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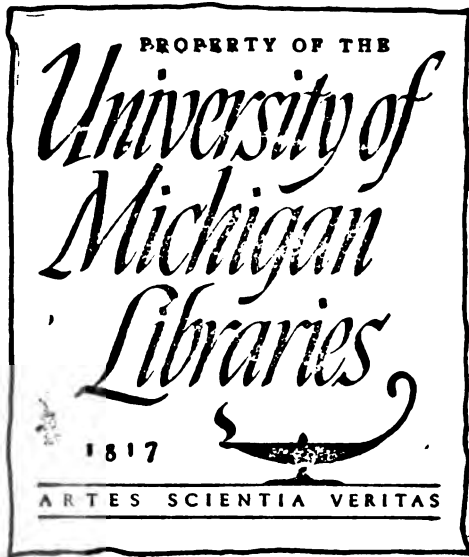
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THE LIFE

OF

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

BY

CHARLES W. UPHAM.

Pickering, Timothy

VOLUME IV.

BOSTON:

LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.

1873.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1873, by
HENRY PICKERING,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.

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LIFE

OF

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

CHAPTER I.

Colonel Pickering prepares to leave Philadelphia. — Resolves to become a first Settler in the Woods. — Correspondence with Friends on the Occasion. — Sets out for the Wilderness. — Makes a Clearing. — Builds a Cabin. — At the end of the Season visits his Relatives in Massachusetts. — Sells a large Part of his Land. — Returns to his Settlement. — Establishes a Son upon it. — Removes with his Family to Massachusetts.

1800, 1801.

DR. JACOB HALL kept a select boarding-school for boys in Harford County, Maryland. On the 20th of May, 1800, Colonel Pickering wrote to him as follows: —

“PHILADELPHIA.

“DEAR SIR,

“You will have seen that I am no longer a public officer. No special reason for my removal has been assigned; nor have I inquired for any. It will do me no harm, though it occasions a temporary embarrassment. Having expended my salary, as it became due, I have nothing on hand. This obliges me to withdraw my son from your school. You will have the goodness to settle my account to the day William can get a passage in the stage, pay yourself out of the money in your hands, and give the residue to him. In my letter by William I mentioned an error in your statement of ten shillings against yourself; so the balance, then in your hands, was £15 5s. 9d., instead of £15 15s. 9d. I wish William to get home by next Tuesday, if convenient, and pray you to take the trouble to see that he brings with him all his books and clothes. I shall set off to-morrow morning for the coun-

try, to find a residence for my family. I shall aim to fix them where there is a school. There I shall leave them, and proceed to the woods, where I have new lands (near to actual settlements), and commence an improvement. By the sale of some lots, I hope, in the course of a year, to procure a little *money* and *labor* for improving my own. This would be a dreary prospect to many; but to me it has no terrors. If I had done this eight years ago, when I came into office, I should now have a capital farm, some lots improving for my children, and others sold to settlers, whose periodical payments would have made me comfortable. At present, all my land is unproductive. It is a source of expense by taxes. Nevertheless, I do not regret having been in office. In three different stations which I have held in the last eight years, I have acquired some knowledge and much useful experience; and, with a great deal of labor and vexation, by evil report and good report, I hope I have done some good. In every change of situation through life, I have found it not more my duty than my disposition, in whatever state I was, therewith to be content.

“I sincerely wish you success and satisfaction in your useful occupation, and affectionately bid you farewell.”

Dr. Hall replied as follows: —

“CHRISTOPHER’S CAMP, May 26th, 1800.

“DEAR SIR,

“Your affectionate and affecting letter of the 20th inst. I received the 23d, and expect this will be handed to you by William Pickering on your return from the country. William brings with him his books and clothes, and £6 2s. 5d., the balance of his bill, for which he has given a receipt, and we part with *mutual regret*. William is very dear to me. I love him for his innocence and unaffected simplicity. His deportment has always been modest and amiable; and no doubt remains to me that, if you find a preceptor for him who will study his temper, and is gentle, patient, and apt to teach, he will become a good and useful man.

“Please to accept the return of a grateful heart for your friendship and encouragement; and allow me to assure you that my prayers for your spiritual and temporal prosperity

will follow you to the spot in the woods that you shall *brighten* with your *labor*, and *bless* with your *presence*. Nothing but a *clear conscience* and firm reliance on that Being who presides over all, who rides in the *whirlwind* and directs the *storm*, can inspire tranquillity in the day of trial. A brave and virtuous man, struggling with adversity, is an object which angels must behold with admiration and applause. If you know any way in which I can be further useful to you, please to mention it as a test of *your friendship*. My purse is open. My heart is enlarged. With the most profound respect and esteem, dear Sir, your obliged friend."

The movement Colonel Pickering was about to make is worthy of being particularly described ; and that can best be done by extracts of his correspondence at the time. There is nothing like it in the biography of other persons eminent in American history, and it is only paralleled by what was encountered by the first Colonial immigrants. At his time of life, and after having occupied such stations, in spheres of the highest culture and civilization, for many years unacquainted with personal hardships or physical labor, it required the greatest courage and resolution. When, fourteen years before, he had taken up his abode in Wyoming Valley, — although that country was still, for the most part, an unbroken wilderness, — there had long been scattered over it here and there a population that had subdued the soil in detached localities ; and when he went there, he was provided with comfortable lodgings in a good-sized frame-house. Soon he bought a farm that had been under tillage for many seasons, with meadows, fields, and orchards, upon which industry had been expended by previous owners. He had near neighbors, constituting quite a village, immediately around him. Now he was to go, literally, into the woods, some

miles away from any other settler, where no tree had been felled, and the sound of the axe never heard; to commence life anew, as he truly expressed it, "on bare creation;" to meet the privations and sufferings, and engage in the toils, of opening a wilderness. No one, not conversant with such experiences, can imagine them; but the family and neighborhood traditions of his early New England home enabled him to appreciate them.

The cheerful spirit with which he looked on the prospect; and the firmness, amounting to what was thought obstinacy, with which he adhered to his purpose, against the remonstrances and entreaties of his relatives and friends, and resisted the inducements they pressed upon him, — are alike truly astonishing. The explanation of his course is to be found in the immovable confidence and constantly growing enthusiasm of his convictions as to the ultimate value of the extensive tracts of new and wild lands which were his only property. He had tried commerce and public employments; and the conclusion, in his own mind, was that landed property, and a devotion to its improvement, with the prospective increase of its value, were the only sure reliance for his own independence and that of his children after him. It was this faith that led him to resist all temptation to other and easier pursuits in life, and to turn his back upon opportunities, placed within his reach, of what are considered the most desirable and honorable positions; more than once declining the proffer of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of his native State. In truth, he never sought public office. It was forced upon him from the first, either by considerations of patriotic duty or the necessities of his family. Agriculture always had greater

charms for him than any other occupation ; and his determination, now that he was released from public service, to enjoy and prosecute it to the end of his days, could no longer be controlled.

Letters from George Cabot ; Benjamin Goodhue ; his nephew Samuel P. Gardner ; and many others, — besought him to return to Massachusetts. The following, from his nephew, Timothy Williams, will serve as a specimen of their earnest importunities and appeals : —

“ At SALEM, May 25th, 1800.

“ RESPECTED UNCLE,

“ Yesterday I received your two letters of the 19th of May, and wrote a few lines to acknowledge the receipt of them.

“ When I arrived here, meeting all your sisters (except Wingate, Gool, and Gardner) at Uncle Dodge’s, I communicated the contents of your letters.

“ They had been extremely distressed at your removal from office, — from the inconvenience, not from the dishonor ; and nothing tended to heighten their distress so much as your determination to go to the *wilds of Pennsylvania*.

“ We can think of scarce one argument in favor of it ; our objections to it are very many. Your age, that of my aunt, the tender habits of your family, all forbid it. The labors of Wyoming were too great for you ; your hardships and exposure in a wilderness will be tenfold, without a convenience or comfort of life. One solitary, weary hour would tread on the heels of another : your spirits, great as they are ; your life, finally, we fear, — would sink under the load. You encountered once the savage ferocity of Luzerne insurgents : a fanatic-Democratic incendiary has a torch to light, or a sword to sharpen.

“ In a pecuniary view, we cannot contemplate many advantages. It would be twenty years before forests would become cultivated fields. In that remote region, we cannot conceive that farming will ever be profitable. You may sell land to emigrants : how few will have cash to pay ! You may obtain your price ; but the *credits* you must give must be so distant

as to afford the major part of the settlers time to clear their lands, provide food and accommodations for a numerous family; and, if any surplus then remain, the purchase-money may get into a train of reimbursement. In estimating *wild* lands, our calculations are almost as wild as *they* are. The imagination may dream of golden harvests, but a sober judgment never appreciated them. Experience is in direct contradiction.

“ We have heard of ‘ Cincinnatus returning to the plough.’ Roman virtue requires Roman times. It is not among the smallest of our objections that it would, or might, gratify the malice of your enemies to have you toil in cheerless solitude for a living; bury yourself, family, and talents in a desert! The conscientiousness of a character free even from the suspicion of a vice; innocence and integrity, with a reliance on Providence, — will support you in the most gloomy retirement: you are not used to despond or despair. But your friends, your relations, have not the same courage or firmness. They will despond, despair; they will be made unhappy if you persist in your plan of retirement. In misfortune we only and justly look to our friends and relations for sympathy of feeling, or truth, or sincerity. All others pass by us with indifference or contempt, and let the wound bleed which they might heal.

“ Is nothing due to your native town, State, or country? If age has imprinted some marks on your brow, it has none upon your mind. Your talents need not lie unimproved for a moment. If they are not employed in the high but invidious office of Secretary of State, they may procure you ease and competence in a more humble, not less honorable, station. In a conversation with Mr. Goodhue this morning on this subject, he corroborates the sentiments and wishes of your other friends. He has suggested that you could easily obtain a seat on our Supreme Bench. With this view I shall consult Mr. G. Cabot and Mr. Higginson to-morrow. Perhaps something else may occur when I return to Boston.

“ To convince you, if necessary, of our earnest wishes for your prosperity and happiness, at the request of all your friends, I shall set out next Tuesday morning, accompanied by Mr. Putnam, to meet you in Philadelphia. For the

present, therefore, we entreat you to await our arrival before any thing be finally done. We hope we may not be too late to confer with you, and make some arrangements agreeable to yourself, and calculated to relieve the solicitude of your friends."

Samuel Putnam, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, who accompanied Timothy Williams, had married a niece of Colonel Pickering. Upon reaching Philadelphia, they communicated fully the views of the friends for whom they acted. Colonel Pickering laid before them, in detail, the reasons and considerations that had led to his determination. Whether they were convinced or not by the force and weight of his statements, they saw that they were conclusive in his own mind, and that his purpose could not be overruled. On the 6th of June, Messrs. Putnam and Williams, taking Colonel Pickering's son Henry with them, set out on a visit to Baltimore, the city of Washington, and Mount Vernon. On their return, they took with them to Salem Colonel Pickering's youngest son, Octavius, then near nine years old.

During Mr. Putnam's visit to Philadelphia on this occasion, a gentleman sought an opportunity to speak with him: saying that noticing him to be a friend and guest of Colonel Pickering, he took the liberty of asking him to do him a service; going on to say that, during the war of the Revolution, he had been much employed in connection with the department of the Quartermaster-General, and led to entertain the highest esteem and veneration for the character of Colonel Pickering. Since the war he had been successful, having accumulated a large estate in business, in the successful prosecution of which he was still engaged. He had feared that

Colonel Pickering's sudden removal from office had left him in embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. He requested Mr. Putnam to give his name and address to Colonel Pickering, who perhaps would remember him, and to state to him that he should consider it a favor to be allowed to supply, as a free gift, whatever amount of money Colonel Pickering might need to meet the present emergency of his affairs. Colonel Pickering immediately called at his place of business, and warmly thanked him for the generous proposal; but respectfully declined it, on the ground that, while he had strength and ability to work, he was unwilling to receive gifts; and that, whenever occasion required it, he borrowed money from his relatives in Massachusetts, but always as a strict business transaction, giving what he considered ample security; and he wished still, and always, to do so. This incident led to the pleasantest renewal of an old acquaintance, and an interchange of affectionate civilities.

It is proper to allow Colonel Pickering to explain for himself the motives and views that led him to take a step against which his friends so strongly expostulated. In a letter to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, he says:—

“I am preparing to go into the country with my family, and thence I shall proceed to the woods, where I have new lands, some of which I shall begin to improve; and, in a couple of years, I shall have a hut and provisions for my wife and children. They look on this measure with cheerfulness and content.”

In a letter to Timothy Williams, to which that given on p. 5 was the reply, after alluding to his removal from office, and stating that, though wholly “unexpected,” he was not “unprepared for it,” as he had for some time apprehended the election of Mr. Jefferson, which

event would of course lead to his removal, he says, as follows:—

“I had, therefore, turned my thoughts towards the settlement of some of my new lands, which would thereby be rendered not only productive, but much more valuable. My wife and children are perfectly reconciled to this plan. I shall now prosecute it immediately, in the first place removing my family into the country, to a village about sixty miles from Philadelphia, on the route to one parcel of my land, which is most accessible to New England emigrants, to whom, after selecting a good position for myself, I shall sell the residue in such lots, large or small, as will best accommodate them. This parcel of land lies about north-north-west from Philadelphia, near the line of the State of New York, and within a few miles of a body of settlers, and but two or three miles from some others. I shall leave my wife and young children at the proposed village, where there is a good school, and proceed with Henry to the new land, to which, in a couple of years, I shall be prepared for their removal; the distance about a hundred and sixty miles from Philadelphia.

“I have given you this account of my plan for disposing of myself and family, that you may communicate it to such of my friends as discover any solicitude about us.”

Writing to Benjamin Goodhue, he says:—

“I feel very sensibly the proofs of your affection in the strong interest you take in my situation, and your anxiety to promote what you conceive to be for my ease and interest. My friends in Massachusetts have the horrors about the ‘wilds of Pennsylvania,’ because they do not know their nature or situation. I saw the lands to which I am now going fourteen years ago, when there was not an inhabitant within many miles; they are now in the neighborhood of a considerable settlement. I expect to place my family within three days’ ride of them, until I make improvements to render their removal to the land very comfortable. I do not intend to engage in severe bodily labor, although it is impossible for me to be idle. There will be light work to occupy my time. A

number of my Philadelphia friends have considerable bodies of land in the neighborhood, of which they will gladly commit to me the agency on commissions for sales. My presence will doubtless encourage and accelerate emigrations, so that in a few years we shall have a populous settlement. If I were now determined to remove finally to Massachusetts, yet I would first take the very step I have announced, to bring my new lands into operation, for the benefit of myself and my children. A merchant in Salem would think little of going to Kennebec or Passamaquoddy, to erect a rope-walk or a distillery, to set up a son in business; and I as little of traveling three days to commence the building of a hut, and making a plantation for either of my children or myself. Some persons, accustomed to large towns, cannot live out of their wonted circle of society; but I do not think it solitude to be alone. I have submitted to live in a large city, and, if convenient and advantageous, I should still be contented there. But I do not know the time when I did not prefer the country. So far am I from viewing with apprehensions of danger and great difficulty my present project, I have already contemplated a second enterprise of the same kind in a more remote part of Pennsylvania, but where the lands belonging to me are better (among the best in the State), should my first attempt prove successful. Just as a merchant would set up a new ship, or erect a new storehouse, for a second son coming of age. These familiar instances I mention to satisfy my friends with how much cheerfulness I shall enter on my 'wild lands;' and I hope thereby their kind solicitude for me and my family will be removed. I am not going out of the world; nor should I refuse an advantageous public employment, should one offer. Such I do not consider a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of any State in the Union, were I qualified to fill it, which I am not. The bench is the proper retreat of lawyers mature in knowledge and in years, who have made themselves easy in the profession, and become weary of the practice at the bar. The common salary is to them a grateful and convenient addition to their income; but it would just enable me to starve with decency; and my death, in a few years, would leave my wife and children beg-

gars, without a hundred pounds of productive property in the world. Had I adopted my present plan ten years ago (quitting Wyoming, where I had an improved plantation), I should indeed have encountered more hardships, but my landed property would have been by this time trebled or quadrupled in value. Yet I do not regret the years spent in public offices, for I have gained knowledge and experience grateful to myself, and, if my life be spared a few years, that will be useful to my children."

In a letter to Samuel P. Gardner, after stating that his intention to settle upon his lands in Pennsylvania was not "a blind or an obstinate determination, nor hastily formed," but the result of reflections for some time forced upon his mind by the prospect of an entire change in the administration, in case of Jefferson's election, long become not improbable, he proceeds to say: —

"He that waits for dead men's shoes may go barefooted. Till now I never had occasion to apply this proverb. I may add: *He who waits for popular favor, or the smiles of men in power, may go barefooted.* I do not know an office in the gift of the people or government of Massachusetts which, in a pecuniary point of view, claims my attention. Mr. Goodhue early mentioned the place of Judge of the Supreme Court, to become vacant by the resignation of Judge Cushing. I gave him my reasons for not listening to it, and I see it has since been filled, very properly, by Mr. Sewall, a lawyer of abilities and reputation, who had got out of the practice of the law, in exact correspondence with the principle which I held up to Mr. Goodhue.

"I do not admit that I am too far advanced in life to undertake a settlement, even 'in a wilderness.' If I were younger, I might hope to see most of the fruits of my labor; but my children may reap them, and that will satisfy me. These, though not yet accustomed to hardships, will find no difficulty in getting inured to them. Mankind in general, and especially

young persons, can, if they please, accommodate themselves to any business or service to which the powers of their bodies and minds are, by nature, equal. For myself, though I cannot be idle, I shall not encounter any labor disproportioned to my years and my strength. Possessing *mens sana in corpore sano*, I contemplate my new business, not with dismay or reluctance, but with entire satisfaction and pleasure.

“It remains only for me to thank you and my other friends for their solicitude for my ease and interest, to desire the continuance of your and their esteem and friendship, and to assure you and them of my gratitude and affection.”

An element of considerable weight in Colonel Pickering's plan, at this crisis, and in the enterprise of encountering a settlement in the woods, was the expectation he cherished that he should have the assistance and co-operation of his son Timothy, then twenty years of age. In a letter to his son John he says, referring to Timothy:—

“Although the naval service was his own choice, yet, perhaps (and I think it most probable), it was rather the result of the *then state of things* than a fondness for maritime life; and I believe in one of my last letters I intimated to you that I imagined Tim's sober habits might not accord with the general dispositions and practices of young men in the same profession, and that I should not be surprised if, on the return from his present cruise (at least if hostilities with France should cease), he should abandon the sea service and become a farmer; and though I shall not urge, or probably even propose, the step, yet I shall not discourage it. I confess that at my time of life, and in my present pursuit, I should feel most sensibly his company and assistance. Strong, hardy, and resolute, his aid would enable me to engage in and accomplish the most difficult tasks I shall have to encounter; and, in the disposition and management of my own lands, and the extensive land concerns committed now to my management by others, there would be abundant employment for him and me,

as well as for Henry, who is, in a few days, going with me to those new lands. Tim would make a very good farmer, and I have reason to believe that he would have no aversion to a country life to commence immediately."

The arrangements necessary to reach his new lands and to commence operations upon them — travel and transportation, the implements to be employed, the procurement and payment of laborers, provisions, and materials — required considerable money in hand. All that he had saved would be needed to settle his affairs and close his immediate concerns in Philadelphia. He had recourse to his friends in Massachusetts for a loan, on what he deemed good security; and, to that end, made the following representation and application in a letter to Timothy Williams: —

"I have mentioned to you my intention to commence a settlement of my new lands. This I cannot attempt without money. I wish also to pay my debts. I think I some time ago stated them to Mr. Lyman. I owe him two thousand dollars, and in Philadelphia six thousand dollars for land purchased in North Carolina. On the bond given me for my land sold at Wyoming, there remain due five thousand dollars on interest, now due *in toto*; but the purchaser cannot raise the money, though a man of property. A mortgage secures the payment of this sum. The balance of my debts is therefore three thousand dollars. I cannot begin a settlement on my new lands with less than a thousand dollars in hand, and another thousand in perhaps a year, or in less time, including the maintenance of my family, which will be on a very small scale of expense. A gentleman whose lands are contiguous to mine is selling lots at three dollars an acre to settlers. I have ten thousand acres there. Elsewhere in Pennsylvania I have about fourteen thousand acres, in the whole worth fifty thousand dollars and more. I have also lands in other States besides those in North Carolina. With these ample funds for repayment, can I obtain from you, or

other friends at the eastward, the two thousand dollars above mentioned, if I fail of selling some lands here ?”

Although his friends in Massachusetts took, by no means, the view he did on the subject, the arrangement was at once made in the form and on the security he proposed ; and the money sent to him.

Henry Pickering was then eighteen years of age. He relinquished a favorable situation, in a mercantile establishment at Philadelphia, to be with his father in the woods. From that hour he devoted himself wholly, through life, to the sacred offices of filial love and duty, and became the guardian of his parents, watching over them and caring for them with a constancy, fidelity, tenderness, and generosity never surpassed, as will be seen in the sequel of this Biography.

All things having been got ready, Colonel Pickering, at the end of June, 1800, started, in high spirits, on his bold and resolute enterprise. He and Henry were at Easton, July 1st. The month of July was occupied in providing for the comfort and maintenance of his family there until his return to them in the winter, and in procuring and collecting whatever it might be necessary for him to carry to the place in the woods to which he was destined. On the 11th of August he started, with Henry, on the route, a distance of a hundred miles, taking with them one or two laborers acquainted with the business of making a clearing in a forest, a span of horses, a yoke of oxen, chains, axes, and other required articles. The experiences on the road, and after reaching his lands, are given in the following extracts from letters to his wife : —

“ At LEARN’S, Tuesday Morning, August 12th, 1800.

“ I reached here last evening conveniently, after riding very slowly all the way from Easton to Bushirks (Levons’s), sixteen miles, just as a heavy shower of rain came on. By quickening my pace for a mile, I got in with a slight sprinkling. The rain continued two hours, until half-past five, when I set out for Learn’s.”

“ At ROBERT CORBETT’S, Salt Lick Farm, Sunday, August 17th, 1800.

“ We arrived here fatigued on Friday evening, but safe and in health. The roads were much worse than I had expected, — worse than the old road to Wilkesbarre. But the last twenty-five or thirty miles very much travelled. One hundred and thirty wagons passed by Corbett’s this spring, hardly any of which took the road by Learn’s and White-Oak-Run, which was my route. The inhabitants on the road are yet so few, it is impossible for them to put the roads in good order. But a very few years will make an immense difference; and a contribution of the land-holders would, at no very great expense, make the worst places passable. For the last fifty miles there are houses not more than five miles apart; and a number only one, two, and three miles from each other, with considerable improvements and good lands. We were obliged to put both horses to the wagons at Learn’s. The breaking of Mr. Snyder’s hames cost me half a day to get and fix others, and the breaking of the hind axle-tree a day and a half more. Otherwise we might have reached this place on Wednesday evening. We travelled twenty-one miles on Friday, and, without difficulty, arriving at Corbett’s before it was dark. The inhabitants are so numerous down this creek (Salt Lick) and in the Bend, my eastern friends, were they here, would hardly call these parts ‘the wilds of Pennsylvania.’ On a straight line from Corbett’s, ’tis but about four miles to some of my lots of land. I expect to proceed to them to-morrow.

“ Henry has stood the journey remarkably well, and is not at all disheartened with the difficulties arising from a bad road, or the roughness of some parts of the country.”

“Near the Great Bend, at CAPTAIN BARNUM'S, September 7th.

“Although but one month has elapsed since I left Easton, it seems to be many months.

“Ten days ago I lost my spectacles, a loss which here is irreparable. I wish you to write a line to Mr. Hodgdon to procure me a pair with *single* bows (which come at about a dollar), which, with ferret (to be sent me with them), I will fix, as I used to do with my first during the war. By the way, if I did not give those old ones to John, they must now be at home: you can tell. If you do not find them, you will perhaps find one of my single eye-glasses, which you had better send me. But, if possible, let me have spectacles also. They must be *number seven*: none others suit my eye.

“Henry and I have enjoyed uninterrupted health. He can eat many things, and heartily, which he avoided at home.”

Writing, September 23d, he says: “Henry and I have not been indisposed for a moment since we left Easton. He has grown hearty, and will acquire a degree of robustness if he lives longer in the woods.”

In a letter dated November 2d, he says: —

“The bearer of this is Mr. Barnum, whose house has been my *head-quarters*, it being nearer than any other to both the lots I have begun to improve. If he passes through Easton, as he proposes, on his way to Philadelphia, you will have an opportunity of conversing with him. He is to set off the 4th instant, with a drove of cattle for the Philadelphia market.

“Clearing new land I find much more laborious, tedious, and expensive than I supposed, and yet the first settlers here had to encounter many more difficulties than I have met with. I have put in about five acres of wheat and two with grass-seed, and had about a dozen acres more cut over (that is, the trees cut down and prepared for burning off next spring, then to be planted and sown) at one place; and a small log-house built for the accommodation of laborers next spring and summer.

“On another lot, in a situation more pleasant, and which

I have contemplated for the family residence, I have built a cabin (a log-house, warm and comfortable), and begun to cut the trees, to be cleared off next season, and the land to be planted and sown. I propose to place two men in the cabin, to work all the fall and winter in cutting down trees. If I succeed in procuring these men, I shall have at least thirty acres prepared for planting and sowing next spring and summer, which will be a sufficient *beginning*.

“Two weeks ago I felt a slight indisposition, but have since been, and now remain, perfectly well. Henry is very hearty likewise. You will be surprised to learn that *I*, as well as he, have gained flesh and can endure labor and fatigue much better than when I left home.

“I am very anxious to hear from Tim that he has escaped the yellow-fever and every other danger. I cannot suppress my wishes that he may incline to stay on the *land*, content with moderate profits, with the tranquillity of the country, in preference to *golden prospects* on the sea, with its peculiar dangers and precarious advantages.

“I begin to feel impatient to return home; and will make no delay that can properly be avoided. Give my love to the children; and may you all be under God’s protection.”

The extent of the clearings and improvements made in scarcely more than three months, proves with what energetic industry he, with his son and hired men, must have applied themselves to what, in its nature, is the hardest species of work. The use of the axe, to which he had long been unaccustomed, blistered his palms and fingers; and, after eight years’ continuous sedentary life, with limited walks on the smooth and level streets of Philadelphia, long tramps through a rough and obstructed forest occasioned at first much fatigue. Soon, however, hands and limbs became enured to their new toils. His strength and health were invigorated. Although making Captain Barnum’s house, two or three

miles from his clearing, his head-quarters, and probably passing Sundays there, the cabins or log-huts, built at the time on the ground where his labors were going on, were probably his shelter and abode ordinarily. In them he partook of woodmen's fare. But his spirits were buoyant and even exhilarated. The freedom, independence, and breath of the forest were a constant delight. Its mystic silence inspired his fancy and elevated his soul. Perhaps this was the happiest period of a life which, though strangely filled, in its diversified course, with what most men would consider hardships, by his sanguine temperament, heroic fortitude, and immutable faith and hope, was, from beginning to end, a remarkably happy one. .

The locality of this scene of his labors may be found in any map of Pennsylvania, near the north-east corner of the State, in the present county of Susquehanna, where a branch of the river of that name makes a dip across the boundary line of New York, called the Great Bend.

The work of the season having been accomplished, he returned to his family, arriving at Easton on the evening of December 10th, 1800. As this was actually the first leisure he had ever been able to command, it was concluded to comply with the constant and earnest entreaties of his relatives and friends in Massachusetts, that, if he would not return to live among them, he would at least make them a visit, and pass a month or more with them. On the 27th of December, before setting out, he wrote to his son John, then still in London, advising him, on returning to the country, to finish the preparation for his profession in the law office of Mr. Putnam, at Salem : —

“Every branch,” says he, “of our *eastern* family I am sure will be gratified, and it will very much reconcile them to the separation of myself and the residue of my family from them. This separation is unavoidable, all my property lying *westward* of the Delaware; an unproductive property indeed, consisting wholly of new lands, yet of much intrinsic value; half of which, however, I would willingly sacrifice to receive the other in *cash*, which would enable me to return to my native State. But I must patiently wait the sales, in detail, of these lands; and, in the mean time, make and cultivate a farm for the support of the family. This, I find, experimentally, to be an arduous undertaking; but I am not discouraged. Your mother and the children enjoy health; and your own feelings led you to express ours correctly, ‘that our minds would not sink under misfortune.’

“Your brother, Tim, is wont to speak little and to write less. It is long since we heard from him: but we expect him home in a month or six weeks; for Barry, in the frigate ‘United States,’ is gone to relieve the ‘Philadelphia,’ Decatur. I think she may get to New York or Philadelphia by the last of February; and, as a treaty with France has been negotiated, a main object of which appears to be to put an end to naval hostilities, and renew commerce between the two countries, I presume most of our ships of war will be hauled up. When of age to judge for themselves, I shall never attempt to *control* my sons in the choice of a profession; but I cannot conceal my *hopes* that your brother Tim’s will be to plough the land, and not the ocean. I can at once put him in possession of as much land (and where an improvement is begun) as he shall desire; and in two or three years he may live comfortably, and maintain a family. This is the goal of every rational man, and the sooner my sons reach it, the more I shall be gratified.”

He arrived at Philadelphia on the 31st of December, 1800, and, writing next day to his wife, says:—

“I meet so many obliging friends that I shall be puzzled to get away from this place as early as I intended, but will proceed as soon as possible for New England.

“I went to-day to see Mrs. Decatur. She has not had a letter from her husband these three months, but received one from a son on board, dated the 28th of October, when all were well. Decatur (as I expected) has been continually at sea, whence so few opportunities of writing home; for if he went into port for water or provisions he was out again in eight and forty hours. In one of his letters, Captain Decatur spoke of Tim in the highest terms of approbation.”

The following, written a few days after, explains itself:—

“GENTLEMEN,

“I feel myself very much honored by your letter of this day. It is a pleasing testimony of the respect and affection of the young gentlemen of Philadelphia, who have contemplated to request my company at a dinner to be given for that purpose. But, having no ambitious views, and averse to whatever may bear the appearance of ostentation, I shall remain more satisfied with this private intimation than by any public expression of their good-will. I must therefore entreat you to present my grateful acknowledgments to the young gentlemen by whom you were deputed, and to pray them to excuse me for declining the intended honor of a public dinner.

“For the polite and friendly terms in which you have communicated their intention, I beg you to accept my thanks. I am, gentlemen, with sincere esteem,

“Your obedient servant,

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“RICHARD PETERS, JR., } Esquires.
“JOHN B. WALLACE, }

“January 5th, 1801.”

While declining all public demonstrations, he could not resist the importunities of his old Philadelphia friends and neighbors to accept their private hospitalities and meet them in the social circle. In this way his time was occupied for two or three weeks. It was a period of intense political excitement. Writing to a friend, January 16th, he says: “The Antifederalists

have succeeded in electing Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr for President and Vice-President; and now they are alarmed lest the Federalists in Congress, joining some of the Antifederalists, should make Mr. Burr the President. Mr. Burr at present has the best chance."

The presidential election was then in process. The aggregate result of the action of the electoral colleges in the several States was a majority for the two Democratic candidates, Jefferson and Burr; but as they had an equal vote, seventy-three, the decision which of them should be President devolved upon the House of Representatives voting by States. The house had the constitutional power and right to choose either of them. The composition of the house was such that the Democratic party could not control it. The action of the house was uncertain. In a letter of Colonel Pickering to Benjamin Goodhue, about the same date as that to his wife just quoted, he gives the following account of the suggestions, questions, apprehensions, and perplexities that engrossed the thoughts and discussions of men at that crisis: —

"During my absence of four months in the backwoods I heard scarcely any thing of political affairs. Since my return (three weeks ago) I find the public mind not a little agitated respecting the election of President and Vice-President. I know General Pinckney's high and delicate sense of honor; but when it was manifest (as I presume it was) that the vote of South Carolina would be *decisive*, whether we should have a Federal or Antifederal Chief, and as the only important object of the agreement among *leading Federal men* to place *Adams* and *Pinckney* uniformly on the Federal ticket, was to secure the choice of a *Federal* President and Vice-President, would not the Federalists in South Carolina have been justified in abandoning the agreement, seeing such a portion of

Antifederal members of their legislature, from their personal regard and high opinion of General Pinckney, would have voted for him upon condition that the Federalists would give up Mr. Adams? But then, owing to the conduct of the Rhode Island electors, Mr. Jefferson would have had one more vote than General Pinckney!—an event, however, which the South Carolina gentlemen could not have counted on.

“Pray, what is now to be done? Are we to have a President and Vice-President, or an interregnum? If the vote of the House of Representatives be *once* taken, and there be not a majority of States for either Jefferson or Burr, can they take a second vote? If a majority of States shall not be obtained, what will be the result? Will the *vacancy* be comprehended in the terms of the *Constitution*, or the *law*, or is it a *case omitted*? If the President of the Senate may become the President of the United States, will Mr. Jefferson retire before the session closes to give the Senate an opportunity of choosing a President *pro tempore*? or, if he should decline retiring, will Mr. Adams resign before the 3d of March to oblige Mr. Jefferson to take the chair, and thus give the Senate an opportunity to choose a President *pro tempore*? or may the Senate on the 3d of March adjourn to the 4th and then choose a President?”

On the 19th of January he left Philadelphia, arriving that evening at Princeton, and reached New York on the 21st, where he received many proofs of respect and esteem, avoiding solicitations to pause longer there on his journey by promising to stay some days on his return. Writing to his son John from Boston, January 31st, after explaining how his numerous friends at different points had detained him on the way, he says:—

“I arrived only two days since at this place; and here I am happy in the friendship of those persons whose good opinion and esteem are sufficient to satisfy honest ambition, and in the humblest cottage will give me content.

“The minds of our fellow-citizens are universally agitated

about the decision of the important question, Who shall be our President? — Jefferson or Burr? The Jacobins, who have brought us into this dilemma, deprecate the preference of Mr. Burr. The Federalists, on the contrary, are generally inclined to place him in the chair. The difficulty is to choose between two evils, and the best men are divided in opinion which will be the least. Last evening I saw a letter from a member of the House of Representatives at Washington, by which it appeared that the Federalists in the house seemed determined to vote for Mr. Burr; but neither party can make a majority; and to effect a choice there must be a coalescence of one or two States with those of opposite politics. It is a very singular state of things when that person whom neither party likes is to become, probably, the President of the United States.

“The various branches of our family are well, and manifest that happiness in their mutual friendship and affection, for which they have always been distinguished.”

He reached Salem on the 3d of February, and the next day wrote to his wife, as follows: —

“I arrived here yesterday, and found all our friends in health. Brother John looks better in the face than he did when I was here eight years ago; but my sisters say he is more feeble. He does his business as usual; and Octavius *helps him*, by reading the deeds when compared with the record, and he reads them. (though in a variety of handwriting) very well. He is blooming with health, is thought very handsome, and is a favorite wherever he goes. He is quite familiar with all his relations. He is much grown.

“I stopped in Boston from Thursday, January 29th, to Friday morning, February 2d; and had the satisfaction of being cordially welcomed, not only by our relations, but by many whom I had not before known, as well as by my former acquaintances. They have importuned me to give them more time on my return, which will be the latter end of next week, or the beginning of the following next week, if I do not go to Haverhill and New Hampshire, about which I am at present undetermined.

“Lydia Lyman, I think, looks as young, and is more fleshy

than she was on my visit eight years ago. She and Mary Pratt are most happily sett'ed. I have so much to say of our other numerous relations that I must suspend the details until I return."

At the date of Colonel Pickering's visit to Salem, on this occasion, there had never been a death among the children of his father; and all were within his reach. His only brother, John, occupied the ancestral mansion in Salem, which was the gathering place and headquarters of the family. One of his seven sisters, Mrs. Gooll, kept the house of his brother. The others were near at hand, — the most distant was at Stratham, in New Hampshire; one was at Haverhill, in Massachusetts, and the rest in either Salem or Boston. All their families were in prosperous circumstances, all respectably connected, and several of them in the enjoyment of wealth. His arrival among them was hailed with universal delight. Every hour was filled with the happiest reunions. In Boston and Salem, dinner-parties and assemblages of eminent persons were arranged to welcome him. It was a period of uninterrupted and unalloyed felicity. His strong family attachments were completely gratified, and all sought his company. The distinguished career he had run, from the first symptoms of the approaching Revolutionary conflict, through all its scenes, and in the civil government of the country since; the singular course of his honorable, adventurous, crowded, and eventful life in commercial pursuits at Philadelphia, tumultuous and perilous affairs at Wyoming, and in Pennsylvanian constitutional conventions; his great services in the highest trusts and posts, at the head of departments in the administrations of Washington and Adams, particularly his able and efficient conduct of the foreign rela-

tions of the country at the most critical period; the feelings excited by his removal from office; and his subsequent heroic encounter of the hardships, privations, and toils of a wilderness life, — all combined to surround with intense interest his visit to his old home. His conversational powers, unequalled in narrative, anecdote, and description, giving life-like portraits of the remarkable personages with whom he had been associated, and pictorial views of his varied experiences; his free, genial, and kindly manner towards all; the simplicity and plainness of his garb and mien, united with dignity and courtesy; his noble Roman cast of person, frame, countenance, and bearing, — made him the central attraction everywhere. He was in the full maturity of his great manhood, bronzed and invigorated by his recent forest exposures and labors, and in the highest spirits, glowing with animation, enthusiasm, faith, and hope.

All these things conduced to increase the earnestness with which his relatives, friends, fellow-citizens, and old townsmen were inspired to get him back to his proper home, and secure his presence and society for the remainder of his life, the head and ornament of his family, and of the community in Massachusetts. There were the means and the disposition to make him independent in his situation; but the difficulty was that he could not be prevailed upon to receive assistance in the shape of downright gifts. To use his own favorite form of expression, he would not *beg* for bounties, or accept benefactions, while able to *dig* for a livelihood.

To accomplish their purpose, his friends seem to have resorted to a deliberately formed and well concerted stratagem. They changed their tactics altogether, and ad-

vanced to their object in a different shape and from an opposite direction. Instead of arguing and remonstrating against his burying himself in the "wilds of Pennsylvania," and ridiculing the idea of realizing any advantage from remote and unoccupied tracts of country, covered with unapproached forests, they manifested a lively interest in his enterprise, made it a topic of frequent conversation, and pleased him by giving him opportunities to descant upon it. He expressed his entire confidence that, before many years, he would be able to sell enough of his lands to acquire the means of returning to live permanently among them. When he had thus been led to give this conditional promise, and had repeated it so often that he could not retract it, they felt that they had him in their power.

One day, Samuel Putnam called upon him, stating that he had been requested to learn from him at what prices he would sell, for cash, some of his tracts of land. He replied in writing, as follows:—

"SALEM, February 11th, 1801.

"Desirous of raising a sum of money by the sale of part of my new lands, I would dispose of the following parcels in Pennsylvania:—

"Twenty-five tracts lying on, and adjacent to, the waters of Snake Creek (a stream which runs into the river Susquehanna, a few miles below the Great Bend, and about twenty-two miles westward from the river Delaware), near the northern line of the State.

