as our country is, can these stand the shock of war? Behold the effect of the late war on them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will under the fostering care of the Government, we will no longer experience these evils."

To this distressing state of things there were two remedies, and only two: one in our power immediately, the other requiring much time and exertion, but both constituting, in his opinion, the essential policy of this country—he meant the navy and domestic manufactures. By the former we could open the way to our markets; by the latter we bring them from beyond the ocean and naturalize them. Had we the means of attaining an immediate naval ascendancy, he acknowledged that the policy recommended by this bill would be very questionable; but as

that is not the fact, as it is a period remote with any exertion, and will be probably more so from that relaxation of exertion so natural in peace, when necessity is not felt, it becomes the duty of this House to resort to a considerable extent, at least as far as is proposed, to the only remaining remedy.

Pardon the digression, but I desire here to state that through all these speeches there breathed the strongest sentiments of devotion to the Union. In the speech from which I have already quoted he said that, in his opinion, the liberty and the union of this country were inseparably united; that, as the destruction of the latter would certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will, with equal certainty, preserve it. He did not speak lightly. He had often and long revolved it in his mind, and he had critically examined into the causes that destroyed the liberty of other States. There are none that apply to us, or apply with a force to alarm. The basis of our Republic is too broad and its structure too strong to be shaken by them. Its extension and organization will be found to afford effectual security against their operation; but let it be deeply impressed on the heart of this House and country that, while they guarded against the old, they exposed us to a new and terrible danger—Disunion. This single word comprehended almost the sum of our political dangers, and against it we ought to be perpetually guarded.

The very last speech that he delivered in the House of Representatives was like that which at the end of his life he delivered in the United States Senate. It was a plea for the Union.

Sixteen years elapsed between the delivery of this speech and his reappearance in the national councils as a Senator of the United States. Those years were crowded with important events and changes. At the expiration of them the United States had grown to be a great and powerful Republic, whose people laughed to scorn the thought of danger from any power on earth. The moderate protective tariff and other measures which he had advocated as a means of defence against foreign aggressions, had grown to colossal systems, drawing wealth and power from Federal taxation, dominating and destroying the agricultural interests of the country. It was during this period that Mr. John Quincy Adams was elected President of the United States. The manner of his election by the House of Representatives over Gen. Jackson, who had received the largest number of electoral

votes, the bold centralizing doctrines enunciated in his inaugural and the measures which he urged excited opposition among Republicans throughout the country, in which Mr. Calhoun united. The venerable Thomas Jefferson, then eighty-three years of age, and living in strict retirement, whose mind, however, looked from the brink of the grave keenly into the future, gave forth the following prophetic warnings :

“I see as you do, and with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our Government is advancing towards the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the States, and the consolidation in itself of all powers, foreign and domestic; and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate, leave no limits to their power. Take together the decisions of the Federal Court, the doctrines of the President, and the misconstructions of the constitutional compact acted on by the Legislature of the Federal branch, and it is but too evident that the three ruling branches of that department are in combination to strip their colleagues, the State authorities, of the powers reserved by them, and to exercise themselves all functions foreign and domestic. Under the power to regulate commerce they assume indefinitely that over agriculture and manufactures, and call it regulation to take the earnings of one of these branches of industry, and that, too, the most depressed, and put them into the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all. * * * And what is our resource for the preservation of the Constitution? Reason and argument? You might as well reason with the marble columns encircling them.”

It is not my purpose to discuss here the question of a protective tariff. I desire to efface myself on this occasion. My only aspiration is to present to you the moral and intellectual image of him whose outer form and lineaments are presented in the admirable statue which we this day unveil.

In one of his great speeches he stated that the station of Vice-President, from its leisure, had given him the opportunity to study the genius of the protective system as a measure of permanent domestic policy; that he saw its blasting effects on one section, its corrupting effects on the other, and these effects increasing until the burden became intolerable under the tariff of 1828, which was the crowning act of the administration of Mr. Adams. He saw that under its operation “desolation was

spreading over the entire staple region; its commercial cities were deserted; Charleston parted with her last ship and grass grew in her once busy streets."

He believed that the Constitution was violated in using a power granted to raise revenue as the instrument of rearing up the industry of one section of the country on the ruins of another; that it was, in a word, "a violation of the Constitution by perversion, the most dangerous of all, because the most insidious and difficult to counteract."

When convinced that there was no hope for relief from Congress through the administration of Gen. Jackson, he advised a remedy which he believed to be within the limits of the Constitution, conducive to the preservation of the Union and yet fully adequate to protect the States and the people from the abuse and encroachments of Federal power. That remedy was State intervention or nullification. The State of South Carolina, in a convention duly and legally convoked in November, 1832, passed an ordinance declaring the tariff of 1832 and 1828 to be unconstitutional, null and void within her limits, and of no binding effect upon her officers and citizens. This was followed by a proclamation from President Jackson declaring the ordinance unconstitutional, intended to dissolve the Union, and forbidding any obedience to it upon the pains and penalties of treason. In defense of the action of his State, and in opposition to the doctrines of the proclamation and the legislation in support of it Mr. Calhoun put forth those profound expositions of political principles which, as Mr. Webster afterwards said, "will descend to posterity under the sanction of a great name."

It is simply impossible to give an abstract in the most condensed form of these principles.

The leading idea of those expositions is that the American Union is a Democratic Federal Republic—a political system compounded of the separate Governments of the several States and of one common Government of all the States, called the Government of the United States. Each was created by written constitution, those of the particular States by the people of each acting separately, and that of the United States by the people of each in its sovereign capacity, but acting jointly. The entire powers of government are divided between the two—those lodged in the General Government be-

ing delegated by specific and enumerated grants in the Constitution; and all others not delegated being reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. The powers of each are sovereign, and neither derives its powers from the other. In their respective spheres neither is subordinate to the other, but co-ordinate, and, being co-ordinate, each has the right of protecting its own powers from the encroachments of the other, the two combined forming one entire and perfect Government. The line of demarcation between the delegated powers to the Federal Government and the powers reserved to the States is plain, inasmuch as all the powers delegated to the General Government are expressly laid down, and those not delegated are reserved to the States unless specially prohibited.

The greater part of the powers delegated to the General Government relate directly or indirectly to two great divisions of authority; the one pertaining to the foreign relations of the country, the other of an internal character, and pertaining to the exterior relations of the States, the purposes for which the Constitution was formed being power, security and respectability without, and peace, tranquility and harmony within.

After a full exposition of these propositions, he employs the following strong and vigorous language :

“Taking all the parts together, the people of twenty-four independent and sovereign States, confederated by a solemn constitutional compact into one great federal community with a system of government, in all of which powers, are separated into the great primary divisions of the Constitution-making and the law-making powers, those of the latter class being divided between the common and joint government of all the States, and the separate and local governments of each State, respectively; and finally the powers of both, distributed among three separate and independent departments, legislative, executive and judicial, presents in the whole a political system as remarkable for its grandeur as it is for its novelty and refinement of organization. For the structure of such a system, so wise, just and beneficent, we are far more indebted to a superintending Providence that so disposed events as to lead as if by invisible hand to its formation than to those who erected it. Intelligent, experienced and patriotic as they were, they were but builders under His superintending direction. To preserve this sacred distribution as originally settled, by coerc-

ing each to move in its prescribed orbit, 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."

He next addressed himself to the great question, "what provision does the Constitution of the United States or the system itself furnish to preserve this and the other division of powers?" He then proceeds to show that from the relations which subsist between co-ordinate Governments, and from a law universally applicable to a division of power, whether between Governments or departments of Governments, a mutual negative on the part of each is necessary to protect each from the other; and that in a case of conflict as to the limits of their respective authority neither has the right to impose by force its decision against the other, but must appeal to a power paramount to either, whose decision is final and binding on both. That paramount power in our system is the convention of States, the most august and imposing embodiment of political authority known to the American system of Government. And this is the Doctrine of Nullification.

As a result of the events, which in an earlier part of these remarks I have discussed, the right of Nullification, even in the minds of those who once asserted that right, no longer has a place in the apparatus of our political system. No one now has the slightest dream of any resort to State interposition as a remedy for political grievances. Nor would it be fair to state the arguments adduced by him in support of Nullification without presenting those advanced in opposition to the doctrine.

But the sincerity of his patriotism in this matter should, in justice to his name and fame, be cleared of the aspersions of those who have reported him as a conspirator, impelled by ambition to arouse sectional animosities and passions with a view to tearing the Union asunder. And it is with a view to this alone that I shall further refer to his course on this question.

In reply to this charge I cannot resist quoting his own words:

"I am not ignorant that those opposed to the doctrine have always, now and formerly, regarded it as anarchical and revolutionary. Could I believe such, in fact, to be its tendency, to me it would be no recommendation. I yield to none, I trust, in a deep and sincere attachment to our political institutions and the union of the States. I never expressed an opposite senti-

ment, but, on the contrary, I have ever considered them the great instruments of preserving our liberty and promoting the happiness of ourselves and our posterity. And, next to this, I have ever held them most dear. Nearly half of my life has been passed in the service of the Union, and whatever public reputation I have acquired is indissolubly identified with it. To be too national has, indeed, been considered by many, even of my friends, my greatest political fault. With these strong feelings of attachment I have examined with the utmost care the bearing of the doctrine in question; and so far from being anarchical or revolutionary, I solemnly believe it to be the only solid foundation of our system, and of the Union itself; and that the opposite doctrine, which denies to the States the right of protecting their reserved powers, and which would vest in the Government (it matters not through what department) the right of determining exclusively and finally the powers delegated to it, is incompatible with the sovereignty of the States, if the Constitution itself be considered as the basis of the Federal Union."

To the objection that the right of a State to interpose and arrest an Act of Congress because of its alleged unconstitutionality, is inconsistent with the necessary authority of the Government and must lead to feebleness, anarchy and final disunion, he says that this power of nullification would, if unchecked, like all unchecked power, tend to abuse and disaster. "But it is not unchecked," said he. "As high as this right of interposition on the part of a State may be regarded in relation to the General Government, the constitutional compact provides a remedy against this abuse. There is a higher power placed above all—by the consent of all—the creating and preserving power of the system, to be exercised by three-fourths of the States, and which, under the character of the amending power, can modify the whole system at pleasure, and to the acts of which none can object. Admit then, the power in question to belong to the States—and admit its liability to abuse—and what are the utmost consequences, but to create a presumption against the constitutionality of the power exercised by the General Government, which, if it be well founded, must compel them to abandon it? * * * If, on an appeal for this purpose, the decision be favorable to the General Government, a disputed

power will be converted into an expressly granted power ; but, on the other hand, if it be adverse, the refusal to grant will be tantamount to an inhibition of its exercise ; and thus, in either case, the controversy will be determined. The utmost extent, then, of the power is, that a State, acting in its sovereign capacity as one of the parties to the constitutional compact, may compel the government, created by that compact, to submit a question touching its infraction, to the parties who created it. This amending power by a convention of the States is, when properly understood, the *vis medicatrix* of the system—its great repairing, healing and conservative power—intended to remedy its disorders, in whatever cause or causes originating ; whether in the original defects or errors of the Constitution itself, or the operation and change of circumstances. * * * Or, in case of a disputed power, whether it be between the Federal Government and one of its co-ordinates, or between the former and an interposing State, by declaring, authoritatively, what is the Constitution. * * * It is thus that our Constitution, by authorizing amendments, and by prescribing the authority and mode of making them, has, by a simple contrivance, with its characteristic wisdom, provided a power which, in the last resort, supersedes effectually the necessity, and even the pretext, for force.