"These twenty-five tracts contain between ten and eleven thousand acres. Four or five years ago, a body of land, containing about twenty thousand acres, lying eastward, and alongside that body in which my tracts are, was sold at a dollar and a half an acre. It was then without an inhabitant. Now there are about twenty valuable settlers upon it. It was deemed inferior to that body of land in which my tracts

are situated. The cash would induce me to sell mine at a dollar and a half an acre, with the addition of three hundred dollars for the improvements I have begun, and which will render another visit there by me expedient."

He then describes some other tracts of land he would be willing to sell, of which the following was one:—

"I have about nine thousand acres in the western part of Pennsylvania, perhaps forty miles eastward from the Alleghany River, and part of the land about twenty-five miles from a navigable branch of the western branch of the Susquehanna. These lands are of a very superior quality; and a road from Philadelphia to Presqu'Isle has lately been laid out through part of them. And I believe the road is cut so as to render practicable the passing on horseback the whole way. A wagon road, of many years' standing, reaches within thirty or forty miles of them. I shall be willing to sell half of my undivided share of these lands, or say five thousand acres; but not under two dollars an acre.

"If you can bargain for the sale of the above-described lands, I hereby authorize you to do it."

Mr. Putnam brought him word that the parties for whom he acted were willing to take the tracts of land on Snake Creek and the Alleghany lands at his price, but that they desired to have the whole of the latter instead of half. Colonel Pickering agreed to let them have the whole, provided they would consent to his reserving one quarter part of the lands included in the two tracts. He was determined to retain, in one or both of them, so much as might be needed as settlements for those of his sons who might desire to occupy them. This was his motive in retaining possession of one-half of the Alleghany lands, as he had expressed his purpose to do in his letter to Mr. Putnam, who, shortly afterwards, informed him that the purchasers agreed to the modification he desired. The bargain was concluded, and the

cash paid for three-quarters of the Snake Creek and Alleghany lands, amounting to twenty-five thousand dollars.

The following document shows in what form the transaction was consummated, and who were the purchasers :

“ The subscribers agree to purchase of Colonel Timothy Pickering the following tracts of land, and to pay for the number of shares set against our respective names, viz. :—

“ One tract of land, containing nine thousand acres, in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania, lying between the river Alleghany and the western branch of the Susquehanna, estimated at eighteen thousand dollars.

“ Also, twenty-five tracts of land, consisting of about ten thousand acres, and valued at fifteen thousand three hundred dollars, lying about twenty-two miles westward from the river Delaware, and near the northern line of the State of New York.

“ The whole value, thirty-three thousand three hundred dollars, divided into three hundred and thirty-three shares, of one hundred dollars each ; eighty-three of which Colonel Pickering reserves for himself, the residue for sale, as above.

Boston, February 12th, 1801.

Eben Parsons	10 shares.	Stephen Higginson	10 shares
Thomas Davis	5 „	Joseph Lee, Jr.	5 „
John Parker	5 „	Simon Elliot	5 „
Stephen Higginson, Jr.	10 „	Samuel P. Gardner	10 „
David Sears	5 „	Benjamin Pickman, Jr.	10 „
Samuel Blanchard	5 „	James Lloyd, Jr.	5 „
Joseph Lee	8 „	William Prescott	5 „
George Cabot	8 „	Israel Thorndike	5 „
Isaac P. Davis	5 „	John Lowell, Jr.	5 „
Nathaniel C. Lee	5 „	William Orne	5 „
Theodore Lyman	20 „	Simon Forrester	5 „
Benjamin Joy	5 „	William Gray	20 „
James & T. H. Perkins	10 „	Samuel Ellis	4 „
Thomas Dickason, Jr.	5 „	John Norris	10 „
Kirk Boott	5 „	Gorham Parsons	5 „
William Pratt	10 „		
Timothy Williams	10 „		109
Nathan Frazier	5 „		141
David Sargent, Jr.	5 „		250

The persons above named, still more to give the transaction a strict business character, executed a power of attorney, making Timothy Pickering their agent to look after the lands they had purchased of him, with full authority to dispose of the same, according to his judgment of what was best for their interest, at such prices and on such terms as he should see fit, and pay over to them all moneys thus received, he to have a commission on the sales.

The large number of subscribers to this stock, their character and positions in society, show how complimentary the proceeding was to him. He appreciated it as such, but regarded it altogether as a regular purchase on their part, and an investment for their own ultimate benefit. Such a sale, at his own price, of so large a portion of his lands was, of course, highly gratifying to him; justifying the confidence he had so long entertained of the ultimate value of the property, and fully realizing what had been regarded by others as his golden land dreams.

His debts of every kind amounted to \$10,944.65. Timothy Williams, to whom he committed the settlement of his affairs, received from the subscribers the \$25,000, paid off all the debts, and delivered to him the balance in cash, \$14,055.35. With this sum in hand, and \$5,000 remaining unpaid by the purchaser of his Wyoming farm, but amply secured by mortgage, one quarter part of the lands included in the recent sale, and several tracts in other places, particularly extensive ones in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, he began the world again, possessed of what, in those days, for a person of his habits and modes of life, was a competent estate.

He wrote to his wife from Boston, February 7th, 1801, as follows:—

“It has been my lot to suffer many and long absences from you, but I trust you will not regret the present separation, when I inform you that it has been the occasion of a provision that will probably enable us to pass together the residue of our lives in tranquillity, and in the near neighborhood of our numerous relatives and friends. For your sake especially, I rejoice at this event; and, much as you have reason to be tired of changes, you will not reluctantly make one more by removing to Massachusetts. Of their own accord, some of our friends have associated and taken a principal interest with me in my new lands in Pennsylvania, leaving me about one-quarter, and to pay me in cash for the other three-quarters, the whole to be under my agency for sale and settlement, for which I shall make the necessary arrangements on my return, and so as to remove with my family to Massachusetts, say in the month of June next.

“I know of nothing so suitable for me as a farm, and nothing will be more congenial to my taste and inclination; while my surplus money, used in commercial adventures, will be managed in my behalf by my mercantile friends, to much more advantage than if under my own direction. I think a situation in the country will be most agreeable to you, if not too remote from our friends in the sea-port towns. It may be convenient to communicate the contents of this letter to Henry alone, until I arrive. It will not now be expedient to purchase a cow, but let Henry see that the horses are put in good order, for I expect that he and I must visit the Bend before we remove to New England. I am engaged every day this week to dine out with my respectable friends. Next week I shall return to Salem, and at the close of it, or the week after, proceed to Haverhill and New Hampshire. I must inform you that Octavius is not only agreeable but useful to his uncle. He is admired for his manliness and good sense. His Aunt Williams asked me if the little girls were as handsome as he. I took him last Wednesday to dine with me at Mrs. Higginson's. Hetty told him (as she had done

last autumn) that *she* was his *aunt*, and asked him if he would call her *aunt*. 'I don't know,' he answered. 'If you don't,' said she, 'I will call you a *Jacobin*.' 'You can't *make* me one,' replied Octavius. Nothing could have been better, and by a child of only nine years old.

"You will see a new generation in the families of our friends, grown up or born since you were here."

Mrs. Pickering, writing from Easton, February 28th, in acknowledging the receipt of the foregoing, which came to hand on the 26th, says that it was, "though unexpected, not the less welcome. It was unexpected, because I had supposed you were on your return home. The intelligence it contained surprised me more than the letter. Nothing more could have been wished for, could I have chosen for my own and family's establishment, than a farm in a settled country, where, with industry, we might live comfortably the evening of our lives; though, as you thought it expedient to go into a new country, hoping it would be for our mutual advantage eventually, I cheerfully acquiesced. But I do not hesitate to declare that the present prospect is most congenial to my feelings. It is an event so unlooked for that I consider it as a signal interference of Providence in our favor. Henry expresses his satisfaction at the prospect of our future residence. He prefers a country life to a town life, and an old one to a new."

He started on his return to Philadelphia early in April. Before leaving Salem, it was arranged with his friends that a farm should be procured for him in that neighborhood. Upon reaching Philadelphia, on the 14th, he found his son Timothy waiting for him. On the termination of his cruise, he heard of his father's having gone into the woods, and engaged in the labors of clear-

ing a wilderness. It was painful to think of his enduring such hardships, and he determined to share them with him. As there was no longer an apprehension of a war with France, the naval service ceased to present any further attraction or claim, and he resigned his place in it. This he did of his own accord, not having received from his father any intimation of his wishes on the subject. It was a voluntary act, inspired by filial love and duty.

Writing to his wife on the day of his arrival in Philadelphia, Colonel Pickering says : —

“Business will detain me a few days. As the stage goes out for Easton only on Thursdays, and I cannot get ready by that day, I purpose to get a chair for Tim and myself, and hope to be with you on Sunday evening.”

On the 9th of May he left Easton for the Great Bend, as appears by the following letter to his wife : —

“WILSONVILLE, Monday, May 11th, 1801.

“We arrived here last evening, Tim and Henry pretty much fatigued. The second day’s journey on horseback is always most painful to persons not accustomed to riding on horseback. They are now pretty well rested, and in the afternoon we shall proceed. Fortunately, Mr. Torrey has arrived ; but I wish to see Mr. Hilborn and Mr. Preston, who are momentarily expected. Mr. Torrey will be ready to join me on Snake Creek by the 10th of June, to begin resurveying mine and Mr. Hodgdon’s lands, and subdividing them. Till then I shall be fully employed, with Tim and Henry, with fencing and improving. I at present think of making a beginning on the Starucca track, where, as Mr. Hodgdon has agreed to sell me his quarter, Tim may have a farm of about three hundred and sixty-five or three hundred and seventy-five acres, even if Mr. Coxe will not let me have his quarter of the tract.”

Timothy, with his father's approval, selected for his place of abode the Starucca tract, about two miles south of the line of the State of New York, on the east bank of the Susquehanna, opposite the south-east curve of the Great Bend. Writing to his wife, August 7th, Colonel Pickering says: "Tim has lost flesh, but he and Henry enjoy good health. I must get a small dwelling-house under way for Tim before I leave him; and this may carry me a little way into September before I return home."

Having completed all the necessary arrangements as to his own lands, and deputed Timothy to act for him in the agency in reference to the interests of the friends in Massachusetts who had bought so large a portion of them, and having put every thing in train for the accommodation of Timothy on the Starucca farm, he started with him for Easton, leaving Henry in temporary charge of the business at the Bend. On the evening of October the 10th, they reached Easton. The next morning Timothy took leave of the family and returned alone to Starucca; but he did not live always alone. In a letter to Mr. Hodgdon, written less than two years afterwards, his father says: "Tim appears to be now in good spirits; and, in a letter to one of his brothers, intimates (what I did not expect him to suggest to any one) his want of two friends, *one of them of the other sex*. I shall advise him to lose no time." He further states: "My son William being extremely desirous of joining his brother Timothy at Starucca, I am constrained to take the journey with him." On his return, a month afterwards, he writes to the same: "I found Timothy in high health and spirits. My son William stays with him."

Upon Henry's being relieved by the return of Timothy, he rejoined his parents at Easton. On his reaching them, preparations were made for removing the family to Massachusetts. Writing to Timothy Williams, October 17th, 1801, Colonel Pickering says: "I must of necessity go to Philadelphia, and, that she may see her friends there for the last time, shall take my wife with me. By the 5th of November we may return to Easton, and, by the 8th or 10th, commence our journey to New York, avoiding the city on account of the yellow-fever. As we are to live in the country, I have concluded, for the conveyance of the family, to get a light wagon and a pair of horses, which I shall always need on the farm. We shall take the route by New Haven, Hartford, and Boston, to Salem, where I trust we may arrive by the 20th of November." What household furniture it was thought best to retain, was sent to Philadelphia, and thence by water to Boston.

They undoubtedly reached Salem in time to enjoy, with the assembled family, the festivities of Thanksgiving. It was just twenty-four years since they had taken leave of Salem; but their wanderings and trials, in camp and forest, were now over. It must have been a truly happy occasion to all. From that day, Colonel Pickering continued a citizen of Massachusetts and an inhabitant of his native county, and, in his last years, of his native town.

In closing this account of Colonel Pickering's experiences as a Pennsylvania backwoodsman and original settler, the sequel may be presented of the operation that enabled him and his family to return to Massachusetts. In his view, at the time, it was a legitimate

bargain of the ordinary kind between him, on the one part, and, as he described it, "an association of friends," to take "a principal interest" with him in his "new lands," on the other part. With their abundant means, he was confident they would make the purchase profitable to themselves, by opening roads to and through the lands, bringing settlers upon them, and making known their fertility and value; thereby securing, before long, largely enhanced prices for them. As it was known that he could not be prevailed upon to receive from any persons what would have the appearance, or suggest the idea, of a downright gift, while he held such extensive tracts of land and was able to work out an independent subsistence upon them by the labor of his hands, it became necessary for his friends to give to the purchase throughout the character of a pure business transaction. But, in point of fact, it was neither more nor less than making a present to him of twenty-five thousand dollars. After all was over, and he had removed to Massachusetts, he began to see it in this light, and duly appreciated the kind munificence of his friends.

They did not want the lands; had no acquaintance with the methods of turning them to account; were engaged in more profitable pursuits; had better uses to which to apply their funds; seem hardly to have afterwards given a thought to the subject; took no steps to set off and improve, and made no efforts to sell, their proportionate shares. They never derived a dollar from them. It is certain, however, that, with all their skill and success as merchants and financiers, they never applied their dollars to a more profitable result than in the satisfaction they experienced in recovering

the society of a man whom they loved and honored, in rescuing him from solitary and, as they believed, fruitless toils, privations, sufferings, and want through the last years of so noble a life ; in securing the welfare and happiness of his estimable and promising family ; and restoring to their State and country his invaluable services. In these reflections, they enjoyed a perpetually increasing income from the shares they had bought in his lands. And, as will now be seen, looking at property in this its truest and highest valuation, they doubled their capital and dividends from this investment in less than four years.

No event ever gave a greater shock to the community, or produced a profounder emotion throughout the country, than the death of Alexander Hamilton, under the circumstances.

Rufus King, on the 10th of October, 1804, wrote to George Cabot, as follows : —

“ According to the schedule of General Hamilton’s estate, drawn up by himself a few days before his death, it appears that his property consists altogether of new lands, situate in the western part of New York, and of a house, nine miles from the city. The new lands cost fifty-five thousand dollars, and the country house and grounds about twenty-five thousand. The General’s debts amount to fifty-five thousand dollars ; and as the estate is unproductive, and the debts bear an interest, it is the opinion of judicious persons that, with the most prudent management, the estate will be barely sufficient to pay the debts. Mrs. Hamilton is a daughter of General Schuyler, who has a family of eight or nine children. The General is supposed to have a good real estate, but not much personal property ; so that little expectation can be entertained of any considerable succor from this quarter, either for the maintenance of General Hamilton’s family or for the education and advancement of his children. To the sorrow that every virtuous mind has felt for the death of this distinguished patriot,

it is painful to add the reflection that his young and helpless family must depend for their support, not upon the earnings of their father, — for he served the public, — but upon the contributions of a few individuals who admired his unequalled worth. The subscription for this purpose at New York amounted to upwards of sixteen thousand dollars when I last heard from thence (which was before my journey to the eastward) and it was expected that a considerable addition would be made to this fund.”

A month before the date of the above letter, a movement had been made, after consulting Colonel Pickering and with his cordial approbation, which is explained by the following documents, the first of which appears to be the heading of a general subscription-list : —

“ Having in remembrance the exalted worth and pre-eminent services of the late General Hamilton ; his extraordinary and truly patriotic exertions, which contributed so much to save our country from the greatest impending calamities ; his able, disinterested, and successful efforts to inculcate the wisdom, justice, and advantage of all those maxims of jurisprudence which render sacred the rights of property, and which are inseparable from true liberty ; and especially recollecting that the devotion of his time and talents to these public interests has operated to deprive his family of a common share of those pecuniary advantages which his labors, if applied to them, would have easily made abundant, — we, therefore, whose names are subscribed, to testify, in some degree, our sense of departed excellence, and our gratitude for benefits conferred on our country, do engage that we will pay into the hands of the Hon. George Cabot, Thomas Davis, and Theodore Lyman, Esquires, the sums of money set against our respective names, to be by them applied to the benefit of the children or family of General Hamilton, in any manner they shall judge proper.”

As an appendage to the above paper, the following was drawn up : —

“ And, whereas, we, whose names follow, are proprietors

of certain parcels of land in Pennsylvania, which we purchased in 1801 of Timothy Pickering, Esq., in shares of one hundred dollars each, which lands are not yet divided or formally conveyed,—we do hereby authorize and request the said Timothy Pickering, Esq., to convey, by a quitclaim deed to such person or persons as shall be named to him, for that purpose, by the afore-mentioned George Cabot, Thomas Davis, and Theodore Lyman, Esquires, or any two of them, so many of our shares in said lands as we have set against our respective names.”

This paper is signed by all the original parties to the purchase in their own proper handwriting, with the exception of one, whose five shares had some time before passed back into the possession of Colonel Pickering. They severally contributed *all* their shares. The original estimated value of such shares of land, two hundred and forty-five in number, thus conveyed to the children and family of General Hamilton, was \$24,500; and some then recent sales of land in their vicinity indicated that they had not been over-estimated.

On the 16th of November, 1804, Messrs. Cabot, Davis, and Lyman wrote to Colonel Pickering, as follows:—

“The design which was formed to transfer to the heirs of General Hamilton the lands purchased of you in 1801 is now accomplished, so far as depended on the acts of the purchasers. By the enclosed papers, it will appear that the actual conveyance of the lands, either to the executors of General Hamilton’s will or to any other persons, as well as the time and manner of making such conveyance, remains to be definitively regulated and arranged by and between those gentlemen and you. Whenever this is completed, we shall cancel and deliver to you the written covenants you entered into, which are now in our possession.

“It is understood that you have paid for taxes, surveying, &c., one or two hundred dollars, which ought to be re-

imbursed without delay ; we wish, therefore, you would be so good as to inform us of the amount, that we may immediately provide for its discharge."

On the 26th of November, they wrote to "John B. Church, Nicholas Fish, and Nathaniel Pendleton, Esquires, executors of the last will and testament of Alexander Hamilton, deceased," as follows : —

"GENTLEMEN,

"We enclose you a copy of an original paper which is committed to us by the gentlemen whose signatures it bears : its object, as well as motives, are sufficiently explained. But, in relation to what yet remains to be done to fulfil the precise intentions of the subscribers, it may be proper to observe : 1st, that the purchasers of the Pennsylvania lands, having in view the accommodation of Colonel Pickering more than any pecuniary advantage to themselves, it is to be considered as a condition of the present transfer, that his interest and convenience should be consulted in the future disposal of the property, no less than that of the new proprietors ; 2d, Colonel Pickering retained for himself eighty-eight shares, which is something more than a fourth part of the whole property, and it was expected he would superintend it altogether. Accordingly, he alone has paid to it the attention it has received, and, for this care, he would, at some subsequent period, have been compensated by a commission on the sales, or some other equivalent emolument ; and, lastly, it may be remarked that the conveyance of the lands by Colonel Pickering is to be in deeds of quitclaim only, and not with warranties. This provision has not proceeded from any distrust of the titles by which Colonel Pickering holds, but from the original determination of the subscribers to liberate an inestimable friend from all responsibility for title, if, from any cause, it should, in whole or in part, be ever found defective.

"These observations we have deemed essential to a just understanding of the views of those whom we have the honor to represent. But, for whatever may assist you in judging of the value of the property, or its profitable management in

future, we must refer you to Colonel Pickering, who, we are assured, will readily impart to you all the information he possesses. As we are entrusted with the nomination of the persons to whom the property shall be conveyed, we cannot hesitate to name the executors of General Hamilton's will, leaving it with them to name others, if they think it expedient, and also to arrange with Colonel Pickering the time and circumstances of making the conveyance,

“Every occurrence that forces the mind back to the epoch of General Hamilton's death revives the most poignant sorrow. The deep-felt grief of wise and good men everywhere, testifies their sense of an irreparable loss to the public, while the strong sympathies which are awakened for those who were by nature attached to him are a just tribute to his private virtues: if it were possible to express our own regrets, they would best show how dear he was to us.”

The reply was as follows:—

“NEW YORK, November 29th, 1804.

“GENTLEMEN,

“We received the letter you did us the honor to write, of the 26th instant, with a copy of a deed authorizing a conveyance of certain valuable lands to trustees, for the benefit of the heirs of General Hamilton, and a copy of a letter from you to Colonel Pickering as to the manner of effecting it.

“This act of munificence, towards the family of a man so dear to his country and his friends, from persons of such well-known worth as those whom you represent, will be regarded as a testimony, equally strong and honorable, of his merit and their liberality; and the manner of it is no less delicate than the motives are noble and disinterested.

“We receive with the greatest respect the honor you have done us personally, by naming us the trustees of your benefaction. Having been long and closely united with General Hamilton by the ties of an intimate friendship, and feeling it to be no less our duty than our wish to render to his family any services that may be in our power, we cannot decline any trouble a trust created for so interesting a purpose may give us. We therefore accept it; and we hope we need not add our assurance that it will be performed with fidelity.

“ We take the liberty to suggest that, in any deed that may be executed by Colonel Pickering for the lands in question, pursuant to your direction, our wish is that the precise objects of the trust may be designated, and that the powers intended to be given to the trustees for the disposition or improvement of the fund may be as definite as the nature of the subject will permit.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

“ JOHN B. CHURCH,

“ NICHOLAS FISH,

“ NATHANIEL PENDLETON.

“ Honorable GEORGE CABOT, THOMAS DAVIS, THEODORE LYMAN.”

At a conference between the above-named executors and Colonel Pickering, the details were fully arranged, and the lands secured to the children of General Hamilton.

This transaction, in all its stages and particulars, is one of the handsomest and most admirable incidents in the personal political history of the country, — as wisely as generously conceived and conducted, and its beneficent results not to be measured by any forms of expression. The gift multiplied itself. The same sum of money in its application became twofold, — securing, to its whole extent, first, the welfare and independence of one, and then provision for the relief and benefit of the bereaved children of another, of the great patriots, soldiers, and statesmen of the early and heroic period of the United States. The act itself, and all the parties to it, deserve to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

CHAPTER II.

Colonel Pickering a Farmer in Essex County, Massachusetts. — Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. — Candidate for a Seat in the House of Representatives in Congress. — Defeated. — Elected to the Senate of the United States. — The Louisiana Treaty. — Amendment of the Constitution, as to Mode of electing President and Vice-President. — Passage with Aaron Burr. — Domestic Correspondence. — Political and miscellaneous Correspondence. — Relations with Jefferson. — George Cabot. — Richard Peters.

1801-1804.

EARLY in 1802, Colonel Pickering established his family on a hired farm in Danvers, about five miles from Salem, which his friends had procured for him ; and he commenced at once those agricultural occupations in which he hoped and expected, for the residue of his days, to find the enjoyments which had been the object of his aspirations and had captivated his imagination from earliest life. His eldest son, John, just returned from some years' residence in foreign countries, was in the law office of Samuel Putnam, at Salem, completing his preparatory professional studies ; the next, Timothy, was in the possession and occupancy of a large and valuable farm in Pennsylvania ; the third, Henry, soon after entered the counting-room of his cousin, Pickering Dodge, who was pursuing a successful career that soon enrolled him among the eminent merchants of Salem : all the younger children — William, aged sixteen ; George, aged thirteen ; Octavius, aged eleven ; and the twin

daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, aged nine years — were either at home with their parents or in the family of their uncle at the old homestead, or with other friends at Salem, enjoying the benefit of good schools. The money raised from the sale of his lands, described in the preceding chapter, after paying every debt, provided an income sufficient to enable him, most advantageously and independently, to render the farm he occupied productive and profitable, and to command every comfort and gratification, within the compass of his desires, for himself and family. His situation was so entirely agreeable to his tastes and wishes as to awaken regret, so far as his personal tranquillity and happiness are regarded, that he was ever after disturbed by the agitations and conflicts of public life.

But, as a matter of course, a man of his experience, abilities, and character, was not suffered to remain in retirement and seclusion. A new series of official and patriotic services was to be entered upon, and another chapter unfolded in his various, eventful, and distinguished life. He was to reappear in another branch of the government of co-ordinate authority and equal eminence with those in which he had borne so great a share in the history of the country.

He had been appointed, in 1775, by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Essex. This situation, as well as that of Judge of Admiralty, and all other local and civil offices, were relinquished when he joined the army of the Revolution as Washington's Adjutant-General. After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, on becoming again a resident and citizen of Massachu-

setts, he was recalled to the former of those judicial positions. The "Salem Gazette," of Friday, October 1st, 1802, has the following : —

"On Tuesday last the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, for this county, were opened at Newburyport, when the Honorable Timothy Pickering, Esq., took his seat upon the bench as Chief Justice, to which office he has lately been appointed by the Governor and Council of this Commonwealth."

The duties of this place did not materially interfere with his agricultural operations, and, no doubt, he found it affording pleasant opportunities of renewing his acquaintance with old brother lawyers, and the people of the county generally, and also of reviving his legal knowledge.

On the 1st of November, 1802, the elections of members of the House of Representatives, for the eighth Congress, took place in the several districts of Massachusetts. The Federalists of the Salem or Essex South District had put Colonel Pickering in nomination; the Democratic candidate was Captain Jacob Crowninshield, who was elected by a majority of one hundred and seven votes. This election was a memorable one on many accounts. Although resulting in the defeat of Colonel Pickering, and in preventing him for a time from becoming a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, it led to his being almost immediately placed on a more conspicuous theatre of political service, where he acted a distinguished part for eight years.

The Democratic party had acceded to the government

of the country, and was in the flush of triumph. Its organization was complete, and it was sustained by popular passions, wrought up to the highest pitch. Jacob Crowninshield was a young and prosperous merchant, of good character and strong family influence. A feeling pervaded the party he represented, not only in that particular district, but throughout the country, that it was of the greatest importance to keep Colonel Pickering out of Congress. His talents, courage, love and capacity for labor, controversial power, the force of his pen, and his great experience and knowledge of public affairs, — particularly in the foreign relations of the country, which were the field upon which parties were then arrayed against each other, — led to an apprehension, fully justified subsequently, that in the national legislature he would prove a champion of the opposition of formidable prowess. Hence desperate and unscrupulous means were employed to defeat his election. The most reckless falsehoods and calumnies were put in circulation by a partisan press, and scattered through the district. A few of them may be noticed, as absurd as they were unfounded.

It is observable, as a testimony unwittingly borne by his political opponents to his commanding talents and influence, that it was assumed by them that he had controlled the government while a member of it; and every thing out of which complaints could be manufactured against the administrations of Washington and Adams was laid at his door. The sailors and fishermen of the district were made to believe that he was responsible and to blame for all the wrongs they had suffered from seizure and impressment by British cruisers. Cases of

individual hardship were wrought up into frightful stories, placarded and circulated in hand-bills broadcast among the uninformed people in seaport towns. Even the captivity, imprisonment, and enslavement of American sailors by Barbary corsairs, were brought against him; and, notwithstanding the great and successful efforts he had made, when Secretary of State, to prevent the evil by negotiating treaties with those powers, he was held up to execration, because he had not paid larger and earlier tributes to the Dey of Algiers. He was openly and audaciously accused of having received bribes in gold, to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars, from Mr. Liston, the British Minister to the United States, and thereby having been induced to barter away to that nation the interests and rights of this country, its merchants and seamen. Of course these were all known by every intelligent person to be absolute and utter calumnies, perfectly ridiculous in themselves, and without the shadow of a fact or probability to sustain them; but, in the clamor, blindness, and rage of a fierce partisan election, with no time to expose them, and when the people were not so well informed as to political matters and manœuvres as they now are, many were deluded to give ear to them, particularly in the seaport towns. The vote of Marblehead was thirty-six for Pickering and two hundred and ninety-three for the Democratic candidate, the latter receiving almost three times the amount of his whole majority in the district from that single town.

These charges against Colonel Pickering, thrown out at random and in ignorance, were not, however, so atrocious as another, which was made against knowl-

edge and the fullest evidence that it was false. It was asserted, in explicit terms, and proclaimed throughout the district, that he had embezzled the public property, and put into his own pocket over seventy-five thousand dollars of the people's money, entrusted to him for the service of the government. The circumstances and the facts were these : —

In the revolution of parties, on the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, there was an entire change in the heads of departments, and, generally, in the subordinate offices. Instigated by a zeal for the public service and for party purposes, the accounts of the various appropriations and disbursements of the public money by the Secretaries and agents of the displaced administration were subjected to a rigorous examination, with a disposition to find matter that could be turned to account. Suspicions and insinuations were directed against some of the outgoing officials. It was rumored that in the war and navy departments there were balances unaccounted for. It was whispered about that such was the case in the state department, while under the administration of Colonel Pickering ; and that his unexpected and sudden removal from office prevented his covering up his deficiencies. His enemies were led to hope that something serious might be found against him. The inadequate and unorganized clerical force in all the departments made it difficult to thread through accounts ; and particularly the secret-service money entrusted to the Secretary of State left a field open for countenancing the idea that there might be something wrong. He was in the woods of Pennsylvania, and knew

nothing of what was going on. If he had been present and his attention called to the subject, he could in a moment have shown that all was right, so far as he was concerned. There was a confident belief, even among his political opponents who were at all acquainted with him, that there was no ground to question his integrity and honor; and they felt it due to him, as well as to the public, to have the books and papers of his office subjected to the most searching scrutiny.

Joseph H. Nicholson, a leading Democrat and prominent member of Congress, from Maryland, offered the following motion in the House of Representatives, on December 8th, 1801: —

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before this House an account of all moneys received by Timothy Pickering, Esq., former Secretary of State, together with Mr. Pickering's account of disbursements and his vouchers for the same."

In presenting this resolution, Mr. Nicholson said that he "conceived the measure necessary on account of the clamor that had been raised, the publications of various newspapers, and the agitation of the public." He considered "it a duty due to his constituents to give them complete satisfaction on this subject." He said that he "had been informed that Mr. Pickering had, in some instances, appropriated more money than he was allowed, and had sometimes appropriated money to purposes, though public purposes, otherwise than ordered." He further said that he did "not wish to single out Mr. Pickering alone;" he wished "equal reference to others." The proposed resolution was not on account of

any doubts in his mind ; he did not “ entertain the least suspicion that Mr. Pickering had ever appropriated to his own use, or defrauded the public of a single dollar ; ” he believed “ him to be a man of irreproachable honesty and integrity.”

On the 14th of December, Mr. Nicholson having concluded that the inquiry ought not to be confined to “ any particular officer, but that it should be extended to all officers who superintended the disbursements of public money,” modifying the original resolution accordingly, proposed referring the subject to a special committee to ascertain and report the facts to the house. A resolution to that effect was adopted without dissent, and a special committee of seven, a majority of whom were Democrats, accordingly appointed.

On the 29th of April, 1802, the committee made a full report, accompanied by a statement by the then Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin. From these documents it appears that the accounts of Messrs. Jefferson, Marshall, and Madison, as Secretaries of State, had each been settled ; that a suit was then pending, instituted by the government, against Mr. Randolph for a deficit in his accounts of fifty-one thousand dollars. As it respected Mr. Pickering's account, Mr. Gallatin says that, with the exception of two items, — for one of which the vouchers had not then been received, and the other suspended by the failure up to that time of another party to make payment, — they had all been settled by the auditor, so far as to “ show that the whole has been applied to public purposes.” The committee say that the two sums mentioned as not yet brought into Mr. Pickering's account, “ it is believed, may and will be re-

ceived from the persons to whom they were respectively advanced." The vouchers for one of them, having to come from abroad, had not then reached the auditor. They were both for public purposes. The committee say that "the principal reason which appears to have prevented an ultimate settlement with Mr. Pickering arises from the circumstance of his not having applied the whole of the money drawn by him from the Treasury to the specific objects for which it was appropriated by law. For the extent and result of this misapplication, the committee refer to the statement, marked C, accompanying the communication of the Secretary of the Treasury. From this statement, it appears that Mr. Pickering drew from the Treasury, under the appropriations made "for defraying the expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations, for negotiating treaties with the Barbary powers, and for the contingent expenses of government," the sum of sixty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine dollars and fifty-seven cents more than he applied to those several objects, which, together with the sum of fourteen thousand five hundred and eighty-eight dollars and fifty-four cents, gained by him in the purchase of bills of exchange for the use of the government, form an aggregate of seventy-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-eight dollars and eleven cents. The same statement C will show that the whole of this sum was expended by him for objects of a public nature (so far as the committee can ascertain the fact). The committee further observe that "they will not say that there are no cases in which a public officer would be justified in applying moneys appropriated to one object to expenditures on another."

A Democratic committee, raised on the motion of a Democratic member of Congress, and supported by a communication from a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, reported that Colonel Pickering had applied all the public moneys entrusted to him to the public service. They leave no room whatever for the charge that he had put a dollar into his own pocket. This report, with the accompanying papers, was published at the time, six months before the election in the Essex South District, and circulated as a Congressional document. Yet in the face of this complete exoneration of Colonel Pickering, the calumnious falsehood was spread through the district that he was a defaulter to the extent of the above sum of seventy-eight thousand five hundred and eighty-eight dollars and eleven cents; while Mr. Nicholson's exalted eulogium on his "irreproachable honesty and integrity" was withheld from the people!

It was not in that day the custom to solicit nominations, or for candidates to take a part in the public proceedings connected with an election. Colonel Pickering remained quietly at his farm, taking no notice of the storm of slander against him raging through the district. In the wild and passionate excitement prevailing in the party opposed to him, the voice of reason could not be heard, or the force of truth appreciated. He well knew that the abuse heaped upon him would, in the end, do more harm to those who propagated it than to him; and that his own political influence would be increased by it, whatever the result of that particular election. There is no evidence that he published or wrote a syllable during the contest. It did not seem to make any im-

pression upon his mind. There is no reference to it in his correspondence at the time, or ever after, except in the most general and casual way. While it was at its height, on the eve of the election, the following appeared in a New York newspaper: —

“A southern gentleman lately paid a visit to Colonel Pickering at his farm in Essex. He found this worthy though much abused citizen, not superintending a set of ill-fed and worse-clad slaves; not amusing himself with cock-fighting, horse-racing, or *hunting for popularity* at a tavern or grog-shop: but literally, like another Cincinnatus, *guiding the plough*; while two of his sons were assisting him in his rural labors. Such is the reply which this celebrated citizen makes to the many slanders which the insatiate, unrelenting malice of political enemies is ever uttering against him. Instead of retaliating their invectives, he lives down their calumnies; and by his conduct convicts them of falsehood and malice.”

On one occasion while working on his farm, in playful conversation having been led to exhibit his hands, he remarked that they would not have been so hard if they had handled so much British gold as his political adversaries alleged.

It may be noticed as a matter of somewhat curious interest, considering their subsequent political history and relations, that, in this election of members of the House of Representatives for Massachusetts, John Quincy Adams was the Federal candidate, in the Boston District, and that he also was defeated by Dr. William Eustis.

The means thus successfully used to keep these two distinguished men from becoming members of the House of Representatives of the United States, so concentrated upon them the attention and interest of their

party that both were called within a few months to a higher field of service and honor.

The opposing candidates for the eighth Congress of the United States in the Essex South District of Massachusetts on the day that body convened, the 17th of October, 1803, appeared and each took his seat,—Crowninshield in the House of Representatives, and Pickering in the Senate; the latter having, in the mean while, been elected by the legislature of the State to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Dwight Foster. Four days afterwards, on the 21st, John Quincy Adams presented his credentials, and was sworn in as a Senator from Massachusetts for the full term, commencing March 4th, 1803.

At this session Colonel Pickering took part in a debate on the "Louisiana Treaty," pointing out with ability the difficulties with which that subject was encumbered by a want of constitutional authority, and particularly from its complication with unadjusted, and then unknown, obligations between France and Spain. In the course of his speech, he threw out a suggestion which shows that he carried his views, as to the rights and powers of States under the Constitution, to an extent equal, to say the least, to that ever taken by those who have made the most clamor on that point. "A treaty," he said, "to be obligatory, must not contravene the Constitution, nor contain any stipulations which transcend the powers therein given to the President and Senate. The treaty between the United States and the French Republic, professing to cede Louisiana to the United States, appeared to him to contain such an exceptionable stipulation,—a stipulation which cannot be

executed by any authority now existing. It is declared in the third article that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States." But neither the President and Senate, nor the President and Congress, are competent to such an act of incorporation. He believed that our administration admitted that this incorporation could not be effected without an amendment of the Constitution; and he conceived that this necessary amendment could not be made in the ordinary mode,—by the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and the ratification by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States. He believed the assent of each individual State to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union; in like manner as, in a commercial house, the consent of each member would be necessary to admit a new partner into the company; and whether the assent of every State to such an indispensable amendment were attainable was uncertain."

In this session, another subject of vital importance was acted upon, in which Colonel Pickering took a very deep interest, mingling in the debates upon it, and corresponding in reference to it extensively with leading men throughout the country. It was the amendment of the Constitution in the provisions for the election of President and Vice-President. The Constitution, as it was framed, required that each elector in the several States should vote for two persons, one of whom should not be an inhabitant of the same State as himself, without designating them distinctively whether for President or Vice-President; that the person having the highest number of votes, if a majority of all the electors in the

several States, should be President, and the one having the next highest number of votes should be Vice President; and that if two persons should be found to have an equal number of votes, and that a majority of all the electors in the several States, the House of Representatives, voting by States, should elect either of them to be President, and the other should be Vice-President.

In the then recent election, Jefferson and Burr having received a majority of votes, and an equal number, the determination which of them should be President devolved upon the House of Representatives, that body having a right, by the terms and the intent of the constitutional provision, freely to exercise and give effect to its preference. For some time there was reason to apprehend that Burr would be chosen. This would have violated the wishes of the Democratic party, and probably have broken it up. The excitement thus occasioned became intense. Hence arose a desperate resolve, and a vehement clamor, to get rid of the constitutional provision, which had brought the party to the verge of shipwreck at the very moment of its fancied triumph. An amendment of the Constitution on this point was needed for another party purpose. The Virginia succession, by which three men living in the interior of that State, and almost in sight of each other, shared between themselves the Presidency of the United States for six consecutive terms, covering a period of twenty-four years, was probably in the contemplation of the managers of the party, certainly so far as it comprehended Mr. Madison; but, as these men belonged to the same State, no elector of that State could vote for both of them. This

could not surely be accomplished without getting rid of the obnoxious and dangerous constitutional provision ; and further, it was rendered necessary, in order to organize the party securely always under one head

An amendment of the Constitution was therefore demanded ; and the demand was strengthened, as subsequent events and development awakened a general feeling that it would have been disastrous to have had Burr elected over Jefferson.