“That such a remedy is provided is proof of the profound wisdom of the great men who formed our Constitution, and entitles them to the lasting gratitude of the country, but it will be in vain that their wisdom devised a remedy so admirable, a substitute so infinitely superior to the old and irrational mode of terminating such controversies as are of too high a nature to be adjusted by the force of reason, or through the ordinary tribunals, if their descendants be so blind as not to perceive its efficacy, or so intently bent upon schemes of ambition and avarice as to prefer to this constitutional, peaceful and safe remedy, the wanton, hazardous and immoral arbitrament of force.”

“There is, indeed, one view, and one only of the contest, in which force could be employed ; but that view, as between the parties, would supersede the Constitution itself—that nullification is secession—and would, consequently, place the State, as to the others, in the relation of a foreign State. * * * Standing thus towards one another, force might, indeed, be

employed against a State, but it must be a belligerent force, preceded by a declaration of war and carried on with all its formalities. *Such would be the certain effect of secession* ; and, if nullification be secession, such, too, must be its effect, which presents the highly important question, are they, in fact, the same ? On the decision of which depends the question whether nullification be a peaceable and *Constitutional* remedy that may be exercised without *terminating* the *federal* relations of the State or *not*.

“ I am aware that there is a considerable and respectable portion of our State, with a very large portion of the Union, constituting, in fact, a great majority, who are of the opinion that they are the same thing, differing only in name, and who, under that impression, denounce it as the most dangerous of all doctrines ; and yet, so far from being the same, they are, unless, indeed, I am greatly deceived, not only perfectly distinguishable, but totally dissimilar in their nature, their object and effect ; and that, so far from deserving the denunciation, so properly belonging to the act with which it is confounded, it is, in truth, the highest and most precious of all the rights of the States, and essential to preserve that very Union, for the supposed effect of destroying which it is so bitterly anathematized. They are wholly dissimilar in their nature. Secession is the withdrawal from the Union, * * * a throwing off of the authority of the Union itself, a separation from partners, and as far as it depends on the member withdrawing, a dissolution of the partnership. It presupposes an association or union of several States or individuals for a common object. * * * Nullification, on the contrary, presupposes the relation of principal and agent ; the one granting a power to be executed, the other, appointed by him with authority to execute it, and is simply a declaration on the part of the principal, made in due form, that an act of the agent transcending his power is null and void. * * * The difference in their object is no less striking than in their nature. The object of secession is to free the withdrawing member from the obligation of the association or union, &c. Its direct and immediate object, as it concerns the withdrawing member, is the dissolution of the association or union, as far as it is concerned. On the contrary, the object of nullification is to confine the agent within the limits of his powers, by arrest-

ing his acts transcending them, not with a view of destroying the delegated or trust power, but to preserve it by compelling the agent to fulfill the object for which agency or trust was created ; and is applicable only to cases where the trust or delegated powers are transcended on the part of the agent.

“It remains now to show that their effect is as dissimilar as their nature or object.

“Nullification leaves the members of the association or union in the condition it found them—subject to all its burdens, and entitled to all its advantages, comprehending the member nullifying as well as the others—its object being not to destroy but to preserve, as has been stated. * * * Secession, on the contrary, destroys, as far as the withdrawing member is concerned, the association or union. * * * Such are clearly the differences between them ; differences so marked that, instead of being identical, as supposed, they form a contrast in all the aspects in which they can be regarded.”

Whatever may be the objections to this doctrine, it must be admitted that it had not in it an element of disunion. It might have proved cumbrous and obstructive in its operations of the Government ; it might have impaired its promptness and vigor and energy of action, and probably would ; but had it been recognized and acted upon by the Federal Government it would have ever prevented a resort to secession on the one hand, or a resort to force on the other. But the right was not recognized ; it was denied and inflexibly opposed by the General Government, which assumed to impose its own construction of the Constitution, against that of the States, by force.

Just at this time Mr. Calhoun resigned the office of Vice-President, and took his seat in the Senate in place of Gen. Robert Y. Hayne, who had been chosen Governor of the State. A few days after he took his seat, President Jackson sent a message to Congress, transmitting the ordinance of nullification with his own proclamation, and recommending the passage of measures which would enable him to compel, by the use of military force, the obedience and submission of the States.

It was upon the occasion of this message and the force bill, which became a law during that session, that the great debate took place between Mr. Webster and Mr. Calhoun, memorable for the ability and eloquence displayed, the eminent character of

the two great champions of the hostile theories, and the magnitude of the questions involved. Up to the time that Mr. Calhoun took his stand for what he deemed was the cause of the Constitution and the Union, as well as the liberty and the interest of the people of his own State, national honors and distinctions and popular applause seemed to have sought him out and crowded his path through public life. He had up to that moment been regarded as the most renowned and shining character among living American statesmen, and next to Jackson, the most popular. He was but one step from the Presidency and was regarded as the heir-apparent of President Jackson, who, it was understood, would serve but one term.

To my mind there is nothing connected with Mr. Calhoun's life so fraught with touching pathos, so characteristic of the grand soul of the man, as the isolation of his position when he took his place in the United States Senate. He saw all the popularity which marked the early part of his career receding from him. He saw a majority of all his old political associates and friends in the Senate now in hostile array against him, and his old political enemies in perfect unanimity allied with them. Not one sister State from any part of the Union stood by South Carolina in this final conflict. Both Houses of Congress, with the President of the United States, and that President Andrew Jackson, combined together in the adoption of measures to force his State into submission to the law which she had nullified. Never a contest, to all seeming was so unequal, so hopeless. But he quailed not; strong in his own conviction of the justice of his cause; self-poised in the counsels of his own mind, doing nothing rashly, and yet nothing timidly or doubtfully; ready to immolate himself for the right which his State had entrusted to his defence, this noble, brave man, on whose brow God had set the seal of truth; whose eye beamed bright with the devotion that fired his soul—courage, manliness, sincerity, truth in every tone and look—greatness in every lineament of his countenance—stood alone and prevailed. Yes, prevailed! For the controversy, when closed, was closed by the compromise act which repealed the law that his State had nullified. The very Congress which passed the force bill to coerce South Carolina into submission to the tariff of 1828 and 1832, at the same session repealed those two laws, and Andrew Jackson, the man

of iron will and pitiless purpose, in the face of his proclamation, signed the act that swept from the statute-book the enactment which South Carolina in her asserted sovereignty had declared unconstitutional, null and void, and inoperative in her limits.

Any account of those stormy times would be incomplete which left out the majestic figure of Henry Clay, the matchless orator, the noble patriot, whose heart was the sanctuary of all noble impulses and generous aspirations, the genius of conciliation and harmony, who introduced his celebrated compromise bill which averted the storm and substituted peace for intestine strife. Immortal honor to the name of Henry Clay !

And here is presented a spectacle which cannot fail to excite the pride and admiration of all true Americans. Henry Clay, the author of the American system, of which the protective policy was the most cherished principle ; John C. Calhoun, the representatative and champion of the reserved rights of the States and their sovereignty ; Andrew Jackson, the stern, inflexible enforcer of the supreme power and paramount authority of the nation ; each bursting the trammels of party, casting aside sectional animosity, disregarding pride of opinion and personal hostilities ; each making concessions and all giving their united tribute of intellect and patriotism to the good of their common country.

By this compromise, South Carolina, although she gained the repeal of the law she had nullified, and the prostration of the protective system, made important concessions. Mr. Clay (though he sacrificed the protective system) by his statesmanship secured the wise provision that the protective imposts should be gradually reduced, covering a term of ten years, to a revenue standard. To this feature Mr. Calhoun assented fully, as it had always been his policy to adopt a gradual and tentative reduction of protective duties, and thus to secure safety to all interests and permanent establishment of a just and fair revenue system. The force bill remained on the statute-book unrepealed, which asserts the supreme authority of the Union over a nullifying State.

This settlement must give rise to the most noble reflections. The reader of our history is apt to be saddened by the thought that the eloquence and wisdom and services of our greatest statesmen are exhibited, not in united efforts and harmonious



co-operation, but in conflict among themselves, and victories of one party over another. But when a supreme moment comes the fact is revealed that what seems to be fierce combat among themselves is but the ardent strivings of each for the honor, perpetuity, and glory of a common country.

I find that I have already transcended the limits I have prescribed to myself, and have not the time to even sketch his measures and speeches during the remainder of his public life, all of which (except one year) was given to the public service.

After the adjustment of the tariff question, or what was agreed to be its final settlement, he at once devoted himself to those great issues and those great political reforms in which every section of the country was alike interested. Among these was, first, the removal of the deposits from the National Bank of the United States and their transfer to the State banks, by order of the President, and also his course on the protest of the Senate against that act. On these occasions the speeches of Mr. Calhoun were able and fearless exposures of what he deemed the arbitrary abuse involved in that act and the subsequent outrageous invasion on the part of the Executive upon the constitutional rights and prerogatives of the two Houses of Congress. Whilst he occupied upon these subjects common ground with Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster in opposition to Gen. Jackson's administration, he made it very clear that upon the question of the national bank, the subject of currency and other measures of national policy, his differences with those gentlemen and the party they represented were marked and radical. From 1833 to 1843 he delivered a series of speeches upon the financial and economical problems of that period, which, in their thorough elucidation of the causes which had produced the evils of a disordered currency, prostitution of credit and general financial embarrassment, and in their wise forecast in indicating the true remedy, were as able as any he ever delivered, and, indeed, were pronounced by Senators eminent for talents and long experience to be the ablest they had ever heard in the United States Senate.

On the 5th of February, 1835, he made a report on the extent of Government patronage which startled the country by its revelations of the enormous extent to which the abuses of the system had grown, and the degenerating influences it was exercising alike upon the Government and the character of the people.

Animated and acrimonious debates arose in the Senate upon the facts stated in the report. In maintenance of the positions assumed therein, Mr. Calhoun made a speech which is perhaps as applicable to the present time as it was to those in which it was delivered. After showing how alarmingly the system had grown he proceeded to demonstrate the causes which produced it, and which gave to it its growth and its dangerous influences. At the head of these causes he placed "the practice so greatly extended, if not for the first time introduced, of removing from office persons well qualified and who had faithfully performed their duty, in order to fill the places with those who were recommended on the ground that they belonged to the party in power." In speaking of the extent of its growth he stated that Washington in his eight years of service had made but nine removals; Madison but five, Monroe but ten, and that, he whilst Secretary of War for more than seven years, removed but two, and that for cause.