The subject was introduced to the Senate on the fourth day of its session, October 21st, 1803. On the 23d of November, regular debate commenced on a form of amendment to the effect that electors should name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President ; and in the event of no person having a majority of the votes of all the electors, then, from the three highest on the list of persons voted for as President, the House of Representatives should choose the President. In this debate the two senators of Massachusetts took part. Mr. Adams strenuously urged that, instead of the "three highest," the five highest should, in the case of no one person having a majority, be submitted to the house. Colonel Pickering said, "that he had not intended to have spoken on this question, so far as it concerned the numbers ; but, as he should probably vote differently from his colleague, he conceived it proper to give his motives for his vote. His wishes for the entire preservation of the Constitution were so strong that he regretted any change was contemplated to be made in it, and he wished if an alteration was made to keep as near as possible to the spirit of the Constitution as it now is ; and it appeared

to him that the number *three* conformed more to that spirit than the number *five*. He believed it to be the intention of the Constitution that the people should *elect*. As to what gentlemen said concerning the will of the people, he paid but little regard to it. The will of the people! he did not know how the will of the people could be known, how gentlemen came by it: it would not be asserted that it was to be found in the newspapers or in private society; in truth he believed it never had been fairly expressed on this subject. He wished to avoid innovations on the Constitution, and to preserve the combined operation of federative and popular principles upon which it rested unimpaired."

Some days afterward, again taking part in the debate, he said that he would not have risen again but to repel a misrepresentation. He had not said "that the will of the people was never to be regarded." He had expressed his belief that the people had viewed the subject under consideration very superficially; and therefore that their opinion or their will ought not to determine the votes of the legislature. He recollected that some three or four years ago he had heard mentioned the designating principle now contended for, and that it had struck him agreeably, as some inconvenience had occurred in the present constitutional mode of electing the President and Vice-President, to which the designating principle seemed to offer a remedy. He well remembered, however, to have heard at that time a few persons of the first intelligence and patriotism say that this principle was pregnant with mischief. But he had not then investigated the subject; he had indeed viewed it very superficially. Since that time he had been a farmer, and without leisure or occa-

sion to examine it. Thus circumstanced, he had thought himself not very uncharitable in supposing the opinion of his brother farmers, who composed the great body of the nation, to be as superficial and incorrect as his own. He would go farther, and say that he believed the legislative bodies who had advised the adoption of the proposed amendment had also viewed it superficially.

When this amendment was first urged upon the Senate, the motive was declared to be to prevent a recurrence of such a state of things as had happened at the last election of President, when the choice came constitutionally before the House of Representatives. The division of the States in that house, suspending for several days any choice, had brought us, as some gentlemen had said, to the brink of a civil war. And an honorable member from Georgia (Mr. Jackson) had told us that if Mr. Jefferson had not been elected the citizens of that State would have been ready, and he was disposed to believe the citizens of their sister State, South Carolina, would have been equally ready, to have taken up arms in his behalf. "And were," Mr. Pickering asked, "the people of the United States thus early decrepit, thus early corrupt, that, like the old monarchies of Europe, for the sake of one man, they would have rushed to arms, and involved their country in a civil war? On that one man, indeed, the honorable gentleman had repeatedly pronounced his eulogies: *he* was unimpeachable; *he* was beyond the reach of censure. Others, however, thought differently. He believed there was abundant room for censure, but he should waive it. Men are often blind, not only to their own faults, but those of their friends. In politics men dif-

ferred in their opinions of men and things, as in religion they differed as to their religious tenets. Hence the poet's remark: —

‘ One thinks on Calvin Heaven's own spirit fell,
Another deems him instrument of hell.’

“ But the great motive for the proposed amendment at first expressed by its friends, seems not now to be relied on; while a gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Cocke), with great simplicity, has told us what was its real object: ‘ that the majority of the Republicans may obtain the man of their choice, and, with certainty, prevent the election of either a Federal President or Vice-President.’ And a gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Taylor) has suggested that the proposed amendment would *finally destroy the minority*. And it was by such destruction Mr. Pickering supposed ‘ that harmony was to be restored to social intercourse!’ But he would quote an authority, which certainly the advocates of the amendment would respect. This authority had declared ‘ that the minority possess equal rights, and that the will of the majority, to be rightful, must be reasonable.’ ”

The authority referred to is Mr. Jefferson, and the words quoted are from his first inaugural address.

Colonel Pickering proceeded to show that it was the design of the Constitution, as originally framed and then in force, to secure a person for Vice-President most eminently qualified to act as President. “ The President and Vice-President were to be chosen for four years. In case the office of President became vacant, the Vice-President would succeed, and be charged with all the duties of the President; and this might happen to be

for two or three years, or even for four years, if the President should die between the time of his election and the period of his taking upon himself the government. It was, therefore, an object of the highest importance to place the election of Vice-President on such ground as, if possible, would necessarily produce the choice of one every way qualified for the office of President. And this would be the happy result of a correct adherence to the present constitutional mode of electing those two great officers. All the difficulty, all the embarrassment, which had hitherto been experienced, had arisen from a palpable departure from the plain constitutional rule, from the electors acting on the discriminating principle; not, indeed, by designating by name, but in their minds which of the two persons voted for should be the President, and which the Vice-President; a designation forbidden by the spirit, if not by the letter, of the Constitution. If the electors, laying aside all attempts to give one of the candidates for President an advantage over the other, vote for two men, each possessing the qualifications requisite for that high office, it will then be a matter of much indifference, as it respects the great interests of the nation, which becomes the President and which the Vice-President. The evil arising from the non-observance, by the electors, of this plain rule, would, after a few elections, work its own cure."

During one-seventh part of the time since the delivery of this speech, the presidential chair has been occupied by persons elected to be Vice-Presidents. Colonel Pickering further remarked on this occasion: "Much had been said about the interests of the large and of the small States, and those of the latter it was conceived

would be deeply affected by the proposed alteration of the Constitution; but, without adding to the numerous observations which had been made on that subject, he would only remark, what on all sides had been admitted, that the Constitution was the result of compromise,—of mutual sacrifices of State interests, of local wishes and attachments, to the common good. The General Convention, after long and full deliberation and discussion, had adjusted the balance of power among the States comprising the Union; and there was great danger, by making any alterations in the Constitution, that this balance would be destroyed. It was inexpedient frequently to change the ordinary acts of legislation; it was dangerous to be often changing the fundamental laws of a State; and still more dangerous to change those which, like the Constitution of the United States, form the bond of union among a great number of Confederate States. It was only in case of great and manifold evil, arising under a Constitution, that an amendment should be attempted. Such a case did not now exist.”

It is quite important that public men and political writers, who are proposing new methods for the election of President and Vice-President, should bear in mind the considerations presented in the above paragraph by Colonel Pickering. The rights of the States, as such, especially the smaller States, which are at the foundation of the constitutional compact, should be held sacred. The amendment that proposes a direct election by the whole people of the country, to be determined by a simple majority of votes, would sweep the rights of the States, and particularly of the smaller States, wholly away.

Surely a two-thirds vote for such an amendment could not, and ought not, to be obtained in the Senate, which is the guardian of the States, and where they all, and always, stand equal.

At the close of the debate, on the evening of December 3d, 1803, the question on the proposed amendment was taken, — twenty-two in the affirmative, and ten in the negative; both the Massachusetts Senators voting in the negative. The President of the Senate declared the question carried by two-thirds, although Mr. Tracy of Connecticut, at the time, protested against the decision of the chair, declaring it to be “the intention of the Constitution that there should be two-thirds of the whole number of Senators elected, which would make the number necessary to its passage twenty-three.” At any rate it was carried in the Senate by one vote; for if a single Senator voting in the affirmative had voted in the negative, it would have been lost. It passed the House of Representatives also by a single vote, the requisite two-thirds having been obtained by the Speaker’s claiming and exercising a right to vote.

The amendment of the Constitution, thus forced through the two Houses of Congress by barely the requisite number of votes in each, by the same extreme party pressure, aided by a temporary and accidental condition of the public mind, obtained ratification by the necessary proportion of the States; and, from that day to this, has been part of the Constitution of the United States. The agitations and apprehensions occasioned by the protracted ballotings in the House of Representatives in deciding between Jefferson and Burr, and the exigencies of a particular political party, are of little

weight in an extended view. They were transient, exceptional, and personal, and of no substantial and permanent moment; but the history of the country shows the consequences of having heeded them. A party, extending through the nation, comprehending a moiety, not always a majority, has been enabled to present a more compact organization; and, for more than half a century, substituted its control over the government of the country, without the forms of law,—in caucuses and conventions, and leaving the constitutional forms a mere shadow and empty name,—for the sovereignty of the whole people. For more than half of one term, and within a month each of two other full terms of four years, Vice-Presidents have borne the title and been clothed with the powers of President, never having received a vote for that office, and who would not have been selected by their respective parties for it. This certainly is not in accordance with the principles of republican institutions; and, in some instances and particulars, has exerted an unpropitious influence. If the original provisions of the Constitution had been suffered to stand, the lessons of experience would have taught more wisdom and discrimination in the management of parties; and, although some particular schemes might have been thwarted or delayed, both and all parties would have had a rightful voice in the House of Representatives when the final decision devolved on that body, and an effectual check been put upon the disreputable and degrading tendency to *one-man worship*. The electors of each and every party would have voted for the *two* persons best qualified in their estimation for the great office, and the country been provided always,

with eminently suitable men for its Presidents, which ever party prevailed, and in all contingencies.

The second session of the eighth Congress was opened on the 5th of November, 1804. The impeachment trial of Judge Samuel Chase, of the Supreme Court of the United States, which resulted in his acquittal, occupied a large part of the time of the Senate. Both the Senators of Massachusetts voted throughout in his favor.

On the 3d of December, Colonel Pickering, in pursuance of instructions from the Massachusetts legislature, gave notice of his intention the next day to ask leave to introduce a resolution for the purpose of "amending the Constitution of the United States, in such manner that Representatives and direct taxes may be apportioned among the several States, according to the number of their free inhabitants respectively." On the 7th, the resolution was read, "and ordered to lie for consideration." Of course, it never was allowed to be taken from the table. Among Colonel Pickering's papers is a brief of the argument he intended to make had an opportunity occurred.

"1. Freemen alone can exercise the powers of government, — slaves merely a species of property.

"2. When the Constitution was formed, it was supposed that the national expenses could not be provided for without resorting to direct taxes.

"3. But experience has shown that the public revenues, arising from indirect taxes, will generally be competent to the public expenditures, and that direct taxes will be resorted to only in cases of extreme necessity.

"4. The inequality in representation which existed when the Constitution was formed, has increased, and is increasing by the gradual or entire abolition of slavery in one portion of the Union, and by the importation and natural multiplication of slaves in the other.

“5. This inequality will be still more extended by the acquisition of Louisiana.”

This argument, without having recourse to the moral and philanthropic sentiments belonging to the subject, would have been found sufficient in the end to eradicate the evil. If statesmen, and those addressing the public mind, had confined themselves to it, it would have accomplished the desired result. Direct taxation having disappeared, its equivalent — slave representation — could not always have been endured as an element of political power. No species of property existing in the free States, neither lands nor ships nor houses nor capital nor factories nor machinery, went into the ratio of representation; and, on this ground, it was clear that slaves ought not. It constituted a sectional inequality that could not be vindicated or explained, and would have had to yield before the just demands of an enlightened public sense. It was, after all, because slave-property thus carried with it political privilege and power, and continued to be suffered so to do, that it was clung to with such increasing tenacity, and such desperate efforts were made not only to perpetuate it, but to extend its area. It is for thoughtful minds, observant of the laws and conditions of political ideas and movements, to judge whether, if a persistent agitation had been confined to the point presented by Colonel Pickering, it would not, without involving the subject in personal criminations or moral reproaches, thus maddening the passions and blinding the eyes of the people, have accomplished the great end without drenching the country with fraternal blood.

There is one more incident of the eighth Congress

that claims notice in a Biography of Colonel Pickering. At its opening, Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, was in his chair as President of the Senate. The attempt, three years before, to make him President over Jefferson, when the election took place by the House of Representatives, although the latter was known to be the universal choice of the Democratic party, had brought upon Burr their deepest condemnation. They had utterly abandoned him, and just elected George Clinton, of New York, to succeed him. The having killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, only a few months before, made him an object of abhorrence with the Federal party. The angry resentment awakened throughout the country among all classes of people by this occurrence is remarkable, and almost inexplicable. Burr was himself astounded at it. Many public characters had fought duels, and killed their men, without being pursued by any thing like such wide-spread indignation. Under all the circumstances, Burr was completely prostrate. He was regarded as a ruined man, with the mark of Cain for ever stamped upon him. A feeling of pity was excited in some breasts. This feeling, perhaps artfully worked upon, led John Smith, a Senator from New York, on the 19th of February, 1805, to give notice that he should, the next day, ask leave to bring in a bill, "freeing from postage all letters and packets to and from Aaron Burr." On the 27th, the bill was ordered to a third reading. But so objectionable did it appear to some that the yeas and nays were ordered. The vote was eighteen in the affirmative and nine in the negative. When, the next day, the bill again came up, a motion was made to "postpone the further consideration thereof

until the first Monday in December next," which passed in the negative, —yeas, twelve; nays, eighteen. On the main question, "at this stage, it was determined in the affirmative," —yeas, eighteen; nays, thirteen. All this while, on the several stages of the bill, the Vice-President appears to have been in the chair. Although the proceedings were painfully personal, and notwithstanding the magic power ascribed to the presence of Burr, particularly as a presiding officer, there were some Senators who could not be satisfied with a silent vote, and their number increased at each stage in the progress of the bill. They thought that, to a man of Burr's great ability and known propensity to political intrigue, it was not consistent with the public welfare, in possible future contingencies, to give permanently the franking privilege, but were restrained from uttering their sentiments in his presence otherwise than by their votes.

At the final question upon this bill, a scene occurred not reported in the "Annals of Congress." The writer of this Biography heard it from the lips of Mr. Hillhouse, whose seat in the Senate was near that of Colonel Pickering. It will be given in his own words, as they are well remembered. Burr rose, and said, "Is the Senate ready for the question? Shall this bill be passed?" He paused, looking around to see if any Senator was proposing to speak. Colonel Pickering was observed to rise. Burr recognized him, — "the Senator from Massachusetts," — and sunk back into his seat. Their eyes met; neither quailed. The Senate was awed into breathless silence. Colonel Pickering spoke as follows: —

"MR. PRESIDENT: Who, Sir, are dangerous men in this republic? Not those who have reached the summit of place

and power, for their ambition is satisfied. I tell you, Sir, who are dangerous men. Those who have ascended to the last round *but one* on the political ladder, and whose vaulting ambition will never be satisfied until they have stood upon the topmost round. Sir, I vote against this bill."

The moral courage of the act, the boldness of manner and mien, the force of the illustration, and the condensed brevity of the speech, sent a thrill through the Senate. Not another word was uttered on the floor. The clerk called the roll, and the vote was taken.

The bill went to the house. It was read on the 1st of March twice, "and committed to a committee of the whole on the first Monday of December next." So the house seemed to take the same view of the subject with Colonel Pickering. The bill was heard of no more.

Passages of domestic and miscellaneous correspondence will exhibit the private life and social intercourse of Colonel Pickering during his service as Senator in the eighth Congress. The following are extracts from his letters to his wife:—

"CITY OF WASHINGTON, October 17th, 1808.

"I arrived here the fourteenth instant in perfect health. Although but few cases of the yellow-fever existed in Philadelphia, I and my companions thought it prudent to shun it, and we accordingly passed only by its skirts; and, of course, I had no opportunity of seeing any of our friends. Stopping at Gray's Ferry, Dr. Cutler and I went to Mr. Hamilton's, at his elegant seat, called Woodlands, on the Schuylkill, where we lodged."

"October 26th. No absence of twenty days from home ever appeared so long as the present; it seems as though I must look back half a year to find the day of my departure."

"November 7th.—I never enjoyed better health. I am most agreeably associated as to my fellow-lodgers: Mr. Hillhouse and Mr. Dana, old acquaintances, with other members

from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, — in all, eleven in number; and we have a very good house, not a quarter of a mile from the Capitol, with a landlord and landlady uncommonly obliging.”

At this time, Colonel Pickering heard of the very dangerous illness of his daughter Elizabeth, but the same mail brought him intelligence that she was slightly better. Writing to his wife, November 8th, he says: —

“Last evening, John’s of the 28th and 29th ultimo were brought to me. They afforded comfort (with affliction) in the prospect of Elizabeth’s recovery. Within two days, I trust, I shall receive advice of her returning to a state of health; or is the third bright ornament of our family to be taken from us? O God, avert so heavy a calamity! I will trust in his mercy to save us from the distress. The season, mild and temperate, is favorable to her restoration. I am charmed with the composure and fortitude with which she bears the sickness.”

He soon heard of her complete recovery. Writing to his wife again, November 26th, he says: —

“Your situation will be indeed lonesome; but I persuade myself that some of our nieces will, in turn, go up and stay with you. And, as to the little girls, whenever you are sitting, you must make them read to you by turns. This will improve them, and entertain their mother.

“Colonel Tallmadge (whom perhaps you may remember in the army) and Mr. Baldwin, both Representatives from Connecticut, are added to our society.”

Two of Colonel Pickering’s sons, the fifth and seventh, William and George, became the victims of mental malady. They were youths of fine promise, and no explanation could be given of the failure of their faculties. Both died in asylums for the insane. William at the age of twenty-eight, and George of thirty-six years of age. William, at his own urgent request, had been

carried by his father to the Starucca farm, to live with his brother Timothy. Some time before the date of the following letter, Timothy had written to his father, informing him that William had given indications of something being wrong in his mind, principally in the form of occasional slight melancholy hallucinations; and Henry had been sent on to accompany Timothy in bringing William home to his parents:—

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, January 12th, 1804.

“MY DEAR BECKEY,

“I have just received (as I expected) a letter from Henry, at Cherry Valley, where he arrived on Friday, the 30th of December. His letter is dated January 3d (Tuesday), and says he expected Tim there the next day; and that then (or the next day) the three brothers would set off for Salem. I suppose they must all have reached Salem by this time.

“Henry expresses a hope that I may soon go home. I will, if it be deemed indispensable; though, probably, Congress will not rise till April. Henry thinks a foreign voyage may be necessary for William. I cannot undertake to determine. I beg you to consult our friends, who will be competent to advise for the best. I shall be perfectly satisfied with your and their determination.

“William’s supposed offence towards his parents seems to press him down to despondency. I hope you will be able to satisfy him that he has committed no offence towards us; or, if he has, that we from our hearts forgive him.

“Merciful God! interpose for the relief of our dear son! Restore him to health of body and composure of mind; and yet render him a blessing and a comfort to his parents and friends.”

Writing again to his wife, January 20th, he says:—

“It is impossible for me to advise what had best be done; because it must depend on the state of his mind. If he is capable of receiving comfort from you and his friends, I know it will be administered with all the tenderness which a mother,

brothers, sisters, and friends can feel. As he manifested much anxiety lest I should not forgive him, — my heart bleeds at the idea, and tears run down my cheeks, — oh, assure him, make him believe, that he has no occasion for my forgiveness, because he has done nothing to offend me. No one lives without sometimes erring in judgment, and he has done no more. Assure him of my love, and that I will do any thing possible to render him happy.

“ Almighty God and most merciful Father, have pity on our dear son ; compose his mind ; let him be comforted, and rest satisfied in the assurance of his parents’ love.

“ My dear Beckey, I know your fortitude as well as your tenderness. You will consider this affliction as one of the trials incident to our state of existence here ; and, though we deeply deplore it, it becomes us, as dependent creatures, to submit to the dispensations of our all-wise Creator and Governor ; and, as Christians especially, to be resigned to the will of God. If rightly improved, the afflictions of Christians (as the Apostle says) will work out for them an eternal weight of glory.

“ Give my love to the dear little girls. Let them not neglect reading and writing daily. Make them read to you by turns. Should William be well enough to be with you, perhaps he can be persuaded to read likewise aloud. In this case, I wish John to select, whether from my own or some other library, books that will entertain without requiring deep attention.”

“ January 27th. Your account of William is vastly more favorable than my fears would allow me to hope. I trust, in God’s mercy, that William may be wholly restored, and be, what he used to be, a most obedient and amiable son.

“ I suggested, in some former letters, that, if agreeable to William, it might be useful for him to take the entire care of some portion of the cattle, — the young ones, for instance. I mean in *feeding* them only. I thought, also, that he might take pleasure in teaching his little sisters to read, write, and cipher. I would propose that the girls themselves might make the request to William to be their teacher. This would give him an idea of his being useful and of some importance.”

“February 16th. How do the little girls pass their time? Do they read daily and write frequently? Mary’s letter was very handsomely written. I must insist on their each writing me a short letter, not for the sake of the *sentiments*, but that I may see their *handwriting*. They may each copy a *few lines of poetry*, such as they shall choose, and let *that* supply the place of a letter, with only a few introductory and concluding words. I, at present, think of laboring less the ensuing summer, and paying particular attention to their education, and reading myself more than formerly. There are some books which will be especially interesting to me as a public man; and others that will afford a literary repast to us both, and, at the same time, engage the attention of the little girls.”

During the summer of 1804, Colonel Pickering hired a farm in Upper Beverly, to which he had removed his family before returning to Washington, to attend the second session of the eighth Congress.

The following are passages from his letters to his wife, after again leaving home: —

“City of Washington, December 27th, 1804. Last evening I received a Philadelphia newspaper, containing the enclosed paragraph of the death of our dear friend, Mrs. Peters. As I passed through Philadelphia, I dined with the whole family, all cheerful and happy, and, excepting Maria, all in good health. The character given of the deceased, to a stranger, would seem highly wrought; but you and I, who knew her superior excellence, will pronounce it just.

“Such is the lot of humanity, and it becomes all to submit to the dispensations of Heaven. But, considering our frailty and the absolute uncertainty of life, and the numerous ills which unavoidably attend it, how desirable that, while we live, we should strive to lessen those ills by mutual kind attentions, and multiply and increase our enjoyments by participation, and all the gentle, soothing endearments of which human nature is capable. May God preserve our lives, continue them while they can be useful to ourselves,

our children, and our friends ; and unite us in happiness for ever ! ”

Writing to her, January 7th, 1805, he says : —

“ Time, in *advance*, moves slowly ; time *past* has eagle’s wings. Dr. Young, I think, expresses a sentiment of this kind in his ‘ Night Thoughts.’ You and I have lived to pronounce it just. Although the various scenes through which we have passed (which very few experience) have apparently prolonged our existence, yet, even to us, the twenty-nine years we have lived together seem but a short space ; and I am not able to contemplate my sixtieth year without a degree of surprise. In youth few, I believe very few, look forward to old age : it seems to be at such a long distance that they hardly raise their eyes to discover it. And when we contemplate (as we all do) a continuance in life, is it not without any idea of growing old ? We know, indeed, that living long, we must become aged ; but we do not *realize* it. At the same time, all form expectations of happiness which are sure, in a greater or less degree, to be disappointed. This seems to be a wise and kind disposal of Providence, to prevent man from sinking into despondency. Buoyed up with *hope*, he forms, and prosecutes with ardor, the various enterprises which constitute the business of human life. And, doubtless, it is *constant employment* which is the certain and universal source of enjoyment on earth. Of all persons, those are the most wretched who have nothing to do. But, while absolute *vacuity* would be *misery*, some respite from *laborious* employment would be desirable. I do not know that this will ever be our lot. I am thankful that I can look forward without dread on unceasing occupation. And I see increased cause for gratitude to the Ruler of the world, when comparing my own circumstances with those of the multitude of our mortal race suffering greater afflictions than I ever knew. And I feel a humble confidence that our heavenly Father will continue his favor towards us in such degree that we shall ever deem life a blessing for earthly enjoyments ; while we raise our thoughts in contemplating our present existence as a *probationary state*, a *school of discipline and instruction*, in

which we are to be prepared for admission into the assembly of the saints and of angels, to spend an eternity in the presence and worship of the Great Source of being and happiness.

“ I brought with me ‘ The Task ’ (by Cowper). I have read it with renewed pleasure. He is generally serious, sometimes gloomy, but always instructive. Of all poets, he most constantly calls the attention of his readers to the concerns of another world ; and, therefore, no book can be read, by persons of all ages, more profitably. I promise myself much satisfaction in reading it again to you, together with his life and letters (which a fellow-lodger has lent me), which are in themselves a magazine of instruction and delight, and which explain many parts of ‘ The Task.’ God preserve you, my dear Beckey.”

“ February 2d, 1805. I received a letter from John, in which he mentions his suffering by a fall on the ice ; but was well again. His Aunt Sargeant he supposed to be drawing near her end ; so probably I shall never see her again in this world. There is, among Price’s ‘ Dissertations ’ (in my library), an interesting discourse on the probability of the meeting of Christian friends in another world. You would derive much satisfaction from the perusal.

“ While we are in the world, we must attend to the things of the world ; but the longer we live the more we see to convince us of its vanity, of its insufficiency to satisfy immortal minds, and of the necessity of looking forward beyond the grave. However, while we remain here, it is our duty not to repine or to despond : either would prove us ungrateful to the Parent of the universe. It is, on the contrary, our duty to enjoy Heaven’s bounty. ‘ To enjoy is to obey.’ ‘ The ways of Providence are dark,’ intricate, and, to our capacities, mysterious and unaccountable : but, convinced of the existence of an *omnipotent* Being, of his *infinite wisdom* ; and that, almighty power and infinite wisdom must have the attributes of *justice* and *mercy*, — here we should rest and resign ourselves, with profound humility, to his dispensations.”

“ February 10th. I find that the legislature of Massachusetts were to choose a Senator, on Wednesday, the 30th of

January, and that I was one of the candidates. I do not know the result; and, indeed, feel little solicitude about it. Were it not for the education of our young children, in which the appointment would give me aid, I would very willingly be excused. With the delightful moral poet, Cowper, I say:—

‘the country wins me still:
I never framed a wish or formed a plan
That flattered me with hopes of earthly bliss,
But there I laid the scene.’

Yet I am hitherto disappointed,—the cause, the want of a competent fortune to enable me to live without *incessant toil*. Whether it will ever be otherwise, I know not; but I will not (and I thank Heaven in the possession of such a temper), I will not make myself unhappy by anticipation. You are, like me, exempt from ambition: and a very plain style of living will satisfy both of us; and, for so much, I trust I am already provided. Whatever, therefore, shall be the issue of the election, I am prepared to meet it. Indeed, I should seldom have thought of it but for the inquiries and apparent solicitude of my fellow-lodgers.”

Writing to his wife, two days later, February 12th, he says:—

“I received a Salem paper, which mentioned the death of sister Sargeant; and thus is made the first breach in a numerous family of brothers and sisters, all advanced to what may be called old age.”

It is a noticeable feature of Colonel Pickering’s correspondence with his wife and sons, even when the latter were mere boys, that it was marked with the same respect for their understandings as in his letters to others,—men of business, or distinguished characters.—discussing with them public affairs and points of literature, morals, or religion, as with equals. This was always observable in his conversation and manners with the young and persons in humble life. He assumed

nothing from his age or eminence of position. But while still preserving this respectful tone in writing to his children, he neglected no opportunity to discharge his duty as their natural preceptor. He freely criticised their letters, and pointed out every error and defect of language, expression, or style. And this manner of treating his children was, perhaps, one of the secrets of his success in bringing them up. There is no indication of his ever having had occasion to criticise or correct them in any thing else.

Writing from Washington, November 26th, 1803, to his son Henry, then in Salem, he says: —

“Your mother will be so much alone, you must go up as often as possible. I think you might spend every Sunday in Danvers (the weather permitting) with one or other of your female cousins. I presume Tim will be with you soon. Buy new writing copies for the girls. Make them weekly stocks of pens.”

“February 10th, 1804. From present appearances, and the tediousness of legislative proceedings in Congress, it is probable we shall not rise till after the middle of April.”

After having made some arrangements to continue to hire the farm in Danvers he was then occupying, another in Upper Beverly, much more convenient and suitable for his purposes, was presented to his notice. Writing to Henry, March 1st, he says: —

“I had written to your mother to see the executor, and take a new lease for one year of Dr. Putnam’s farm. I hope and trust this was not done. Should a lease have been taken, and a tenant cannot be found to occupy it on the same terms, and the executor and widow insist on holding me to the lease, I must submit. But I doubt not it will be otherwise. It is true there is no lease signed by me; but if, in consequence of my letter to your mother she should have made an engage-

ment, it would, to me, be the same as if I had executed a formal lease."

There was no difficulty in making the desired change, and the family removed to the Beverly farm.

In a letter to Henry, January 2d, 1805, he remarks:—

"By the way, you wrote that word *flow'ry*. Now it is not proper, in *prose writing*, to abbreviate words in that manner. I am much pleased with your epistolary writing. The composition is so easy and so correct."

"January 27th, 1805. Give the enclosed to your mother when an opportunity offers. We have a Scottish clergyman here, who is one of the Chaplains to Congress. He furnished one of my fellow-lodgers with two verses by Robert Burns, on Tom Paine, which, it seems, are not published in Burns's works. I enclose them.

"I have here had an opportunity of reading some of Burns's poems and letters. He was a wonderful man. His letters are admirable, and he discovers a noble independence of spirit, not surpassed by any man that ever lived."

The following is the enclosure:—

"VERSES BY ROBERT BURNS (THE AYRSHIRE PLOUGHMAN), OCCASIONED BY A REPORT OF THE DEATH OF TOM PAINE.

"All pale and ghastly Tammy Paine,
Last night gaed down to hell,
The devil shook him by the hand,
Says, 'Tam, I hope you're well.'

"He led him to a furnace het,
And on him shut the door;
Oh, how the devils lep and laugh,
To hear the rascal roar!"

"February 1st, 1805. Alas! for your poor brother William. His case is so desperate I fear that human skill will operate in vain: the object of my daily prayers; I conclude them with petitions for resignation to the dispensations of Providence, and that this affliction may make impressions on his parents, brothers, and sisters, permanently useful. The

scriptures assure us that *whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth*; and that, although *no chastening is for the present joyous, but grievous, it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness*. I particularly wish, my dear Henry, so pure a mind as yours to be enriched with the knowledge and the consolations of Christianity. Read the New Testament; in which, indeed, especially in the writings of St. Paul, are 'some things hard to be understood;' but enough is plain to lead us in the path to heaven. Read also Paley's 'Evidences of the Truth of Christianity.' You will find the book in my library."

"February 12th. You are in the habit of writing fast, and are in danger of writing illegibly, especially *proper names*, for which there is no clew to find the letters composing them, if these be ill-formed. I have cut your Christian name from your last letter, which, seen elsewhere, you would not know to be your own. The H is a pretty good W."

"February 27th. Your sentiments of Burns are well expressed, but in language too flowery, and only admissible in the youthful period of life, like yours. But let not this intimation check your writing to me with the utmost freedom, for to no one may you with more confidence open your bosom than to your affectionate father."

In Colonel Pickering's letters while at Washington — and indeed whenever he was away from home — to his wife and son Henry, there were the fullest and minutest advices and directions in reference to domestic and household matters, and the management of the farm, its products and stock, given for the purpose of lightening their cares and promoting their comfort and welfare, as well as for improving the property, and rendering it valuable and profitable. In his thoughts and heart, he was never absent from home. At the same time, he kept up an extensive general correspondence, political and miscellaneous, as important questions arose or occasion required.

His speech in the Senate on the Louisiana treaty has

been briefly noticed, and some of its points described. It attracted great attention, particularly, of course, among the leading men of the Federal party, in all sections of the country. Much correspondence arose with them in relation to it. The acquisition of Louisiana, by treaty, was unauthorized by, if not in conflict with, the Constitution. It was known that President Jefferson himself admitted this. The precedent was felt to be fraught with danger; but the act was done, and could not be undone. Some of the supporters of the administration took the ground that a treaty, ratified by the Senate, became itself thereby a part and parcel of the Constitution. Others would not go so far, admitting that a treaty could only be legitimate in so far as authorized by, or in conformity with, the Constitution. To avoid the difficulty, it was proposed to procure an amendment of the Constitution, retroactive in its effect, thereby rendering the Louisiana treaty constitutional. This suggestion is disposed of by Fisher Ames, in a characteristic letter to Stephen Higginson, returning one the latter had received from Colonel Pickering: —

“DEDHAM, JANUARY 27th, 1804.

“The letter of Colonel P. is worthy of him. I meddle very little with constitutional questions. The Jacobins despise those niceties. An amendment *now* is like getting a dentist to put an artificial tooth into a dead man's head. I think the funeral can proceed very decently without it. How it can be admitted that the Louisiana Treaty is unwarranted by the Constitution, and yet is of obligation and must be carried into effect, is past my wits. It seems the powers that be concern themselves little about the Constitution. The *fact* that the treaty is carried into effect is enough for them.”

The amendment of the Constitution as to the mode of choosing a President and Vice-President, and Colonel

Pickering's course in reference to it while the question was pending in the Senate, have been described. The subject was regarded by him with the most profound interest, and his labors to prevent the change were unwearied. He appealed, in earnest letters to eminent and influential persons of all parties and in all sections of the Union, to examine the question seriously and dispassionately, and bring their weight to preserve the Constitution as it was framed, and had been solemnly adopted, as the permanent compact upon which the government of the United States rested. The following letter was addressed to Thomas McKean, Governor of Pennsylvania: —

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, December 19th, 1808.

“SIR,

“Many years an inhabitant of Pennsylvania, — where, indeed, I expected to have passed the remainder of my days, — and having a son planted there for life, I feel a sensible interest in its great public concerns. This sensibility is increased by a consideration of the influence of so powerful a State on the still greater acts of the nation. When our country is in danger, or a breach in our great bond of union is contemplated, men of sober reflection, of whatever political party, will combine for their protection and defence.

“A momentous question, till now by very few investigated, has lately been discussed in the two Houses of Congress. It has issued in a proposed amendment of the Constitution, relative to the mode of electing the President and Vice-President of the United States. The resolution, as it passed in the two houses, has probably reached you by this time, to be laid before the legislature of Pennsylvania. You will find it unintelligible in a very essential part. I refer to this passage: ‘and, if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.’ That it is

really unintelligible was demonstrated in that house by the material diversity of constructions put upon it by different members, who were the decided friends of what is called the 'designating principle.'

"I do not know, Sir, your opinion on this great point, though I cannot but suppose an enlightened mind, looking beyond the interests and the passions of the moment, must be opposed to an obliteration of what appeared to the General Convention the fairest feature in the Constitution, — the complex mode it prescribes for appointing the two highest officers of the national government. At all events, a statesman, a lawyer, and a man of science, with pleasure will taste the fruit of genius, on whatever stock produced. I therefore take the liberty to enclose to you Mr. Tracey's speech on the great constitutional question.

"Permit me to mention the gratification afforded to gentlemen of discernment by the firm resistance you have opposed to the torrent of popular delusion on the subject of your judiciary. God grant that your efforts may be effectual to support the temple of justice, until the people, returning to sober thought, shall abandon an attack whose fatal success would overwhelm themselves and posterity in ruin."

The "unintelligibleness" in the part of the amendment quoted in the above letter, and about which there was much ingenious discussion and no little perplexity of opinion in the house, was on the point whether "three" referred, as its antecedent, to "persons" or "numbers." The question was asked whether, if A had received forty electoral votes, B thirty, C twenty-five, D twenty-five, E ten, and F ten, which three names should be put on the ballot-list from which the house were to choose a President? If "three" referred to "persons," the selection could not be made, for C and D had the same vote, as also E and F: and if three referred to "numbers," as *classes*, then *four* would go upon the list; that is, A having forty (the number of the highest

class), B having thirty (the number of the second class), and C and D *also*, each having twenty-five, the third class of numbers. The puzzle could not be solved, and so it was disregarded. Several Democrats voted against the amendment on this ground, including Dr. Eustis, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, who gave his reason for so voting as follows:—

“The second objection to this amendment was grounded on the indefinite mode of expression, ‘from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot.’ There is a want of precision in these words. Some gentlemen understand them as limiting the choice to the three highest candidates, while others suppose them intended to embrace five, ten, or fifteen, if there be so many having an equal number of votes in the three highest grades; and if gentlemen on this floor differ in their construction, is it not to be expected that the State Legislatures, when they come to consider, and the House of Representatives of the United States, when they come to act under it, will also differ?”

At the only presidential election, since the adoption of the amendment, in which the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives, the dilemma came near occurring. Jackson had ninety-six votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. If two of the Crawford votes had been given for Clay, the numbers would have been ninety-six, eighty-four, thirty-nine, and thirty-nine. If “three” in the constitutional provision should in that case have been interpreted as referring to “persons,” it would have been impossible to select them. If interpreted as meaning the highest “numbers” of votes, *all four* would have been eligible by the House. The language used fails to convey the

ideas of the Congress that adopted the amendment, and which the people have always erroneously thought it to express, and may, in possible contingencies, be found incapable of application. The contingency may happen at any future election. The difficulty would be insurmountable, and the result disastrous, if not fatal, to the government.

In a letter to General David Cobb, December 29th, 1803, Colonel Pickering says:—

“ A gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Baldwin) noticed a circumstance that escaped everybody else, and, when mentioned, it was not attended to. It was this: The candidates are to be those having the highest numbers of votes, ‘*not exceeding three.*’ But these words will admit of taking a *less* number of candidates than *three* for the balloting list; that is, *two* may be taken.”

The debates in both houses show that it was intended that *three should be taken*. Putting in the expression “*not exceeding,*” defeated that intention. But so it passed, and so it has stood to this day. Party exigencies and states of political excitement are supposable in which this incorrectness of phrase may be made to cover proceedings most repugnant to the design of the amendment, and of incalculable mischief. Colonel Pickering’s statement to Governor McKean, that the language of the amendment was “*unintelligible in a very essential part,*” is fully justified.

The Louisiana treaty, made and carried into execution without any pretence of authority for it in the Constitution; and this vital amendment to the Constitution, changing its character in a point that had been adjusted as an essential element of the compact on which it rested, — created an apprehension that it might be disregarded

or altered in other parts, and become no security for the rights of the people, or the States, particularly the smaller ones. The feeling grew up that there was an irreconcilable opposition of interests in the different sections of the Union, and that those of the sea-shore districts of the country were about to be sacrificed. There had not been time for the feeling of nationality to take deep root, and the subject of a separation of the States was never more seriously agitated in the minds of leading statesmen than at this period. Either that or a conflict of force was the fearful prospect in the contemplation of many. Hence the violence of the political storm then brewing, and which raged for the ten succeeding years.

Colonel Pickering's character, talents, prowess, and aspect made him a leader of men on the area of controversy; and we are to behold him a foremost champion of the Federal party, and obnoxious to the utmost hostility of the Democratic party. He regarded Jefferson's political theories, particularly his restrictive and anti-commercial policy, with the sternest disapprobation, and expressed himself to that effect, without reserve and in the strongest language. Jefferson undoubtedly looked upon Pickering's political views and sentiments with equal disapprobation, and expressed himself as forcibly. It is singular, however, that these two men, while thus diametrically opposed, and in such earnest conflict upon public questions, all the while seem to have retained friendly private relations, and to have found opportunities for pleasant intercourse. They had both received an excellent education; both kept fresh their early acquired tastes for classical literature and culture. Not

seldom, in private circles, they talked over matters of criticism, philology, and practical mechanics. Especially did they take counsel together as to horticulture, agriculture, and improved methods of husbandry. The following is found among Colonel Pickering's papers : —

“SENATE CHAMBER, December 5th, 1805.

“Mr. Pickering begs leave to inform Mr. Jefferson that, on returning to his lodgings yesterday, he was told by Mr. Davenport that Knight's treatise on the culture of the apple and pear tree was not for sale in New York. If, therefore, Mr. Jefferson wishes either to read it again or to recommend the printing of an American edition, Mr. Pickering will, with great pleasure, immediately send for his own copy, directing (for it is beyond his own frank) that the packet be addressed to the Secretary of State.”