He says: "So long as offices were considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the honest, the faithful and capable, for the common good, and not for the benefit or gain of the incumbent or his party; and so long as it was the practice of the Government to continue in office those who faithfully performed their duties, its patronage, in point of fact, was limited to the mere power of nominating to accidental vacancies or to newly created offices, and could, of course, exercise but a moderate influence either over the body of the community, or of the officeholders themselves; and when the practice was reserved—when offices, instead of being considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the deserving, were regarded as the spoils of victory, to be bestowed as rewards for partisan services without respect to merit; when it came to be understood that all who held office, held by the tenure of partisan zeal and party service it is easy to see that the certain, direct and inevitable tendency of such a state of things is to convert the entire body of those in office into corrupt and supple instruments of power, and to raise up a host of hungry, greedy and subservient partisans, ready for any service, however base and corrupt. Were a premium offered for the best means of extending to the utmost the power of patronage; to destroy love of country; to encourage vice and discourage virtue; and, in a word, to prepare for the subversion of liberty and the

establishment of despotism ; no scheme more perfect could be devised ; and such must be the tendency of the practice, with whatever intention adopted, or to whatever extent pursued."

He then called attention to the pledges of the party supporting the present Administration to put a stop to this enormous abuse, and he asked : "What justification had been offered for so gross a violation of their pledges?" To the speech of Mr. Benton in defence of the Administration he made the following indignant reply : "No justification is even attempted—the delinquency is acknowledged, and the only effort which the Senator from Missouri has made to defend his own conduct and that of the Administration in adopting the practice which he then denounced is on the principle of retaliation. He says that he has been fourteen years a member of the Senate, and that during the first seven no friend of his had received the favor of the Government ; and contends that it became necessary to dismiss those in office to make room for others who had been for so long a time beyond the circle of Executive favor." "What," Mr. Calhoun asked, "is the principle, when correctly understood, on which this defence rests ? It assumes that retaliation is a principle in its nature so sacred that it justifies the breach of plighted faith and the subversion of principles, the observance of which had been declared to be essential to the liberty of the country. The avowal of such a principle may be justified at this time by interested partisans ; but a more impartial tribunal will regard it in a far different light, and pronounce that sentence which violated faith and broken pledges deserve. * * * I consider it," said Mr. Calhoun, "as an evidence of that deep degeneracy which precedes the downfall of a Republic, when those elevated to power forget the promises on which they were elevated ; the certain effect of which is to make an impression on the public mind that all is juggling and trickery in politics, and to create an indifference to political struggles highly favorable to the growth of despotic power."

I am proud to say, fellow-citizens, that it has been my good fortune to be associated with one against whose administration the only criticism which has been pronounced is his sacred regard for similar promises, and the unconquerable intrepidity with which he stands by them. * * * Speaking of the effect of this practice upon the character of a party, he adds : "Their object

is to get and to hold office, and their leading political maxim, openly avowed on this floor by one of their former Senators from New York, now Governor of that State, Mr. Marcy, is that ‘to the victors belong the spoils of victory!’—a sentiment reiterated during the present session, as I understand, by an influential member of the House, and who had the assurance to declare every man a hypocrite who does not avow it. Can any one who will duly reflect on these things venture to say that all is sound and that our government is not undergoing a great and fatal change? Let us not deceive ourselves. The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or a party, and that system of political morals which regards offices in a different light as public prizes to be won by combatants most skilled in the arts of political tactics and intrigue, and to be used and enjoyed as their proper spoils, strikes a fatal blow at the very vitals of free institutions.” Mr. Calhoun said: “Experience has shown that there is a great tendency in our system to degenerate into this diseased state, and I may venture to repeat—it cannot be done too often—what is stated in the report, that whenever the executive patronage shall become sufficiently strong to form a party based on its influence exclusively, the liberty of the country, should that state of things continue for any considerable period, must be lost.”

It gives me pride and pleasure to say that South Carolina has never departed from these great principles. I cannot refrain from paying my tribute of applause to the ability and eloquence and firmness with which Senator Butler, of your State, sustained these doctrines on the floor of the United States Senate. In reply to a vivid and truthful portrayal, by a political friend, of the terrible misgovernment through which the people of the South had passed, and to the inquiry if he would have retained in the departments at Washington those who were engaged in that misgovernment, he replied: “Why, Mr. President, the people of the South rejoice too much in a restoration of their liberty to care about the paltry offices in Washington. * * * When it comes to a great question of this kind I am not a Southern man. I hope I represent the people of this country in desiring the improvement of its civil service; it is an object which rises high above considerations of party or of section, in

my humble judgment. * * * As compared with the improvement of the civil service of this Government, I say to the Senator as a representative in part of the State of South Carolina I will give up every office in the departments in Washington and I will go before my people and sustain myself upon that position." Gen. Wade Hampton has given the sanction of his name to the maintenance of these principles in his own practical and effectual way by advocating legislation to suppress the abuses of Government patronage. As an individual I desire to express my high appreciation of the fidelity of South Carolina to her old landmarks, as evinced in the recent resolutions of her Legislature on the subject of civil service reform, and her just and manly support of the President's conduct on this subject. In 1842 Mr. Calhoun addressed the Senate upon an amendment to the Constitution offered by Mr. Clay to abolish the veto power of the President, in a speech in which he discussed with irresistible force, indeed, with overwhelming power, the principles which underlie the reciprocal relations of the different departments of the Federal Government, the symmetrical proportions of the whole system, and the marvellous yet admirable combination of checks and balances designed for the perpetuation of constitutional liberty. The young men of this country who aspire to statesmanship or public usefulness might study this speech with lasting benefit and edification.

In 1843 he retired from the United States Senate, with a view to permanent retirement from public life. In a short time, however, he was called to the office of Secretary of State by President Tyler, near the close of his administration, to conclude the negotiations for the annexation of Texas, which he accomplished with his usual ability and success, a measure which added immensely to the territory, resources and power of the United States.

In 1845 the status of the Oregon question was such that war with England seemed to be inevitable. The Administration of Mr. Polk had committed itself to a withdrawal of the notice to England of the termination of the treaty for the joint use and occupation of that territory, with a view to claim and take possession of the entire territory up to 54° 40', and a majority of both Houses of Congress were supposed to favor the policy. It was supported warmly by Gen. Cass in the Senate, and the ven-

erable Ex-President John Quincy Adams in the House. The former repeatedly declared that "war is inevitable," indeed, "almost upon us." A general uneasiness pervaded the country. In Mr. Calhoun's own words, "stocks of every description fell, marine insurance rose, commercial pursuits were suspended, and our vessels remained inactive at the wharves." All over the country there was a demand that Mr. Calhoun, as the most powerful and influential member of the Democratic party, should at once be returned to the Senate to prevent the carrying out of the war policy of the new Administration. Mr. Huger resigned his seat in the Senate and Mr. Calhoun was unanimously elected to take his place. His speech on the Oregon question, soon after he took his seat, was a masterpiece of political wisdom, sagacity and rare eloquence, and reveals his characteristic courage. It shows the deep impression which the war of 1812 had made upon his mind with regard to the dangers of war to Republican institutions, and the importance of avoiding it whenever it can be done with safety to national honor or the rights of the people. But no one can read his utterances upon the grand and noble mission of the American Republic and harbor, for one instant, any doubt as to his devotion to the Union, and his horror of every cause that would imperil its perpetuity.

On the 11th day of May, 1846, President Polk sent a message to Congress in recognition of the fact that war existed between the United States and Mexico, and recommending the raising of means for its prosecution. The scene was a solemn one, and what occurred was often spoken of by the members of that body. A motion was made to print 20,000 copies of the message and documents. Mr. Calhoun rose and objected, and said that we were on the eve of great events, and expressed the hope that we would proceed calmly and deliberately.

It is evident that he foresaw the consequences of the war thus precipitated. He foresaw that it would result in the acquisition of Mexican territory. He knew that the aversion of the North to the institution of slavery would cause the majority of Congress to exclude that part of the country interested in this institution from any share in the advantages to be derived from the admission of that institution into the territory thus acquired. He knew that if the North, with no interest in the matter except a moral sentiment, was so determined, it would be met with

an equal determination of resistance by the Southern States. He spoke of this as the "terrible difficulty;" and it was so to him, for he saw in it the elements of disunion and of blood. It has been said that it is easy for a good man to resist wrong when it is clearly opposed to the right, but when virtue is opposed to virtue, is the real rending of the soul in twain. Mr. Calhoun loved the Union with religious devotion, but he loved the South also. A conflict between his love for the Union and his love for the Southern people—that was a terrible thing for him, which burdened his heart with sadness and grief. He earnestly sought to prevent the occasion for renewing the strife between the sections. In his reply to Mr. Benton he spoke as follows :

"Every Senator knows that I was opposed to the war ; but no one 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 of 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 has 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 since I have been in public life I am unable to see the future. I 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."

That second volume has been written, and the world knows its contents. We are now in the third volume of our constitutional history. May its recorded story correspond with Calhoun's divination of the possibilities of our future destiny as delivered in 1846 in the Oregon debate. He said in substance that " Providence had given us an inheritance stretching across the entire continent from ocean to ocean, from north to south, covering by far the greater and better part of its temperate zone, and comprising a region not only of vast extent but abounding in all resources, excellent in climate, fertile and exuberant in soil, capable of sustaining in the plentiful enjoyment of all the necessaries of life, a population of ten times our present number.

That our great mission as a people is to occupy this vast domain; to replenish it with an intelligent, virtuous and industrious population; to convert the forests into cultivated fields; to drain the swamps and morasses and cover them with rich harvests; to build up cities, towns and villages in every direction, and to unite the whole by the most rapid intercourse between all the parts." He then rose to higher grounds and a broader view and stated that we were charged by Providence not only with the happiness of this great and rising people, but in a considerable degree with that of the human race. After passing through a rapid review of the great discoveries and inventions, multiplied beyond all former examples by which the vast powers of nature were rendered subservient to the purposes of art, to the spread of civilization, to the general progress of the nation in knowledge and to its diffusion through all ranks of society; more especially to the two great agents of the physical world, steam and electricity, "the latter of which," he said, "had been made an instrument for the transmission of thought by lightning itself—magic wires are stretching themselves in all directions over the earth, and when their mystic meshes shall have been united and perfected, our globe itself will become endowed with sensitiveness so that whatever touches on any one point will be instantly felt on every other."

He declared that all this improvement and progress are but the dawn of a new civilization, more refined, more elevated, more intellectual, more moral than the present and all others preceding him. "We have been raised up," said he, "by Providence to advance these great and noble purposes. * * * We have a Government of a new order, perfectly distinct from all others which have preceded it, a Government founded on the rights of man, resting not on authority, not on prejudice, not on superstition, but on reason and consent. All civilized governments, if it succeeds, must in the course of time conform to its principles. I trust we shall not fail to fulfill our highest destiny."

Fellow-citizens: The institution of slavery! That question has been settled. Slavery is dead—buried in a grave that never gives up its dead. Why reopen it to-day? Let it rest. Yet, if I remain silent upon the subject it will be taken as an admission that there is one part of Mr. Calhoun's life of which it is

prudent for his friends to say nothing to the present generation. Dissimulation and evasion were so foreign to his character that in his own case no one would disapprove and even disdain such silence more than he. I have this to say : That with reference to the constitutional status of slavery in the States, Mr. Calhoun never entertained or expressed a sentiment that was not entertained and expressed by Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster and all the eminent statesmen of his time. That slavery was an institution of society in the States, sanctioned and upheld by the Constitution of the United States ; that it was an institution of property, recognized, protected and enforced even upon the States where slavery did not exist, by the fundamental law of the Union ; that it was an institution of political power which under the provisions of the Constitution, increased the representation of the Southern States on the floor of Congress, and in the electoral college, was admitted by every public man in the country who had the slightest title to position as a statesman.