Jefferson, in reply, “presents his compliments and thanks to Mr. Pickering for the accommodation offered of his copy of Knight's book.” He then relates the circumstance of his having received a copy since he “had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Pickering,” and concludes by again presenting his “respectful salutations.”

On questions of a public nature, not connected with party matters, communications passed between them which show Mr. Jefferson's respect for his opinions, and a mutual disposition to oblige each other. The following note is dated January 13th, 1804 : —

“Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Pickering, and returns him Hutchins's books, with thanks for the use of them. That on Louisiana he had never before seen or heard of, and it has furnished him the first *particular* information of the line agreed on by the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht he has ever been able to obtain. He had, the last summer, while among his books at Monticello, prepared a memoir tracing the rightful lines of Louisiana, on authentic

documents, so far as Spain was concerned. The present information has enabled him to make the addition as to Great Britain, which is now enclosed for Mr. Pickering's perusal, as he thinks it will place in a true light what ought to be done with the fifth article of the British convention. Mr. Pickering will observe that if the alteration proposed is made, and the ratifications exchanged *here* the ensuing winter, the running of the north-eastern boundary will not be at all delayed, as no course which can be taken could effect that demarcation till the summer of 1805."

At the same date, he writes again: —

"Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Pickering, and will send him to-morrow 'Louis XIV.'s Charter to Crosat;' the book having been sent to the Secretary of State's office to have copies of the charter made out, and the office being closed until to-morrow. He will thank Mr. Pickering for the return of the paper sent him when perused, as it was a rough-draught and no copy retained, and these papers are now in a course of copying, to be sent by Mr. Bearing."

On the 16th, he sent to Mr. Pickering "an office copy of Crosat's grant."

Colonel Pickering, writing January 18th, 1804, says:

"Mr. Pickering has the honor to return to the President his memoir of the northern boundary of Louisiana. A close examination of the subject since has convinced Mr. Pickering that the idea he took the liberty to suggest to the President, which is the basis of the memoir, and which arose in Mr. Pickering's mind on the perusal of Mr. Hutchins's observations on the treaty of Utrecht, is incorrect. He has digested his reflections on the subject, and will submit them to the President's consideration as soon as he can transcribe his notes, — this evening or to-morrow morning. Mr. Pickering will now only mention the result of his investigation: that the fifth article of the British convention, all things considered, is, in his opinion, precisely what the United States should desire."

At the same date, he again wrote: —

“Mr. Pickering presents his respects to the President of the United States, and submits to his consideration the enclosed inquiry concerning the northern boundaries of Canada and Louisiana. If Mr. Pickering does not extremely mistake the facts and their necessary consequences, all dispute with Great Britain concerning boundaries will be for ever closed by ratification and execution of the British convention, now before the Senate; and no further negotiation respecting them, for the purpose of ascertaining and confirming our existing rights, can be necessary or expedient.”

The “inquiry concerning the northern boundaries of Canada and Louisiana,” which Colonel Pickering prepared and submitted to the President, with an additional note sent separately, is an elaborate and able document of eighteen pages. On the 19th of January, Mr. Jefferson thanked Colonel Pickering “for the communication,” and “acknowledged its ingenuity.” He proceeds to point out in what respects he dissents from it. These papers show with what scholarly care and ability these two eminent men studied a difficult subject, and with what pains they digested and wrote out, for their own and mutual satisfaction, their views concerning it. Although differing in their opinions and conclusions, they discussed the subject in the most friendly and courteous spirit, and with respectful frankness. It is a passage in their history truly honorable to both of them.*

This account of Colonel Pickering’s correspondence, — domestic, political, and miscellaneous, — during and about the period of the eighth Congress, is closed by the following affectionate communications between him and two of the purest patriots and statesmen of that day.

* Appendix B.

George Cabot, writing from Boston, January 10th, 1804, gives him this melancholy intelligence: "The loss of a son, whom I loved too well to part with, has so absorbed my thoughts that, had I been as faithful in my correspondence as I am in my feelings of friendship, I could not, until this morning, have acknowledged several favors which I have received from you."

Having before heard of Mr. Cabot's bereavement, Colonel Pickering had, on the 4th of January, written to him thus: —

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I know that the mind which does not find consolation in its own reflections cannot derive it from any foreign source. Even the sympathy of a friend, while it soothes, may cause the wounds inflicted by death to bleed afresh. I learn that you have lost a son, amiable and of great promise. For his parents' sake, and for society, I lament it. It reminds me of my own bereavements, and renews my tears. Twice it has pleased God to lay heavily his hand upon me, and to take away the objects of my tender affection and of my best hopes. The lapse of seven and of ten years has not removed my affliction. Ordinary deaths, indeed, pass by as common things. It is the like affliction of a *friend* which excites my grief anew. Accept the tribute of a tear for yours.

"But we do not grieve as those who have no hope. We look forward to a brighter and a happier world, where sorrow shall cease, 'and where all tears shall be wiped away from our eyes.' How blest are they who entertain such hopes! How wretched those (like numbers round me here) whose views extend not beyond the grave, and whose best refuge is annihilation!

"In the midst of my painful recollections, I sometimes check myself, and ask, Is it for my *children* or for *myself* that my tears start afresh? I have found my grief too selfish. I looked to them for comfort and joy in my advancing years. They were, indeed, 'very pleasant to me.' But 'they have

been taken from the evil to come.' The events of every day serve to abate the desire of life, to point our attention to a life to come, and to check all other anxiety than to pursue the means of obtaining it; determined, however, to wait 'all the days of our appointed time till our change come:' in the mean while, bearing with Christian fortitude the afflictions inseparable from humanity, aiming to fulfil every duty, enjoying the good which Providence bestows, and anticipating that never-ending happiness which is the object of the faith and of the hope of every virtuous and pious soul.

"To your excellent wife, as well as to yourself, I address these sentiments, and to both express my sincere attachment and esteem. Adieu!

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

"Boston, January 14th, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The generous sympathy and just sentiments of consolation expressed in your letter to Mrs. Cabot and me, and which friendship alone could inspire, affect us most sensibly; and, while for a moment they revive the keenness of our sorrows, they tend permanently to blunt their edge. We have lost a child deservedly dear to us; but, in the midst of our sufferings, we do not forget that he who seemed to live only for the happiness of others may have died to be happy himself. Mrs. Cabot begs that, with mine, you will accept the assurance of her grateful and sincere esteem and attachment.

"Your ever faithful friend,

"GEORGE CABOT."

On a previous page of this chapter (72) are passages of a letter from Colonel Pickering to his wife, on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Peters. He wrote, also, at the time to Richard Peters, Jr., and to his bereaved father, as follows:—

"CITY OF WASHINGTON, December
28th, 1804, Friday evening.

"Yes, I did love and respect your mother, the first of her sex. Last evening the heavy tidings reached me; and in the night, advancing with open arms, and addressing your father

with 'My dear friend, how are you?' I awoke. I dwelt on the cause of his oppressive grief, which I feared he would hardly support. And truly —

' Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus
Tam cari capitis.' . . .

I knew that his affection was unbounded: I dreaded the consequences. One of my first thoughts was to write him a consolatory letter; but I did not dare attempt it, lest even the intended assuasive balm might aggravate his grief. I had, therefore, determined to write to Bishop White (who, by the duties of religion and the ties of friendship, must be near him), and request him to inform me of your father's state of mind, and when I might venture to offer all the relief which the tender sympathy of an old and sincere friend could give. Your letter, my dear Richard, just received, makes this an instant duty. My offering to your father's sacred sorrow you shall find enclosed. God grant that it may contribute to soothe his affliction, and that, in due time, he may be restored to that state of composure in which the mind can, with most advantage, meditate on the dispensations of Providence; and, piously resigned, feel only the pleasing melancholy with which he must continue to dwell on the lovely virtues of a departed saint. I add one more prayer: that this severe bereavement, impressed on the minds of the children, may always admonish them of the frailty of human life, and so influence all their conduct as, through the divine benignity, may ensure their reunion, beyond the grave, with her who, on earth, was the dear object of their inviolable love.

"My dear young friend, adieu!

"RICHARD PETERS, Jr., Esq."

Enclosed with the above was the following letter to Judge Peters: —

"How shall I address my dear old and long-tried friend? Borne down with an affliction which nothing on earth can equal, how can I hope to raise his drooping head? With mingling tears, I can only swell the tide of grief. Where shall he find consolation? If he meditate on the treasure he

so long possessed, he will feel more deeply the magnitude of his loss. Yet he cannot cease to cherish the precious memory of his departed friend. Who that knew can ever forget such worth? Endowed by heaven with uncommon virtues (her countenance beaming with the benignity of her soul), she improved them to make all around her happy; and you were most blessed. But you will not murmur at the dispensations of Providence. Your gratitude for bliss, enjoyed so long, will induce your pious resignation to the righteous decree of heaven. She cannot return to you; but you must follow her. Yes, my dear friend; and let this consideration assuage your grief. There is another life beyond the grave; and reason authorizes the hope which the Christian's faith confirms, that, in a happier state, we shall again meet (never more to part) with those who were dearest to us on earth. There is an excellent treatise on this subject among the dissertations of Doctor Price. Let me recommend it to your perusal. A few of the wisest men of antiquity drew comfort from the contemplation of this idea. In the treatise, the doctor quotes a fine passage from Cicero, where the illustrious philosopher mentions, with rapture, his expectation of going, in another world, to distinguished men, whom he names, and closes the list with 'et ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior unquam natus est, nemo pietate præstantior.' This sentiment touched my heart, while the sweet cadence of the closing words charmed my ear, and memory has retained the impression.

“There is another tract which, many years since, I read with that tender interest which plaintive sentiments are wont to excite in a heart not incapable of feeling. It was Sir William Temple's letter to, I think, the Countess of Essex on the death of a favorite child. I chanced to open a volume of his works at that place. If it be not fresh in your memory, you will read it now with peculiar advantage. He presents every topic of consolation which can administer balm to a wounded spirit, and reconcile it to a loss that is irretrievable.

“Independently of *higher* views, you have yet, my dear friend, some distinguished sources of enjoyment. You have children, loving and beloved. For their sakes, you will still

live. You will receive their offerings of affection. You will admit the consolations of your friends. You will address your Heavenly Father, who *doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men, and who chasteneth those whom he loveth.* Let us, then, *not faint when we are rebuked of him.* As we are here but temporary residents, it is fit that we should be weaned from an undue attachment to earthly good. Afflictions are the means, grievous, indeed, for the present, but, duly regarded, they will yield *the peaceable fruits of righteousness.*

“Truly your friend,

“T. PICKERING.

“RICHARD PETERS, Esq.

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, December 29th, 1804.”

CHAPTER III.

Elected a Senator of the United States for Six Years. — The ninth Congress, first Session. — Domestic Correspondence. — Purchases, and establishes his Family on a Farm, in Wenham. — Second Session of the ninth Congress. — Domestic Correspondence. — Battle of Trafalgar, the Effect of upon Parties in America. — The War of 1812, the Effect on the National Parties. — Burr's Expedition. — Sickness of Timothy Pickering, Jr. — Colonel Pickering's Journey to Starucca. — Death of Timothy Pickering, Jr. — Tenth Congress. — First Session. High party Excitement. — Colonel Pickering particularly assailed. — His Letter to Governor Sullivan. — Public Receptions and Honors in Salem and Newburyport.

1805-1808.

THE ninth Congress convened December 2d, 1805. Colonel Pickering presented his credentials as "appointed a Senator by the legislature of the State of Massachusetts, for the term of six years, to commence on the fourth day of March last." At this session he appears to have been in constant attendance, taking part in cursory debate, but made no elaborate or extended speech. His history for the period, and until the next session, is given in passages of letters to his family and friends.

He left Boston in the stage-coach, on the morning of the 19th of November, and reached New York on the evening of the 23d. The termination of the journey, and some of its incidents, illustrating the difficulties of travel in those days compared with the present, are thus described in a letter to his wife: —

"CITY OF WASHINGTON, December 2d, 1805.

"I arrived here on Saturday evening, the 30th ultimo, in safety and in health, save a slight cold contracted on the journey. From Baltimore we came in company with another stage-wagon, loaded with members of Congress. When within about four miles of this city, the other wagon — being two or three rods ahead of ours — overset, and fell sideways into a deep gully; yet, to our astonishment, all the passengers escaped unhurt. It was moonlight, but the horses sheered to avoid a miry slough, and thus the wheels of one side passed off the end of a small bridge. I have been doubtful, always, which was most dangerous to travel this way, by land or by water. From New York to this city, the roads are much worse than from New York eastward. Many members came by water from Philadelphia, down the Delaware to Newcastle, then, crossing eighteen miles to Chesapeake Bay, embarked in regular packets (good vessels) for Baltimore; I did so last year. Mr. Hillhouse, arriving at Philadelphia last Friday morning, and, finding the stages all full, embarked in a packet for Newcastle, with Colonel Tallmadge, and, in course, were in the Chesapeake Bay on Saturday night. After midnight the wind changed and blew tempestuously. I hope they are safe; but, as they have not yet arrived here, I am not without anxiety for them.

* At New York I passed an evening with Mr. Wolcott, who and his children are in health. Mr. King and family, and General Stevens and his family, are well. Going to see the latter, I there unexpectedly saw the celebrated General Moreau, whom Bonaparte, through jealousy of his great talents and popularity with the French armies, has thus sent into exile. Moreau has the countenance of an able man, marked with great energy of mind.

Three o'clock, afternoon. Mr. Hillhouse has arrived. He was exposed to the vehement blow in the Chesapeake, as I supposed. The mainsail, though double-reefed, was split from top to bottom; which obliged the captain to put his vessel before the wind, until he could drop anchor under a point which sheltered her from the violence of the wind. The stage-wagon, too, in which Mr. Hillhouse came from

New York to Philadelphia, was overset by the carelessness of the driver; and, being turned nearly upside down, endangered his neck; but he escaped, as well as his fellow-passengers, with very slight injury."

"December 26th, 1805. I enjoy great health, and have sensibly gained flesh. Our company (fifteen or sixteen), all from New England, and all agreeable. Mr. Tracey is of the number, and daily entertains us with sallies of his wit.

"The weather is remarkably mild; the mercury in the thermometer at 45° to 55°. I have seen no frost since the first day of this month. The Tunisian Ambassador, and several of his suite (secretaries, &c.), are Turks. Their color is like that of our North American Indians."

In a previous letter to his wife, he had stated that he and Mr. Hillhouse "lodge in one room, as heretofore, at our old lodging-house." He also informs her that he had heard from Timothy of the birth of a son, whom he had named Charles.

"January 12th, 1806. John has sent me the copy of a Latin letter from George and Octavius, very well written, congratulating him on the birth of a daughter, or, in their style, that *he is a father*, and that *they are uncles*. With that candor, too, which I am pleased to see, and always admire, they take no credit to themselves for writing the epistle, saying it was not a spontaneous offering, but written at Henry's request.

"Mr. Quincy, member from Boston, has brought his wife with him. She is an agreeable woman. Mr. Hillhouse and I spend an hour with them very pleasantly, once in a week or fortnight. They live at Judge Cranch's, about a mile and a half from us. A dish of tea, taken with a lady from New England, has a double relish; and the pleasure appears to be mutual." "We continue to pass many pleasant hours under one roof here. We meet all together, morning, dinner-time, and evening, Mr. Tracey constantly entertaining us from his inexhaustible fund of humor."

"January 26th. You remember the name of Mr. Giles, of

Virginia, an able and zealous opposer of the Federal administrations. Last week he set out to come to Washington, to take his seat in the Senate ; but his horse started, about ten miles from his home, overturned his gig, and in the fall his leg was broken. Of course, if he recovers, he will not be able to attend during the session, which I regret ; for he, like some other men of understanding, begins to see the folly and mischief of their Democratic notions, and is disposed to check their further progress ; but the weak men of the party continue, and will longer remain, under the influence of those false principles."

The place in Beverly, to which Colonel Pickering had removed from Danvers, was found unsuitable for his purposes. The house was altogether too small for his family, and the quantity of land too limited to exercise upon it any considerable agricultural operations or enterprises ; and his thoughts and correspondence with his immediate connections and friends at home were much occupied with a desire to purchase a more convenient and desirable situation. Writing to his wife, March 29th, 1806, he says : —

" A farm somewhere I must have ; because it is an object which has always been peculiarly grateful to me, because my attachment to husbandry has suffered no abatement, and because I do not know of any other employment in which I can reputably engage. In my land speculations I have erred, with thousands of others (many of my acquaintances) ; and where I have depended on the opinions and advice of my friends I have been not less disappointed. Hence I have remained, these four last years, in so unsettled and so uncomfortable a situation. I cannot endure it much longer. It may please God to spare our lives yet fifteen years ; and, for such a space of time I may be excused in desiring to obtain, and settle down on, a spot which, with *satisfaction*, I may call my own. On such a spot, however near or however remote from Salem, I could pass my days in tranquillity. Such a

spot, comprising land enough to be called a farm, I ought *now* to possess, in order to introduce fruits and that kind of cultivation which require time to render productive, and which, if much longer deferred, I must for ever abandon. I have, as yet, health and vigor for the task. If I do not get a farm *now*, what am I to do five years hence, when my term as a Senator will expire? Perhaps some might say, Stay where you are, and employ in trade what money would be laid out in a farm beyond the value of the Beverly strip. I cannot, and will not, live in that cabin, in which I have hardly room to breathe. I would rather go *far into the country*, though I should prefer remaining in Essex; partly because of the place I hold as a judge of the county, which, while it will furnish, four times in a year, agreeable excursions from the labor of a farm, will yield some emolument when my Senatorship is over.

“Though I am disposed to give up all expectations of getting any thing for the lands in North Carolina, I yet think my lands in Pennsylvania will yield a few thousand dollars; and I have some on the waters that run into the Ohio, which will contribute to our support in old age. So I do not despair of living *comfortably*, with that observance of frugality to which you and I are perfectly reconciled.

“I must look forward to these winter separations for five years to come; a long and painful period to anticipate. For I cannot see any prospect of constant employment at home, that would render it expedient to resign my present office; although I should rejoice at such an event.”

Colonel Pickering, when away from home, made it an invariable rule on the anniversary of their wedding to write to his wife a special occasional letter: —

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, April 8th, 1806.

“MY DEAR BECKEY,

“Having but a few minutes left before the mail closes, I seize them just to notice that I have not forgotten our anniversary, and to express my hopes that it may yet recur for a long series of years, to be passed with that temper of mind and harmony of sentiment which shall render the close of life

delightful, in some permanent situation, suited to a style of economy and moderation, without want, which, perhaps, of all human conditions is the most to be desired. In this case, my felicity will be crowned when the time shall arrive that I may always stay at home. Yours, with unabated affection."

In one of his letters to his son Henry he speaks of Timothy's favorable condition on the Starucca farm at the Big Bend, mentioning that "his bees are wonderfully productive. In the spring he had three swarms. In the course of the summer several swarms from them flew away; yet has taken up one hundred and fifty pounds of honey, and has five swarms left." Referring to the birth of Timothy's son, he says: —

"I was gratified that he proposed to name him Charles. I desire never to have another Timothy in the family. I so much dislike the name. Where there are several persons of the same surname, it is *convenient* to give them different *Christian* names; and if the first Christian name be applied to more than one, then to insert a third name between the two of the younger person or persons. But it would seem to me not very necessary to distinguish *females* in any case, by *three* names; because they seldom fail of changing their surnames."

To Henry, he also expresses his great discontent with his situation in Beverly, from the very contracted size of the farm, and especially the diminutive and unsuitable house he occupied. Mentioning that some one, on his return at the close of the preceding session of Congress, had expressed the idea that for him to live with his family in a house not large enough to accommodate them, much less to receive visitors who would be likely to call upon him, "was not even reputable," he says: —

"I felt it to be so; I still feel it. On a great public road, a little cabin occupied by one who has been, if undeservedly,

yet *officially* lifted up to public view in a variety of great and important stations, and who still holds one in a degree conspicuous, it is too mortifying. It must have excited chagrin in many of my friends as well as in some of my relations. This is not an unbecoming pride. Were I wholly withdrawn from public life, I could, without a murmur and without a sigh, retire from public view, and with cheerful content pass the remainder of my days in a log-hut, and with my daily labor earn my daily bread. Wanderer, as I have been, it is time to have some fixed abode. Near forty years (with some or rather one short interval), I have been occupied with public affairs, while my school companions in private life have been amassing estates. I hope my sons will be warned by my example, and shun public employments until they acquire each a competency. But it is time to return to the proper subject of my letter, my rambles from which resemble the wanderings of my life."

On the close of the session, Colonel Pickering went to Wyoming on business, and thence to the Starucca farm, when, for the first time, he saw Timothy's wife and their young child. After a pleasant and very satisfactory visit, he returned to his family. Soon afterwards, he purchased a large and valuable farm in Wenham, with a commodious and excellent house upon it. The dimensions and capacities of the land were sufficient for the development and gratification of all his plans and wishes as an agriculturist; and that was the happy home of himself and family for about the same number of years which, in his letter to his wife already quoted, he had calculated might reasonably be expected, by the mercy of God, to be spared to them for the labors and enjoyments of life.

Colonel Pickering was in his seat at the opening of the second session of the ninth Congress, December 1st, 1806. His name is recorded in favor of measures for

internal improvement, and he addressed the Senate in support of a grant of lands to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company. There appear to have been few extended debates during this session. This period of his history may be described from his private correspondence, principally from passages of letters to his wife and son Henry. From them it appears that, on his way to Washington, he reached Worcester on Thursday evening, November 21st, 1806, thence, by way of Brookfield, Stafford Springs, and Tolland, to Hartford, where he spent Sunday. On Monday he reached New Haven, where he passed the evening with his friend Hillhouse. On Tuesday he proceeded on his journey, Mr. Hillhouse not being ready to accompany him; on Wednesday morning he reached New York; at noon crossed the Hudson, and, travelling the rest of the day and through the night, would have reached Philadelphia by sunrise; but heavy and abundant rains having swollen the streams, and carried away a bridge sixteen miles from Philadelphia, prevented his arrival in that city until the afternoon. Leaving on Friday morning, and travelling all night, he reached Baltimore on Saturday morning, and Washington on the evening of that day. In giving an account of this hard and long ride of ten days, including several of the nights, he tells his wife, writing Sunday evening, November 30th, that he had undergone it "all without any sensible fatigue. The quiet repose also of ten hours last night, has paid all arrears due to sleep."

Writing to her again, December 20th, he says: —

"Excepting the passing of one short law to suspend a foolish and pernicious act of the last session, prohibiting the importation of goods from Great Britain, Congress have yet

done nothing; and that suspending law ought to have passed in three days. The want of energy in every department of the government sickens the heart of every reflecting man. The thoughts of the persons in power seem to be chiefly engrossed in the contemplation of the means of maintaining it. People at a distance fancy that the wisdom of the nation is now collected at Washington; but, were they to take a near view, they would pronounce it an assemblage of folly. Not that there is a total dearth of talents among the Jeffersonians; but those who are not pursuing jack-o'-lanterns with their visionary Head dare not attempt any solid measures lest they should hazard their popularity. As it respects our defence against foreign nations whose power (that of France especially) may put our welfare or our independence in danger, the dominant party have formerly clamored so much and so loudly against a navy and a regular army, it is now afraid to propose an increase of either lest they should hazard their popularity; for the mass of the people have been taught to believe in gun-boats and a militia, — the *cheap* defence of our liberties and independence. Some of the party who possess understanding, and a portion of candor, would now be ashamed not to admit that our only present security against the overwhelming power of France is Great Britain; they admit so much; they admit that, without the intervention of the British fleets, France might and would lay us under contribution. Nevertheless, they are willing to hazard every thing *except their own popularity*, on the contingency that Britain will not, with the other nations of Europe, be subjected to that power. One of the most striking of Doctor Franklin's apothegms is, 'God helps them who help themselves.' We are not inclined to do this; and while on every occasion we manifest our hatred towards Great Britain, we have the baseness to rest our hopes of safety on her spirit, and the force and prowess of her fleets and armies which may enable her to maintain the conflict with France. Amidst the general display of such a selfish, mean, and abject temper in the United States, it has the appearance of presumption to pray to Heaven for protection."

"December 27th. We have letters from New Orleans,

dated the 29th and 30th of November, from General Wilkinson, and Captain Shaw, who commands the naval force. They were preparing to defend the town against Colonel Burr's force, which he has been engaging in the western country ; fully persuaded by letters and information received by General Wilkinson that Burr's first object was to possess himself of New Orleans."

Colonel Pickering's sons, George and Octavius, had entered Harvard University at the commencement preceding the date of the following letter, addressed to them jointly : —

"CITY OF WASHINGTON, December 28th, 1806.

"MY DEAR SONS,

"Although I have often mentioned to you the vast importance of a diligent application to books, in that period of your lives which is devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, the subject often attracts my attention ; the more forcibly, because I daily experience the inconveniences and disadvantages flowing from a defect of useful knowledge which might and ought to have been acquired in my youth. To feel the mortification arising from comparative ignorance, in conversation with those whose means and opportunities were no better, is not a *light matter* : to be less or little qualified to discharge public functions, and to advance the interests of my family, may be viewed as *real evils*. To these is to be added the loss of that pleasure, that delight, which the treasures of literature, ancient and modern, give to a mind capable of discerning its beauties and receiving instruction. At a subsequent period, I had an eager desire to make myself acquainted with some of the learning which had been neglected ; but, alas ! other cares and duties then pressed upon me, and left no time for study. This result I can now only lament with profound regret ; the opportunity I have lost can never be recalled. But let the statement I have here given serve as a beacon to guard you from the same mischiefs,

'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,'

and to enable you to steer into the bright haven of individual

enjoyment, domestic pleasures, public usefulness, and fair renown.

“What books shall you read and study? While at college, those prescribed by the governors of that institution. You are to presume that those books are best calculated to initiate youth in the sciences; therefore, make yourselves masters of them. Where difficulties occur, seek elucidations from those who are farther advanced. You ought to have opportunities of getting information from tutors and professors by occasional applications to them. Why are these not permitted? Why are they not encouraged and invited? Would some of the faculty fear being *posed* by the questions of their pupils? and would others grudge the time necessary to hear and to give answers? Such an intercourse between teachers and pupils, friendly and parental in the former and respectful in the latter, would be incomparably more beneficial to students than all the formal recitations and learned lectures now in use. But such an intercourse, I fear, is more to be desired than expected; the greater, therefore, must be your own application to study. It will be a good thing for you to keep memorandum-books, in which to note every passage in the books you read, and every point and question in science which you do not fully understand, and wish to have explained. Such difficulties as are not solved at Cambridge carry home with you; because some your brother John may find time to explain; while others may be removed by discussions between yourselves.

“How will you employ your time during the present and future vacations? In the first place, let a portion of every day be devoted to the instruction of your sisters. Writing, arithmetic, and geography you can teach, and they can learn. A distinguished rule, at first applied to young painters, is equally pertinent when addressed to learners in any art or science, — ‘*nulla dies, sine linea.*’ Observe this in reference to your sisters and yourselves.

“Julius Cæsar makes a distinguished figure in Roman history as an orator and historian, as well as a warrior. His Latin is allowed to be remarkable for its purity. I advise you to read (together) his commentaries.

“In English, I wish you could read Goldsmith’s Roman history. His compositions are all models of fine writing. I recommend his, for your time of life, in preference to Ferguson’s Roman Republic, which is calculated for maturer years and for the politician. Probably your brother John can furnish you with Goldsmith or procure it for you.

“I also recommend Goldsmith’s Natural History to your perusal. Totally different from the books under the title of Natural History which you have hitherto read, it will delight you as an elegant composition, and by its philosophy and ingenuity.

“I shall expect a letter from each of you during the vacation. Anxious for your improvement in every thing amiable and useful, I remain your affectionate father,

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

Writing to his wife, at the same date as the foregoing, he says:—

“Reflecting with the tenderest concern on our dear daughters, I have enjoined it on George and Octavius to attend to their instruction during the present and every future vacation. As we cannot send them from home, I pray that no *business* may prevent their *daily* application to books, particularly while they can benefit by the assistance of their brothers. To save them from discouraging interruptions, let them have a room and fire to themselves. I trust it will not be necessary to urge, much less to require, the girls’ application to reading, to writing, to arithmetic, and to geography. Spelling, too, should not be neglected; they require daily practice in that. With such attention and application, I flatter myself that not many will appear to more advantage.”

“January 8th, 1807. I cannot turn my eye to the situation of our country without feeling all the uneasiness which results from the knowledge of its defenceless condition and the want of spirit and the indisposition to put it in a safe state. Our Chief Magistrate seems to be absorbed in what might amuse a minute philosopher, but which is a reproach to one who holds the reins of an empire. And the whole band who now govern are apparently more occupied in plans for securing themselves

in place and power than in studying to render the country safe and prosperous. The primary consideration is, What will be popular? And the great interests of the nation are sacrificed to this object, — popularity. And do a people deserve political salvation when they persist in preferring such men to office? If Great Britain be overthrown, or induced to make peace, the United States will lie at the mercy of France. A little while since, a young officer of a French man-of-war, at Annapolis (about thirty miles from Washington), said, *We shall, by and by, give you a king*, speaking to some American gentlemen. After all the examples in Europe, and the recent one of Prussia in particular, the President affects to think — in fact, he says — we have nothing to apprehend from the French. But Bonaparte will have no occasion to make war upon us: let him demand tribute, and it will be paid, to the amount of annual millions. *Should he take pity upon us*, and give us a king, as he has done to so many nations around him, he will then send an army, — and such is the listlessness and selfishness of the great body of the people under the influence of our present rulers, all whose proceedings more and more debase the spirit of the people, that, having made no preparation for war, we shall, of course, *submit* without a blow.

“Such is my present disheartening view of the miserable condition of our country.

“You and I are now so far advanced in life, it would ill become us, *on our own account*, to manifest very anxious apprehensions; but for our children we have much to fear. While Britain rules the sea, we may be secure; and, if it please Heaven that death stop the career of Bonaparte, we may so continue. The miseries and anxieties incident to mankind in this life (of which every year and every day gives additional evidence) naturally point our views to a state beyond this world, where the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. With this consolation, I bid you adieu!”

Colonel Pickering's melancholy and dismal views as to the dangers threatening the country from the portentous strides of France towards universal dominion, and

his conviction that the safety of the world at that crisis depended upon Great Britain's maintaining a supremacy on the sea, are illustrated more fully in his general correspondence, particularly that with Commodore Truxtun.

Ever since Colonel Pickering had charge of the navy department, and equipped the great historic frigates, and the time of the *quasi* war with France in the West Indies, he had kept up a special interest in such affairs. Letters passed between him and naval commanders on the qualities of their ships, and the incidents of their cruises. With Truxtun his correspondence had been constant, and even voluminous, in reference to foreign navies as well as our own. They had discussed at length the battle of the Nile, and Nelson's character and achievements. When the battle of Trafalgar was heard of, numerous letters passed between them, with diagrams and drawings of the contending fleets, their lines of battle, and Nelson's skilful and successful arrangements. Truxtun, writing February 1st, 1806, says, "I am honored with your favor of the 28th ultimo. Your reasoning on the action of NELSON IMMORTAL off Cape Trafalgar is more like that of a sea officer of comprehensive mind on such subjects than a gentleman of any other occupation." In one of his letters to Truxtun, March 1, 1806, he says:—

"I received your letter of the 26th ultimo, covering the Gibraltar account of the action. This I had before seen, and have now reviewed it; but without seeing any cause to change the opinion I originally formed upon the first reading of Admiral Collingwood's letter of October 22d. At the instant of doing which I, with pieces of paper arranged on a table, exhibited to the gentlemen of our family the disposition

of both fleets, which afterwards I sketched on paper and transmitted to you. I made that arrangement with a feeling of deep interest. We all cordially rejoiced at the issue of a glorious battle, in which the superior naval skill and prowess of the sons of *our ancestors* were displayed against the fleet of a power which, urged by immeasurable ambition, was *be-striding the world like a Colossus*. We rejoiced at an event, interposed by Providence, to counterbalance in some degree the unexampled success of the French Emperor on the continent, which, if unchecked, would have facilitated the execution of his designs against England; and these accomplished he would have become lord of the ocean, as well as of the land, and we, the United States, must, of course, like Spain and Holland, have become his tributaries, if not provinces of France. Much therefore as England has injured us, we enjoyed her naval triumph, viewing her as a shield interposed between the sword of France and the security of the civilized world. England can annoy our commerce, but her utmost efforts would not endanger our internal safety and our independence."

Writing to Fisher Ames, February 1st, 1806, Colonel Pickering says: —

"Who can, at this time, cast his eye on the European States, and in that extensive group see Britain struggling for existence, and magnanimously opposing herself to a power which threatens, and with a rod of iron, to rule the world, and not bid her *God-speed*? Who can think of 'France, lord of the navies as well as the armies of Europe,' and not contemplate America as one of her provinces? Even some Democrats anticipate that event with horror. And what but the navy of Great Britain presents a shield of defence or the hope of safety? Let that navy be destroyed, and, without 'a turn-pike road from Calais to Dover,' that island would soon be governed by a French Viceroy. You do not think so; you believe (for I presume you expressed the sentiments to which I allude, and which I have seen in the 'Centinel') that the wish of Britain should be to have a numerous French army

landed on her shores, that she might have an opportunity to destroy them. But such an event I have always dreaded. British sailors are as brave as our own (no braver, as the early operations of the American naval war, as well as our maritime expeditions against France in 1798, and recently against Tripoli, have served to demonstrate), and her inexperienced and undisciplined landsmen are, doubtless, equal to our own militia. But what a figure would the latter make against a *veteran* army of Frenchmen, commanded by generals trained up under Moreau and Bonaparte? Even when resisting the weak and sluggish British generals, in how few instances did they maintain their ground during our Revolutionary war? and, after the battle of Bunker Hill, when did any considerable number embodied stand more than one fire, unless encouraged and supported by our regular disciplined troops? The people of this country when talking of a *well-disciplined militia* constituting the only safe, while they deem it an adequate defence, deceive themselves. Such a militia never did exist on the globe, unless Switzerland, prior to the year 1700, formed an exception. Certainly the Continental army in the two or three first years of the war were better disciplined than any militia that can be named; yet still further discipline, and actual experience in warfare, were essential to place them on a par with our enemies. We heard much of the little bands of militia under Morgan, Sumpter, and Marion, in the Carolinas, and they really did themselves and their country honor; but it should be remembered that these, though denominated *militia*, were in reality *veteran soldiers*, irregular indeed, but rendered brave by continued hardships and dangers; in their own countries, fighting for their immediate property, and to take vengeance on an enemy, often cruel, that had driven them from their homes.

“If one hundred thousand Frenchmen were safely landed in England, after the first general battle (in which, no doubt, they would be victors), in one fortnight they would occupy the most commanding positions, from the Channel to the borders of Scotland. The first discomfiture would produce a panic, and before the people could have time to recollect themselves they would be *disarmed*. Scotland would be

subdued at leisure. The conquest by land would be succeeded by the surrender of the fleet. Ireland by this time would have risen to have opened her arms to embrace the victors. The closing of the mail obliges me to stop my speculations."

The consequences of events are often inscrutable, and in direct opposition to expectation. This is singularly shown in the history of American politics. Colonel Pickering, and the Federalists generally, rejoiced in the last great victory of Nelson. They confidently believed that it had broken the charm which held in power the party then dominant in the United States, and rescued the country from a policy that, as they most painfully apprehended, was making it an ally, and would finally make it a tributary to Bonaparte. But they were wholly mistaken. France having ceased to be a formidable maritime power, it was felt that no harm could come from keeping up a popular enthusiasm in her favor. Great Britain, having become irresistible on the ocean, could easily be made an object of terror and increasing hate among the American people. The British or Federal party went down still lower, and the French or Democratic party acquired new strength. It pursued its anti-British policy until it brought the country into cooperation with France by declaring war against England in 1812. This was a party measure, forced upon the government by party managers, against the judgment of their chief, Madison. It raised up military characters who kept the great leaders of the party from reaching the Presidency, and it gave to the party itself its death wound. At the end of the war of 1812, France could no longer be regarded with admiration or sympathy among the people of the United States. Its republic

had been ingloriously swallowed up in a military despotism, and that had been swept from existence at the battle of Waterloo. Further, the effect of the war of 1812 was that it became evident that the United States were able to cope with England on the sea and on the land, and that no further danger was to be apprehended from her. Thus the popular sentiments and passions on which the Democratic party had risen and been continued in power disappeared, and it had no ground to stand on. It had to cast about for some other foothold. State rights became the watchword, but that was found of no avail. The States, small and large, were securely intrenched in the Senate, the citadel of the Constitution. The questions of a bank of the United States, internal improvement, and the tariff, afforded expedients for a time. But the war of 1812 had driven capital into manufacturing, and population to the west. Commerce was brought upon a surer and wider basis. Steamboat navigation opened the great rivers of the continent, virtually making their banks an extended sea-coast, and all sections finally became one by railroads. Navigation, traffic, manufactures, agriculture, exportation, and importation were localized and identified everywhere. Slavery and the conflicting interests connected with it have passed away. National party conventions are at their wit's end to contrive platforms, and the struggles of party are reduced down to a grabble for office. As such they cannot always be endured. Some other way will have to be adopted to provide the agents for carrying on the government. Thus parties, by their shortsighted projects and blind agitations, have killed themselves; and the country, it is to be hoped, will soon

get rid of the forms and shadows they have left behind. The people and their constitutional representatives, as was originally designed, without the dictation of irresponsible, self-constituted, and self-perpetuating, outside national conventions, will divide upon questions of public policy, as they rise and vanish from day to day.

Writing from Washington to his son Henry, December, 28th, 1806, Colonel Pickering says: —

“ Nothing here engages so much attention as Colonel Burr’s project, whatever it may be. It is probable that he has, in different places, mentioned different objects of the expedition he was preparing, — the most plausible, the taking possession of, and settling a tract of fine land, about thirty miles square, on the Red River, within the bounds of Louisiana, as claimed by the United States, which tract the Spaniards had formerly granted to Baron Bostroe. I think it is on that branch of the Red River called the Wachita. If I do not mistake, Baron Bostroe’s tract and residence are mentioned in a pamphlet which I last winter sent your brother John, containing Colonel Dunbar’s and Dr. Hunter’s journal of their voyage up the Wachita.

“ But the news of yesterday is that Burr’s real object, or rather his first object, was to take possession of New Orleans. Of this Wilkinson is so confident, that he is drawing thither the principal part of the troops, in order to fortify and defend it. He expects an attack from the sea; while Burr shall assail the place with the force, he shall collect in the States bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi, and carry down those rivers. But, what attack, it will be asked, can be expected from the seaboard. Colonel Burr (as the President informed me) did, the last summer or winter, propose to Commodore Truxtun to take command of the *naval* force, to be formed for his (Burr’s) expedition! It will now not be doubted, that he made like overtures to Eaton, to take a command in his *army*. Burr must have supposed Truxtun and Eaton capable of avenging, on their *country*, affronts received from its *government*!

“ Burr is without property, without credit, and without a country. I mean, with respect to the latter, that he is an *exile* from New York (which had been his *home*), and a *murderer* in New Jersey, so that he dare not go eastward of the Delaware. A man thus forlorn and desperate in his circumstances, and, at the same time, utterly destitute of every moral principle, would be ready to engage in any desperate enterprise. Perhaps, too, he carries in his bosom the vengeance of Heaven for the foul murder of Hamilton. When, therefore, the extremest hazard in his enterprise would not discourage its pursuit, death would relieve him from a burden too heavy to be borne. Success might soothe his wounded spirit, and gratify his ambition; and, at any rate, the bustle of a military expedition, under his own direction, would furnish employment for an active mind, and exclude unwelcome reflections.”

Having heard of an attachment forming between his son Henry and a young lady, in writing to him, he says, as if talking to himself: —

“ ‘ Could you have thought your son Henry capable of falling in love ? ’ and, proceeding, remarks, ‘ It reminds me of a sentiment which I met with in some book full forty years ago. It was a quotation: ‘ It was the saying of the Marchioness d’Alembert, that minds of a melancholy strain were, of all, the most susceptible of love.’ I remember I then thought the sentiment correct; and it must have made an uncommon impression on my heart, or I should not have remembered it, for I have not seen the book since that time. Was my character of the melancholy cast? It was. Hence, light, joyous music never pleased my ear; while tender, plaintive tones never failed to touch my heart. You (like me at the same age) are not *gay*, but *cheerful*, — the best temperament, in my opinion, in which to look for a happy life. I need not advise you to cherish the tender sentiments; they are congenial to your heart. Study, however, by prudence and economy, to hasten the time when your best hopes may be accomplished.”

The correspondence between Colonel Pickering and his wife and sons, during the latter part of the second session of the ninth Congress, is mainly occupied by a most painful subject. His son Timothy was the victim of a distressing malady, — a disease of the throat, which resisted all attempts to remove or relieve it. The best medical advice and aid which in all that part of the country could be obtained, was unavailing. His father laid the case before Dr. Rush, with a minute detail of all its symptoms, and of the medical treatment that had been resorted to. It was also laid before Dr. Physic of Philadelphia, and Dr. Warren of Boston. The best advice of the country was called in, but in vain. Timothy had been removed to Cherry Valley, seventy miles from Starucca, to be under the care of Dr. White, a celebrated physician. Writing to his father from that place, January 28th, 1807, he thus expressed himself: —

“ I beseech you, my dear father, not to be grieved on my account; I trust that God will give me fortitude to endure my sufferings. The greatest grief I feel is the idea of parting with so many friends who are so very dear to me, and the sorrow that the loss of me will occasion them. For the pleasures of this world I shall feel but little regret. Dr. White says he may be mistaken as to the nature of my disorder, and bids me not be hopeless; but I have so much confidence in his judgment and skill that I consider my case as desperate. I pray that Almighty God may bless my dear parents, brothers and sisters, and grant them health and happiness.”

Writing to his wife, February 9th, in reference to the letter from Timothy just quoted, Colonel Pickering said: —

“ While my tears streamed, and I read his letter with anguish of heart, I was charmed with his unaffected display of fortitude, and pious resignation to the will of Heaven.

This increased affliction, in the prospect of parting with so good a son, is a new lesson of instruction, to remind us of the frailty of all earthly things; and to turn our thoughts still more to another and a better world, where all disquieting apprehensions will have an end, and all tears be wiped from our eyes. The consolations of the Christian religion become more and more interesting to you and me, at our advanced periods of life, and meeting with additional family afflictions. As Christians, it becomes us to aim at the acquisition of that patient resignation, under the dispensations of Divine Providence, which is manifestly due to the infinite wisdom by which they are governed. Christianity instructs us to consider all our sufferings here as the chastisements of our Heavenly Parent; and, when the best of our race reflect on their unworthiness, on what ground can they murmur under such corrections? When parents lose a pleasant child, one whose heart is warmed with filial love and piety to Heaven, every nerve is touched; and, in the anguish of their souls, they dissolve in tears. Yet, when their minds obtain some relaxation from grief, — when they can think with composure, — they will consider that, to such a child, *death is real gain*. Let us then, dear partner of my life, comfort ourselves with this divine consolation, — that we do not grieve as those who have no hope of better things to come.”

At the termination of the session of Congress, he started for home, going by packet from New York to Providence; and, after making all necessary arrangements for his family and farm, he set off for Starucca, which place was one hundred and thirty miles beyond the North River, at Catskill. He went alone, in a chaise, with a single horse. He was not well at the time, but his feelings constrained him to lose no time in making the melancholy journey. On the 19th of April, he wrote to his wife from Boston: —

“I found myself too unwell to proceed further. This morning I feel as well as when I left home and shall go on;

and probably reach Marlborough at night, thirty miles. I shall travel moderately of necessity, both on my own account and that of my horse; yet I hope to reach Starucca in ten days. I have seen Dr. Warren."

"Springfield, Tuesday, April 21st. I have just arrived here, the distance stated to be ninety-two miles from Boston. It was formerly called ninety-eight. I am not yet well, but am sensible of some relief from my cold. The northerly wind of this day has so chilled the air, that I have ridden with the camlet cloak over my surtout. I have taken this route instead of Northampton (over the mountains), which is impassable in a carriage. I could not, of course, go to Albany and so to Cherry Valley, were I so inclined. It is probable I shall have to go still farther south, to Hartford, and thence proceed through Litchfield to the North River. On the hills in Leicester (the next town on this side Worcester), the frost was not, in many places, out of the ground; and so miry that for three miles I hardly went out of a walk. Hence, I conclude, I am as early on my way to Starucca as was expedient."

"April 22d. I am still at Springfield, waiting for the mountain road on my way to be passable, and in the hope of benefit in respect to my cold; but it is much as it was yesterday. To-morrow morning I shall go for Hartford, or such a point as will conduct me into the turnpike from that town to Litchfield, where Colonel Tallmadge can advise my further progress in respect to the most practicable roads."

"April 23d. I shall this morning proceed on my journey. My head continues to ache, but my cough is abated. I hope in a few days to be well."

Writing to Henry, from "City of Hudson, Monday, April 27th," he says:—

"My last was dated at Springfield, when I informed that I should go down to Hartford, the roads to the Hudson, higher up, being impassable for a carriage, by reason of the snow. At Hartford I learned that there was a turnpike road thence direct to this city; and was advised by a friend (who travelled it last summer) to take it. I have done so, and

found it good beyond my expectation ; being much less mountainous than the passages further north. But the frost was not out of the ground in some parts of the high lands. It was on this account, and because I remained much indisposed with my cold, that I passed Friday in Hartford. I am now nearly well, and have begun to eat meat. At one this day I shall cross the Hudson, and pursue my journey with as much expedition as the roads will permit. The horse travels as well now as at my leaving home ; and, not being able to obtain one here on hire, I shall go on with him till I can get a substitute. Should the roads be tolerable, I shall expect to be at Starucca on Thursday night ; but I know that much of the turnpike is over a clayey country, and I learn that it has been pretty much cut up with teams."

"April 29th. Wednesday. Town of Meredith. Twenty-two miles east of the Susquehanna. At Mr. Law's. I reached this place at half-past one to-day, sixty-six miles from Hudson River, and about sixty from Starucca. The fine turnpike road from the River Hudson to the Susquehannah, which I travelled over a year ago, is exceedingly damaged by the abundance of water (from rains and snows), which has cut many gullies across, and it is not yet, in many other places, sufficiently dry ; but, by the time I shall be returning, it must be better ; still my progress back must be slow. Yesterday, twenty miles on this side the River Hudson, I was so far successful as to hire a horse, though a sorry one ; but I think he may carry me to Starucca and back to my own, which I have left in the charge of a very careful man to feed in the best manner.

"I have not met with any traveller, from the Susquehannah, who could give me any account of your brother. I shall deem it happy to find him able to travel. I am well. The difficulties in the road will prevent my reaching Starucca till Friday, May 1st."

This tedious and solitary journey occupied a fortnight. Considering its necessary hardships and fatigues, over rough roads, much of the way through a thinly settled and wooded country, the depression of spirits its pur-

pose occasioned, and the state of his health at the time, it is wonderful that he was enabled to encounter it. He found Timothy still living, and his wife, Lurena, and her infant son, well. Writing to Henry, on Monday, May 11th, and referring him to a letter to "his brother John, describing the grievous condition of Timothy," he says:—

"It was impossible to remove him in a chaise; he could travel only on a bed. But upon this removing his heart was set; and I then thought it possible to carry him by land,—at least as far as Catskill. I accordingly, last week, went to Chenango to procure a close pleasure wagon; but found it too short, and was constrained to purchase a common wagon-carriage, and had it fitted with a body and springs, and a thin bottom upon the springs, on which his bed might be laid. But when I got back again (last Wednesday night) I perceived his debility to be much increased, and he is this morning so extremely feeble that his removal is impossible. I have, therefore, now before me only the melancholy consolation of *exchanging a last farewell*. For three or four days after my arrival I was indisposed. 'I hope,' said he, 'that my situation is not the cause; I feel perfectly calm and resigned.' His integrity, his benevolence, his meekness, have acquired him universal esteem; and the poor neighbors whom he has employed view him with the respect and affection of children to a father. Alas! that *this* portion of earth should hold the remains of so excellent a son! But such is the will of Heaven. May those who shall survive him enjoy the like serenity of mind, flowing from a sincere and constant endeavor to preserve a *conscience void of offence toward God and toward man!* We weep, and shall weep, but not like those who have no hope beyond the grave. We shall meet again where there shall be no more sorrow, and where all tears shall be wiped away. Even the wisest of the ancient philosophers anticipated the satisfaction of again meeting with departed friends. Cicero, in particular, indulged the hope and expectation with a degree of ardor. 'Then,' said he,

‘shall I meet my Cato, than whom, no one more upright, no one more pure, and no one more pious, ever existed.’ This is nearly his sentiment: but with how much stronger hope, with how much more ardent expectation, may Christians anticipate such a meeting; seeing we are no longer left to vague conjectures, but ‘life and immortality are brought to light’ by the gospel? You, my dear Henry, with your brothers and, sisters, will, I trust, ever cherish this hope, founded on a belief of the Christian revelation and uniform obedience to the precepts of the Gospel.”

In this letter he says that Mr. Lewis, who married an elder sister of Timothy’s wife, “who has been much used to sick persons, and whose experience enables him to judge better than I, thinks your brother not likely to survive three days longer.”

In a postscript, May 12th, he says:—

“This morning your brother appears to be the same as yesterday. I have mentioned to him that I was writing home, and asked if he wished me to express any sentiment from him. ‘Only,’ said he, ‘that God may bless them all.’ He spoke with tolerable ease when I first arrived; now it seems to require some effort, and he speaks only when necessary.

“You will let your mother have this letter as soon as you can; for, though it will distress her, yet a state of suspense is still worse.”

The marriage of Timothy Pickering, Jr., has been mentioned. It took place at Starucca, December 29th, 1804. His wife was Lurena Cole. Their son Charles was born November 10th, 1805. Another son, Edward, was born in Wenham, October 2d, 1807. Soon after Colonel Pickering had reached Starucca, it was concluded, in view of Timothy’s near approaching death, that he should convey, by deed, his property to his father,

thereby avoiding the inconveniences of delay, attendance, and the ordinary processes that would be required in probate proceedings, for settling his estate in the Pennsylvania courts and offices; assurances having been given by his father that the widow and offspring should be taken into his own family and treated as part of it. In the postscript of May 12th, above quoted, Colonel Pickering says: —

“I am more and more pleased with the good sense and discretion of Lurena; and Charles appears to me to be a fine boy. I shall take them home with me. Mr. Lewis and family have, for two months, lived in the small house we built in 1801. He was almost indispensably necessary to your brother in his actual state. When we are gone, his family will move into the other house. Lurena’s mother will remain here till next fall or winter, and proposes to go back to her sons in Vermont.”

Writing to Henry, his father says: —

“My letter of the 11th, continued to the 12th, will have prepared you and others of the family for the result of your brother’s grievous disorder. He died on Thursday the 14th, with the same composure and resignation which the threatening indications of the disease had uniformly given him occasion to manifest.”

“The remains of your brother were deposited on the brow of the hill, where the *plain* commences, between the mountain and Starucca. His grave is near those of the Comstock family. On the day of his burial, I intimated to Hail and Lewis my wish that flat stones might be set up at his grave. They seem to have thought of it. ‘We will do it,’ said Hail; ‘we will fix the stones, so that Charles, when grown up, if he should come this way, may find the spot where his father’s body was laid.’ These words were uttered with so much affection and respect for the deceased as showed how greatly your brother was beloved.”

A day or two after the funeral, Colonel Pickering separated his family, finally, from Pennsylvania; and, taking with him Lurena and Charles, started for home. The roads, during the month since he had passed them, were much improved, and the journey was made in easy stages. At Meredith he took again his own horse. In a letter to Henry, dated "Hartford, Tuesday, May 26th," he says: —

"I am here, with Lurena and Charles, on the point of proceeding on the middle road (which leads through Uxbridge and Dedham to Boston); and, if rain does not prevent travelling, expect to arrive at Wenham on Friday evening. I do not mean to alight either at Boston or Salem."

The introduction of Timothy's widow into the family of Colonel Pickering proved one of the happiest events of his life. Her sweet and beautiful temperament, her cheerful spirit and manners, and her practical wisdom, were of incalculable value. As the companion of himself and wife, to the end of their days; in sharing at once, and gradually assuming the management of the household and homestead, — she was a constant blessing; relieving them, as age advanced, of burdens they were becoming less able to bear. In his absences from home, at Washington or elsewhere, he no longer had to lament the loneliness of his wife, or the weight of the charge left upon her. The little boys brought liveliness and entertainment into the domestic scene; and all enjoyed, in their culture and growth, grateful and well-rewarded cares.

Colonel Pickering was in his seat at the opening of the first session of the tenth Congress, on the 26th of October, 1807, and appears to have been constant in his

attendance, taking part, however, only in cursory debates. During this session, his colleague, Mr. Adams, supported the embargo, thus severing himself from the Federal party. Ever after he and Colonel Pickering were arrayed against each other in the politics of the country. While on public questions they were in strenuous and vehement antagonism, the personal relations between them were always civil and courteous. Party animosities and passions were running very high in Congress and throughout the country. The degree to which Colonel Pickering participated in them, and his history, generally, at this period, will appear in the following extracts from his correspondence. Writing to his wife, from Washington, October 26th, 1807, he says : —

“ In riding six days and two nights, I reached this city last evening, in perfect health, and but slightly fatigued.”

“ November 16th. Henry writes me that Lurena has got well, and that both the boys are in fine health. I have, as usual, gained a little flesh, after suspending severe bodily labor, and am very well. My companions are chiefly those with whom I have already pleasantly passed four winters in this city. Mr. Hillhouse (one of the best of men) and I occupy, as usual, one chamber together.”

“ January 1st, 1808. Another year has passed. The thought strikes me with solemnity, — a solemnity doubly affecting, from the portentous situation of our country and the condition of the civilized world. One great power rules the ocean. Another, still greater and terrible in its principles and means, sways the Continent of Europe. From one, however, we have no evil to apprehend ; but if Heaven permit this one to be subdued, the United States will also fall, and one tyrant govern the world. With *your* native land, all our differences might easily be adjusted, if common sense and common honesty directed the affairs of our nation. From a

view of the negotiation between Mr. Munroe and the British Minister, Canning, in London, it is plain that every obstacle to an amicable settlement of our disputes with that power arose from the impracticable instructions of President Jefferson. He required and insisted on a mode of negotiation to which the British government would not, and ought not, to consent; and, from other information, it is also clear that he urged, and insisted on, concessions, which that government is at no time bound to yield, and, in its present perilous situation, will not, cannot, ought not, to yield.

“The conduct of our government is mysterious. Breathing nothing but war, they make no active preparations even for defence. Gunboats excepted, not a single measure has been voted that would not be highly expedient in a time of profound peace; and in gunboats few men place any confidence. The President uniformly professes his desire to maintain peace, yet seizes every occasion to excite and increase the prejudices and hatred of the multitude against Great Britain. The terms of the embargo are *general*, applying alike to Britain, France, and Spain, and to the other states subjected to the power of Bonaparte; yet the truth now and then escapes from the President's partisans, showing that, notwithstanding the *ostensible impartiality* of the embargo, it was *really* designed to operate against Great Britain most directly, and, but that it would have been a just cause of war, it would have been levelled against her *exclusively*. The colonies of France and Spain will unavoidably suffer. But if thousands of the colonists perished with famine it would be nothing in the view of the French Emperor, provided the measure injured Britain. And to injure her was, above all, the design of our government. Yet a few members, attached to the President and pushing forwards his improvident schemes, will, at lucid intervals, acknowledge that Great Britain, with her fleets, is our only shield against the universal despotism of France! If, then, we looked only to our own interests, we ought at least not to undermine, if we did not cherish, British power. Instead of this, our government have persevered in demands which go to prostrate that protecting power. Instead of conciliating language and measures, we

miss no opportunity to injure, irritate, and insult it. For a course of conduct so inconsistent, and so plainly repugnant to the best interests of our country, it is not easy to account; but it must be so when *wickedness* and *folly* are combined in directing the affairs of a nation. To such misrule the people are absolutely blind. They have become the wretched dupes of the imagined wisdom, virtue, and patriotism of one man, — a man whose means of advancement to power, and the great principle of whose conduct, has been *deception*. But, in the last and strong measure of our government, the result, I believe, will prove it to be the dupe of its own cunning. The embargo, levelled chiefly at Great Britain, if she act with obvious prudence, will benefit her, and leave France and her dependent States, with our own dear selves, the principal, if not the only, sufferers. By shutting up all our own ports, and keeping all our vessels at home, we leave all the commerce of the world to Britain. She will enjoy this monopoly alone. Her enemies can obtain none of the products of the East and West Indies, unless they receive them from her. If their colonies obtain any provisions and merchandise, it must be from her. For these reasons, she will very patiently bear the intended wrong; but which, in its nature, can materially injure her enemies, among whom, *though in name neutrals*, she may reckon the United States. But we, the United States, shall not possess equal patience. Fifty or sixty thousand seafaring people, and the many more thousands absolutely dependent on commerce, will not be contented to starve to gratify the sheer folly of our administration, in an experiment of which common sense would show the futility, in respect to Great Britain, while its injurious consequences to ourselves are as obvious as they are incalculable. These will be *felt*, and therefore the embargo cannot continue long. But no more of politics.

“When I began this letter I had no intention to carry you into the labyrinth of our governmental affairs, of which it seems impossible to find the certain clew. The gloom excited by the consideration of their present unpropitious state dictated the first sentiment, which led me on through four tedious pages. I continue to enjoy perfect health.”

In a letter to his son Henry, January 3d, 1808, he says:—

“A few days since Mr. Eppes, Mr. Jefferson’s son-in-law, made an attack upon me in the House of Representatives, in charging me with keeping back despatches from Mr. Adams, with a design to involve this country in a war with France. His manner, I am told, was that of raving vehemence. I trust you and all the family, and all our friends, and all discerning men, have already seen too much of the character of my enemies to suffer the least shadow of uneasiness at any charge they can bring against me. ‘I am armed so strong in honesty,’ that I fear nothing which the malice of men or devils can bring against me. Eppes’s speech has been quickly published in the ‘National Intelligencer,’ and large subscriptions, I understand, have been set on foot for printing it in a pamphlet, to be dispersed, I suppose, far and near; the object, to suggest the idea that a Secretary of State who could be guilty of such unfaithfulness can deserve no credit for any statement he makes which can affect his political adversaries. But they will miss their aim. I shall make them repent of their evil doings. Eppes is too small game. I shall merely notice him as the medium of communication from the palace. Then I shall make the attack I have for some time meditated, but had not decided on the mode. Eppes’s statement has opened a wide field. I had before felt diffident lest I should be deemed presumptuous in taking it. Henceforward, on the great question of *public measures* and *public characters*, the *United States* will be my *theatre*, and the *nation* my *audience*, and the nation is now wrought up (by their sufferings) to a sensibility on which TRUTH will make salutary impressions.

“From fellow-citizens of the first distinction in different States I am frequently receiving testimonies of high approbation, esteem, and respect. These do not make me vain; but they are grateful to my feelings: they strengthen my hands, and encourage my heart. The labor of the task I have prescribed to myself, I should be extremely glad to escape; but, if I perform it effectually, more public good, infinitely more, may result from it than from all the other labors of my life.

I am too much occupied to write many letters. Let your mother, and the family at Wenham, see all I write to you.

“P. S. I am pleased with your proposal that Octavius should be much at Salem this vacation to learn French. Let him give his chief attention to the *pronunciation*; for the construction and meaning of the language he can learn by himself from books.

“I hope he does not undertake too much,— Hebrew and French in addition to Latin and Greek. He must not neglect the two latter after spending years in acquiring them. He must frequently read both, otherwise he will forget them, as I know by my own sad experience.”

Colonel Pickering's general correspondence about this time, as the fierce conflict thickened between the Federal and Democratic parties, and through the long period of years in which it convulsed the nation, was very voluminous. An attempt to trace it in its details, and with the necessary accompanying comments, and explanations of references to persons and incidents, would be to write the history of the country. The purposes of a biography are best answered by bringing into as narrow a compass as possible points of personal interest, especially those illustrative of character. The general historian, and the biographer of other particular eminent persons, will find Colonel Pickering's papers a mine of inestimable value. His letters to such men as Fisher Ames, George Cabot, and other leading Federalists, not only in Massachusetts or New England but in various other sections of the country, by the force of their thoughts and language served much to preserve the unity, keep alive the spirit, and invigorate the energies of that party. His influence was felt by the dominant party to be dangerous. Hence the war opened in so marked and special a manner in

the House of Representatives. This brought him into a field in which he displayed powers not surpassed by any public, controversial, political writer of that or any other period.

The work to which he was particularly instigated by the conspicuous prominence, before the whole country, given him by Mr. Eppes, and referred to in the above-quoted letter to his son, soon appeared.

The Democratic party was then in power in Massachusetts. Colonel Pickering, as a Senator in Congress, regarded the legislature of Massachusetts as his constitutional constituency, and considered the Governor of the State the proper organ through which to communicate with them. On the 16th of February, 1808, he transmitted to Governor Sullivan, to be communicated to the legislature, then in session, a paper entitled "A Letter from Timothy Pickering, a Senator of the United States, from the State of Massachusetts, exhibiting to his Constituents a View of the imminent Danger of an unnecessary and ruinous War. Addressed to his Excellency, James Sullivan, Governor of the said State." On the 9th of March, Colonel Pickering, writing to Governor Sullivan, says: —

"This evening I received your Excellency's letter of the 3d instant, acknowledging the receipt of mine to you ('consisting of six sheets'), dated the 16th of February, which you were pleased to return, with an expression of 'surprise,' at what you call my 'novel and extraordinary' claim upon you, as Governor of the Commonwealth, to communicate my letter to the legislature. Indeed, Sir, I did think that, in 'presenting to you and them such a view of our national affairs as my official situation has placed in my power,' I was not committing an error in addressing it to 'you, as the proper organ of

communication to the legislature.' And, notwithstanding your Excellency's admonition, I am still so unfortunate as not to see wherein I have erred. Had the language and sentiments of the letter, thus addressed to you and to the legislature, been wanting in decorum and respect to either, your surprise and reproof would have been just. But you are pleased to tell me that, 'before you had gone through the first page, you were surprised at my novel and extraordinary claim;' that you 'folded my letter instantly, in order to reflect on its principles;' and that you 'have not unfolded it since.'"

Governor Sullivan replied on the 18th of March. Colonel Pickering addressed another long letter to the Governor, concluding thus: "This I shall send to the printer; it being the mode of communication which your Excellency has been pleased to propose." This second letter notices particular passages and points of the Governor's public letter, of which it is a close criticism. While alluding throughout to the public questions involved in the discussion, it is largely composed of a vindication of his own public history, conduct, and character, and, as such, is highly valuable and interesting.

A copy of the first letter, which Governor Sullivan had returned unread, had been forwarded from Washington to Boston. The friends to whom it was sent, upon concluding that the Governor had determined not to communicate it to the legislature, had caused it to be printed in a pamphlet form. It principally relates to the embargo, and its aim is to check the tendency, in the policy of the government and the prejudices of the people, to bring on a war with England, thereby subserving the purposes of France. A few extracts will show its character, style, and object.

"I am aware of the jealousy with which, in these unhappy

days of party dissensions, my communications may, by some of my constituents, be received. Of this I will not complain; while I earnestly wish the same jealousy to be extended towards all public men. Yet I may claim some share of attention and credit, — that share which is due to the man who defies the world to point, in the whole course of a long and public life, at one instance of deception, at a single departure from truth.”

“ I write, Sir, with freedom; for the times are too perilous to allow those who are placed in high and responsible situations, to be silent and reserved. The peace and safety of our country are suspended on a thread.”

“ The State legislatures should know the facts and reasons on which important general laws are founded; and *especially those States whose farms are on the ocean, and whose harvests are gathered in every sea, should immediately and seriously consider how to preserve them.* In all the branches of government, commercial information is wanting; and, in ‘ this desert,’ called a city, that want cannot be supplied. Nothing but the sense of the commercial States, clearly and emphatically expressed, will save them from ruin.”

“ To some the sentiments which, in the sincerity of my heart, I have expressed, may give offence; for often nothing offends so much as truth. Yet I do not desire to offend any man.”

“ Regardless of personal consequences, I have undertaken to communicate these details, with the view to dissipate dangerous illusions; to give to my constituents correct information; to excite inquiry; and to rouse that vigilant jealousy which is the characteristic of REPUBLICANS, and essential to the preservation of their rights, their liberties, and their independence.”

This letter was felt by the government party to be so adapted to produce its designed effect, that all the resources of abuse, invective, and calumny against its author, were drawn upon to prevent or reduce its influence; while grateful encomiums poured in from eminent

and earnest Federalists and their presses in all parts of the country. A few specimens of the latter may be given.

George Cabot says : —

“ It is impossible that your letter should be read throughout New England without producing great benefit ; indeed, if it could be read in the House of Representatives here by one who would do justice to the composition, it would, for the moment, electrify the members.” “ This excellent address is well calculated to rouse us from our apathy, and, if we were fit for any thing but slavery, all New England might be brought to act with effect.

“ ‘ Improbis vituperari, laudari est.’ You will doubtless have a little of this *praise*. I trust you will neither be vain nor angry.”

Colonel Pickering, in reply to the foregoing, says : —

“ With your approbation, and the approbation of others whom I respect, esteem, and love, I could be well content, and would cheerfully dispense with the other kind of praise you mention ; but you rightly judge it will make me ‘ neither vain nor angry.’ And here you will allow me to repeat what is often present to my mind, having heard it quoted times without number by my father : ‘ Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you ! ’ ”

The following are among the innumerable expressions received from all quarters of the appreciation of Colonel Pickering’s character and services, particularly on this occasion : —

FROM JOHN JAY.

“ Mr. Jay has received Colonel Pickering’s note of the 18th, and has read the pamphlet which accompanied it. His sentiments relative to the Colonel’s *private* and *public* character have long and *uniformly* been the same.

“ On a topic so interesting, and so circumstanced, Mr. Jay thinks it becomes him to be unreserved and explicit. As, on

proper occasions, he has frequently said, so, on proper occasions, he will not forbear to repeat, that, in his opinion, Colonel Pickering is a virtuous man, and a firm, able, and valuable patriot."

FROM RUFUS KING.

"I do not recollect that I have had the pleasure of writing to you since we received copies of your letter to Governor Sullivan. I need not say to you all I think on the subject of your letter, but you will allow me to offer you my sincere thanks for writing it."

FROM JAMES MCHENRY.

"I perused with great pleasure your letter addressed to Governor Sullivan. It has been very generally commended and most extensively read."

FROM WILLIAM RAWLE.

"Your letter to Governor Sullivan has been read among us with warm and unqualified approbation."

The interest taken in Colonel Pickering's letter pervaded the whole country. William Barton writes from Lancaster, in Pennsylvania:—

"I have read with very great interest your letter to the Governor of Massachusetts. It exhibits such a view of the political condition of our country as must awaken the apprehensions of every American. I conceive it to be a *duty* incumbent on every virtuous member of the community who possesses means and talents for doing it, to *warn* the public of the danger to which the sinister policy of the government must inevitably lead, if it be much longer persisted in. You, Sir, have hitherto done your part; and I trust that your future exertions, directed to the same end, will not be wanting."

John Dennis, of New Brunswick, N. J., wrote as follows:—

"Permit me to hope, Sir, that you will pardon the intrusion of a stranger who is well acquainted with your public services,

and venerates your character. Your recent letter (addressed to Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts), on the *state of the Union*, truly exhibits the unfortunate and alarming situation of our national concerns; it has had a general circulation in this State, and is highly approved by our most respectable citizens. We feel great satisfaction at still retaining in our public councils some few patriots of firmness and independence enough to assert their country's rights, and make such communications to their constituents as they may deem advisable."

Elias Boudinot wrote from Burlington, N. J., to a similar effect.

Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, says, among other things, in a characteristic letter:—

"I have received and read with full satisfaction your correspondence with your Governor. What a lesson does this occurrence afford to young politicians! That, after a long life, spent in the most useful and conspicuous services, you should be called upon, or think it necessary, to vindicate your private and public character to that country in whose view, and for whose benefit, your exertions were made, presents such a disgusting picture of public gratitude and justice, that a man who will trust either must have much fortitude and more credulity.

"Bless the embargo! thrice blessed the President's proclamation, by which his minions are to judge of the appetites of his subjects, how much food they may reasonably consume, and who shall supply them! If these things awaken not, we are, indeed, in the sleep of death, and can look for reanimation only at the sound of the last trump.

"Have you wise men settled the question, whether, under the proclamation and embargo system, a child may be lawfully born without clearing out at the Custom-House?"

Henry Glen writes from Schenectady: "At the request of the Federalist Committee of this city, and as their

chairman, I herewith send you their letter on the subject of your letter to Governor Sullivan, with which we are all highly pleased." The letter of the committee is of some length, giving strong views of the situation of the country at that time: "We beg leave," they say, "to assure you, Sir, it is to them a very agreeable duty to express to you the high sense they entertain of the services rendered to the Federal cause and the national interests by the publication of your luminous, eloquent, and patriotic letter to Governor Sullivan." They further say that "it was a powerful stimulus to redoubled exertions at the late election in this place;" and that "they have reason to believe it generally produced the same effect. The letter was signed by the committee severally, twelve in number.

Jacob Wagner was editor of the Baltimore "North American." In a public letter, printed in that paper, July 25th, 1809, Colonel Pickering, vindicating himself from certain charges circulated against him by political opponents, bears testimony to the character of Wagner. As a specimen of his style as a newspaper political controversialist, from the interesting personal and other facts it contains, as well as what relates to Jacob Wagner, its substance is inserted in the Appendix.*

The respect and affection for Colonel Pickering with which Mr. Wagner had been inspired while serving under him in the State department, and his zealous devotion to Federal principles, led him to take a deep interest in the letter to Governor Sullivan. Writing to Colonel Pickering on the 21st of March, 1808, he says: —

* Appendix C.

“Nothing could be more timely, lucid, and patriotic, than the letter with which you have favored the public upon the present crisis. I have had one thousand copies of it printed as a pamphlet; and, whenever the sum laid out on it is realized by the sale of copies, it shall be again expended in the multiplication of them.”

Writing again on the 13th of May, he says:—

“I have sent three hundred copies of your first letter to two of my friends in the German counties of this State for distribution. I lately had an answer from one of them (Dr. Thomas), who said they were in the hands of the more moderate Democrats, and would probably have a very good effect. The Doctor adds that, as to the full-blooded portion of the party, nothing will cure them but a providential interposition.”

Charles G. Cabot, writing from Boston, April 10th, says:—

“Your valuable letter has passed through so many editions that I have, at last, lost my reckoning. We can reckon, however, more than twenty-five thousand copies in pamphlets, and nearly double that number in newspapers. Would to Heaven the country could justly value the letter and its author!”

His appreciation of these strong and multiplied assurances of the beneficial impression upon the public mind made by his pamphlet, is shown in a passage of one of his letters to his son Henry:—

“If the world’s applause could make me vain, the unexampled approbation and success of my letter would produce that effect. But I feel no other emotion than that which arises from the knowledge that the letter has done, and is doing, extensive good to my country. Judging from the information received from various quarters, it has been read, by this time, probably by more than a hundred thousand persons. The public mind was in a state singularly fitted to hail its publication.”

In a letter to his wife, April 4th, he says: —

“ To you, my dear Beckey, I can freely communicate the grateful offerings of our best citizens, without becoming chargeable with vanity, of which I feel none, as you know I have none. When I wrote that letter I knew the consequence, — that old calumnies would be raked up, and new ones (if new ones could be invented) heaped upon me. Here I am not disappointed. But I had not looked for *fame*. This has come unsought, and is, therefore, welcome.”

The first session of the tenth Congress terminated April 25th, 1808.

The following correspondence took place, not long after Colonel Pickering's return to Wenham: —

“ The Committee of Arrangements, in behalf of a large and respectable number of gentlemen of Salem, associated for the purpose, request the honor of your company at a public dinner, to be given by them at Concert Hall, on Tuesday next, the 24th instant, as a testimony of their respect for your talents and integrity, and gratitude for your public services.

“ ELIAS HASKET DERBY, *Chairman*.

“ HONORABLE TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

“ SALEM, May 17th, 1808.”

“ To GENERAL DERBY, *Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, &c.*

“ SIR,

“ Contented with the unsought, and, in an eminent degree, the unlooked-for, approbation of my public conduct by my fellow-citizens at large, it never occurred to me that the particular attention of the gentlemen of my native town would have been drawn towards me in the manner expressed in your letter of the 17th. To this distinguished mark of respect I cannot be insensible; and feel myself honored in accepting the invitation to their public dinner on Tuesday next.

“ TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“ WENHAM.”

The "Salem Gazette," of May 27th, gives an account of the occasion : —

"We have seldom witnessed a scene of more rational gratification than that of Tuesday last, in tendering to an old and venerable patriot a public tribute of respect and gratitude. It is the fashion of the times to calumniate our public benefactors. Colonel Pickering has been more particularly singled out as a mark for the destroyers of fame and character, and the arrows have been dipped in the most malignant poison. While his life has been devoted to the service of his country, he has had to stem a torrent of the most cruel obloquy and reproach, provoked by those steady Roman virtues which have buoyed him up in the arduous struggle.

"The handsome manner in which he was introduced into town on Tuesday comported with the respectful sentiments which gave rise to the entertainment."

Two gentlemen, deputed from the committee, repairing in a carriage to his farm in Wenham, received him into it. A cavalcade of young men, with a line of carriages passing through Danvers and Upper Beverly, met him at the Wenham line, "whence they escorted him in a very gallant style into Salem. The houses and streets were crowded with grateful spectators; the vessels in Beverly harbor displayed their flags in compliment to the veteran; and, as his carriage arrived at the draw of Essex bridge a salute was fired from a ship, at a few yards' distance, in the stream." Upon reaching General Derby's splendid mansion, the thousands of spectators and the escort opening and facing inward, the honored guest passed through, with shouts of welcome and music from a band. From the General's house the company proceeded to Concert Hall. "Here the illustrious guest was seated in the midst of many of

those who had been the gay companions of his youth, and were now the steady friends of his age. Here he was surrounded also by young men who had learned from their fathers the history and character of the man they honored." Among the guests were Josiah Quincy, then a distinguished member of Congress, from Boston, the Essex Senators, and many other prominent persons of the county. Benjamin Goodhue, ex-Senator in Congress, presided, with General Derby, Benjamin Pickman, and William Prescott, as vice-presidents. As the "Gazette" said, "it was the feast of reason and the flow of Federalism." A similar public reception and dinner were afterwards given him in Newburyport.

These testimonials of respect and affection by his more immediate constituents, his neighbors and townsmen, were noticed with great satisfaction by his political friends in all parts of the country, and he received many expressions of it, like the following, from Burlington, New Jersey: —

"Your friends here — and they are not few in number or respectability — are highly gratified by your reception among your fellow-citizens, and congratulate you on this truly grateful return for your services.

"When you return to Congress, it will give us great pleasure that you should make Burlington a stage in your way, where you will be received by none with more real satisfaction than by yours,

"ELIAS BOUDINOT."

The effects produced by Colonel Pickering's letter to Governor Sullivan were undoubtedly very great. The editors of newspapers, and persons particularly observant of political indications, attributed to it, in a large degree, the revival of the force of the Federal party,

shown in the elections of that year in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and all the New England States, especially in Massachusetts. Seldom has a political paper been so effectual; never, at that time, had such a circulation been given to a document of the kind, and no one ever met with such a reception in the gratification of friendly, and the irritation and apprehensive resentment of hostile, readers.

From that moment Timothy Pickering stood in the foremost front of Federal champions, and the whole artillery of the opposite party became pointed against him. He rallied the increasing confidence and enthusiasm of his political friends, and encountered, as will be seen, particularly in the next chapter, the utmost wrath and violence of his political enemies.

CHAPTER IV.

A Senator of the United States. — Tenth Congress, Second Session. — His Speeches on the Embargo. — First and second Sessions of eleventh Congress. — Domestic and general Correspondence. — Hanged and burned in Effigy. — A libellous Handbill. — His Correspondence and Proceedings in reference to Libellers. — The fast-anchored Isle.

1808-1810.

THE second session of the tenth Congress was opened November 7th, 1808. Colonel Pickering was in his seat. Beside taking part occasionally in cursory debate, he delivered three speeches, which were extensively circulated in newspapers, and severally in a pamphlet form. They were instructive, effective, and highly commended. They were all on the then engrossing subject of the embargo. The first was on the 30th of November, 1808, on the "Resolution offered by Mr. Hillhouse to repeal the several acts laying an embargo."

It begins thus : —

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"The ample discussion already given to the resolution on your table, leaves me nothing to detail on the *effects* produced by the embargo, in regard to France, to England, or ourselves. On the two great belligerents, *practical* men, who knew the characters and resources of those nations, foresaw and pronounced *that it would make no impression*. This we all now know to be the fact; while we ourselves severely feel its pressure. Why, then, not remove it? Because, as we are told, those two nations have violated our neutral maritime rights; and seeing that, to compel their respect for these, we imposed the embargo, and they treat the measure with con-

tempt, to remove it would be submission. So we will endeavor to conceal our mortification; and, because we cannot injure *them*, we will continue to punish *ourselves*. To renew our commerce, while their decrees and orders remain uncanceled, would, we are told, be 'abject and degrading submission;' and that we have but this alternative, 'to make war with both nations,' or 'continue and enforce the present suspension of commerce.'

"To make war on both the belligerents is the most strange, Quixotic idea that ever entered into the head of a statesman. I suppose, as we have a thousand and a thousand times declared that we have maintained an impartial neutrality towards those nations, so, to verify our declarations, we must now make war upon both *impartially!* And as their injuries are said to be equal, or we will not inquire which has done us 'the most harm,' so we must measure out to each an equal quantity of resentment, and give to each an equal number of blows!