The only difference between Mr. Calhoun on the one hand, Webster and Clay and such statesmen on the other, was that the measures hostile to slavery which they sometimes countenanced, and at other times advocated, he saw and predicted were in conflict with these guarantees in the Constitution, and that their direct tendency and inevitable effect, and, in many cases, avowed motive, was the destruction of slavery in the States. And whilst Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay disclaimed any such motive and denied any such probable effects, he declared to Mr. Webster in debate that the sentiment would grow and increase until, trampling down in its strides all the forms of the Constitution, he (Mr. Webster) would himself be compelled to succumb or be swept down beneath it.

Vain the forms of law, vain the barriers of the Constitution, vain the considerations of State policy. Vain the eloquence and the compromises of statesmen. His predictions were verified to the letter. They were all swept away before the irresistible force of the civilization of the Nineteenth Century, whose moral sentiment demanded the extinction of slavery.

Every benefit which slavery conferred upon those subject to it ; all the ameliorating and humanizing tendencies it introduced into the life of the African ; all the elevating agencies

which lifted him higher in the scale of rational and moral being, were the elements of the future and inevitable destruction of the system. The mistake that was made by the Southern defenders of slavery was in regarding it as a permanent form of society instead of a process of emergence and transition from barbarism to freedom. If at this very day the North or the American Union were to propose to re-establish the institution it would be impracticable; the South could not and would not accept it as a boon. Slavery as it existed then could not exist under the present commercial and industrial systems of Europe and America. The existing industrial relations of capital and labor had there been no secession, no war, would of themselves have brought about the death of slavery.

Fellow-citizens, at the commencement of my remarks, I stated my estimate of Mr. Calhoun's private and personal character, also his character as a statesman and a thinker. As an orator and debator he has often been described. His friend, personal and political, Mr. Rhett, speaks of "his earnestness and elevation of language, which bears the mind on as if on a swift, deep current;" of "his close, compact logic, which moved with the precision and measured tread of a Spartan phalanx." Senator Hammond said of him: "The intellect of Mr. Calhoun was cast in the Grecian mould, intuitive, profound, original, descending to the minutest details of practical affairs, and soaring aloft with a balanced wing into the highest region of invention. The force of his imagination, his command of language, his enthusiastic temperament, eminently qualified him for declamation of the highest order, but his themes were as well adapted to it as those of Demosthenes himself." Mr. Webster's idea of him was thus expressed: "The eloquence of Mr. Calhoun, or the manner of his exhibition of his sentiments in public, was part of his intellectual character. It grew out of the qualities of his mind. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise, sometimes impassioned, yet always severe."

I have given these descriptions by others of Mr. Calhoun's style, because I feel unable to characterize it in a manner satisfactory to my own mind. I do not think elevation of language, terse, condensed expression, force of logic, soaring imagination, earnest feeling, and impassioned declamation, adequately express all its qualities. I have thought that his eloquence was

due more to the simple majesty of his thoughts than to the diction in which they were clothed, or the logical processes by which they were presented. The chief quality of his style seems to be that of giving the true impression of a profound and elevated mind, communicating its thoughts and feelings to the minds of others in words plain and clear, and sentences simple and natural. There is between the human mind and truth a perfect correspondence, it was created for truth as its object, and when brought into contact with it, the mind by the very law of its being, instinctively and intuitively embraces truth with credence and faith, unless prejudice or passion or some other agency interposes between the two and leads it away. Now, Mr. Calhoun's style, I think, had this great merit among those already mentioned, that it brought before the minds of men the pure, unsophisticated truth of his thought as it existed in his own mind. When, therefore, he spoke, those who listened to him were brought into communion direct with his own great thoughts, splendid conceptions, prophetic foresight, moral grandeur and soul-kindling passion; and they would feel their own minds strengthened, enriched, enlarged and ennobled by the contact with his intellectual and moral nature.

Mr. Calhoun's conception of the duties belonging to the station he occupied indisposed him to personal controversies or to sarcastic retorts upon his opponents; but when remarks of this character by them left him no other alternative than to notice them, his replies never failed to impress all who heard him with the consciousness that he moved in a sphere of thought and feeling far above the reach of his assailant. Upon one occasion a Senator from Delaware, commenting upon the distinction which Mr. Calhoun had drawn between sovereignty itself and the delegation of sovereignty to the different departments of the Government, (a distinction now familiar and never denied,) said that this was metaphysical reasoning which he could not comprehend. To this Mr. Calhoun replied as follows:

“The Senator from Delaware calls this metaphysical reasoning, which he says he cannot comprehend. If by metaphysics he means that scholastic refinement which makes distinctions without difference, no one can hold it in more utter contempt than I do. But if, on the contrary, he means the power of analysis and combination, that power which reduces the most

complex idea into its elements, which traces causes to their first principles, and, by the power of generalization and combination unites the whole in one harmonious system—then, so far from deserving contempt, it is the highest attribute of the mind. It is the power which raises the man above the brute, which distinguishes his faculties from mere sagacity, which he holds in common with inferior animals. It is this power which has raised the astronomer from being a mere gazer at the stars to the high intellectual eminence of a Newton or a LaPlace, and astronomy itself from a mere observation of isolated facts into that noble science which displays to our admiration the system of the universe. And shall this high power of the mind, which has effected such wonders when directed to the laws that control the material world, be forever prohibited, under the senseless cry of metaphysics, from being applied to the high purposes of political science and legislation? I hold them to be subject to laws as fixed as matter itself, and to be as fit a subject for the application of the highest political power. Denunciation may indeed fall upon the philosophical inquirer into these first principles, as it did upon Galileo and Bacon when they first unfolded the great discoveries which have immortalized their names; but the time will come when truth will prevail in spite of prejudice and denunciation, and when politics and legislation will be considered as much a scheme as astronomy and chemistry.”

Suggestions of a touching nature present themselves to me at this moment, but I have not the time nor the strength to speak of them here. You will pardon me, however, for pausing to express my personal gratification at recognizing the presence of one who is here in the place of her honored and illustrious father whose name is inseparably associated with these ceremonies on account of the eloquent address which he delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of this monument—the Martyr, Patriot, and Orator, Lawrence M. Keitt, of whom I can say truly, as was said by Charles James Fox, “it is difficult to determine whether we most admire the statesman or love the man.”

I cannot forbear, either, to allude to the venerable and beloved Carolina matron who, amid all the perils of war and the storms of battle, carried, concealed on her person, the sacred fund which was dedicated to the erection of this monument.

Ladies of the South Carolina Association, I have attempted

to respond to the call with which your kindness has honored me. I regret deeply that absorbing duties of an official character, leaving me not even the intermission of a day of freedom, have allowed no opportunity to prepare for the performance of the task in a manner worthy of the theme and of the occasion. It is well that this monumental statue on South Carolina's soil has been reared through the instrumentality of her own fair daughters. His life was one uninterrupted homage to women.

Mr. Calhoun was the true son of South Carolina. His just fame and great name were the fruits of her social system, and will be her glory when succeeding generations shall learn and appreciate the lessons of political truth taught by him, and shall inhale his pure spirit of patriotism, his exalted conception of duty, and become inspired by the honor, fidelity, courage, and purity of life which rooted themselves in the soul of the man whose statue South Carolina women have erected in commemoration of the affectionate reverence with which they commend him to the honor, love, imitation, and confidence of mankind.

The Rev. W. F. Junkin next read the following ode, by Mrs. Margaret J. Preston:

CALHOUN.

BY MARGARET J. PRESTON.

[Written by request, for the unveiling of the Statue of John C. Calhoun, at Charleston, South Carolina, April 26th, 1887.]

I.

Stand forth, stern patriot! calm, severe,
As in thine hour's supreme elation,
When eager Senates thronged to hear
The voice that thrilled a listening nation.

II.

Step from thy civic chair; receive
The homage which thy people render:
The best that grateful hearts can give
To keep thy memory fresh and tender.

III.

Our City by the Sea, while yet
 Disaster lays its grasp upon her,
 Remembers her inviolate debt
 Of pride and reverence, love and honor.

IV.

Her spires may rock, her towers may fall,—
 Her centuried grandeur sink and perish;
 Her homes be ravaged, roof and wall,
 And ruin blast what most she cherished;—

V.

While yet one spot stands firm and fair,
 Safe from the elemental riot,
 We'll place our patriot-warder there,
 Sublime in his majestic quiet.

VI.

Through life his watch knew no surcease:
 What then, if in the far Elysian,
 Through the clear atmosphere of peace,
 He holds us still in vatic vision!

VII.

The eye so keen to note the wrong,—
 The voice so firm for law and order:—
 Shall we not own their guidance strong,
 From mountain crest to ocean border?

VIII.

With reverence for the power that led
 His mind to each profound conviction,
 We bow beneath his hand outspread,
 And here receive his benediction!

IX.

TRUTH,* with her mirror, at his feet,
 Gives back, without a wane of glory,
 His whole consistent life, complete
 As some clear page of classic story.

*The four allegoric figures on the base of the monument represent *Truth*, *Justice*, *The Constitution* and *History*.



X.

Stern JUSTICE vows, by sword and shield,—
 Her robes of regal state upon her,—
 That she, as soon her scales could yield
 As he—his Carolina's honor!

XI.

And in her sovereign majesty,
 The CONSTITUTION, with her token
 Spread open on her bended knee,—
 Not one of all her fasces broken—

XII.

Looks up to him, whose giant thrust
 Still kept at bay each pressing foe-man;
 Ready to die,—if die he must,—
 “*Pro Patria!*”—grand as any Roman!

XIII.

See! HISTORY takes her diamond pen,
 To trace with calmness unimpassioned,
 From first to last, his life, - for when
 Was statesman's life so purely fashioned?—

XIV.

So tireless in its aim to wage
 The war of splendid word and action:—
 So staunch amid the rant and rage
 Of envious and ignoble faction:—

XV.

So like a lighthouse on a rock,
 When fast the surges swirl, and faster;
 Still warning those who did but mock,
 Of tempest, shipwreck, wench, disaster!

XVI.

Yet, ere the onset, doomed to die!
 Disdaining place, and fame and favor:
 —“*My Country!*”—still his latest sigh—
 “*I would have staked my life to save her!*”

XVII.

Yea—when the stress of peril came,
 And war's wild ravage sore bestead them,
 He would have led her hosts through flame
 Of battle, even as Hampton led them!

XVIII.

He would have died, like gallant Bee,
 As if a martyr's crown had crowned him,
 To guard his State's dear sovereignty,
 With her Palmetto flag around him!

XIX.

Fair Carolina! Mid the names
 That blazon thy heroic pages,
 Whose record all our reverence claims—
 Whose words go sounding down the ages—

XX.

Place first, placed foremost, proudest, best,
 The name here cut, whose splendid story,
 Blown henceward,—North, East, South, and West—
 Remains your heritage of glory!

The benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. John O. Willson, and the crowd dispersed.

THE SALUTE.

The Vice-President's salute of nineteen guns was fired at White Point Garden as the statue was unveiled. The firing was done by a platoon of the German Artillery, under the direction of Major Geo. W. Bell, of Gen. Huguenin's staff, the message to commence firing being transmitted to his father by Master Geo. W. Bell. The guns were handled by the veteran members of the corps, all of whom paraded at the Calhoun funeral thirty-seven years ago. The following was the detachment:

Col. Franz Melchers, commanding officer; Capt. Hermann Klatte, lieutenant of section; C. H. Bergmann, orderly sergeant; D. Bollmann, ordnance sergeant; F. Puckhaber, 1st sergeant; F. J. Lilienthal, 2d sergeant; W. Rieppe, 1st corporal; C. Wulbern, 2d corporal.

Cannoneers first piece—J. H. Patjens, C. A. Cammann, E. Albrecht, A. Hinchén, G. Dreyer.

Cannoneers second piece—C. Meyer, M. Bartel, J. J. W. Luden, C. F. A. Bultmann, H. Viohl, J. C. Schlepegrell.

THE GUESTS OF THE CITY.

The following distinguished citizens were specially invited to be the guests of the city during their visit, with rooms at the Charleston Hotel.

Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, Orator of the Day. Parlors 114 and 115.

Hon. C. S. Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury. Parlors 117 and 117½.

Hon. Wm. F. Vilas, Postmaster-General. Parlors 138 and 139.

Mr. W. W. Corcoran. Invited, but could not come.

Hon. D. W. Vorhees, Senator from Indiana. Parlor 134.

Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, Superintendent of Education, Department of the Interior. Parlor 134.

L. Q. C. Lamar, Jr. Parlor 134.

L. Q. Washington. Parlor 79.

Hon. Hugh S. Thompson, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Ex-Governor of South Carolina, made all the arrangements in Washington, D. C., for the accommodation and comfort of the distinguished guests. His most satisfactory arrangements were highly appreciated by the Ladies of the Association.

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

Little Miss Jennie Legaré Rodgers, a daughter of Mr. S. H. Rodgers, of Beaufort, and a lineal descent of Jacob and Rebecca Motte, of Revolutionary days, and of Solomon Legaré, the Huguenot patriarch, was in the city to participate in the ceremonies of Calhoun Day.

Among the visitors to the city was Mr. C. Morse, the New York agent of the Associated Press.

Col. Reginald Hart, a prominent member of the New York Bar, was on the stand.

Col. James F. Hart, of York, attended the unveiling ceremonies.

Miss Kate Marshall brought a wreath from the birthplace of Calhoun.

Among the most attractive decorations of the monument was a large basket of beautiful roses, sent by Mrs. Col. H. M. Stuart, of Beaufort.

Unquestionably the oldest of the spectators at the unveiling was Mr. John S. Bird, Sr., whose ninety-four years did not incapacitate him from mounting to a seat on the stage.

Miss Houston, of Augusta, wore a silver crescent which was presented by the illustrious statesman, Calhoun, to her grandmother, who was his sister.

The colors used for veiling the statue came from the State in which the great statesman was educated, Connecticut. They belong to the schooner *W. W. Converse*, of New Haven, and were, with other bunting, lent to the Association by Capt. J. H. Seaman.

Mr. James C. Jervey, a member, bore the old banner of the South Carolina Society in the procession. It is of blue silk, on which is painted the seal of the society, a hand bearing a grapevine, with the motto "*Posteritati*," and the figures 1737, the date of the society's organization.

While the Palmetto Regiment was drawn up on South Battery, much attention was given by the civilians, who thronged about the troops, to a famous flag born by Corp. Lynch, of the Governor's Guards. This flag was presented to the Palmetto

Regiment in the City of Mexico by the Governor of Kentucky. It is in the keeping of the survivors of the old Palmetto Regiment, and has been to all reunions of Mexican veterans held in this State. It was lent for this occasion by Capt. W. B. Stanley, of Columbia, who has been for many years its custodian. The blue silk, of which it is made, is much faded, and show many rents, but the gold eagle in heavy bullion embroidery, which is the chief design of this flag, is as bright as when it was first raised in the captured Mexican capital.

The following are the names of the young men, who on 26th inst, decorated with flowers Mr. Calhoun's tomb in St. Philip's Church-yard—E. Opdebeck, B. B. Ruddock, H. Purse, S. B. Bollinger, G. Errichsen, H. M. White.

The Hon. Bradish Johnson, of New Orleans, who recovered the Powers' statue of Calhoun, which had been sunk in New York harbor, was specially invited to attend the unveiling ceremonies. Mr. Johnson was at the time in New York harbor in his private yacht, and at his own expense recovered the statue and brought it to Charleston, where he received an ovation from the citizens. The celebrated statue was removed from its place in the City Hall to Columbia during the war. It was there destroyed by Sherman, according to Southern authorities, and by Hampton according to Sherman, Sunday-school Howard and other manufacturers of war history.

LETTERS

OF

SOME OF THE DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

IN

ANSWER TO INVITATIONS

TO

TAKE PART IN THE UNVEILING CEREMONIES

OF THE

CALHOUN MONUMENT.

THE following letters bear testimony of the respect and regard in which the memory of Mr. Calhoun is held by many of the distinguished men coming after him, some of whom had the rare fortune of knowing him personally. These letters, written from all parts of the United States, and, coming as they do from personages who have been elevated on the shield and placed there by the will of the people, may well be taken as the general expression of good will towards and brotherly love for the great and good Carolinian. They show the sympathy of this large-hearted country is in unison with the women of South Carolina for fixing in bronze and granite a centre of history, and, for paying this their tribute of love to a gentle, pure and upright man:

BEAUVOIR, MISS., April 16, 1887.

Mrs. George Robertson, President, &c.:

DEAR MADAME—Accept my thanks for your kind invitation to myself and family to be present at the unveiling of the ladies' monument to Calhoun. I regret that it will not be in our power to attend, for besides the veneration and affection of Mrs. Davis and myself for the great and pure statesman to whose memory you do honor, it would be a pleasure to us to pay this tribute of duty and respect.

Mr. Calhoun was to me the guiding star in the political firmament and I was honored by him with such confidence as made our intercourse not only instructive, but of enduring love. In an important crisis in public affairs, his health failed, but with that devotion to the public welfare which had characterized his whole life, he continued to occupy his seat in the Senate, when his indomitable spirit was vainly struggling against his physical exhaustion. His wisdom and extraordinary administrative talent were then specially required to teach, direct and sustain, but he was taken from us

“Like a summer dried fountain,
When our need was the sorest.”

Mr. Webster, who had been his great intellectual opponent, but, nevertheless, his warm personal friend, when speaking, on the occasion of his death, manifested deeper emotion than I ever knew him to exhibit on any other occasion. He impressively said, nothing that was selfish or impure ever came near the head or heart of Calhoun.

I am gratified that the ladies—the best part of humanity—have contributed this testimonial to one blameless as themselves.

Please tender with my regrets my grateful acknowledgments to your associates for their courteous invitation, in which my wife cordially unites, and believe me to be,

Respectfully and truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Mrs. George Robertson, President ; Mrs. Joseph Walker, Vice-President ; Mrs. Henry Wigfall, Vice-President ; Mrs. H. W. DeSaussure, Vice-President ; Mrs. M. A. Snowden, Treasurer ; Mrs. Joseph Blackman, Corresponding Secretary ; Miss Fannie E. DeSaussure, Recording Secretary.

Mrs. George Robertson and Ladies Associated in Connection with the Calhoun Monument :

ESTEEMED LADIES—Accept my many thanks for your considerate courtesy, allow me, however, to beseech you to condone my absence on the interesting occasion.

After so many years of quiet routine, in a delightful location, which has procured for me perfect health and contentment, at my extreme age, any change will be a hazardous episode ; not that I care for the extinguishing of the lamp, but I would avoid the possible previous flickering.

Very respectfully, yours,

* JAMES EDWARD COLHOUN.

Trotter's Shoals, Abbeville Co., April 18, 1887.

LLOYD'S, ESSEX COUNTY, VA., April 19, 1887.

Mr. H. E. Young, Chairman Auxiliary Committee :

I received the kind and complimentary invitation from the ladies of the Association to be present at the unveiling of Cal-

* The brother-in-law of J. C. Calhoun.

houn's statue, and sincerely regret my inability to attend. I could not undertake the fatigue of the journey, but none will be there who feel a more ardent admiration for the great Carolinian, or who would desire more earnestly to honor his memory. Please tender my thanks to the ladies of the Association, and with sincere respect,

I am, very truly,

R. M. T. HUNTER.

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1887.

Mrs. M. A. Snowden, Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR MADAME—I am obliged by the card of invitation to the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument on the 26th instant, accompanied by your personal card, and beg to say that if I am well enough at that time, I will certainly have pleasure in being present on that interesting occasion.

With thanks for your kind remembrance, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

W. W. CORCORAN.

CITY OF CHARLESTON, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, April 15, 1887. }

Mr. W. W. Corcoran, Washington, D. C. :

MY DEAR SIR—I have just seen your letter of the 8th addressed to Mrs. Snowden, in which you kindly express the hope that you will be able to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument on the 26th instant. I hasten to say that your coming here on this occasion would be exceedingly gratifying to the people of Charleston, and I cordially invite you to do so as the guest of the City of Charleston.

I have engaged rooms for you at the Charleston Hotel, and will feel greatly honored if you will kindly send me a dispatch stating by what train you will reach here, in order that I might meet you in person and welcome you to the city.

Yours, very respectfully,

WM. A. COURTENAY, *Mayor.*

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1887.

The Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, Mayor of Charleston, S. C. :

MY DEAR SIR—I have received your favour of the 15th instant, inviting me to visit your city, as its guest, on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of the illustrious Calhoun.

I thank you most cordially for the honour you have done me and greatly regret that the state of my health admonishes me that it is too long a journey for me to undertake at my time of life and in the present state of my health. Thanking you for the very kind and courteous manner in which you have conveyed to me the invitation, and with warm wishes for the welfare of the people of the city, and for yourself personally, I am, dear sir,

Very truly, yours,

W. W. CORCORAN.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1887.

Mrs. M. A. Snowden, Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR MADAME—I have received your favour of the 18th, and appreciate your kind invitation, but the state of my health is such that I have been compelled to abandon the trip, and doing myself the great pleasure I had anticipated ; and I have so informed Mr. Courtenay in response to his very cordial invitation to become the guest of the city. Neither of my grand-children are at home, two of them being at Aiken and the other at college. Greatly regretting my inability to be present on the interesting occasion, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

W. W. CORCORAN.

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1887.

Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, Charleston, S. C. :

MY DEAR SIR—I have to confirm my dispatch of the 23d inst., P. M., that “ Though in my ordinary health, I am advised by my physician and by all my friends that it would be imprudent for me to make a fatiguing journey to Charleston. I yield to their ad-

vice most reluctantly, and, in foregoing my promised visit, I beg leave to renew to you and to the people of Charleston my profound thanks for the courtesy with which I have been honored;" and I beg again to renew the expression of my great regret and disappointment in being unable to join you in the interesting ceremonies of the occasion. But my general inability to undergo fatigue admonishes me to forego the great pleasure I anticipated and abide by the advice of my medical adviser, seconded by all my friends; and I avail myself of the only pleasure that is left me, to repeat my profound sensibility of the honor you have done me, and of my wishes for the welfare of your people.