"I am aware, Sir, of the consequences of advancing any thing from which conclusions may be drawn adverse to the opinions of our own administration, which by many are conceived to be indisputably just. Merely to state these questions, and to mention such arguments as the British government may perhaps have urged in their support on her side, is sufficient to subject a man to the popular charge of being under British influence, or to the vulgar slander of being a 'British Tory:' he will be fortunate to escape the accusation of touching British gold. But, Sir, none of these things move me. The patrons of the miscreants who utter these slanders know better; but are nevertheless willing to benefit by the impression they may make on the minds of the people. From an early period of my life, I was zealously engaged in every measure opposed to the attempts of Great Britain to encroach upon our rights until the commencement of our Revolutionary war; and, during its whole continuance, I was uninterruptedly employed in important civil or military departments, contributing all my efforts to bring that war to a successful termination.

"I, Sir, am not the advocate of wrong-doers, to whatever

country they belong ; whether emperors or kings, or the administrators of a republic. *Justice* is my object, and *truth* my guide ; and wherever *she* points the way, I shall not fear to go.

“ Great Britain has done us many wrongs. When we were Colonies, she attempted to deprive us of some of our dearest birth-rights, — rights derived from our English ancestors, — rights which we defended and finally established by the successful conclusion of the Revolutionary war. But these wrongs and all the wounds of war were intended to be obliterated and healed by the treaty of peace, when all enmities should have ceased.

“ Great Britain wronged us in the capture and condemnation of our vessels under her orders of 1793 ; and she has made reparation for these wrongs, pursuant to a treaty negotiated on *practical* principles by a statesman who, with *liberal views* and *real candor*, sought adjustment and reparation.

In the course of the speech, he said : —

“ Mr. President, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Giles] has been pleased to attribute the discontents in New England, especially in Massachusetts, relative to the embargo, solely to the arts of *demagogues* who wish to get into office.

“ The gentleman from Connecticut noticed this reproach ; but, as it appeared to be levelled chiefly at leading citizens in Massachusetts, I feel it to be my duty further to remark that, of all the citizens of the United States, none stand more aloof from, none more detest the character of, demagogues than those to whom the gentleman referred. I know those men who reprobate the embargo, and who, in conversation and in newspapers, express their sentiments about it, or patronize those who do. *They* are not seeking for offices, — many of them could not be persuaded to accept the best office in a President’s gift, — but to save their country from the effects of measures, in their view, alike ruinous and disgraceful. They are men, Sir, whose age, whose experience, whose knowledge, whose wisdom, whose virtue, place them in the first rank of citizens. They are men, Sir, ten of whom, had they been in

Sodom, would have saved that city from destruction? Among them was the immortal Ames, than whom a purer spirit never left the earth. He wrote while he had strength to hold a pen. He died on the anniversary morning of the nation's birthday; and this was among his last prayers, — Oh, save my country!

“Gentlemen have said much about insurrection and rebellion; and, in language not very conciliatory, pointed all their allusions to the people of New England. Other rulers pronounced them rebels more than thirty years ago: while many then unborn now wish to cover themselves with their mantle, and to share the honors of the patriots of seventeen hundred and seventy-six.

“But why should gentlemen be surprised that great *discontents* prevail in that country; and that the legislatures, with a deliberation and solemnity which should command attention, have pronounced their opinions of the embargo? Gentlemen will recollect that *there* the Revolution began, of which Boston was the cradle. And if they will turn to the Declaration of Independence, they will find one of the reasons for the Colonies separating themselves from Great Britain, and renouncing the government of the King, was their enacting laws ‘*for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.*’

“Mr. President, in a public document on our tables, we are told that, ‘after a period of twenty-five years of peace, hardly interrupted by transient hostilities, and of prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations, the United States are for the first time since the treaty which terminated the Revolutionary war placed in a situation equally difficult, critical, and dangerous.’

“That our country has enjoyed such unexampled prosperity, I readily agree; but the *present* is not the *first time* that these States have been placed in a *difficult, critical, and dangerous* situation.

“The gentleman from Connecticut yesterday noticed the most difficult crisis. In 1798, it required all the firmness and immense popularity of President Washington to stem the torrent of popular delusion that was hurrying the United States into the vortex of the French Revolution.

“In 1794, the same steadiness, the same undeviating pursuit of the public welfare, in spite of popular clamor and formal opposition, were necessary to institute a mission to Great Britain, to negotiate and settle with that government questions of the highest moment to these States, and which, if they remained much longer unsettled, might endanger the peace of the nation. That negotiation, committed to the conduct of a statesman than whom our country has produced not one more firm, more wise, or more upright, was, by his candor, ability, and decision, brought to a happy conclusion, in fewer *months* than some more modern negotiations have occupied *years* without being brought to any conclusion, unless their utter *failure* may be called a *conclusion*.

“In 1795, the United States were agitated to their centre, by the opposition to the British treaty. Artful and aspiring demagogues seized upon the known prejudices of the people in regard to the two great contending nations; and exerting all their faculties to keep up the popular delusion, hoped that, by the loud and extended clamor, the President would be deterred from ratifying the treaty which Mr. Jay had so happily concluded. Here again were displayed the firmness and patriotism of Washington. Always determined to pursue the true interests of the people, although at the hazard of his popularity, he ratified the treaty. Here it was presumed all opposition would cease. But it again appeared, and with a more formidable aspect, in the national legislature. But I will not dwell upon it. The treaty was finally carried into execution. It had, however, one more enemy to encounter.

“Revolutionary France, wishing to involve us in a war with Great Britain, which this treaty (merely of amity and commerce) had prevented, *pretended* that it was equivalent to a treaty of *alliance* with Great Britain. And seizing on this pretence, at once to vent her resentment and gratify the rapacity of her rulers with the plunder of our citizens, she let loose her cruisers upon our commerce.

“We urged the obligations of treaties violated by these captures. She answered, *that she found only a real disadvantage in those obligations!* and continued her depredations. Repeated missions of respectable Ministers to Paris endeavored

to propitiate her rulers, and prevail on them to put a stop to such enormities. But they were deaf to the voice of justice. Then it was that our government authorized an armed commerce, and equipped a small but gallant navy for its further protection; and made other defensive preparations, such as have been stated by the gentleman from Connecticut.

“If, Sir, our country is now placed in a situation more ‘difficult, critical, and dangerous,’ than at any of the periods to which I have adverted (though I am very far from adopting that opinion), where shall we look for the cause? If in 1794, when England had powerful associates in her war with France, and the latter had been, comparatively, but little extended beyond her natural limits, the United States, with perhaps two-thirds of her present population and less than half her present revenue, were able to induce England to accede to their just demands, and to close all differences by an advantageous treaty; how has it happened that the present administration, with all the accession of power from an increased population, and a more than doubled revenue; when, too, gigantic France wielded the force and the resources of continental Europe; and England, single-handed, was left to meet a world in arms, — how has it happened that, with these superior advantages and more powerful means, all the negotiations of the present administration with England (one excepted of local rather than general application, and which I need not explain) have failed? Had they been conducted with equal candor, ability, and dignity, must they not have produced as early, and at least as advantageous, results? Was this a cause of their failure, *that points of questionable right*, because not settled by the universally acknowledged law of nations, *and therefore of doubtful, or hopeless attainment, were pertinaciously insisted on?*”

The conclusion of the speech is as follows: —

“These, Sir, are my views of the origin of the embargo; the result of a careful, and, I trust, an impartial investigation. The material facts are on record. Of my reasonings and conclusions gentlemen will judge. If these be correct, the course to be pursued must be obvious. The *nation’s honor* is com-

patible with the repeal of the embargo. The welfare of our country is not to be sacrificed to the views or feelings of those who have brought it into its present situation.

“Let, then, the resolution before us be adopted and the embargo removed. As the British orders in council were not the *cause* of the embargo, the *honor* of the United States is not pledged for their *previous repeal*.”

The occasion of Colonel Pickering’s second speech on the embargo, delivered December 1st, is stated in its opening paragraph : —

“When I came into the Senate chamber this morning, I was told that the resolution for repealing the embargo being read, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Anderson), who has just sat down, desired the further consideration of it might be postponed until I arrived, as some of his observations would have reference to those which I had delivered yesterday. I felt obliged to the gentleman for his polite attention. I will notice, as briefly as possible, the principal topics he has thought fit to introduce.”

A few extracts from this speech will give an idea of its character, and the value of the statements it presents : —

“There appears, Mr. President, to be a constant effort on the part of the advocates of the embargo, to prove Great Britain to have been the first aggressor against the rights of neutral nations ; but they content themselves with making declamatory observations, without giving a correct view of facts, and without tracing up effects to their causes.

“The first subject of complaint mentioned by the gentleman from Tennessee, and what he pronounces to be the cause of the Berlin decree, was the blockades proclaimed by Great Britain, even ‘of some thousands of miles extent.’ I know not where the gentleman will find evidence of such a blockade. He mentioned, indeed, the blockade from the river Elbe to Brest inclusively, and that of the Dardanelles and Smyrna. But the latter were two distinct points of blockade,

unconnected with that from the Elbe to Brest. This last is a constant theme of declamation.

“ Not having lately looked at a map of that coast, nor ever calculated its length, I cannot state its extent, nor name all its ports ; but the chief of them, at this moment occurring, are Hamburg on the Elbe, Bremen on the Weser, a smaller port north of Holland, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp (to which you ascend by the Scheldt), Ostend, Havre-de-Grace, Cherbourg, St. Maloes, Morlaix, Brest. A few more of minor consequence I do not recollect. Here are ten or twelve ports, and, suppose they were doubled, would there be any difficulty in forming an *actual* blockade of each ? — especially when it shall be considered that all of them are in the vicinity of the ports of England, from which a competent number of her seven hundred armed vessels could sail to any of the ports declared in a state of blockade, in the space of three or four days, and some of them in a few hours. Hence it would seem very practicable for Great Britain to keep one or more armed vessels (besides a squadron off Brest) constantly cruising before every port from the Elbe to Brest ; and I had yesterday occasion to remark that ports were considered as *actually* blockaded ‘ when the blockading ships were sufficiently near to produce an evident danger in entering.’

“ The gentleman from Tennessee affirmed that he possessed a knowledge of the British orders in council before the embargo act passed the Senate ; and that they powerfully influenced his decision in favor of it. How surprising is it, how unfortunate, that he did not think of divulging that impressive fact to the Senate ! Especially as some of the members who were his own particular friends opposed the embargo ! Having yesterday fully examined this point, and demonstrated that the British orders in council of November 11th had no influence in producing the embargo, I will not go over the ground again. But I may ask where was the necessity of such precipitation in laying the embargo ? Mr. Monroe had just arrived in Virginia from England ; and it might well be supposed that his information of the actual state of things there, and of the temper of the British government, would be worth considering before a measure so much

affecting our foreign relations, and so important in its consequences to ourselves, should be adopted. It was also known that Mr. Rose was appointed a special Envoy by the British government to make atonement for the attack on the 'Chesapeake;' and his arrival with the olive branch, was daily expected.

"To account for a knowledge of the meditated orders reaching America under London dates prior to the official publication of the orders there, the gentleman from Tennessee told us that, although the knowledge of them was purposely kept back by the British government, yet the information was sent to us by some of our good friends in England; for (said he) we had such, adding, 'as no doubt England had some good friends among us.' The gentleman manifested some indignation at the common idea of the existence of *French influence*, and said I was bound in candor to declare whether in my opinion that influence was felt by any member of the Senate; yet he gratuitously intimates that *British influence* operates within these walls. But, Sir, I disdain to ask whether he pointed the insinuation at me; any imputations from that gentleman being to me a matter of perfect indifference.

"The gentleman from Tennessee represents me as saying that we had sustained very little injury from Great Britain; but he is under a mistake. My remark was that notwithstanding all the aggressions on our commerce, both by France and Great Britain, yet it had flourished, and our country was prosperous beyond all example. The gentleman likewise accuses me of leaning to the side of Great Britain, while I would destroy France. I might justly ask, what is the gentleman's own leaning? But, Sir, I lean neither to one nation nor another. I lean only to the side of truth and justice. Both nations have committed wrongs, but when I see the extremes of violence and outrage on one side, and but partial evils on the other, how is it possible to avoid a corresponding discrimination?

"The gentleman from Tennessee attempted to vindicate the administration from the suggestions that their negotiations with the British government were wanting in candor. Sir,

the expedition and success attending former negotiations, compared with the protraction of them for years under the present administration, and their terminating at last in defeat and a more embarrassed state of our affairs, as well as the documents exhibiting the latter, authorized the inference."

The facts and views presented in the following extract are of great interest, and justify the encomium on this speech, written by William Coleman, editor of the "New York Evening Post," on the margin of his copy of it:—

[*Important Speech.* — The matter contained in it is of a nature and importance which ought to claim the serious attention of all American readers, independent of time or occasion. The facts it brings to view, the irresistible inferences it presents, ought to be for ever present to the mind of all true patriots."]

"The gentleman from Tennessee considered that between France and the United States there was *a unity of interests*. We have also heard much of the friendship of France, and of our debt of gratitude for her assistance in the war of our Revolution. At the commencement of that war, our numbers were comparatively small: we were in our childhood. Assistance was desirable, and those who directed our affairs very naturally turned their eyes towards France, the inveterate and most powerful enemy of Great Britain; and France *secretly* gave us some aid. She wished, above all things, to see her great rival crippled by the cutting off of this portion of the British empire; a portion so important in the estimation of Englishmen, as to occasion the saying among them at the time, 'Peace with America, and war with all the world besides.' But France furnished only *secret* aids, until we had *thrown sizes*,—until we had captured Burgoyne with a British army. Then, and not till then, France openly took us by the hand, and rendered more liberal aids; for that victory gave assurance of our strength and ultimate success. And it may be questioned whether we should not have achieved our independence, and as soon, without the aid of France. Rest-

ing too much on her assistance, we abated in our own exertions. Be this as it may, we at that time rejoiced in her aid, and were grateful ; and perhaps no one more than myself. I was not then very young, but I had little knowledge of the world ; and, consequently, gave to France, as did my fellow-citizens in general, full credit for her assistance ; ascribing to her *generosity* what we afterwards knew to be a *mere selfish calculation of interest*. When Great Britain was quitting the field, and willing to make peace, then the sinister views of France became manifest.

“ The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles), the other day, scouted the idea of *French influence* ; at the same time affecting to reprobate the mention of *any foreign influence* as dishonorable to the United States. And yet, in the same breath, he assigned to this ‘ tale ’ of *French influence* a British origin, and its propagation to *British influence*. He even considered this ‘ tale ’ as not eighteen months old ! and to have been invented by the British government to justify the orders in council of November, 1807 ! and sent to some British partisans in Boston ! The gentleman added that there might be gentlemen here from Boston, who could give more particular information on the subject. He afterwards said that he had no reference to my colleague or to me. But who in the United States has not heard of a *French party* and *French influence* here for *fifteen years past* ? Sir, I can inform the gentleman, that the idea of *French influence* is of still older date. It is coeval with the closing scenes of our Revolutionary war. At that time instructions were adopted in Congress by which our Ministers in Europe were directed to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, *under the advice of the court of France*. Prior to that time I remember reading an original letter from one of those Ministers, in which, after censuring his predecessor (or a colleague) at that court for a deportment less courtly than his own, he said ‘ for my part, I am determined to please the court of France.’ Fortunately for the United States our other Ministers were made of sterner stuff. They determined to lay aside that direction ; and, in opposition to the views of the French court, to consult and pursue the solid interests of their own country ; and to their firmness, ability, and patriot-

ism, we were indebted for an honorable and highly advantageous treaty of peace. Had they conducted the negotiation *by the advice of the court of France*, we should have lost the *fisheries* and our vast *western territory*, now embracing several States. And even our *independence* itself, instead of being admitted as an important reality from its declaration in 1776, would have been granted only as a boon, a condition of peace. The French court even attempted to intrigue with that of Great Britain to induce the latter not to yield to us these great claims! But the attempt was anticipated and defeated by the penetration and diligence of our Ministers. It would seem hardly credible, but it is a fact, that so strong was then the French influence over some men in the United States that they contemplated a formal censure of our Ministers for this *departure* from their instructions, which had given offence to and defeated the insidious projects of the French court! One of those Ministers once told me that he actually received a letter of reprimand.

“Of the western territory, in particular, France wished to deprive us; and her government used every art to obtain it for Spain, who was then in possession of Louisiana. That province was, by the French, considered originally as embracing all the immense regions watered by the Mississippi and its branches on the west, and on the east side till it joined Canada. By the peace of 1763, all the country westward of the British Atlantic provinces, as far as the Mississippi was ceded or acknowledged to belong to Great Britain, together with the free navigation of that river from its source to the ocean. At the same time Louisiana, westward of the Mississippi, and including the island of New Orleans, was ceded by France to Spain. But, Sir, I have no doubt that at the time of our negotiating the peace of 1783 with Great Britain, the French government looked forward to a period when she would repossess herself of Louisiana, either by force in a future war or by negotiation, and therefore was so urgent with our Ministers to relinquish the claim of the United States to the country on the western waters. What the French government then contemplated, Bonaparte accomplished. His demand was not easily to be resisted. The

Spanish monarch in 1800 made a cession of Louisiana to France, as he, unfortunate man, has lately in like manner been compelled to cede his crown, his kingdom, and all his dominions.

“ Though then a boy, I remember many of the occurrences of the war of 1756. You, Sir, who were an actor in it, must better remember the apprehensions entertained of the views of France in relation to American territory. She claimed a large portion of what now constitutes the State of New York, on the north and west, and erected forts at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Oswego, Niagara, and Presqu’Isle; Fort Du Quesne (where Pittsburg now stands), with others down the Ohio and Mississippi, to New Orleans, and thence eastward as far as Pensacola. Thus she was advancing and encompassing the Colonies, now the Atlantic States. And had not her ambitious projects been defeated by British arms, aided by Colonial forces and supplies, in her embraces we should have been hugged to death.

“ Here, Sir, permit me to advert to an event which at the time was not of easy solution. By our treaty of 1795 with Spain, our right to the navigation of the river Mississippi was acknowledged; and New Orleans was fixed on as the place of deposit for our products and merchandise imported and exported to and from our western States and territories. And in case it should be found inconvenient to Spain to continue to us a place of deposit at New Orleans, she was bound to assign some other place, on the banks of the Mississippi, alike convenient to the United States. Under this treaty, we enjoyed the advantages of the river navigation, and of the depository for our goods at the city of New Orleans; until, in 1802, without any apparent cause, and to our astonishment, the river navigation and our commerce at that city were interrupted by the Spanish government there. We complained, but could obtain no redress, until by accident the negotiations on this subject took a singular turn, and terminated in the purchase of Louisiana by the United States in the spring of 1803. During these transactions was brought to light the treaty which, as long before as October 1800, had been made between France and Spain, by which the whole province

of Louisiana had been ceded back to France. Now we can see the hand, then invisible, which embarrassed and interrupted our trade at New Orleans, and once more shut up the river Mississippi. There happened a short interval of peace between Great Britain and France. Bonaparte, intending to take possession of Louisiana, was making an experiment, *at the expense of Spanish faith*, on the temper of the American government, — to feel its pulse, to ascertain its disposition. And, in the event of submission or of faint resistance, he would have kept shut the Mississippi, and afterwards have opened it only on the condition that the Western States detached themselves from the Atlantic States. And he would not have been backward in offering lures, concurring perhaps with apparent necessity, to draw them into his toils; and thus have acquired what the French court left no means untried to gain at the peace of 1783. This accomplished, France would not have waited long to repossess herself of Canada; for, as gentlemen well know, she has expressed *a great fondness for her ancient possessions*, and for *that reason only* desired Spain to cede back to her Louisiana! Nothing but the renewal of the war with Great Britain, in the spring of 1803, prevented the French Emperor from taking possession of the province. His ships and troops were prepared in Holland; when, on the renewal of the war, they were blocked up by a British fleet. Then it was that he ceded Louisiana to the United States, to prevent its falling into the hands of Great Britain. But I then thought, and still think, that the transfer was made that the province might be safely kept until he should find it convenient to resume the possession, for which a pretext would never be wanting. In the mean time, he received for it many millions of dollars, — a very convenient accommodation at the moment.”

The speech concludes thus: —

“ With regard to the union of the States, Sir, no one ever more ardently desired it than I, and, notwithstanding the insinuations to the contrary, either respecting myself or my fellow-citizens of New England, we all still desire it. Our interests are reciprocal. The rich agricultural productions of

the South furnish useful and profitable employment for the merchants and mariners of the North, whose shipping and seamen will be ready in their turn to give protection to the coasts of the South, and to transport in safety the succors they may require against an invading foe. From my official situations in the war of our Revolution, I was well acquainted with our extreme embarrassments arising from the want of safe communications by water. Articles of the first necessity for carrying on the war in the South were to be transported slowly and expensively many hundred miles by land. Sir, I was an eye-witness to the sufferings and distresses of an eight-years' war; but I then found strong consolation in the reflection that, by the long continuance of the war, and its being carried into all parts of the Union, the inhabitants of the different States would necessarily become acquainted with each other; that this acquaintance, through a series of common sufferings, would wear off and banish prejudices, be the means of joining our hands as brothers, and of forming a union which should be indissoluble.

“The gentleman from Tennessee, when about concluding his observations on the importance of our union, paid a tribute to the memory of Washington. He read some passages from his farewell address — his dying advice — to his fellow-citizens, on the immense value of our national union. That gentleman and his political friends are now in the habit of speaking respectfully of Washington: it would have been well if they had manifested such respect while he lived. Now they seem willing to listen to his counsel, and by their posthumous praise affect to raise a monument to his fame. This conduct, Sir, brings to my mind an incident in ancient history. Eighteen hundred years ago, there lived a peculiar people who professed the highest veneration for the memory of the departed prophets. They read their books in their places of worship every sabbath-day. To these people it was said, — and by the Saviour of the world, — ‘Your fathers killed the prophets, and ye build their sepulchres.’”

On the 21st of December, 1808, Colonel Pickering addressed the Senate on the “bill making further provision

for enforcing the embargo." It discusses the policy of the administration in relation to England and France, and concludes thus : —

“ Among the reasons assigned for persevering in the embargo are, ‘ the present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it at the same time against both the belligerent nations, and these the two most powerful in the world ; ’ and, under these circumstances, a principle of justice forbade our choosing our adversary ! Must not such sentiments expose us to derision ? Two nations have injured us, . . . and we should violate the principles of justice if, to obtain satisfaction, we attacked one without at the same time attacking the other ! If we would descend from the airy regions of *philosophy*, and stand on the ground of plain common sense, we should see this embarrassment, which apparently overwhelms the administration, to be a mere dream. Sir, if a man travelling on the highway should meet two stout fellow-travellers, and be alternately insulted and attacked by both, and he at the same time perceived that they were enemies to each other, what would he do ? Stand still, and be kicked and wounded by both ? or co-operate with one, at least so far as was necessary to avenge his wrongs, and to provide for his own defence and security against the other ? This course is so simple and obvious that even school-boys (who also have their quarrels) could not miss it. But if, while in this way avenging the wrongs done by one adversary, he, in effect, disarmed the other, and made him his friend, and had, moreover, a fair prospect of inducing him to make satisfaction for the injuries he had committed, how could he hesitate to adopt it ?

“ But we have been advised by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr Giles) *to wait a little longer*, — ‘ to wait events in Europe, now in a state of rapid succession.’ Yes, Sir, wait until we see whether Bonaparte overwhelms the Spanish nation ; and if heaven permits this sad catastrophe . . . what then ? Are we to join his arms, and by conquering Canada and Nova Scotia, prepare those countries with our own for a new mas

ter? and hasten the glorious period when to the lofty titles of Emperor of France and King of Italy and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine shall be added that of Emperor of the TWO AMERICAS? That, Sir, will be the natural course of things if, as some have wished, the British navy were destroyed.

“ In the short interval of peace in 1802, Bonaparte, in a few months, sent forty thousand soldiers to subdue the negroes of St. Domingo. The climate subdued his *soldiers*, . . . and St. Domingo continues independent. But the United States present a very different theatre. . . . French soldiers would here be as healthy as our own. And if, with the ships suddenly furnished in France and Holland, Bonaparte at once transported forty thousand men to St. Domingo, what numbers could he not send to the United States in the thousands of British ships, were they also at his command!

“ It is intimated, Sir, that the observations I have made, though proper on a question for repealing the acts laying the embargo, are irrelevant on the bill now before us. But to me they appear perfectly applicable in both cases; for, if they go to show that the embargo ought never to have been imposed, they must avail, in like manner, against enforcing its execution; and, therefore, I have adduced them.”

The first of these speeches, that delivered on the 30th of November, had been carefully prepared. The subject required precision. He spoke with the manuscript before him, and referred to it occasionally. The next day Mr. Anderson, of Tennessee, took the floor in reply; but, as Colonel Pickering was not in his seat, Mr. Anderson expressed a wish to have the debate postponed, as his speech would be much in reference to that of Colonel Pickering. Soon, however, the latter gentleman came in; and Mr. Anderson proceeded, in a speech of an hour's length, aimed throughout at Colonel Pickering, three several times referring to the fact that he (Pickering) had *read* his speech. Colonel Pickering listened

carefully to what he had to say, and, upon Anderson's taking his seat, without a moment for preparation, without minute or memorandum, delivered the speech from which large extracts have just been presented, and which was received with extraordinary interest everywhere. The whole Senate listened with the most respectful attention; and some of Anderson's Democratic friends remarked that, in time to come, he probably would be contented with Colonel Pickering's *written* speeches, without provoking an off-hand extemporary reply!

A few passages from his domestic and miscellaneous correspondence will serve to carry along his personal history during this session of Congress.

Writing to his wife, November 14th, 1808, he says:—

“Although I reached this city in less than seven times twenty-four hours from home, yet I feel not the least fatigue, although my rheumatic complaints remained undiminished. I shall immediately consult Dr. Rush.”

Writing to his son John, December 1st, he says:—

“When I arrived at Washington, I found our old mess broken up. Five of us remained unhoused. We have settled at a Mr. Thompson's, two miles from the Capitol, and are more agreeably situated than before. Our mess consists of Mr. Hillhouse, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Dana, Mr. Livermore, and myself. Hillhouse and I walk daily to and from the Capitol—the road very good—and I have ascribed the abatement of the rheumatism, in part, to this daily walk. Day by day the distance seems shorter, and I anticipate the exercise with pleasure.”

In another letter he says:—

“There is just room for us, and no more: each with a separate chamber; only Mr. Hillhouse and I have one convenient room with a fireplace, and a separate room for our beds.”

In a letter to his wife, January 8th, 1809, he says : —

“ To me time flies rapidly along, and will scarcely allow me to perform the public labors which I contemplate, in addition to my ordinary duties as a Senator. The great body of the people still lie under the most miserable and mischievous delusion. I shall renew my endeavors to open their eyes ; and, I have reason to hope, with increased success. If I accomplish this, all my public services, for forty years, will, in comparison, disappear. This course will expose me to a repetition of slander, for they can urge nothing new. My rheumatism continues, though I walk daily four or five miles.”

In a letter to Mr. Jay, of December 10th, 1808, he says : —

“ I do not know but I intrude on your retirement in presenting to you some of the debates in the Senate, on the subject of the embargo. Enclosed are the observations of Mr. Hillhouse and myself. In a separate packet I send a long speech of Mr. Giles. This gentleman possesses talents which, in a just cause, I have seen displayed in the Senate highly to his honor ; but the greatest talents must fail in the attempt to maintain untenable ground.

“ In exposing the deception of the President’s *ostensible* causes for laying the embargo, I expected some interruption ; but received none. The Senate listened with close attention.”

Writing again to Mr. Jay, February 23d, after referring to having sent him the speech of November 30th, he says : —

“ The next day Mr. Anderson, of Tennessee, made a long speech, and, with his observations, intermingled divers personalities. As soon as he sat down, I rose and retorted, in a manner to gratify, not only my friends, but even the members of Anderson’s party. As he appeared to be duly affected by the chastisement, the personalities, retorts, and divers observations, which the time, place, and occasion called for,

are omitted in the publication which I now take the liberty to enclose ; but for which I must apologize to you, to whom the facts, most interesting to my auditory, are better known. I mean what relate to French intrigues in 1781 and 1783. But, possibly, my *conjectures* as to their *ultimate* motives, and the causes of the 'occlusion' (as Mr. Jefferson called it) of the Mississippi, in 1802, may be new to most of my fellow-citizens ; and the exposing of those intrigues, and the exhibiting of those conjectures, were the decisive motives for the publication."

Mr. Jay, in one of his letters to Colonel Pickering, dated March 24th, 1809, says : —

"The nation has derived much useful information from the able speeches of some of their Senators and Representatives in the late Congress. Your manner of treating political subjects is impressive, and attracts attention to your statements of facts, which naturally derive credit and confidence from your character and standing in society. It certainly is in your power to do good ; and few will deny that it is also in your inclination. Both the past and present policy of France, in relation to this country, cannot be too well or too extensively understood."

Richard Peters, writing January 10th, 1809, says : —

"I could not let my son pass through Washington without a line to you, containing at least my constant good wishes for your health and happiness. I really sympathize with you and those whose political opinions I respect. You are on a forlorn hope, and, though success cannot be expected, you show that you deserve it. I have received thankfully your communications of the speeches on your side of the question, all of which I admire, but none more than your own. I see the firmness, perspicuity, and patriotism of my old friend ; for which posterity will respect him, as do now all whose good opinion is worth cultivating. I should be uneasy under the shameful and groundless attacks on you, (and who, after thirty years' intimate knowledge of you, know them to be shameful and groundless more than myself?) but that I am

persuaded you will continue to despise them. I perceive some of the bullies are turned on you, to provoke personal conflict. This is the last effort, and a most unworthy one it is. I depend in this, too, on your good sense, which must dictate to you the path you are to pursue. There is none who know you doubts your personal courage. There is no necessity for bringing your prudence (and, let me add, your piety) into question, by complying with the delusions of false honor, which are most in operation with those who have no other way of securing celebrity, and what they call fame, — a kind of fame which no man, worthy of true renown, should envy.”

The speeches on the embargo, following in such quick succession, — not long after the letters to Governor Sullivan, — producing such a decisive impression ; the extensive correspondence to which they gave rise, drawn upon by the local press, and reaching in various ways the public ear ; his established reputation for ability, courage, and integrity ; his experience, knowledge of the history of the government, and indomitable perseverance ; his long and distinguished career, the force of his style, and his commanding aspect among men, — all combined to make Colonel Pickering the object around which the affections of political friends, and the passions of political enemies, concentrated. The enmity of his opponents showed itself in every form. Judge Peters, it seems, was apprehensive that the design was entertained to provoke him into a duel, and thus secure his taking off. But, more than once, in the earlier and military epoch of his life, attempts to bring the “code of honor” to bear against him had failed. It was not thought safe to assail him by personal force ; and other means had to be resorted to, to reduce his influence.

Take Notice,

ON THE ^{Sixth} ~~FOURTH~~ OF FEBRUARY,

A GIBBET

WILL BE ERECTED, at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon, at the Town-House in the Northern Liberties, on which will be HUNG IN EFFIGY

Timothy Pickering,

Having the British Orders of Council hanging to his neck, and the French Decrees to his heels — at the hour of ~~nine~~ *Seven* of the same evening, the whole will be set on fire and

BURNT.

All People are invited to the exit of a *TRAITOR*. The *FRIENDS* of *TIMOTHY* are particularly invited, if they have hearts in their carcasses to come and rescue their *FAVORITE TRAITOR* from the Flames.

N. B. Timothy's friends will not be disappointed in the hour, as there will be no burning before ~~nine~~ ⁷ o'clock. —

The following appeared in the "Baltimore North American," written by its editor, Mr. Wagner:—

"The rabble of the north-east suburbs of Philadelphia have exhibited an effigy of Colonel Pickering, and burnt it.

"I have seen the rabble of the same quarter exhibit an effigy of Mr. Jay, in the act of receiving British gold for signing the treaty, and carry it, illuminated, to the door of General Washington, in order to insult *him*.

"Knowing, as I do, the elevated understanding of Colonel Pickering, I am persuaded that the mockery of this rabble-roust will excite neither his indignation nor contempt, but pity for the delusion and depravity which render these poor people the dupes of the designing."

Writing to his wife, February 2d, 1809, Colonel Pickering says:—

"Under a blank cover I received the enclosed handbill from Philadelphia. Mr. Wagner is right in his conjecture. It produced no sensation but pity for the ignorant and miserable wretches employed in such outrages. From the height of conscious innocence, I look down on such exhibitions and newspaper slanders only with pity and contempt. They make no more impression on me than would a feather struck against a rock. I have received some anonymous letters, full of wrath and bitterness: I am amused by them. I smile at the tortures such villains show they feel under the lash of truth. They prove the good effects of what I have written."

A letter to Judge Peters, of February 18th, thus alludes to the subject:—

"Some one of your city sovereigns, perhaps the Lord Mayor himself, was so obliging as to send me one of the handbills giving notice of my intended elevation; but, unfortunately, it did not reach me until the day after their sovereigntyships had hung and burnt me, so that I felt neither the cord nor the flame. I sent the handbill to Wenham (my residence in Massachusetts) for the amusement of my wife and children.

“ Indeed, my good friend, the sight of the handbill produced no other sensation than pity for the ignorant, deluded mob, who were the executioners, and contempt for the knaves, pretending to be patriots, who set them to work.

“ If I were a vain man I should feel flattered by such exhibitions, as well as by the angry, anonymous letters with which I am sometimes favored ; and by the notice taken of me in popular meetings, and even on the floor of Congress, particularly in respect to my letter to Governor Sullivan, of which some members have been pleased to make ‘ honorable mention ! ’ These men are not aware how much they magnify me by the immense importance and extensive effects they have ascribed to that letter. Such reproaches pass by me as the empty wind, which I heed not. If they ever produce any change of countenance, it is, from my wonted calm composure, to a smile at their impotent rage. My innocence is a rock of adamant, against which all their shafts fall blunted to the ground.

“ To this long letter, I will only subjoin that, while ignorant and unprincipled adherents of the administration cease not to add slanders to slanders, and lies to lies, instead of exhibiting facts and arguments to invalidate my statements and reasonings on the conduct of the administration, I have been receiving such testimonies of approbation from men of sterling worth — many of them veteran Revolutionary patriots of the first respectability — as satisfy me that my labors have not been in vain ; on the contrary, that they have rendered that service to my country which was my sole motive in making them public. The approbation of such men outweighs — yes, infinitely outweighs — in my estimation, the voices of the multitude who shout the praises of Jefferson.

“ You may do what you please with this letter. But if you meet your ‘ very sedate man,’ who disapproved of the Northern Liberties exhibition, yet blamed me for encouraging opposition to laws, let him see it : and tell him it is not the first time that I opposed *tyrannical acts* ; that I opposed those of Great Britain, before and during our Revolutionary war ; and that, wherever tyranny shows its head in our country, I will continue to oppose it ; and that no burning in effigy,

or threats of real burning, will stop my mouth or make me drop my pen. Should the time ever arrive when a free-born American citizen cannot speak what he thinks, and write what he speaks, I shall, with all humility, say with St. Paul, 'I am ready to be offered.' "

Fifteen years after this occurrence, Colonel Pickering thus spoke of it: —

"Once I was hung in effigy, in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, on a gallows fifty feet high, and a printed notice of the time was sent to me, then in Congress at Washington. This was during the existence of President Jefferson's glorious, indefinite embargo; of which I had taken the liberty to say, *that I did not like it*. On receiving the notice, the first thought that occurred to me was that the effigy of one of the greatest and best men the United States ever knew, John Jay, had been exhibited, a public spectacle, in the same manner, and, I believe, in the same place, and, so associated, I felt myself honored by the elevation."

The first session of the eleventh Congress opened May 22d, 1809, and closed June 28th. Its second session commenced November 27th, 1809, and continued to May 1st, 1810. Colonel Pickering was regularly in his seat, and attentive to the proceedings, but does not appear to have made any elaborate or set speeches.

It will be remembered that, in a congressional election in the Essex south district of Massachusetts, some years before, a handbill was dispersed among the people, charging Colonel Pickering with having embezzled the public money to an amount exceeding seventy-five thousand dollars. This was well known by intelligent men of the party among whom it was put into circulation to be an infamous calumny, having been declared to be utterly without foundation by a Democratic Secretary of the

Treasury, and a Democratic congressional investigating committee, that had been specially raised for the purpose of examining into it. But the shameful falsehood continued to be spread in localities where the ignorance of the popular masses could be relied upon to convey impressions which unprincipled partisans desired to make. The extent to which honest voters, particularly in those days, but, more or less, at all times, have been duped by the leaders in party strifes, is one of the features of our political history. As the records of the Treasury and of Congress demonstrated the wicked baselessness of this libel, Colonel Pickering does not seem to have noticed it, or thought it worthy of attention, until, during the second session of the eleventh Congress, he was called upon for information concerning it, in the manner described in the following documents:—

“SENATE CHAMBER, April 3d, 1810.

“SIR,

“A member of the House of Representatives has just informed me, that copies of the enclosed infamous handbill are now in circulation in many parts of the State of New York.

“As you know, Sir, that I expended in the service of the United States all the moneys charged against me in my accounts as Secretary of State, and that those accounts have remained unclosed merely on points of *form*, I pray you to favor me with such an answer, or certificate, as will enable me immediately to repel this new libel (or rather this libel in a new form) against decency and truth.

“I am, very respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

“HON. ALBERT GALLATIN, Secretary of the Treasury.”

On the opposite leaf is a representation of the handbill.

The following is from the “Poughkeepsie Journal:”—

Late From Washington.



FROM the late report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it appears that

Timothy Pickering

has borrowed of the public money the enormous sum of

75,000 Dollars,

for the laudable purpose of accomodating his federal friends, and furthering the federal elections to the eastward-- *which money is not accounted for.* Will

Federal Extravagance

never have an end?

March 24, 1810.



COLONEL PICKERING COMPLETELY VINDICATED, AND BY OFFICIAL TESTIMONY. — DEMOCRATIC VILLANY EXPOSED.

Our readers will probably recollect that some notice was taken in this paper a few weeks since of a Democratic handbill, which charged Timothy Pickering with having borrowed seventy-five thousand dollars of the public money to spend in support of elections to the eastward, and stated that the fact appeared from an *official* report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

This story was too absurd to gain belief among men of intelligence; for it is now nearly ten years since the exclusive management of all the public moneys has been in the hands of the Democrats, who will not be suspected of having lent seventy-five thousand dollars from the National Treasury, to promote the election of Federal men to office. The handbill was, however, not intended for the intelligent part of the community: it was intended to be put into the hands of the uninformed,—those who would not be likely to discover its absurdity. Believing that it might be the means of deceiving some of these, and being well convinced that it was entirely false, we enclosed a copy of the handbill to the Honorable James Emott, Representative in Congress from this district, with a request that he would send us such official documents as he could obtain relative to the accounts of Colonel Pickering with the United States. A few days since we received the following letters from Mr. Emott, which we now lay before the public, hoping that they will receive an attentive perusal. The letter of Mr. Duval, Comptroller of the Treasury, is a complete exculpation of Colonel Pickering from the foul charge alleged against him by Democratic libellers. *He states that Colonel Pickering has accounted for every cent of public money received by him.* The whole story, then, is an absolute falsehood, invented by the Democratic party for electioneering purposes. What ought the people to think of a party who would resort to such base means to prolong their ill-gotten power? Can a cause which requires the aid of *falsehood* be worthy of the support of *honest men*?

If any person should doubt the authenticity of Mr. Duval's

letter, published below, he may see the original letter itself by applying at this office.