I have the honor to remain,

Very truly, yours,

W. W. CORCORAN.

WASHINGTON, May 2, 1887.

Dear Mrs. Snowden:

I have your favor of the 28th of April, with the beautiful badge intended for me, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument. You could not have been more disappointed than I was in not being able to be present, but there was no hope for it.

Please accept my thanks for the badge, which I will keep as a souvenir, while I remain, with very kind regards,

Yours truly,

W. W. CORCORAN.

Mrs. M. A. Snowden, Charleston, S. C.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, }
90 MARLBOROUGH STREET, April 14, 1887. }

Mrs. George Robertson, President:

MY DEAR MADAME—I am greatly honored by the invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, and I regret sincerely that it will not be in my power to be with them on the 26th instant. It would afford me real pleasure to witness the unveiling of a statue of the illustrious statesman of the South,

whom it was my privilege to know personally at Washington, and for whose memory I have always cherished a warm regard and respect.

Most gladly would I pay renewed homage to the unsullied purity of his private life, the inflexible integrity of his public career, and the unsurpassed ability which he displayed in every department of our Federal Government.

Accept, dear Madame, for yourself and the ladies associated with you, my most grateful acknowledgments, and believe me,

Respectfully and truly yours,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

STUYVESANT SQUARE, N. W. CORNER 17TH STREET, }
NEW YORK, April 21, 1887. }

To the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, S. C.:

I regret my inability to accept the invitation with which you have honored me, to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of your monument to Calhoun, on the 26th inst.

If high intellectual gifts, if spotless purity in both public and private life, if the earnest following of the honest convictions of one's mind, if great public services, entitled a man to have his name, his fame and his memory perpetuated to future ages, by monuments and symbols, unquestionably Mr. Calhoun is eminently thus entitled.

During a long and active life; amid fierce differences of thought on questions of grave and of burning interest, his strong views were never withheld, nor were the honesty and sincerity of his convictions ever questioned, and the widest dissent from his opinions was ever attended with the knowledge of the sincerity and the purity in which they were entertained, and with an appreciation of the force, with which they were maintained.

Your invitation gives me the welcome opportunity to congratulate you on the completion of your beautiful tribute to the memory of a great man; and to express my appreciation, (amid many differences of views on some public questions,) of the high

integrity, and great public services; and my admiration of the lofty genius of Mr. Calhoun.

I have the honour to be, ladies,

Your very obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.

LAW OFFICE OF W. W. HARLLEE, }
MARION, S. C., April 20, 1887. }

Dear Mrs. Snowden:

I beg leave to acknowledge with thanks and gratification the invitation of your association, to attend the ceremonies of the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, on 26th inst. Nothing could afford me more pleasure than to be a living witness to the honors shown to the great statesman and patriot, whom I personally knew well, and whose counsels and teachings in social converse, and written communications, which I yet treasure, have had, I trust, a proper influence in my public life. *Men* may talk, and exalt the virtues of Mr. Calhoun, but it has been the patient, unwearying and ceaseless energy of our noble women of the State, which gives the enduring evidence of their appreciation to the pure and spotless character of her beloved and gifted son.

Future history, if impartial, will place the women of South Carolina at the front rank of all civilization, yet published or known. The trials which they, in common with their Southern sisters, endured in the troublous times, now passing away, with their unconquerable heroism and pride, can but place them the equals, if not the superiors, of the mother of the Gracchi.

And you my esteemed and valued friend, "*plenteous in good works*," should rank as a shining star, in the ovations which will become the historic tribute to the noble, the good, and generous self-devotion of the patriot woman.

With my best wishes for the success, now assured, of your undertaking. I am, respectfully and truly,

Your obedient servant,

W. W. HARLLEE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1887.

Dear Mrs. Snowden:

I thank you with all my heart for the beautiful card which tells me that I am remembered in the festivities and joys of your people.

My heart will be with you on that day, and may the blessing of the good Lord and Father of us all be with you as well.

Yours lovingly, and always,

CLARA BARTON,
President Am. Nat. Red Cross.

ST. CHARLES HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

To the Ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association:

Mrs. Albert Sidney Johnston sends her thanks to the Ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association, for their kind invitation, and regrets the impossibility to be with them on the 26th of April, when Carolina will pay tribute to the talents, worth and greatness of her favorite son, the Orator and Statesman, whom the whole South takes pride.

The ladies will please accept Mrs. Johnston's congratulations upon the event. Very respectfully,

ELIZA GRIFFIN JOHNSTON.

The MISSES SLOMAN return their sincere and heartfelt thanks to the Ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association, for their kind invitation for the unveiling of the monument. They regret exceedingly that it is not in their power to be present on the occasion, but although absent, will rejoice with them at the completion of their noble enterprise, and in the words of the poet exclaim:—

“The shaft is up, with prayer on high,
Let all rejoice who can,
His name's immortal. It cannot die,
While there's gratitude in man.”

25 W. 18th St., New York City, }
April 21, 1887. }

TULANE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, }
 NEW ORLEANS, April 17, 1887. }

Col. Henry E. Young, Chairman Committee, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR:—Permit me to return to you my sincere thanks for your polite invitation to attend the unveiling of the statue of Calhoun.

I regret that my engagements will prevent my attendance. There is no man in American history whom I would more rejoice to honor. The severe simplicity of his character, the inexorable accuracy of logic and the undefiled purity of his patriotism constitute him the very ideal of a statesman. I claim a part in the heritage he has left us, for the fundamental principles of his constitutional theory, however varied or modified by time and altered circumstances, must remain as the eternal foundation of all true Federal Republican Government.

The monument to Calhoun is not only a noble memorial to a great and pure man, but a perpetual evidence of the fidelity to principle of our people.

I have the honor to remain, my dear sir,

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, }
 LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA, April 9, 1887. }

Mrs. Joseph Blackman, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR MADAME—Gen. Custis Lee, being unable to write, owing to a disabled hand, desires me to acknowledge your invitation for the 26th instant, but regrets that he will be unable to attend the unveiling ceremonies, his health and duties preventing. Miss Mary Lee is, at present, abroad, and the invitation to her will be forwarded at the first opportunity.

Very respectfully,

W. C. LUDWIG, *Private Secretary.*

COLUMBIA, April 14, 1887.

The Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association:

LADIES—Your invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of your monument to Calhoun has been received.

Brought up, politically, at the feet of Gamaliel, it is meet that I should join in doing honor to the memory of the greatest expounder of the Constitution of the United States, as it was handed down by the fathers.

If a recent sickness does not prevent, I shall, with pleasure, be present to witness the completion of your noble and patriotic work. I have the honor to be, ladies,

Yours, very truly,

M. L. BONHAM.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 9, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument on the 26th instant, and to say it would give me a great deal of pleasure if I could accept it. The occasion is one of great interest and I am glad the Association has been so successful in carrying out its plans. The conditions of the public business, however, compel me to decline all invitations of this kind, so that I regret to say I cannot be present on this occasion.

With kindest wishes for the Association and thanks for the courtesy shown me,

I am, yours truly,

A. H. EARLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }
WASHINGTON, April 19, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Chairman, &c. :

MY DEAR SIR—I am sorry that I must decline the invitation, which I have received, to be present at the unveiling of the monument erected to the memory of John C. Calhoun, on the 26th instant.

The ladies of the Monument Association have good reason for pride and congratulation in the complete success of their efforts to fittingly commemorate the virtues and the services of their loved and honored son of South Carolina.

I believe it would be well if all he did, and even all he believed and taught, and all his aspirations for the welfare and prosperity of our Republic, were better known and understood. If this were so, much would be found to enlighten and encourage those charged with public duty, and much to stimulate patriotic enthusiasm.

The ceremonies attending the unveiling of the monument erected by his ardent admirers in the State which bears the impress of his renown, should furnish an occasion for such an instructive illustration of his character as shall inspire in the minds of all his countrymen, genuine respect and admiration for his courage and self-abnegation, toleration when approval of his opinions is withheld, and universal pride in the greatness of this illustrious American.

Yours, very truly,
GROVER CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1887.

H. E. Young, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—I am indebted for your courteous note of the 4th instant, and the invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, with which I am honored, to be present in Charleston, on the 26th instant, at the unveiling of the monument of that great American statesman, John C. Calhoun.

The duties that surround me will not allow me to absent myself from Washington, and with sincere regret I am compelled to forego the pleasure of being present on that interesting occasion.

The erection of the monument is an act of patriotic gratitude, and cannot fail importantly to impress upon this and successive generations the power of art to portray and perpetuate virtuous humanity as exhibited in the moral and intellectual majesty of the great Carolinian.

So long as the pure name and white fame of Mr. Calhoun shall be cherished in the hearts of our people, unscrupulous ambition and unworthy political methods will be rebuked, and the public conscience strengthened in admiration of that home-

bred integrity, simple and lucid wisdom and lofty personal honour, of which he was so noble a type and exemplar.

The regret for my absence is increased by the deprivation of listening to the orator happily selected for the impressive occasion—my friend and colleague, Mr. Lamar—whose affinity to the subject of his oration guarantees its truthfulness and justice, and whose eloquence secures its embalmment in words worthy of Mr. Calhoun and himself.

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

T. F. BAYARD.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1887. }

MY DEAR SIR—Enclosed you will find my formal acceptance of the invitation of the Calhoun Monument Association to attend the unveiling ceremonies on the 26th instant. I have delayed my answer until now because it has been impossible for me to determine whether or not I could gratify my very strong desire to accept. I hope that my apology will be accepted by the ladies of the Association.

Governor Thompson has duly notified your committee by telegraph of my intention to be present on the 26th.

Yours respectfully,

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. H. E. Young.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON.

Mr. Charles S. Fairchild accepts with pleasure the polite invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of their monument to Calhoun on April 26th, 1887.

Washington, D. C., April 22, 1887.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, }
WASHINGTON, April 7, 1887. }

MY DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of the invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association of Charleston to attend the un-

veiling of the monument erected by them to the memory of Mr. Calhoun, which takes place in your city on the 26th instant.

It would give me pleasure to be present upon such occasion, but my engagements are so pressing at the Capital that I find it will be impossible for me to attend, and I beg that you will convey to the Association my regrets at being unable to witness the ceremony of the dedication of the monument which will be as lasting as the name and fame of South Carolina's most distinguished son.

Very truly, yours,

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Mr. Henry E. Young, Chairman Auxiliary Committee, Charleston, S. C. :

NAVY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, }
WASHINGTON, April 9, 1887. }

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, at Charleston, S. C., on Tuesday, April 26th, 1887, and regret my engagements are such that I shall not be able to accept.