“WASHINGTON, April 8d, 1810.

“DEAR SIR,

“I enclose you a specimen of a handbill which is now in circulation in many parts of the State of New York, and particularly in the district which I have the honor to represent.

“To persons who have the advantage of being acquainted with you, or who know the situation of your accounts at the Treasury, and the causes which have delayed their final adjustment, the statement appears as idle as it is malicious. But, as the charge was originally made, and is, at the approach of every election, reiterated, for the purpose of prejudicing the public mind against you, and of stabbing, through you, the Federal candidates for elective offices, I think it highly desirable that the poison of this slander should be extracted, by imparting to the people the truth on this subject. With this impression, I must take the liberty of asking for such explanations and information of an official character as you may have it in your power to afford me, in order that I may lay it before my constituents in the usual way.

“I am, with respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

“JAMES EMOTT.

“HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, April 6th, 1810.

“DEAR SIR,

“I pray you to accept my thanks for your letter of the third instant, enclosing a specimen of a handbill which you inform me is in circulation in many parts of the State of New York, and particularly in the district which you represent. At the same time, I beg you to believe that, on my own account, I would not give myself the trouble to write two lines to repel the lies and slanders which have been, and continue to be almost daily, forged against me individually for party purposes. The malicious slanders of the wretches who are engaged in this business affect me no more than the passing wind. The efforts of the whole band of revilers, from one end of the Union to the other, are incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of my mind. The strong testimonies I have re-

ceived of the approbation of the most distinguished and of the most virtuous of my fellow-citizens, would be enough to console an injured, and to gratify an ambitious, man; much more do they satisfy *me*, who, though greatly injured, am not ambitious. These testimonies convince me that in my public career I have done service to my country, and this, joined with conscious rectitude, sets my mind perfectly at ease. I would not therefore condescend to notice the infamous handbill before me if the interests of my country were not concerned in the vindication of my character. The unwearied pains taken by the leaders of Democracy and their agents to destroy my reputation, and especially the repetition of their slanders at the approach of every election, demonstrate that my name and character are supposed to be intimately connected with the cause of FEDERALISM, — the cause which alone embraces the welfare, the honor, and the independence of the United States.

“This libel, as foolish as it is atrocious, would not, with men at all acquainted with public business, require even a simple denial. The Secretary and other officers of the Treasury well know, that it is about *ten years since any public money was in my hands, and that, to the last cent, it was expended in the public service.* But the libel is intended to operate on the minds of the uninformed, to whom, therefore, it may be useful to furnish information from the Treasury department itself.

“On the day I received your letter, I enclosed the handbill to Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury. To-day I have received the following answer:—

“‘TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Comptroller's Office, April 8d, 1810.

“‘SIR,

“‘Your letter of the 3d to the Secretary of the Treasury, accompanied by a printed handbill, headed ‘Late from Washington,’ and dated March 24th, 1810, is referred to me, with a request that I would furnish you with a statement of the situation of your accounts. I now comply with your request.

“‘You have three accounts with the United States which remain unsettled. They relate to expenditures of public money

in your late official character of Secretary of State. The first, No. 11,931, is an account as agent for paying the contingent expenses of government, in which you are charged with the balance of a former account of ten thousand three hundred and eighty-six dollars and seven cents; and you are credited with expenditures on public account to the amount of three thousand nine hundred and fifty-four dollars and seventy-three cents; leaving a balance of six thousand four hundred and thirty-one dollars and thirty-four cents, in favor of the United States. This balance is carried to a subsequent account, No. 12,583, in which you are charged with various sums of money, amounting in the whole to eight hundred and thirty-one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six dollars and nineteen cents, and are credited with expenditures on public account to the amount of eight hundred and twenty-five thousand two hundred and sixty dollars and forty-nine cents, leaving a balance of six thousand six hundred and seventy-two dollars and seventy cents against you. This balance is carried to a third, which is your last account, No. 18,571, in which you are credited with expenditures on public account to the amount of five thousand seven hundred and fifty-three dollars and sixty cents, leaving a balance of nine hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents against you. These accounts have been examined and adjusted by the Auditor, and reported to this office for the decision of the Comptroller. The first on the 24th of December, 1800, the second on the 31st of August, 1801; and the third on the 13th of September, 1806.

“ In this office they have been suspended for the following reasons: The first, containing several charges, amounting to three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars for secret services, has been suspended for want of the sanction of the President of the United States. The object of the expenditures, with the exception of a trifling amount, is specified in general terms; and *the vouchers satisfactorily show the payment of the money.*

“ The second and third comprise expenditures, made under sundry acts of Congress, appropriating moneys for different purposes. In your statement, *you account for all the moneys received by you*, and your account is admitted by the Auditor,

excepting the before-mentioned balance of nine hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents. In the expenditures relating to certain objects, the appropriations were exceeded; and a final settlement of the accounts has been suspended for want of appropriation to meet the excess. During the present session of Congress, the requisite appropriation has been made. The balance of nine hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents reported against you by the Auditor, is the difference between the amount paid by you to Samuel Hodgdon of Philadelphia, and the amount acknowledged to have been received in his account, by Colonel Humphries and Moses Young, from Joseph Yznaldi, on account of their salaries. That mode of remittance to Colonel Humphries was adopted by you at his request; and the correspondence from the department of State, and other evidence which you a few days ago submitted to my consideration, and which had not been laid before the Auditor when he adjusted your accounts, fully satisfies me that *you are not justly chargeable with this difference, and that you are entitled to credit for the whole amount paid to Mr. Hodgdon.* I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

“ ‘ G. DUVAL.

“ ‘TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq.’

“ Such, my dear Sir, is the official evidence that I have accounted to the last cent, for the public moneys placed in my hands for the public service. And to prevent all cavilling (for there is no limit to the baseness and falsehood of Democratic libellers), I send you the Comptroller's original letter, to be seen by any man whose scruples or curiosity may prompt him to read it.

“ It may be useful to add a few words of explanation to render the reference by the Comptroller to facts and names intelligible to every reader.

“ The appropriation made during the present session of Congress, is in the following words; to wit:—

“ ‘ To enable the accounting officers of the Treasury *formally* to pass the accounts of Timothy Pickering, late Secretary of the department of state, the sum of seventy-eight thousand, five hundred and eighty-three dollars and eleven cents,

being the amount of former appropriations of moneys *received and expended* by him in that department, by the application of surpluses in some articles and appropriations to others in which the appropriations were *deficient*.'

"That such an appropriation was necessary, *even in point of form*, I more than doubt. The words of the Constitution are: 'No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law.' Now, it is certain that I could not have obtained the money from the Treasury, *unless it had been previously appropriated for expenditures in my department*. From this, however, may perhaps be excepted a sum of more than fourteen thousand dollars, which I gained for the United States in the purchase of bills of exchange to remit to Europe; the expending of which gain in the public service, I may humbly presume, will not now be imputed to me as a crime.

"One word more. Colonel Humphries was the Minister of the United States in Spain, and Moses Young, his Secretary and our Consul at Madrid. Mr. Hodgdon, of Philadelphia, had money receivable at the Royal Treasury in Cadiz. It was there paid in specie to Mr. Terry, on the order of Colonel Humphries, whom Mr. Hodgdon had requested to receive it. Mr. Yznaldi, our Consul at Cadiz, and chief in the house of Yznaldi and Terry, undertook without orders to remit the amount to Colonel Humphries; but did it in *vales*, a sort of paper money in Spain in a state of depreciation; and hence the deficiency of the nine hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents. On whom this loss shall fall remains to be decided. It is enough for me that I am not chargeable with it. I am, dear Sir, with great respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

"TIMOTHY PICKERING.

"The Hon. JAMES EMOTT,

"Representative in Congress from the State of New York."

On the day of the date of the Comptroller's letter, communicated as above to Mr. Emott, a conversation occurred in Mr. Duval's office, of which Colonel Pickering made the following minute:—

“ April 3d, 1810. The Comptroller, conversing with me on the two thousand five hundred and sixty dollars charged as paid to Mr. McHenry, Secretary of War, and by him to Felix D. St. Hilaire, said to me, ‘ There is no doubt that the payment of the money was proper; that it seems to want the formal approbation of the President, and Mr. Gallatin thinks Mr. Madison might give his approbation, and so satisfy the form of the law.’ And of my other accounts, in which a balance of nine hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents stands against me, the Comptroller said to me, ‘ Your account ought to be closed, and we only want to find to whom that balance is to be charged to transfer it from your account; it being plain from Colonel Humphries’s letters that you are not responsible,’ or words to that effect.

On the day that Colonel Pickering took his seat in the next session of Congress, the Comptroller wrote to him as follows: —

“ Your accounts, as late Secretary of State of the United States, are finally closed on the books of the Treasury.”

Colonel Pickering replied, December 8th, 1810, as follows: —

“ Yesterday I received your letter of the 5th, and acknowledge your polite attention in giving me so early notice on my arrival here that my accounts, as late Secretary of State, were finally closed on the books of the Treasury.”

The foregoing details have been given, as showing how thoroughly the charge against Colonel Pickering’s integrity as a public officer, and which had so often and so long been circulated by unprincipled partisans, was sifted and exploded.

Gabriel Duval, the Comptroller of the Treasury, was an eminent Democrat; had, for many years, held that responsible post in the administrations of Jefferson and Madison; and, not long after, was appointed by the

latter a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The report of a Democratic committee of investigation in a previous Congress, and the appropriation made by the then existing Congress, confirming the correctness of his accounts ; the judgment of the distinguished Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, twice pronounced ; the decision of a Democratic Comptroller of the Treasury ; and the approving action of President Madison, — all combined in declaring that Timothy Pickering had expended in the public service, faithfully and justly, every cent of the public money that had been placed in his hands. Never was a calumny so utterly repudiated. Never was a stronger testimony borne to the honesty of a public agent.

It was not Colonel Pickering's inclination to notice publicly partisan attacks upon him. In the foregoing instance, his attention was so called to the libellous handbill that he could not refrain from exposing the slander ; and some other cases were so flagrant as to require, in his judgment, that an example should be made of the offenders. In one of his last publications, in looking back upon his experience in a long course of public action and the warfare of politics, he makes this statement : —

“ To scurrilities I have been subjected through a large portion of my life ; these I have despised : but, when assailed in any point of morals, I have offered a vindication, or have caused the libellers to be prosecuted. This was a duty which I owed, not to myself only, but to the great number of respectable men who have honored me with their friendship. Some of these have been pleased to say that I owed it to my country, in whose service so large a portion of my life has been employed. The first suit was against one Dr. Reynolds, of Philadelphia. The

case was clear, to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court ; and so the cause was committed to the jury. Eleven of these were agreed ; but one, a Democrat, persevered in withholding his assent, and the jury was dismissed. On the second trial, there were two Democrats on the jury, and a verdict not obtained. Reynolds's counsel then observed to mine, that his client was ' a poor devil,' without property ; and that, if I should persevere, and finally obtain a verdict for damages, it would not operate as a punishment on the libeller ; but, if I would drop the suit, he would make him muster money enough to pay the costs. The suit was dropped. One Baptist Irvine, editor of a paper in Baltimore, published a libel against me. I brought an action against him ; he published a recantation, and I forgave him. Libelled once in a newspaper in my native town, the printer was indicted, convicted, fined, and imprisoned. I was then absent, attending a session in Congress. Libelled once more in my native county, the libeller was prosecuted. He made his confession, which was entered on the records of the court ; and I forgave him. The last prosecution was of a printer in New Hampshire. He also humbled himself, published his recantation, and was forgiven.

“ Doubtless there were many other libellous publications which never came to my knowledge.”

While at home, during a recess of the eleventh Congress, Colonel Pickering, at a public dinner, on the 11th of June, 1810, gave a toast which rang through the country, became a party watch and war cry, and afforded a phrase to the political literature and popular speech of his own and all future time.

To a friend who had expressed a desire to be informed of the circumstances which led to the sentiment's being given, he wrote the following account, as he recollected the occasion after the lapse of so many years. It is dated April 17th, 1826 :—

“ The correspondence, in 1810, between Mr. Jackson, the

British Minister to the United States, and the American Secretary of State, soon carried on with some warmth, terminated in the refusal of the latter any longer to hold any intercourse with the former; or, in the language of the day, Mr. Jackson was 'dismissed.' Before embarking for England, he travelled eastward, as far as Boston. A number of gentlemen in that town gave him a dinner, and invited Mr. Pickering (then on his farm, at the distance of twenty miles) to partake of the entertainment.

"After dinner, the company having drank, as customary, a set of prepared toasts, the president of the feast requested a toast of Mr. Jackson. He gave, of course, one complimentary to the town of Boston. He retired. Mr. Pickering, being then called on for a toast, he gave the following sentiment:—

"*'The world's last hope, — Britain's fast-anchored isle.'*

"It was well received. The company emptied their glasses with eagerness.

"The actual condition of Europe at that time, suggested the sentiment. All Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, were at the feet of Napoleon. Even Russia, by the peace of Tilsit, had succumbed, and actually co-operated with him; Alexander seizing the opportunity to rob still-resisting Sweden of her fair province of Finland, and which he had not the grace to restore at the general pacification. Spain had risen against her oppressor, and, powerfully aided by Britain, was breaking her chains; while the United States, under their actual government, were basely cringing to the universal tyrant.

"The toasts given at this dinner were published in the newspapers. Mr. Pickering's was circulated everywhere,—with pleasure by Federalists, while their political opponents extended its publicity to express their resentment against him, and their enmity towards the subject of his sentiment.

"The phrase, 'the fast-anchored Isle,' was for a long time in every one's mouth, in manifesting the good-will or the hatred of the speakers.

"At the ensuing session of Congress, a member of the House of Representatives took occasion to introduce the toast

into a speech delivered on the floor of the House. 'If,' said he, 'I could command the red thunder-bolts of Heaven, I would drive the *fast-anchored isle* from her moorings.'

"For this bold declaration he was presumed to be a hero; for, two years afterwards, when Madison's war was declared, he was at once presented with the commission of a Brigadier-General. He put on his military garb, and repaired to the seat of war,—the Niagara frontier,—looked around him, faced to the right-about, went home, and resigned, without making a single effort to batter the territory of the *fast-anchored isle*. *His heavenly arms were wanting.*"

CHAPTER V.

A Senator of the United States.—Eleventh Congress, third Session.—A Vote of Censure by the Senate, and its Effects on his Reputation.—“Instructions” to Members of Congress.—The Bank of the United States.—“Address” to the People of the United States.—Domestic and general Correspondence.—Timothy Pickering and James Hillhouse.

1810.

THE third session of the eleventh Congress was opened December 2d, 1810. Colonel Pickering took his seat December 5th.

On the 31st of December, he delivered a speech on the “occupation of West Florida.” In the course of it, he read a letter that had been written by Talleyrand to the American Minister at Paris, dated December 21st, 1804. When he had concluded the reading of the letter, Samuel Smith, a Senator from Maryland, said he wished to inquire “whether the paper which the gentleman had just read had ever been publicly communicated to the Senate.” Colonel Pickering replied that “it had been communicated, not indeed as a public paper; but for what reason had it been communicated confidentially? Because, by a publication of it at the time, injury might have been done to our Ministers or our affairs abroad. There was, however, now no reason why the whole truth should not be known. They were about taking a step which was one of peace or war, and it was important that every thing relating to the subject should be disclosed.”

“Colonel Pickering’s political opponents constituted

an overwhelming majority of the Senate. One of its rules, strictly and arbitrarily interpreted, had been infringed by him, and they thought they had him in their power ; and made it a party measure to treat him with the utmost severity on the occasion. To render their proceeding as imposing, and the reproach as effectual; as possible, they forthwith ordered the galleries to be closed. After an hour spent in secret session, the galleries were opened, the doors unfastened, and Henry Clay offered a resolution ; which, being put by him in final shape, was again formally submitted to the Senate, two days afterwards, on the 2d of January, 1811. It was as follows : —

“ *Resolved*, That Timothy Pickering, a Senator from the State of Massachusetts, having on this day, whilst the Senate was in session with open doors, read from his place certain documents, confidentially communicated by the President of the United States to the Senate, the injunction of secrecy not having been removed, has, in so doing, committed a palpable violation of the rules of this body.”

Upon this a debate of considerable length took place. It appeared that, a week before, a discussion had occurred, in which Colonel Pickering had taken part, on the subject to which these papers, communicated six years before, referred ; that many members had mentioned them freely, given their import and language so far as they remembered them, and described their bearing upon the measure then before the Senate ; but that not one word of disapprobation had been expressed by any one, of adducing them in debate. As for the letter of Talleyrand, of December 21st, 1804, different representations had been made, from their memory, by Colonel Pickering and another old member of the Sen-

ate; and the former adduced the letter itself, merely to correct that difference of recollection. It further appeared that there was not then, or ever likely to be, any matter in the foreign relations of the country to be affected by the production of the letter, but that it was of the highest value and importance in guiding the Senate to a right conclusion on the measure of legislation then before it.

Some extracts of the speeches of Senators on the occasion are worthy of notice.

Samuel W. Dana, of Connecticut, in an able argument against the resolution, said:—

“ Now, I ask, Sir, is it the stating of the specific words of a communication, or stating the sense and import of it, which constitutes a violation of any injunction of secrecy? The substance is undoubtedly all that is material. The discussion had gone on without being checked, till, unfortunately it seems for the Senate of the United States, the gentleman from Massachusetts, instead of trusting to memory, and exposing himself and the Senate to error, undertook to state what were the very words. I contend that, if the gentleman from Massachusetts has offended, he was not the first. Some of the other members set the example. I refer it to the Senate, therefore, as the matter has gone on without any intention to gain advantage, or design to take any one by surprise, but with a view to attain accuracy, whether it can become this body to pronounce censure on the gentleman from Massachusetts. I am not, Sir, for a moment to suspect that any particular disrespect to the gentleman from Massachusetts has given rise to this motion. If it be proper for the Senate to tolerate debate on a fact, which fact depends on diplomatic communications, it is proper to ascertain the fact.”

At an advanced stage of the debate, Colonel Pickering rose and said:—

“ Mr. President, when I came to the Senate this morning

I did not know that any gentleman would speak, either for the purpose of postponing a decision on the question now under consideration, or of explaining it; or take any ground for my vindication. All that has been said with these views was without my previous knowledge."

He then proceeded to say: —

"The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Dana) has taken the ground on which I meant to rest my defence; and his observation may therefore be thought to supersede any of my own. But, not thinking of such support, I had endeavored to recollect what passed on the first day the West Florida bill was under discussion."

He then stated how the papers, communicated to the Senate six years before, had been freely referred to on that day, and continued thus: —

"Although they had been confidentially communicated, which no gentleman who was a member of the Senate in 1803 and 1805 could have forgotten, yet this plain and public reference to them passed without objection. In fact, as no negotiation was pending, as we had no Minister at any foreign court to be affected by the disclosure, there existed no reason for concealment; and I could not consider the papers any longer under the seal of secrecy, and that, to have recourse to them — to ascertain material facts, and whether the memory of the gentleman from Vermont, or my own, was correct — would be a 'palpable' departure from the rules: I, therefore, openly referred to them."

Having described the manner in which he was presenting the papers to the consideration of the Senate on the 31st of December, and among others the letter from Talleyrand, when interrupted by Mr. Smith of Maryland, he continued: —

"Having proceeded thus deliberately, having particularly described each paper before I read it, I presumed every gentleman of the Senate who had been a member in 1803 and 1805

knew distinctly what the papers were; and, perceiving no objection, I could only suppose that the Senate acquiesced, and, in fact, were desirous of hearing them read. No state secret was disclosed, or meant to be disclosed. When a proposition was made to publish the whole of the documents, I myself remarked that there were some which it might be improper to publish. What does this prove?—certainly, that I was not disposed to divulge what required confidence. And, so far as I went, I really conceived that I was proceeding with the approbation of the Senate.

“As for the documents which I read, the reason of the rule is at an end. And, with gentlemen of the bar, the maxim is familiar that, when the reason of the law ceases, the law itself ceases. If there has been a violation of the rule, it is of the letter only; and to this another law maxim applies, He who sticks in the *letter* sticks in the *bark*. I will quote one more maxim from a higher authority, ‘The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.’”

As the debate was proceeding, William H. Crawford of Georgia moved to strike out of the resolution the word “palpable,” giving his reasons for the motion in the candid and liberal spirit which ever marked his conduct. Mr. Clay acquiesced, and the word was stricken out without a dissenting voice. This, under the circumstances, was equivalent to an opinion, unanimously expressed, that it was open to question whether there had been a virtual violation of the rules, and some were disposed to discontinue the procedure altogether; but the managers of the party persisted in pressing the resolution. Colonel Pickering’s colleague, James Lloyd, in a spirited speech denounced the attempt to put a stigma upon “a man who had spent his life in the public service,” and charged that, after the free references that had been made in previous debates to the letter in question, to put on record such a “censure,”

looked like springing a trap upon his colleague. Chauncy Goodrich, of Connecticut, also spoke with earnest force against the resolution, taking the ground of others who opposed it, that the reading of Talleyrand's letter was an "indiscretion." Colonel Pickering said a few words before the question was taken, to the following effect: —

"Mr. President, I am much obliged by the liberal sentiments expressed towards me by my friend at my right hand (Mr. Goodrich); but I do not feel willing to consider the act which is the subject of the resolution as an indiscretion. I know, Sir, my own frailty, and am far from intimating that I am above the commission of an 'indiscretion,' but I do feel that I have committed none in this case.

"There are two ways, Sir, in which the assent of an individual or of a body of men may be given, — by words, or by their silence. I have stated the object of my reading the papers adverted to, and the circumstances which accompanied the same, and — not doubting that the gentlemen who, with me, were members of the Senate at the times when those papers were laid before us, knew that they were confidentially communicated, and yet made no objection to the reading of them — I naturally inferred that the Senate assented to the act. Under these circumstances I cannot view it as an indiscretion."

The resolution passed by a vote of twenty yeas to seven nays.

That strict integrity which was a cardinal and inflexible principle of his character through life forbade his acquiescing in the line of defence adopted by some of his friends. He was unwilling to escape the censure of the Senate, under cover of the plea of "indiscretion;" for he knew it to be in conflict with the truth. He, therefore, before the question was put to vote, declared that he had acted deliberately and considerately in the premises; that he was fully aware that the in-

junction of secrecy had not been formally removed ; that, however, he regarded that it had been removed by the lapse of time, and the course of events ; that he had supposed, and had reason to suppose, that the Senate regarded it in the same light, and that all were willing and desirous to have evidence produced which, no longer requiring to be kept as a state secret, was important in guiding the deliberations of the Senate on a legislative measure then pending.

If he had allowed the matter to have gone to the question, on the ground of " indiscretion," it is not certain what would have been the result of the debate.

It is quite observable with what perfect calmness Colonel Pickering bore himself throughout this affair in the Senate. He manifested no particular concern about it ; never consulted or conversed with his personal and political friends as to the best mode of defence ; sought no favor ; and did not allow a word or syllable to escape his lips that bore the slightest tinge of resentment, anxiety, or excitement.

It was a severe procedure on the part of his enemies, after such a career as he had run in the public service, military and civil, and so long a period in the Senate, to attempt to put on record so unusual, and, under the circumstances, so uncalled-for a stigma. But he felt that an act of political opponents, dictated by party malice, would, in the retrospect of history, cast dishonor upon them rather than upon him. He therefore quietly looked on, and let them accomplish their work ; only taking care not to avail himself of any plea or form of apology inconsistent with truth. But he perfectly understood the character and motives of the transaction, and

felt keenly on the occasion, as the following letter to his wife, dated January 12th, shows: —

“I expect to have it in my power to enclose herewith a newspaper which will give you a particular statement of the occurrence which gave occasion to the vote of censure mentioned in my last, and the grounds of justification. You will then see that it was a mere *informality* on my part, an infringement of the *letter* only, and not of the *spirit* of the rule. And I am informed of circumstances which warrant the opinion that the mover of the resolution would have withdrawn it, but that his political friends (glad of a straw to catch hold on, that might, they hoped, tarnish my reputation) would not consent. But it is not in the power of the whole party to fix a stain on my character. If, by this occurrence, I have not *gained* any friends, I have certainly *lost* none. This gentry, whose sensibility affects to be thrown into an agony at the slightest approach towards the violation of a rule, the meaning of which (the keeping of state secrets) had no application to the papers I read (because they had long ceased to require secrecy), can, with perfect composure, see a President, who is the head of their party, violate a rule of the Constitution. They will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.”

As the resolution had been divested of all force and effect of the nature of personal reproach; as the bare fact was that the letter of Talleyrand still lay under the general character of a document not authorized to be made public; and as Colonel Pickering not only admitted, but insisted, that it should be understood that he read it in open Senate with a full knowledge of that fact, — one or two Federal Senators voted with the majority, and several Democratic members, on that ground alone, concurred in the vote of censure: but it was found that there was a general approval by the Federal party, in which some Democrats joined, of Colonel Pickering's having brought forward the letter. It was thought the antece-

dent circumstances of the debate had committed the Senate to the production of the letter ; that it was no longer under the seal of secrecy ; and that the public good demanded its being fully disclosed. All allowed that he had borne himself with the utmost candor, manliness, and integrity in his defence and justification of the act ; and the result was that, instead of his being injuriously affected by the vote of censure, his popularity was thereby increased. This appears from letters he received from all quarters, as the following, among many : —

FROM JACOB WAGNER, OF BALTIMORE.

“ I congratulate you on the honorable occasion you afforded for Clay’s resolution. Such firmness of patriotism is so seldom found now-a-days as to be above all admiration.”

Alexander C. Hanson, of Baltimore, writes : —

“ A Democrat of some note spoke warmly in disapprobation of Clay’s resolution, adding that the country was under obligations to you for disclosing what it was disgraceful to conceal. All that I feel provoked about is the omission of your friends to stop the business at its commencement, by laying on the table a counter-resolution censuring Clay for his censorious resolution. Such a retort might have given an admirable turn to the affair. It would at least have shown the determination of your own party to stand by you, and it would have given the tone to the public feeling. Great curiosity is expressed to see both your speech and Mr. Horsey’s ; and, as the public feeling is all alive to the West Florida business, it is well to strike while the iron is hot.”

FROM SAMUEL CHASE, JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ I feel myself very anxious that the charter of the Bank of the United States should be renewed ; and I hope you will not be exposed to the *censure of the Senate* if you give me your opinion on this subject. We have fallen on *evil times* ;

but I hope your firmness and perseverance will never forsake you: the compatriot of Washington should never despair."

Judge Peters writes: —

"Your brush with the Senate is understood by your friends exactly in the light you view it. Everybody is very nice and sensible in the abstract, and can give wholesome advice. All I can say is, that I should have been very liable to have done the same thing you did, and to have disapproved of my own conduct *afterwards*. For, if either you or I had thought it wrong when the step was about to be taken, it would not have been taken. No mischief or good has been done; for every thing was known publicly to all who would read."

James Robertson, of Philadelphia, says: —

"I observed in the newspapers you have met the fate to which every upright, independent man will be exposed who avows his honest sentiments in a public body, in the face of an overbearing majority, who seem to have no other standard of right and wrong but what will support the interests of party.

"I was amused on observing the quarter from which the attack on you was made. If any thing could add to the contempt which must be felt for such ridiculous censures, it must be to observe that the man who, the other day, was the defender of Burr and his projects should be selected as the instrument of an attack on yourself."

James Ross, long a distinguished Senator of the United States, writes from Pittsburg: —

"I think that the Senate of the United States did itself no credit by the vote of censure lately passed upon your reading *confidential papers*. It displayed a party-spleen and catching at trifles altogether unworthy of so dignified a body. No confidence was, in fact, violated; for no secrecy existed. The papers were publicly known, and had been substantially published and acted on by our own government, and were notoriously in the hands and public use of the Spanish government."

James McHenry, Colonel Pickering's colleague in the cabinets of Washington and Adams, writes : —

“I have perused, with perfect contentment, your speech in justification of your conduct for having read, in open Senate, a paper that had been communicated confidentially by the President many years since. The original reasons for making the contents of the paper in question having ceased, the obligation to keep it a secret ceased at the same moment. The obligation to secrecy in all such cases does not depend on a rule of the Senate, but on the nature of the communication, and the end which it is intended to answer. When a confidential paper has satisfied its purpose, no obligation remains binding to a longer concealment of it. It is asked, Who is to be judge? Certainly not the Senate, but every man for himself, by applying to the case that degree of understanding with which God has endowed him. I dislike confidential communications. They are a great evil in a government such as ours, and may be made instruments to its ruin. If affairs are wisely administered, there will be no need for such communications.”

That the censure passed by the Senate upon Colonel Pickering failed to produce the effect upon his influence designed by his political enemies is quite evident. It increased the enthusiasm of his friends. Mr. Wagner, writing to him from Baltimore, February 23d, 1811, says : —

“We have had an oration here, on the birthday, delivered by Mr. Charles Hanson, which has kindled such a degree of admiration as I never witnessed to any public performance. He not only did justice to the American deliverer, but to his enemies and detractors. But I was *particularly pleased* with the *pointed and unbounded applause* conferred by the audience upon *one* of the friends and fellow-soldiers of Washington when his name was mentioned.”

It is quite significant that, at this crisis, Chief-Justice

Marshall took occasion to bear his testimony in honor of Colonel Pickering. In a letter to him, of February 22d, 1811, he uses this language : —

“ I flatter myself that I have not seen you for the last time. *Events have so fully demonstrated the correctness of your opinions on subjects the most interesting to our country*, that I cannot permit myself to believe the succeeding legislature of Massachusetts will *deprive the nation of your future services.*”

On the 19th of February, 1811, Colonel Pickering addressed the Senate on the bill for the recharter of the Bank of the United States, with the following introductory remarks : —

“ Having received, from the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, an instruction, in the form of a request, ‘ to oppose the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States,’ and some other members of the Senate having received from their respective States instructions to the same effect, I will make a few observations on the subject of instructions.

“ I was pleased to hear the gentleman from Virginia, over against me (Mr. Giles), after reading his instructions from that State, express his opinion decisively, that instructions from constituents were not binding on their legislative Representatives. Concurring entirely in this opinion, I will offer some reasons to show that they are erroneous in principle; that they infringe the rightful independence of Representatives; and, in respect to members of Congress, that they violate the Constitution of the United States.

“ In a small community, where all its members can meet together and consult on the measures necessary and proper to promote their common interests, their decisions are the result of deliberation, of reasoning, and of the interchange of sentiments. When the members become too numerous, or are too widely extended, to admit of their personal attendance in a general assembly, it seems to be a very natural provision to select a convenient number of them to meet together to manage their common concerns, in the same manner they

were before conducted by the whole community. And thus, from the very nature of this institution, it becomes the duty of the persons composing the representative body to consult, deliberate, and mutually communicate their reasons and opinions; and, thereupon, finally to decide on the measures requisite to be adopted for the welfare of the community. Hence it follows that all peremptory instructions designed to control or influence the votes of the Representatives are subversive of the fundamental principle of a representative government.

“Such instructions or requests, addressed to members of Congress, do also violate the Constitution of the United States. The first sentence in that Constitution is in these words: ‘All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.’ Now, therefore, if State legislatures undertake to dictate, by their instructions, or by requests which are intended to operate equally with instructions, what votes shall be given on any question by their Representatives in Congress, they so far assume the powers vested by the Constitution exclusively in Congress. And if their instructions or requests are obeyed, then the State legislatures, and not Congress, enact laws for the United States.

“If, indeed, a State legislature should, in the form of instructions or requests, enter into a train of reasoning and present arguments which should convince my understanding that any measure under consideration in Congress was or was not consistent with the Constitution, and exhibit facts which proved its utility or injurious effects, then I should yield obedience accordingly. But to what? To instructions or requests? No; but to reason and to truth.

“In another respect, such instructions and requests violate the Constitution in regard to the members of this body. Senators are chosen for six years. This was intended by the framers of the Constitution to give them that independence which would secure freedom in thinking and acting. But, if Senators were bound to obey the instructions of their respective State legislatures, that independence would be wholly destroyed. Indeed, it would put Senators as absolutely in

the power of their constituents as if the State legislatures had the right to recall and dismiss them at pleasure.

“ I will now, Mr. President, make some observations on the main question under consideration, — whether Congress have the power, by the Constitution, to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States ? ”

He then proceeded to argue at length that Congress had the power. He inferred it from the power to collect and keep the revenues ; from the power of borrowing money ; from that of making all needful rules and regulations respecting the property of the United States, part of which property was money ; and particularly from the power expressly granted to regulate commerce. From this latter power, he maintained that Congress was authorized to establish light-houses, which, it had always been admitted, were “ needful buildings,” and as such justified by the express language of the Constitution.

“ But,” he continues, “ if we had no commerce, no navigation, light-houses would not be ‘ needful buildings : ’ they would be of no use whatever. Hence it is clear that they have a direct relation to commerce, and to nothing else ; and, therefore, the erecting of them is properly adduced as an instance of the exercise of a power implied in the general express power to regulate commerce.

“ The safety and facility of commercial operations was also greatly to be promoted by means of *a general currency which should have equal credit throughout the Union*. This has been accomplished by the notes issued from the Bank of the United States, under the authority of Congress, exercising the power incidental to that of *regulating commerce*.”

Mr. Smith, Senator from Maryland, had said, in the debate, that when the original charter of the bank had passed Congress, “ President Washington doubted ; that his mind was in suspense to the last moment, when the

act was to be approved or disapproved; that while the then Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton)—a very great man—maintained the constitutional power of Congress to erect that bank, another man (Mr. Jefferson), equally great, then Secretary of State, and the Attorney-General (Mr. Randolph), a distinguished lawyer, maintained the contrary doctrine, that Congress had no such power.” In answer, Colonel Pickering said:—

“It is true, Sir, that Washington, cautious and circumspect beyond any man I ever knew, did suspend his decision to the last day allowed him by the Constitution. The confidence with which the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General supported their opinions on this question was sufficient to excite in the President the greatest caution. Both were lawyers, and they raised many legal objections. The written opinions of these gentlemen were (as I have been well informed) put into the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury two days before it was necessary for the President to decide; and the reasoning of Mr. Hamilton, in his written argument, enabled the President to decide with satisfaction,—with a full conviction of the constitutionality of the act.”

After quoting from the written opinion of the Secretary of State that the bill amounted to “a prostration of laws which constitute the pillars of our whole system of jurisprudence, and are the foundation laws of the State governments,” Colonel Pickering said: “Washington, Sir, was not a lawyer; and who can wonder that his fair mind was alarmed by such a solemn declaration? that it was kept in suspense by the assertion that the act for establishing the bank would overturn the pillars of our whole system of jurisprudence and the foundation laws of the State governments? But, Sir, it required only the knowledge of a lawyer at once to overturn these objections.” He then quotes from Hamilton’s written

opinion, and critically examines the points made by Jefferson, showing their fallacy.

The speech concludes thus: —

“Sir, I have no personal interest in the Bank of the United States. I am no stockholder: I have not the means of being one. Nor is the branch at Boston of equal import to the citizens of Massachusetts with the bank itself and its branches to the inhabitants and commercial cities of other States, although the withdrawing of seven or eight hundred thousand dollars from the banking capital of Boston would undoubtedly produce some serious inconveniences. But, Sir, I consider the Bank of the United States, with its branches, of immense importance to the citizens of the United States, and a necessary instrument in the hands of the government in the management of our great national concerns. I shall therefore give my vote for the renewal of its charter.”

On the question of striking out the first section of the bill, the Senate was equally divided, — seventeen to seventeen. The Vice-President, George Clinton, gave the casting vote in the affirmative, and a renewal of the charter was refused.

As the Democratic party was in power at the time in Massachusetts, one of its prominent members was chosen to succeed Colonel Pickering in the Senate of the United States, whose connection with that body ceased, at the termination of the eleventh Congress; but, as will be seen, the great circle of his public life, as a national legislator and statesman, was not yet completed.

During the latter part of his service in the Senate, such leisure hours as could be found, were devoted to the preparation of materials for an extended examination of the recent and then current political history of the country, to be addressed to the public. The purpose was formed

some years before it was executed, as appears by the following passage in a letter to John Jay, of April 25th, 1809:—

“ That such of my public labors as have received your attention have been approved, is a source of great satisfaction. I have long been happy in the enjoyment of the esteem and friendship of a few men whom I have always considered as the best and most enlightened of my fellow-citizens. But while it was impossible to be insensible of the value of their approbation, it has oftener excited humility than any other affection of the mind, from a consciousness of my deficient talents. But to make a direct impression on the great mass of a community are the most exalted and refined talents indispensable? Rather do they not often fail of their intended effect. In composition, the observation of St. Paul has often occurred to me, — ‘ I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.’ Such minds soar, like the eagle, above the common flight. Not many can discern their course. Comparatively ‘ few understand.’ And when the lucubrations of such elevated minds appear with the stamp of *reason* only, without the authority of a *name*, to sanction *argument* and vouch for *facts*, the effect is almost limited to congenial minds. Such were the considerations which led me, under my proper signature, to address my first letter to Governor Sullivan. My situation enabled me to state some facts, and form strong conjectures of others; a long public life had made me extensively known, and I presumed my veracity would not be called in question. The like views led me to contemplate the address I so long ago announced to you, but which I feel mortified not yet to have accomplished; though it is not abandoned.”

Having completed its preparation, he commenced the publication in a series of articles in the newspapers, entitled “ Mr. Pickering’s Address to the People of the United States.” The first numbers appeared in the

“Baltimore Federal Republican,” and the last portion in the “Salem Gazette.” There was a zealous competition among the editors of papers to procure the first publication of them; and they were reprinted in Federal journals in all parts of the country. Many such applications as the following were addressed to Colonel Pickering.

“NEWBURYPORT, Herald Office, March 25th, 1811.

“The loud and universal call for your letters now publishing in the ‘Baltimore Federal Republican,’ has induced me to give them in a more permanent shape. In the first place I would ask if you have any objection to my publishing them in a pamphlet; if not, may I be permitted to ask to what number they may probably extend; and whether there is a possibility of obtaining here copies of the succeeding numbers *earlier* than through the Baltimore paper. I beg, Sir, you would excuse the freedom I have taken, while I request an answer. With respect, &c.,

“E. W. ALLEN.”

Not long after the conclusion of the series, they were, without Colonel Pickering’s knowledge, published in England, in a very handsome volume of one hundred and sixty-eight pages, of which the title-page is as follows:—

“Letters addressed to the people of the United States of America, on the conduct of the past and present administrations of the American government towards Great Britain and France. By Colonel Timothy Pickering, formerly Secretary of State to the government of the United States. America printed. London: reprinted for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster Row, 1811.”

On a blank leaf of his copy of this edition, Colonel Pickering makes this note:—

“Having in the following twenty letters made only some advances in the prosecution of the examination I had proposed to make of the administration of our government, especially

since the commencement of the congressional year 1801; and if I had proceeded to the completion of the original design, having intended then to revise the whole before the letters should assume the form of a book, — I declined various applications to publish the twenty letters in a pamphlet in the United States.

“The following copy printed in London must have been printed from newspapers; and the errors (some material) with which it abounds are to be accounted for, from the imperfection of the newspapers, in parts wanting or illegible; and the thirteenth letter was wholly omitted. The London copy I have now compared with the original publications in the newspapers, and rendered it correct, inserting also the thirteenth letter.”