Very truly, yours,

W. C. WHITNEY.

Mr. Henry E. Young, Chairman. &c.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, }
WASHINGTON, April 23, 1887. }

Mrs. George Robertson, President :

DEAR MADAME—I regret that important public duties which will detain me here will prevent my acceptance of the invitation to be present on the 26th instant, at the unveiling of the statue of John C. Calhoun. If it were possible for me to attend it would give me sincere pleasure to witness the ceremonies which will make the consummation of the great work which will stand for all time to commemorate the virtues of the patriot

and statesman, as well as the zeal and devotion of the noble women to whom South Carolina is indebted for this memorial of her most illustrious son.

I have the honor to be, dear Madame,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HUGH S. THOMPSON.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, }
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, COLUMBIA, April 6, 1887. }

Hon. Henry E. Young, Chairman Auxiliary Committee, Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4th, enclosing the request of “The Ladies’ Calhoun Monument Association” that I should be present at the unveiling ceremonies of their monument to Calhoun, on April 26th, 1887.

It will give me great pleasure to attend on an occasion of such interest and importance both to the State and City of Charleston, and to aid in doing honor to Carolina’s greatest statesman.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. P. RICHARDSON.

UNITED STATES COURTS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA, }
CHARLESTON, S. C., April 21, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Chairman Calhoun Monument Association :

MY DEAR SIR—It will give me much pleasure in accepting the invitation, with which you have honored me, to attend the ceremony of unveiling the statue of Mr. Calhoun on the 26th instant.

Yours, very truly,

CHARLES H. SIMONTON.

COLUMBIA, April 7, 1887.

Col. H. E. Young, Charleston :

MY DEAR COL.—Please accept my sincere thanks for the in

vitations just received. I will take great pleasure in handing one each to my brothers of the Bench.

I cannot say now whether we will adjourn and attend or not. I shall favor it.

I think Mr. Calhoun was the greatest inspired man that ever lived, and we Carolinians should never forget him.

Very respectfully,

W. D. SIMPSON.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE,
COLUMBIA, S. C., April 11, 1887. }

*To Hon. H. E. Young, Chairman Auxiliary Committee,
Charleston, S. C. :*

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge your invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument on the 26th instant, for which please accept my thanks.

To witness an event of so much interest—one which not only does honor to the memory of Carolina's great statesman, but is alike honorable to our people—would give me much pleasure, but I fear that I will not be able to be present.

Trusting that you may have a glorious time and that the monument may for all time to come stimulate the boys and young men of South Carolina to emulate the virtues of the great statesman.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

W. Z. LEITNER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER-GENERAL,
COLUMBIA, S. C., April 11, 1887. }

*Col. Henry E. Young, Chairman Gentlemen Auxiliary Committee,
Charleston, S. C. :*

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of an invitation to be present at the unveiling of the monument erected by the ladies of Carolina to the memory of John C. Calhoun.

If nothing unforeseen prevents, I shall certainly attend, for having, as a cadet, participated in the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of this great work, nearly thirty years ago, it will give me peculiar pleasure to witness its completion.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. E. STONEY,
Comptroller-General.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL, }
COLUMBIA, S. C., April 8, 1887. }

Hon. Henry E. Young, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—Your letter of 4th April, containing an invitation to me officially, and through me to the military of the State to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, was forwarded to me from Columbia. I will take immediate steps to make the invitation known to the military. And have already directed that those organizations which contemplate going, shall send to you and Gen. Huguenin, at the earliest moment, notice of their intention.

Please express to the Association my appreciation of their courtesy to me officially, and through me to the military of the State.

Very respectfully,

M. L. BONHAM, JR.,
A. & I. G.

ORANGEBURG, S. C., April 14, 1887.

Col. Henry E. Young, Chairman Gentlemen Auxiliary Committee Calhoun Monument Association:

MY DEAR SIR—The invitation to attend the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument reached my home during my absence from the State. On my return, permit me to express the pleasure I feel in accepting it.

In these days of modern politics, it is as salutary, as it is refreshing, to return to the careful study of those great principles upon which our Federal Government rests, as a foundation,

and to join in honor to the great South Carolinian, who was the faithful expounder and stalwart defender of the constitution, as it was framed by the Fathers.

I remain, dear sir,

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL DIBBLE.

SOUTH CAROLINA MILITARY ACADEMY, }
 OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT AT THE CITADEL, }
 CHARLESTON, S. C., April 6, 1887. }

Mr. H. E. Young, Chairman, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—Your esteemed favor of the 14 inst., conveying to the officers and cadets of the South Carolina Military Academy, the invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to attend the unveiling ceremonies of their monument to Calhoun, on Tuesday, the 26th inst., at 10 o'clock A. M., has been received.

On behalf of the officers and cadets of the Academy, I accept the invitation, and beg you to convey to the ladies of the association our high appreciation of their kindness.

Respectfully,

GEORGE D. JOHNSTON,

Superintendent.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, }
 EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
 CONCORD, April 7, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR—I regret that circumstances will prevent me from being present at the ceremonies of the unveiling of the monument to Calhoun on the 26th instant, to which the ladies of Charleston have so kindly invited me.

The name and fame of John C. Calhoun will live longer than any monument erected to his memory by human hands.

Many thanks for the courtesy of the invitation.

Very truly yours,

MOODY CURRIER.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
 EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
 ALBANY, April 7, 1887. }

DEAR SIR—I am desired by Governor Hill to acknowledge and thank you for the cordial invitation extended on behalf of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association of Charleston, requesting his presence at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument on April 26th.

Much as it would afford the Governor pleasure to accept the courteous invitation thus extended, he regrets that his other engagements are such that it will be impossible for him to do so.

I am, very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM G. RICE,
Private Secretary.

Henry E. Young, Esq., Chairman, &c., Charleston, S. C.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, }
 EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
 LINCOLN, April 8th, 1887. }

Mr. H. E. Young, Chairman Committee Ladies' Calhoun Monument:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind invitation to attend the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument. In reply I regret to say that official duties here will prevent my acceptance of the same, and the great distance between Nebraska and Charleston will probably prevent the attendance of a representative from this State. Thanking you for your invitation, I remain,

Very truly yours,

JOHN M. THAYER,
Governor.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, }
 GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, }
 RICHMOND, VA., April 8, 1887. }

Col. H. E. Young, Charleston, S. C.:

MY DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the monument to Mr. Calhoun on the 26th inst.

Please be kind enough to tender to the Ladies' Association my thanks for the invitation, and say that I greatly regret that the pressure of my official duties here will prevent my attendance.

If it were possible I should like to testify my respect to the memory of so distinguished a patriot and eminent statesman.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

FITZHUGH LEE.

STATE OF KANSAS, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
TOPEKA, April 8, 1887. }

Hon. H. E. Young, Chairman :

MY DEAR SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 4th inst., inviting me to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, at Charleston.

Please accept, and convey to the Committee you represent, assurances of my profound appreciation of the great honor done me by this invitation, and of my regrets that I am unable, because of a previous engagement for the date named, to be present. I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN A. MARTIN.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
BOSTON, April 8, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Esq., Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—I have your favor of the 4th instant, enclosing a formal invitation to be present in your city on April 26th at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, which has been erected by the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association.

Permit me to say in reply, that I should be much pleased if I could visit Charleston at the time and for the purpose named, but the Legislature of this Commonwealth will still be in session, and attendance upon that, together with my other official duties, will prevent my doing so. Nor shall I find it convenient to be formally represented.

Thanking you for the courtesy extended to me, and hoping that the event may be highly enjoyable and wholly successful, I am, yours, very respectfully,
 OLIVER AMES.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF LOUISIANA, }
 BATON ROUGE, April 9, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Esq., Chairman Auxiliary Committee Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, S. C.:

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 2nd, enclosing an invitation to attend the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument at Charleston on the 26th inst. I regret that my engagements are such as to prevent my acceptance. It would have given me great pleasure to join the citizens of South Carolina in paying tribute to the memory of that patriot statesman whose name is indissolubly blended with the political history of your State and of the whole Republic—one whose pure character, blameless life, lofty aims, profound learning and transcendent mental prowess will command the admiration of the noble, the just and the wise, always and in all lands.

At the request of the association, as communicated by you, to send some representative, I have this day requested General G. T. Beauregard to attend the ceremonies on behalf of Louisiana, as I know no one more worthy to represent the State of his adoption nor one who will be more cordially welcomed in his native State.*

Be pleased to present to the association assurance of my high esteem.

Respectfully yours,

S. D. McENERY,
Governor of Louisiana.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
 PROVIDENCE, April 11, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Esq., Chairman Auxiliary Committee, Charleston, South Carolina:

DEAR SIR—I regret extremely that it is quite out of my power to accept the kind invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monu-

*Gen. G. T. Beauregard is a native of Louisiana.

ment Association to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of their monument to Calhoun, to take place at Charleston, South Carolina, on Tuesday, April 26th, 1887. Believe me,

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE P. WHETMORE,
Governor.

STATE OF FLORIDA, }
EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
April 11, 1887. }

Maj. H. E. Young, Charleston, S. C. :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 4th instant, inclosing an invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument. Permit me to express to you and through you to the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association my grateful appreciation of the hope so courteously expressed by you that I should be able. I regret that I will not be able because our Legislature being in session I shall be kept in the State at the time of the interesting ceremonies.

I am well pleased, however, to avail myself of the kind permission granted for me to designate a representative to attend in my stead, and have sent the card of invitation to Capt. Frank P. Fleming, of Jacksonville, who I trust will be able to attend.

Very truly yours,

ED. A. PERRY.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., April 21, 1887.

Maj. H. E. Young, Chief Marshal, &c., Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR SIR—Governor E. A. Perry, of our State, being prevented from accepting in person the invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, to attend the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, owing to the fact that the Legislature is in session, and authorized by your note, has requested me to represent him on that occasion.

From the Governor's note of request to me, I fear that he mistook the signature to your note accompanying the invitation, and that his letter of acknowledgment and notification of my appointment has gone to a wrong address.

This is my excuse for writing you to say that I hope to be present on the occasion as Governor Perry's representative, arriving in your city not later than Monday night.

Very respectfully yours,
F. P. FLEMING.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
FRANKFORT, April 11, 1887. }

DEAR SIR—I would be glad to avail myself of the opportunity to testify my high appreciation of the character and public services of John C. Calhoun—the grandest and purest of all the long list of illustrious statesmen—by my presence at the unveiling of the monument erected to his memory, but regret that official engagements place it out of my power to do so.

With sincere thanks for your courteous invitation,
I am, very respectfully,
J. PROCTOR KNOTT.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
RALEIGH, April 12, 1887. }

Henry E. Young, Chairman, &c. :

DEAR SIR—Governor Scales instructs me to thank you for an invitation to attend the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument, April 26th instant, at Charleston, and to say that he deeply regrets his inability to attend.

Very respectfully,
CHARLES H. ARMFIELD,
Private Secretary.

STATE OF OREGON, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
SALEM, April 12, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Charleston, S. C. :

MY DEAR SIR—I beg leave to express my regrets at not being able to comply with your kind invitation to be present at the

unveiling of the Calhoun Monument in your city on the 26th instant.

The purity of his personal character, his stainless reputation maintained throughout a long public career, his acknowledged ability and unselfish patriotism, and the undoubted honesty and remarkable earnestness of his political convictions, stamped John C. Calhoun as one of the foremost men of his age and of this country, and deserve, as they now are securing, from his native State, the slight testimonial it now proposes to make to the memory of its most distinguished son.

Very respectfully,
SYLVESTER PENNOYER.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, April 12, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—The Governor instructs me to own receipt of and thank you for your favor of the 14th instant, together with invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument. The Governor much regrets that other engagements will compel him to forego the very great pleasure of being present.

Yours, very truly,
J. K. JACKSON,
Private Secretary.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA, }
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, }
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA, April 13, 1887. }

SIR—Be kind enough to convey to the "Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association" my thanks for their invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the monument, Tuesday, April 26th, 1887. I sincerely regret, owing to public duties here, my inability to be present.

South Carolina honors herself in erecting a monument in commemoration of the life services of one of her most distinguished sons. John Caldwell Calhoun's name is inseparably connected with the history, not only of South Carolina, but of

the United States. As a Member of Congress, Secretary of War, Vice-President and United States Senator his record was "the indisputable basis of all high character, unspotted integrity and honor unimpeachable."

Mr. Webster only rendered justice in his estimate of his character when, announcing his death, in the United States Senate, he said, "firm in his purposes, patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles he espoused and in the measures he defended, I do not believe that, aside from his large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the Republic, he had a selfish motive or a selfish feeling."

What higher encomium could be passed on any statesman ?

I am, sir, very respectfully, yours,

C. MEYER ZULICK.

Hon. Henry E. Young, Chairman, &c., Charleston, S. C.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
HARTFORD, April 13, 1887. }

MY DEAR SIR—Governor Lounsbury directs me to express to you and the Association his sincere thanks for the kind invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremony of the Calhoun Monument, and that he regrets very much the existence of other engagements which will prevent the pleasure of an acceptance.

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE P. McLEAN,

Private Secretary.

To H. E. Young.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
TRENTON, April, 13, 1887. }

Hon. H. E. Young, Chairman:

DEAR SIR—I very much regret that my public duties will prevent my being present at the unveiling ceremonies of the monument to the memory of John C. Calhoun, at Charleston, on

Tuesday, April 26th, 1887, and in accordance with your suggestion, I have requested William J. DeTreville, Esq., of Orangeburg, S. C., to represent me on that occasion.

I am, very truly yours,

ROBERT. S. GREEN.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, }
 EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
 HARRISBURG, April 14, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Chairman Gentlemen's Auxiliary Committee of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, South Carolina:

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 4th instant, inclosing the formal invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument, erected by the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association at Marion Square, Charleston, S. C., on the 26th April, has been received. I am honored by the invitation, and would be greatly pleased to attend the interesting ceremonies connected with the occasion, did public duties permit. I am, however, so constantly engaged during the session of the Legislature that it will be impossible for me to be absent at the time referred to.

Please convey to your committee, and accept for yourself, my grateful thanks for the honor conferred by the invitation, and believe me,

Very cordially yours,

JAMES A. BEAVER.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
 MICHIGAN, }
 LANSING, April 15, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Chairman Gentlemen's Auxiliary Committee, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—Your communication of April 4th, conveying to me an invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Calhoun Monument in your city on the 26th day of April, at hand. Permit me in reply to say that the honor you would confer will necessarily call for my regrets instead of my presence upon that occasion. My time is so occupied with official business here that

it will be impossible for me to spare the time necessary to make a visit to your State.

Believing that my excuse will be received in the good faith in which it is offered, I am,

Respectfully yours,

C. G. LUCE,
Governor.

STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, }
INDIANAPOLIS, April 19, 1887. }

*Hon. Henry E. Young, Chairman of the Auxiliary Committee
the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, S. C.:*

MY DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours enclosing an invitation from the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to be present at the unveiling of the monument in the City of Charleston, April 26th, 1887.

I regret that official engagements prevent me from being present. The ladies composing the Calhoun Monument Association, as well as the entire people of South Carolina, honor themselves and their State in erecting a monument in commemoration of one of her most gifted sons. One who filled a position in nearly every department of the Federal Government, having risen from an humble position in life to the second office within the gift of his countrymen, fully exemplifies the possibilities of American citizenship.

He discharged the duties of every public station to which he was called with strict fidelity, and gave to their discharge a most laborious attention and profound thought, and however much other statesmen of his time differed with him on questions of public policy, none ever doubted his sincerity and patriotic desire as he saw and understood the situation.

His mind was a wonderful storehouse of learning and information. His advocacy of public measures was always characterized by strong, concise, aggressive reasoning, and impressed with an eloquence, though generally unimpassioned and without attempt at ornament, yet earnest, persuasive and clothed with great dignity of manner.



He was on the stage of political action in the period of our country's history that, perhaps, produced our greatest statesmen; was contemporaneous with Webster, Clay, Benton and others, and in ability was their peer, and with them, has left his name on the imperishable records of our country's history. As a statesman, he may have made mistakes, but let those only who have made none dare to point them out.

He lived a life of unspotted integrity, and left behind him a public and a private character of unimpeachable honor.

When the mothers and daughters of South Carolina shall unveil the structure, the work of their creation, reared to the memory of South Carolina's most illustrious son, it can be truly said by all who may behold it, that in the death of him whose name it commemorates, a great man fell.

It is my earnest wish that the admirable arrangements for the unveiling ceremonies may have a successful termination, and the beautiful monument may ever remain the pride of the people of your State and bear enduring testimony to the faithful labors of the ladies of South Carolina to perpetuate the memory of him, who, in his lifetime, was her most distinguished citizen.

With great respect, truly yours,

ISAAC P. GRAY.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
JACKSON, MISS., April 19, 1887. }

Hon. Henry E. Young, Chairman, &c., Charleston, S. C. :

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor, enclosing an invitation to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument on the 26th instant. It would give me more pleasure than I can express to join in paying honor to the memory of the distinguished statesman whose name fills so large a space in American history. Official engagements, however, will prevent my acceptance. In compliance with your communication to have a representative upon the occasion, I have requested Hon. Charles E. Hooker, member elect of Congress to be present on behalf of Mississippi, and have

assured him of a warm and cordial welcome at the hands of the patriotic people of his native State.

Thanking the Association for the honor paid me,

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT LOWRY.

NEW ORLEANS, April 10th, 1887.

Dear Madam:

I am much obliged to the ladies of your Association for their kind invitation to the unveiling, on the 26th inst., of the monument to South Carolina's great orator, statesman and patriot, John C. Calhoun.

I regret very much that my engagements here at that time, and the dangerous illness of a member of my family, will deprive me of the pleasure and honor of participating in the ceremonies.

I remain, yours very truly,

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Mrs. Joseph Blackman, Corresponding Secretary Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, S. C.

CITY OF CHARLESTON,)
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,)
April 16, 1887.)

To the Officers and Directresses of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association:

LADIES—I would respectfully inform you that your invitation to the City Council to be present at the unveiling ceremonies of the Calhoun Monument, Marion Square, on Tuesday, April 26th, was presented to the City Council on the 12th instant, and was unanimously accepted.

With great respect,

W. W. SIMONS,

Clerk of Council.

OFFICE CLERK AND TREASURER,
CITY OF WILMINGTON, N. C., }
April 19, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR—At a meeting of the Board of Aldermen held on the 13th instant, the Mayor presented an invitation of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to attend the unveiling of the monument on the 26th instant, the following action was had :

Resolved. That this Board gratefully acknowledge the invitation referred to, and accept it as renewed evidence of the kindly feelings of sympathy which have so long existed between the people of Charleston and Wilmington.

Resolved. That this Board, and the people of Wilmington, cordially sympathize with and applaud the patriotic and noble spirit of the ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association which has inspired them in their sacred work.

Resolved. That a copy of these Resolutions be forwarded by the Clerk and Treasurer to the officers of the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association.

Very respectfully,
WILLIAM A. WILSON,
Clerk and Treasurer.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
FREDERICKSBURG, VA., }
April 20, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Chairman Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association, Charleston, S. C.:

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge your kindly letter of the 7th inst., enclosing invitation from the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to the ceremonies of the unveiling of the monument to Mr. Calhoun on the 26th inst., and herewith enclose a copy of the resolutions responding to the invitation.

Be assured that the memory of Mr. Calhoun, the great statesman and pure patriot is yet fragrant among us, as of all true Virginians, and will ever be held in highest honor by us. We cordially congratulate the ladies on the completion of the fitting honor to the great and good man.

Very respectfully,
J. HAZARD,
Mayor.

OFFICE CLERK OF COUNCIL,
PETERSBURG, VA., April 20, 1887. }

Hon. T. J. Janatt, Mayor of Petersburg, Va. :

DEAR SIR—At a meeting of the Common Council of the City of Petersburg, held April 19th, 1887, the following resolutions were adopted :

WHEREAS, the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association of South Carolina have extended to the Mayor and Common Council of the city of Petersburg, an invitation to be present in the City of Charleston on the 26th day of April, 1887, at the unveiling ceremonies of their monument to John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's distinguished son; therefore

1. *Be it resolved*, By the Common Council that this body regrets its inability to accept the invitation so extended, to take part with others in honoring the memory of that eminent and pure American patriot.

2. That the Hon. F. J. Janatt, the Mayor of this city, be requested to furnish a copy of these resolutions to the Secretary of said association.

Yours respectfully,

F. R. RUSSELL,
Clerk Council.

OFFICE OF MAYOR,
PETERSBURG, VA., April 22, 1887. }

H. E. Young, Esq., Chairman, &c., Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association :

DEAR SIR—At a meeting of our Common Council held on the 19th inst., the enclosed resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the Mayor of the city requested to furnish a copy of them through you to the ladies of the Calhoun Monument Association.

In accordance with the request of the Council I enclose, with much pleasure, the resolutions as passed, with the regret that I cannot be present on account of sickness which has confined me to my room and bed since the middle of last January. It would afford me so much pleasure to visit Charleston then, and see whether I could meet any of the good and great men of South Carolina, whose acquaintance I made at Janatt's Hotel, while proprietor, from the 1st of January, 1858, until January, 1862. I knew Mr. Calhoun, Butler, Keitt, Rhett, McQueen and others. I became acquainted with them by seeing them on their way to

the Virginia Springs in the summer, or on their way to Washington to attend the meeting of Congress. I very often sigh and wish we had a Calhoun and a Clay and others of those days now, but those good men and times have passed away, and I too shall soon be gone, being in my seventieth year.

Hoping that the ladies (God bless them), and the gentlemen interested with them, may enjoy every pleasure and realize their fullest expectations on that occasion, I remain,

Yours very truly,

T. J. JANATT,
Mayor Petersburg, Va.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
RICHMOND, VA., April 21, 1887. }

Mr. Henry E. Young, Chairman Gentlemen's Auxiliary Committee, &c. :

DEAR SIR—Your letter of April 7th, enclosing an invitation from the Ladies' Calhoun Monument Association to the Board of Aldermen of this city, requesting their presence at the ceremonies attending upon the unveiling of the monument to Mr. Calhoun has been received. I am instructed to return the sincere thanks of the Board for the very courteous invitation and convey their regrets at not being able to accept the same.

Very respectfully,

BEN. T. AUGUST,
Clerk Board of Aldermen.

... ON THE ...

E340
.C2L3

36665

2-10