These letters present a strong, bold, and, from his point of view, honest representation of the party politics of that day. They delighted his Federal friends, and equally incensed his Democratic opponents. Their spirit and tone are indicated in the “Introduction,” which was as follows:—

“FELLOW-CITIZENS,

“Before I present to you a view of the past and present condition of our country, and exhibit the characters of men who have produced or greatly influenced that condition, it is proper that I should place before you a plain representation of my own; for you ought to be satisfied that the writer who asks your attention possessed the means of acquiring an adequate knowledge of his subject, and integrity to present it with truth.

“My name has for so many years been the theme of reproach with my enemies, and their publications having been, in fact, though not in form, addressed to you as the proper tribunal to decide on the merit or demerit of my conduct in public life, justice would require that, prior to a final judgment, I should be heard in my own defence. This right, however, I should waive, were my personal interest or reputation alone at stake. Content with the esteem of men of the

first distinction among my countrymen for their discernment, virtue, and patriotism, and with an approving conscience, I would not again, on my own account, take the trouble to repel the slanders with which bad men continue to assail me. As it regards myself, these libellers miss their aim: far from wounding my feelings, their malevolent reproaches bear witness that I am not destitute of merit. The unwearied, malignant efforts of these men to destroy my reputation, demonstrate that the truths I have heretofore exhibited have annoyed them and their employers; while, perhaps, they anticipate a display of more truths, the proper effects of which, by reviving their slanders, they may hope to defeat.

“ Indeed, fellow-citizens, I have gone but a little way in spreading before you the errors of our rulers: would to God that they were *no more than errors!* *Certain it is, they have plunged our country into a state of degradation and disgrace, and brought upon it calamities never before experienced.* It is time they were stripped of their disguises, and exhibited in their naked characters to your view. This is one great object in my present undertaking; *for no hope can be entertained of an advantageous change in the condition of our country, until the people shall be convinced that the leaders of the party which for ten years past have governed it are not worthy of confidence.* I embark in it with reluctance; because, to say nothing of the time and labor I must bestow upon it, in exposing them I shall unavoidably expose the nakedness of my country; when, if compatible with truth, I would infinitely rather speak the praises of both. But, to authorize even a distant hope of producing general conviction, plain truths, however mortifying, must be told; and the belief of them can alone rescue our country from impending ruin. Perhaps, for entertaining this apparently forlorn hope, I may be charged with vanity. But if truth is, beforehand, to be presumed unavailing, why then the cause of our country is to be given up in despair; but, until ruin actually overwhelms us, I will not despair.

In the prosecution of this work, I will present to you faithful pictures drawn from the life, — from the words and actions of men. I will lay before you facts. And where the nature

of the case renders facts unattainable, I will state the circumstances which furnish the ground of rational belief. And because the unexampled state of things demands that facts which are the basis of my address should be presented to your consideration with whatever weight the testimony of a known witness can impart, and believing my statements to be true and my reasoning just, I shall subscribe them with my proper name. Should there be any errors, they will be unintentional; and, when fairly exhibited, as frankly confessed.

“I am aware that I shall draw upon myself a host of slanderers, who from all quarters will fall upon me without mercy. They, destitute alike of facts and arguments, will impudently pronounce my statements to be untrue, my reasoning false, and my character too base to merit your attention. And if you yield to their bold assertions without evidence, my labor will be lost. But, my fellow-citizens, it is for *you* that I expose myself to all this persecution, — to the ill-will, the hatred, and the vengeance of the men whose arts, intrigues, and deceptions I must necessarily lay open. For *your own sake*, then, I entreat you to give me a patient hearing. If my story be long, so is the series of your wrongs. And these you have suffered, not for *your* ultimate advantage, but that your *leaders, pretended patriots, might obtain and hold power and place, and the emoluments of office*. Yes, my fellow-citizens, to their ambition, avarice, envy, and revenge, your great interests and the honor of our country have been sacrificed.

“If, in executing the arduous work I have undertaken, I shall sometimes use words of a coarse texture, I beg every reader to be assured that these will be introduced not from choice, but necessity, — the more distinctly to exhibit the characters of the persons and things intended to be described. Moral like natural deformities require their appropriate traits and colors.”

Colonel Pickering's defiant manner in meeting and repelling the calumnies of political opponents is exhibited in these letters: —

“I am, my fellow-citizens, in a singular situation, continually censured and reviled by every unprincipled wretch who prints

a newspaper, or by his correspondents equally base ; and yet rarely upon any specific charge on which I can come to an issue. In one case, indeed, this was done ; I was accused of receiving British gold. At the instance of some of my friends, I consented that the libeller should be prosecuted. He was accordingly indicted, convicted, and punished by fine and imprisonment. His counsel (Mr. Jefferson's district attorney in Massachusetts), with a view to mitigate the libeller's punishment, offered to the court a reason which must surprise all those who have formed their opinions of me from the misrepresentations and lies of Democratic prints, that 'the fairness of my character was so well known, and my reputation so firmly established, the libel could have done me no injury.' But neither conviction in court, nor at the bar of reason (the tribunal to which, in addressing the people of the United States, I now appeal) can silence my accusers. 'The lies so oft overthrown are renewed ;' and they will be repeated while the polluted prints which spread them abroad receive the patronage of a deceived and abused people.

"I have recently been called 'a pensioner of Britain,' while the accusers, far from attempting to prove it, do not themselves believe it. In the nature of things, it is impossible for any man to prove the negative, that he did not receive a bribe. What then is to be done ? Is there such a thing as honesty in the world ? And what can an honest man oppose to such a naked accusation ? Will a whole life, passed in the ways of virtue, serve to vindicate his innocence ? Let, then, my unprincipled accusers examine my whole life, private as well as public ; let them search diligently, and if they can find one dishonest act, a single departure from truth, one instance of deception, then, my fellow-citizens, reject as unworthy of your notice all the statements and reasoning which I have heretofore addressed, or shall hereafter address to you.

"The herd of libellers, your pretended friends, but worst enemies, have the audacity to call me 'an old British Tory !' I am old, for I have lived sixty-five years. But from the year 1769 to the close of the Revolutionary war (a space of fourteen years) I was constantly engaged in opposing British taxation, British encroachments on our rights, and British arms."

The following are passages from Colonel Pickering's domestic and general correspondence, during the last period of his service as Senator.

The first session of the eleventh Congress, in conformity with a special act of the preceding Congress, commenced May 22d, 1809. On that day (Monday) Colonel Pickering wrote to his wife from Washington : —

“ I arrived here yesterday, at two o'clock afternoon, in perfect health and very little fatigued, although travelling night and day, I had undressed but once since I had left Boston, on Tuesday noon. Finding I had time enough, I passed the whole of Friday among my friends at Philadelphia, where I had one night's good sleep, being the only time that I had pulled off my clothes. We shall continue at our old lodgings ; but Mr. Goodrich and Mr. Dana have quitted, and returned to Coyle's on Capitol Hill. I hope we shall find two or three new Federal members to make up a pleasant mess.

“ The universal verdure of the country is delightful, but the season is everywhere represented as backward. Here, however, the locust-tree is now in full blossom ; which you will not see at Wenham these two or three weeks.”

“ June 4th. Mrs. Madison has opened a drawing-room, after the example of Mrs. Washington. Mr. Hillhouse and I had dressed ourselves, and descended from our chambers to go and make our bows ; but just then a sudden gust arose, followed by rain, and disappointed us. We shall attend the ensuing Wednesday. I understand that the Federalists, generally, were present, and but few, if any, leading Democrats. The truth is, though they dare not avow it, they are not pleased with Mr. Madison's settlement with Great Britain ; and they will yet attempt to defeat a final adjustment by treaty : but I think the public sentiment, the general voice of the people, will prevail against their intrigues.”

“ June 19th. As it is not probable that I shall ever be here in another summer session, I contemplate passing through the richest parts of Maryland, and Lancaster County in Pennsyl-

vania, to see the best farms and farmers, and the faces of many friends, some known and others unknown; but who appear to take pleasure in testifying that I have rendered some services to my country. Such unsought-for approbation by the best of my fellow-citizens cannot fail to be acceptable to a mind, conscious of good intentions, and possessing some sensibility.

“Last Wednesday I went to the drawing-room to introduce my friend, Griffith Evans. To-day the Federalists are to dine with the President.”

“December 3d. Mr. Hillhouse and I are at our old lodgings, more than two miles from the Capitol, but only half a mile from the President's house, and in the neighborhood of heads of departments, and the usual residence of foreign Ministers; so that we tell our friends who lodge on Capitol Hill that we live *at the court end of the town*. But we can now say, what gives us much more pleasure, that Mrs. Quincy and her husband have taken rooms in the same block of buildings, within one door of us, where we can pass an evening very agreeably. Our fellow-lodgers, too (whom we invited to join us), are agreeable associates, members of Congress from Vermont, intelligent and plain Republicans like ourselves.

“Mrs. Quincy has brought with her her two daughters (one above, the other five or six years old), whom she educates (they have never been at school), and thus usefully and agreeably occupies time which otherwise would here hang heavily on her hands; for even books would hardly fill the vacuity, during the commonly five hours' daily absence of her husband, in a cultivated mind, but accustomed like hers to domestic duties and the care of five or six children.”

“December 17th. Mr. Hillhouse and I continue our accustomed walks to and from the Capitol, and among our friends in Washington and Georgetown, finding this course as pleasant as salutary.”

“January 1st, 1810. Another year has elapsed, and though this be a day devoted to festivity, it must excite serious thoughts in reflecting minds. Time passed cannot be recalled; and, whatever date to our lives Providence has assigned, one year more has now been struck from their duration.

“Sometimes it has been said that the fewer the years mankind can reasonably count on, the closer they cling to life, like the miser to his hoard, when age and infirmities urge him to loosen his hold. This remark is not verified in me. I am, indeed, still desirous to live, but chiefly for the sake of my nearest and dearest connections; at the same time I feel, as I ought, an entire resignation to the will of Heaven. But this resignation is a source of calm satisfaction; and, living, I rejoice in the bounties of Providence, above all, in the felicities of domestic life.”

“January 4th. The night of December 23d you mention as the coldest you have felt for the winter. Here it was mild, without the sign of frost. The next day Mr. Hillhouse and I went to the Mount Vernon territory to fulfil our promise made last summer to Mrs. Lewis (Nelly Custis that was), whose husband is Lawrence Lewis (a nephew of General Washington), who appears to be a very amiable and worthy man, — perhaps a dozen years older than Nelly. We spent Christmas there very agreeably, with other company whom Mr. and Mrs. Lewis had invited on the occasion. Their house is large and handsome, lately erected with brick, in full sight of the Potomac, and about three miles from Mount Vernon. Their plantation contains two thousand acres, given them by General Washington, — a part of the Mount Vernon estate; but a great (the greater) part, indifferent in quality; and, for the want of better improvement, affords no pleasure to the eye. Yet they have given a pleasant name to their place, *Woodlawn*. The Mount Vernon lands abound in wood, so that wild deer breed and live there in considerable numbers.”

“February 4th. I have nothing special to communicate at this time, and take up my pen merely by way of remembrance. Not a day passes but the state of the family occupies my thoughts; and I dwell with pleasure on the idea of being with them; looking forward to the time when I may remain at home during the winter, — a season best adapted to domestic felicity; for nothing is sweeter than *fireside enjoyments*. It is only during winter that I could give instructions to the young members of the family, and this would be a delightful

task, while reading would furnish amusement and information to the rest.

“I think the girls were to pass a portion of the winter in Salem, where, probably, they now are. I believe I have already given them cautions to guard against *colds*, so often ending fatally, to females in particular, owing to the preposterous dresses for company and assemblies, — amusements which had better be abandoned, if they cannot be attended but in the dress of summer, at the extreme hazard of health and life.”

The following letter was written January 3d, 1810. Colonel Pickering's two daughters were born November 21st, 1793. They were, therefore, a little over seventeen years of age at the date of this letter: —

“MY DEAR HENRY,

“I have long been delighted by the evidences of your benevolence and of your cordial affection, both filial and fraternal; but, in desiring your sisters to learn instrumental music, especially on a machine requiring so much application to make any tolerable proficiency as a piano, it goes beyond the point of utility. I pronounce decisively, from my knowledge and experience in music, and a consideration of all the circumstances of the case. That your ‘sisters have received few advantages compared with others,’ is a *conclusive* reason against devoting *any* portion of their *time* to an art which is merely *ornamental*, which will require *years* of application to acquire, in such a degree as to please themselves or their friends, and which, the moment they are charged with the care of families (as I hope both will be), they will abandon.

“These ideas are not new to me. I entertained them long before your sisters were born. Scarcely *one* female in *fifty* who makes the attempt acquires such a practical knowledge of instrumental music as enables her to gratify a correct ear; and few *voluntarily* sit down to a piano or harpsichord; and if they do, or are constrained by the *polite* importunity of their acquaintances to ‘sweep the sounding strings,’ two or three times — sometimes one — commonly demonstrate the *imper-*

fections of the performer and the indifference of the audience. A delicate ear, with an exquisite relish for music, should be indulged, where the parent is rich in wealth and the daughter in time. You offer to be the substitute of the former ; but your sisters have no time. What time they have for mental improvement is invaluable. Knowledge combined with good sense gives respectability in society. It is the becoming garb of certain ranks ; music is but the lace or fringe on a garment sufficiently rich and decent without it. I would rather your money were thrown into the sea ; for that would be a loss only of so much money ; but time to your sisters is above all price ; its loss, in sitting to a musical instrument, would be irretrievable.

“ But there is another, and an insurmountable objection : your sisters are now *too old* to learn to play on a keyed instrument. Their fingers are now incapable of the pliability indispensable to an easy, elegant, and dexterous touch of the keys. Whoever would play well and gracefully must begin to learn by the age of ten years ; and, after that period, abstain from household labors. Ladies who take no exercise beyond a walk, or a ride in a carriage, nor ever use a needle except to embroider their muslins, may retain that requisite pliability of fingers. This is not, nor ever will be, the condition of your sisters.

“ I am, my dear Henry, with the truest affection, your father and friend.”

Henry had been highly successful in commercial enterprises, and accumulated a handsome fortune. He devoted himself to the care of his parents and the benefit of the family ; making it a study to provide for them all that he deemed would be for their happiness. Of uncommon personal accomplishments, and conversant with the best society, he sought to secure for them all the advantages and embellishments of life. But his father had a great repugnance to every thing like fashion and show, and could not be drawn from the plain and simple modes

and habits to which he had been accustomed. There was no enjoyment for him equal to the occupations and labors of an agriculturist. Soon after his return to Wenham, for the last time, from service in the Senate, Henry, visiting him one evening, expressed an earnest desire to make certain alterations in the farm-house that would give it a more ornamental and stylish appearance. The next morning, his father wrote to him, as follows:—

“ Since you left us, last evening, I have thought further on the proposed alteration of the house, and am brought back to my first opinion, of its inexpediency.

“ I have now a better house than any farmer in the county occupies; and few men of fortune have a better. Consider how much superior to Mr. Blanchard's, and to that which Captain Saunders (a man in affluent circumstances) lived in here, with his fashionable family, for many years. If I had a house *to build*, then such a *hall, doors, and windows* as you propose, it might be excusable to adopt. But when I have so good a house, the alterations you propose would, by every friend I have, be deemed superfluous, and a wanton waste of money. Mr. Lyman can spend thousands in doing and undoing, without affecting his large fortune. But for me to change the arrangement of my house, without any *necessity*, is utterly incompatible with my poverty. It is the rage for a conformity with fashion (ever-changing fashion) which brings distress on families and (as Cowper says) ‘makes our larders lean.’ If that end of the house were to be burnt up, without injury to the other part, we should be comfortable without it. It is impossible, then, for me to excuse the projected alterations to my friends or to myself. That you pay the expense will not be satisfactory. The house, with the alteration, will be considered as *mine*, and certainly be a subject for reproach.

At all events, it must be laid aside for the present. I send this early, that you may not engage the workmen.”

Octavius Pickering graduated at Harvard College in

1810. On the 14th of December, of that year, his father wrote to him from Washington, as follows: —

“ This evening, I received your letter of the 6th. I had before thought of writing to you on the subject of your studies, although I trust you duly feel the importance of diligently pursuing them. Do not suffer yourself to be diverted from them by company or associations of any kind. Without *secluding* yourself from the other sex, let it occupy but a small portion of your *time*, — more precious to you than *money*; a contrary indulgence will make a fearful waste of both. Neither give yourself up to politics, — an evil at least as baneful in your situation and time of life as the other.

“ While the law engrosses most of your time, bear in mind the advice I gave you at home, — *not to neglect your Latin and Greek*. You must not be *stationary* in these languages. Read the classics so frequently, or rather so constantly, as to make them familiar, and the Greek Testament every Sunday. I feel sensibly on the subject, deeply mortified by my own deficiencies from conscious neglect of opportunities, now never to be recovered. And it is not mortification only, but a real disadvantage as a public man now, and the loss of high gratification as an individual, which compel me to press this matter on your attention. The classics of Greece and Rome are now also becoming objects of more diligent study than heretofore; and defective knowledge of them will henceforward be less excusable, and, by comparisons, more painful.

“ Attend to your position of body in reading and writing, — to avoid any one which can interfere with its vital functions, and *daily* take exercise enough to preserve you in vigorous health. That your eyes may not suffer, let the books you read be raised to the height of your eyes, so that you may read (whether sitting or standing) with your head erect.

“ I am pleased to find in your letter the evidence of proper attention to your handwriting: it greatly needed improvement, and you are not yet too old to amend it permanently. Above all, be careful to write *legibly*, if you should not write *elegantly*. Be particularly attentive to *proper names*, that

every letter be clear and distinct, for so only can they be ascertained. Other words may be discovered by their connection; although it is a valuable attainment to write all words in legible characters, and expeditiously.

“ With tender and anxious affection, I give you this advice.

“ T. PICKERING.”

One of the marked characteristics of Colonel Pickering was the degree to which he was susceptible of personal friendship. The relations he bore to General Washington are faithfully and sufficiently illustrated in these volumes. While he abhorred every species and degree of man-worship, and always honestly expressed, on proper occasions, his dissent from those who ascribed to Washington the highest traits of military genius, he experienced a profound and constantly increasing veneration for his absolute integrity, wisdom, prudence, and patriotism. The correspondence between them was frequent, extensive, and most confidential. It is evident that Washington's esteem for him was entire, and constantly growing stronger. The style of the letters, especially in the last years of Washington's life, indicate a personal affection quite unusual with him; and the opinion he expressed, in the presence of a large company at Mount Vernon, not long before he died, appears throughout their long correspondence and intimate official intercourse. “ IF THERE IS A GENUINE PATRIOT IN THIS COUNTRY (*and I believe there are many*), TIMOTHY PICKERING IS PRE-EMINENT.” But the very reverence Colonel Pickering felt for him, and the peculiar awe which he describes as imposed by the presence and mien of Washington. prevented that free and familiar manifestation of personal friendship which was unrestrained

towards all others. Such a friendship was cherished and expressed in correspondence with Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, John Marshall, Fisher Ames, Rufus King, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Cabot, Christopher Gore, Stephen Higginson, Theodore Sedgwick, and many other prominent characters.

There were, however, two friendships that deserve to be particularly mentioned.

Richard Peters and Timothy Pickering were together in the Board of War, from November, 1777, to the close of the Revolutionary conflict; much of the time the only, and always the most active, members. They bore together the burden of that great trust, involving an amount and an importance of care and service never yet appreciated, and which it is impossible fully to weigh. They were at their posts every day, consulting with each other, with the Commander-in-Chief, and with Congress, providing for all the wants of the army, and drawing out the resources of the country. The connection between them was perfectly harmonious from the beginning to the end. No difference of policy arose between them. Not the faintest shadow of a cloud ever passed over their congenial consultations. They were, all through, of one mind and one heart. The friendship, thus formed, continued till their separation by death, at a protracted age. Their correspondence was voluminous, embracing personal matters, public affairs, questions of literature and science, and religious subjects. A large part of it related to agricultural operations, in which they were both deeply and enthusiastically interested. In an epistolary discussion of some points of biblical criticism, particularly as to the true interpreta-

tion of passages in the ninety-fifth psalm, Judge Peters gives the following interesting account of his own personal history: —

“You say you are gratified with the extracts from the ‘learned German, without inquiring *how long* you have been a student in divinity and the Hebrew language.’ I could have answered your inquiry truly, but, much to my shame (who have profited so little), — ‘*Since I was a boy of fifteen years old.*’ I had a most worthy uncle, whose name I bear, and whose memory I adore. He was a polished and erudite scholar, nicely critical in all learning. He was most sincerely and cheerfully and liberally pious; had seen and partook of polite life, having been — though bred to the church — at the head of the politics of our colony for thirty years; being Secretary of the Province and Land Office. His belles-lettres knowledge was extensive; and his wit was brilliant, without wounding the chaste ears or the worthy mind. He despised the prostitution of wit, though, in retaliation, he could *cut* without *hacking*. I was his adopted son and constant companion. With no *man* (I have had with *one woman*), or set of men, have I ever enjoyed more pleasure, or solid instruction, or delight. He has left none like him, for many exquisitely admirable qualities, behind him to this day. For many years of his life he was afflicted with long illnesses. I was the nurse, both of his person and mind. I constantly read to him; and this begat in me a turn for many subjects he liked. I was obliged to acquire the dead languages, in which, though then a giant, I am now a pigmy. The Scriptures, and their commentators, were parts of my frequent tasks. I read now occasionally, and drop tears on, passages I recollect to have delighted him. He took to the charge in which he was bred, and became Rector of our Episcopal churches for many years. His zeal was turned into a pardonable enthusiasm as his mind declined. I have then read to him, with no pleasure, Jacob Behman and other mystical and visionary writers, which I now possess, but never disturb the cobwebs which envelop them. All this gave my mind a *set*. But I wish it had been

better improved. It has, however, suggested an unconquerable detestation of modern philosophy and philosophers. So you have the answer your query would have brought forth. The loaf is gone, and I only now live on a few crumbs, in which you will not always indulge me."

Few personal friendships have been more lasting, close, instructive, and delightful than that between Judge Peters and Colonel Pickering.

James Hillhouse, of Connecticut, was one of the great men of his period. Born in 1754, graduating at Yale College in 1773, he prepared for the profession of the law, and early acquired success in that pursuit. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, he engaged zealously in military affairs. In 1779, he was Captain in the Colonial service, in command of the Governor's Foot Guards, and highly distinguished himself in the defence of New Haven. In 1780, he was a Representative of New Haven in the legislature, and was repeatedly re-elected. In 1789, he was chosen a member of the Council. He was twice, in 1786 and 1787, elected a Delegate to the old Congress, but did not take a seat in it. In 1790, he was chosen a member of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, and served in the House of Representatives for six years. On the 4th of March, 1797, he entered the Senate of the United States. When Mr Jefferson, having been elected President of the United States, withdrew from the chair of the Senate, Mr. Hillhouse was, on the 28th of February, 1801, chosen by that body its President, *pro tempore*. After a continuous service of twenty years in Congress,—six in the House and fourteen in the Senate, he resigned his

seat, writing to Colonel Pickering on the occasion as follows : —

“NEW HAVEN, June 3d, 1810.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“Since I had the pleasure of seeing you at my house, a sudden, and, to me, an unexpected change has taken place, as regards myself; and I have been induced to quit Congress for ever. On Monday last I received, by a special messenger, a letter from the Governor, informing that the legislature had, on that day, appointed me *sole Commissioner of the school fund*; and, having finished their business, were only waiting for my answer to close the session, with which the messenger was directed to return on that very night. Wishing for a little time for consideration, and to be informed of some facts not within my own knowledge, I concluded to be at Hartford the next morning. When I arrived, I found it to be the anxious, and, so far as I could learn, the unanimous, wish of the legislature and people of Connecticut, that I should undertake the superintendence and management of that fund, in which every individual feels a deep interest. I felt no reluctance at leaving Congress, though I should have been willing to have remained there during the residue of your term; but I did feel great doubts about accepting the appointment, on account of the difficulties which would attend the execution of the office in a manner that would give general satisfaction; for the affairs of the school fund, as I understand, are so deranged and entangled as to require the most unintermitting exertion to extricate them, and save the State from the loss of large sums of the principal. But, being urged by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and other friends, to accept the appointment, under an assurance that I would render more important services to the State in that office than could be expected from my remaining in Congress; and, having been in the habit of obeying the calls of my fellow-citizens to public service, in any way in which it was supposed I could best advance the interest of the State that gave me birth, and from which I have received so many proofs of attachment and confidence, — I was induced to resign my seat in the Senate,

which is incompatible with that appointment ; and our mutual friend, Mr. Dana, is chosen to fill my place.

“ This change in my political career will not, I hope, tend, in the smallest degree, to lessen our friendship for each other, which, I flatter myself, has taken too deep root to be affected by time or absence, and will not cease to warm my bosom so long as a consciousness of any thing shall remain.

“ My wife and children unite with me in requesting you to present our kind regards to Mrs. Pickering and your amiable family, taking your due proportion.”

Mr. Hillhouse devoted himself for fifteen years to the discharge of this trust, and with such complete success as to be justly regarded one of the greatest benefactors of the State. He fully retrieved the fund, placed it in perfect security, and almost doubled its value and productiveness. His practical energy and judgment, and his business talents, were extraordinary ; and, with his universally recognized, incorruptible, and invulnerable integrity, were, and always had been, appreciated by the whole people. When twenty-eight years of age, he was elected Treasurer of Yale College, and, to the satisfaction of the friends of that institution and all concerned in its welfare, he filled the office to the day of his death, — a period of fifty years.

During the entire time they were in the Senate together, — seven years, — Mr. Hillhouse and Colonel Pickering were room-mates. There was a perfect congeniality and sympathy of soul between them. They each represented all that was excellent in the New England Puritan type of character ; above reproach, in the simplicity and innocence of their hearts, and justly commanding admiration for their abilities, patriotism, and all manly traits and honorable attainments. Their per-

sons, as well as their moral and intellectual qualities, were "cast in heroic mould:" tall in stature, — full six feet in height, — with athletic limbs and muscles, herculean strength, great physical hardihood, and capacity, as well as love, of labor, — their aspect marked them as superior men. Hillhouse was dark in complexion, with a deep and keen black eye, and suggested the idea of an Indian chief, and was sometimes called by the people among whom he lived, with admiring pride, "the Sachem." Pickering was of a light complexion, and suggested, in his profile and bearing as well as character, the ideas associated with an "old Roman." Each, in any tribe, would have been a chief, and in all companies would attract a special notice. These men had reached the last perfection of friendship: they could be happy together in silence. Although much of their time was undoubtedly spent in the mutual enjoyment of each other's conversational gifts and resources, they could sit together in their room for hours without talking, pursuing their inquiries into subjects demanding their attention without interrupting or disturbing each other; and, when at leisure and in rest, they were ever realizing, even if a word was not spoken, in their mere presence, the sweet influences and enjoyments of their own society and friendship.

Neither of them ever rode when the time on hand permitted him to walk. They traversed daily a distance of more than five miles, to and from the Capitol; and whenever the shortness of the sessions of the Senate allowed, or that body was not convened, they walked all about the city and its environs in company, but, as

was observed, generally not side by side, but one a little in advance of the other, keeping within the call, but each free to pursue his own observations and reflections. Where one was seen the other was sure to follow.

The sight of these stalwart men, whose eminent position and reputations were known to all, passing on their accustomed route, with lithe limbs and strong and easy strides, between the Capitol and Georgetown, to and fro every day, arrested the notice of the inhabitants and sojourners of the city.

Matthew St. Clair Clarke, for so many years Clerk of the House of Representatives, and for some time a resident in Washington before, from his official situation and genial social qualities, had great opportunities to become acquainted with the peculiarities of the public men of his day; and his reminiscences were very interesting. He related that Pickering and Hillhouse boarded and lodged at the "Seven Buildings," "wisely choosing," as he said, "to live at some distance from the Capitol, in order that they might be compelled to take exercise," which course he sarcastically contrasted with that of younger men, who preferred lodgings near the Capitol. He particularly mentioned their "walking through the snow," in going to and returning from the Capitol, "Mr. Hillhouse in front and Colonel Pickering a few feet behind him." Mr. Clarke, while pursuing his legal studies with Gabriel Duval, then Comptroller of the Treasury, first met them at the table of that gentleman. They were, he said, the life of the company: Mr. Hillhouse delighting all by his anecdotes and entertaining conversation;

and, in these respects, he observed, Colonel Pickering was "not behind."

Although differing entirely from Colonel Pickering in politics, Mr. Clarke spoke in terms of "veneration of the purity of his character and his sincere desire to promote the public good."

CHAPTER VI.

Returns to private Life. — Journey to Wenham. — Death of his Brother. — Correspondence. — His North Carolina Lands. — The ancestral Mansion. — Joseph Dennie. — Letters to the Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. — Baltimore Riot. — His election to Congress from Essex North District. — Vice-President Gerry. — First Session of the thirteenth Congress. — Correspondence. — Letters to the People of the United States. — Second Session of the thirteenth Congress. — Speech on the Loan Bill. — Correspondence.

1811-1814.

His senatorial life terminating at the expiration of the eleventh Congress, Colonel Pickering left Washington, as he supposed for the last time. Some interesting details of his return home are given in letters to his wife by the way.

“PHILADELPHIA, March 12th, 1811.

“I arrived here on the evening of the 10th, and shall not be able to get away until next Friday, the 15th, but do not expect much detention elsewhere. If I were to yield to the calls of my estimable friends here, I should not get away these ten days.”

After speaking of the “Address to the People of the United States” he was about to publish in a series of articles, he says that he had left the first six numbers “with Mr. Wagner, at Baltimore, who will print them expeditiously in the newspaper conducted by him and an interesting and able young man, named Alexander Contee Hanson.” He mentions that Mr. Hanson had named a son “Edward Pickering,” and that he “would

have called him by my entire name, but his wife's father was named Edward, which (like myself) she preferred to *Timothy*. She possessed a fortune, and he was the son of a very respectable man, the Chancellor of the State of Maryland, but since dead."

"I have not been able to resist the importunities of my old and new friends (new to me, for I had not seen them before) who kept me at Baltimore three days. I returned by the way of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where the legislature is now sitting, and where I passed one day with my friends. Among others, Mr. Ellicott (whom you will recollect by the troubles at Wyoming) was very particular in desiring me to mention his remembrance of you."

"Philadelphia, March 16th, 1811. In my former letter from this city, I mentioned my expectation of leaving it on the 15th, but I have found it impossible to get away from my friends. I shall, however, set off to-morrow, or on Wednesday, certainly, and be at home the latter end of next week. My 'addresses' give the highest satisfaction to the Federalists."

He reached home at the time he expected, as the papers announced that he presided at the Court of Common Pleas, at Ipswich, March 25th, on which day its term commenced.

Entirely free from official cares, he enjoyed the satisfaction of being with his family, without any prospect of separation from them again, and engaging in his favorite occupations as a farmer.

His brother died August 20th, 1811. The event was thus noticed in the "Salem Gazette" of August 23d:—

"In this town, Honorable John Pickering, aged 71. This gentleman has been an able and faithful servant to the public through his whole life. In the early part of the Revolution, he represented this town in the General Court, and for sev-

eral sessions filled the Speaker's chair. He was many years a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, which situation he declined as the infirmities of age and the duties of another office pressed upon him. The records of the office of Register of Deeds, for upwards of twenty years, will testify to his uncommon accuracy, care, and punctuality. This office he held till his increasing infirmities obliged him to resign it; and no man's interest ever suffered through his neglect in the performance of its duties."

The following letter to his brother-in-law, Paine Wingate, relating to the estate of his brother, has some points of interest in his own Biography.

"WENHAM, January, 9th, 1812.

"I intended to have written to you some time ago relative to the estate of my deceased brother. The real estate is incapable of division among the heirs, and it would seem to be inexpedient to set it up to sale while the depression of commerce and consequent diminution of purchasers would probably occasion a considerable sacrifice of its value. At the same time, it would be extremely desirable to sister Gool and me to receive our shares of the land itself. I suppose it would be agreeable to her to have her share in the rocky pastures adjoining Mr. Putnam's farm; for, either by purchase or lease, it would be an accommodation to him, who could give her its value. To me it would be desirable to have a lot in the south field, usually called Davis's lot (because lying opposite to land formerly Davis's). My father used to call it ten acres; and for that quantity I sold it to my brother, after the war of our Revolution, for one thousand dollars. The appraisers have now rated it at two thousand dollars, and called it about eleven acres. This sum is more than one-eighth of the real estate, but a good deal short of an eighth of the whole estate. If my sisters and their husbands were willing that I should have the Davis lot at \$2,000, I would take it, and the rather because it would immediately yield me something in hay. The real estate is thus valued by the appraisers, in the return made to the Probate Court: —

A pew in Doctor Prince's meeting-house	\$50.00
A lot on Chestnut, Pickering, and Green Streets, 91 poles . . .	3,000.00
A lot on Broad, Pickering, and Green Streets, 55 poles . . .	800.00
A lot of mowing land, called Davis's lot, about 11 acres . . .	2,000.00
A lot Pickering's Point, mowing land, about 12 acres	1,800.00
A lot Pickering's Point, pasture, about 15 acres	800.00
Great pasture land, on Salem Turnpike, about 240 acres . . .	5,500.00
4 rights in the Great Pasture, at \$90	360.00
	<hr/>
	13,810.00
The inventory of personal estate, chiefly bonds, notes, and public securities	9,876.88
	<hr/>
	\$23,186.88

"When, in December, 1778, I was moving my family to Philadelphia, my brother said to me, 'I shall give my estate to you or your son John.' At that time John was my only child. I never opened my lips to my brother on the subject. A few years ago he voluntarily gave to John the Broadfield, in full property, and the old mansion-house and lot, in remainder, after a life-estate therein of sister Gool.

"I should now have been comfortably situated but for the purchase of North Carolina lands, in 1795, for which I ran in debt. The first cost ten thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. I paid interest on that sum for several years, and finally cancelled the debt, when some gentlemen in Boston and Salem, by purchasing of my lands in Pennsylvania, put me in cash. For about thirteen years, I paid taxes for those North Carolina lands, in the whole about two thousand dollars, and, finally, I have been under the necessity of abandoning them. For, after being encouraged with prospects of ultimate advantage, and the hope of sales, these were all frustrated. A gentleman from that State, of great worth, and my sincere friend, whom I consulted during the last session of Congress, satisfied me that there was no chance of selling lands of that quality, within any time that could be named. The taxes were a burden too grievous to be borne, and which, indeed, I was utterly unable any longer to pay.

"I wish you to converse with your wife, and to inform me whether it would be agreeable to you to join with the other heirs (if they also consent) in conveying the Davis's lot to me, at the appraisement."

The requests of Colonel Pickering, as to the assignments of the particular items of real estate, mentioned above, to his sister Gooll and to himself, appear to have been complied with by the other heirs.

The Broadfield and family house, which had before been conveyed to Colonel Pickering's son John, descended to his son John, who possesses and occupies the "old mansion" at this day. It was built in 1651. It always has been, and still is, the homestead of the family, — a spacious and beautiful, as well as venerable, structure. There are not many dwelling-houses in the country of greater antiquity; few, if any, in better preservation; and probably not one which, for such a length of time, has been owned and occupied in unbroken generations by the same family, bearing the same name.

The following letter was to the proprietors of the "Port Folio:" —

" WENHAM, near Salem, February 8d, 1812.

" GENTLEMEN,

" One of my sons, in Salem, lately received, and has this day handed to me your bill for the 'Port Folio' during three years. Estimating highly the mental and literary talents of the deceased Mr. Dennie, and entertaining a sincere regard for the man, I cheerfully became a subscriber for the 'Port Folio,' and continued to take it until it was, as I supposed, well established. But, at or about the time I made my last payment, I wrote to him that my public avocations and domestic labors left me no time to read publications of the kind, and requested him to send me no more. The simple truth was, that, while attending to my duties in Congress, my time was sufficiently occupied; and, besides, I was out of the way of receiving the pamphlets which were in a regular course of transmission to Salem; and when at home some official duties, added to continual actual manual labor on

my little farm, left me no leisure to read what was much more important to me than the miscellanies of that or any other similar work.

“To my letter desiring my name to be struck off the list of subscribers I received Mr. Dennie’s answer, marked with the expressions of regard which he always manifested towards me, and desiring permission to send me the *Port Folio gratis*. This letter is probably among my papers, but I do not know where to lay my hands on it. Its terms, however, were such that I could not deny his request.

“Such are the impressions on my memory, and I presume you will deem them satisfactory in bar of your claim.

“I cannot undertake to say what may have been all Mr. Dennie’s motives to the gratuitous offer above mentioned; but perhaps he might have thought himself under obligation to me for introducing him, by giving him a place in my office, to Philadelphia,—a theatre for a literary man, if not the first, at least as ample as any, in the Union, and infinitely better suited to a useful and gratifying display of his brilliant talents than a small country village; and, although I should have spurned the idea of *claiming* any token of *return* from him, I could not repel the evidence of his grateful sensibility.”

On the eve of the Massachusetts State election in 1812, Colonel Pickering published, in the “Salem Gazette,” four “Letters to the Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,” warning them that the party then in power in the national and State governments was about to declare war against Great Britain. In the first, which appeared May 5th, he says:—

“I believe, until very lately, some confidence has been placed in our scarecrow plan of warfare, or that the din of our preparations would produce, on the part of Great Britain, a relaxation in her maritime system. It has entirely failed in its intended effect; and has, on the contrary, produced union in Great Britain, so that now our government has no choice

left but either to recede from the ground they have taken, or proceed to the *last resort*, — that is, WAR.” “To his own subjects, while he grinds them to powder by his exactions for his treasury and his armies, Bonaparte yet shows some respect; but to our rulers, in all his words and actions, for four years past, nothing but contempt. And finally he has told them explicitly that they were ‘*destitute of honor!*’ all which they have borne with the tameness of slaves. And yet these men now talk of *honor!* and are urging you into a war to defend it! No, fellow-citizens! it is a war to rescue *them* from *merited disgrace*, and not to save or defend the *honor* of our country. The French Emperor has contrived to twist a knot about our necks, as one of the members said, — ‘a knot which,’ he added, ‘must be cut by the sword of war.’ But war with whom? With him who twisted the knot? No; with Great Britain!”

The second letter, published May 8th, concludes as follows: —

“Thus, fellow-citizens, you were BETRAYED. Thus were your great interests sacrificed to promote the objects of the overwhelming ambition of the French Emperor, — to bring under his yoke all the nations of Europe. Our own subjugation would then be the work but of a single campaign, and the Universal Tyrant would tread upon a prostrate world.”

On the 12th of May, representatives to the General Court were elected in Salem, and the Federal ticket was chosen by a large majority. Similar results took place in other towns; and the State was revolutionized, Governor Gerry defeated, and Caleb Strong elected in his place.

The last two letters were published on the 15th. These papers, as effectual compositions, were never surpassed: fortified by argument, sustained by facts, glowing in style, and fervent with patriotism, they contributed eminently to the great reputation and influ-

ence of their author. In a few weeks, his prediction was verified, and war declared against Great Britain by the Congress of the United States.

In a letter to Jacob Wagner, of August 17th, 1812, in reference to the murderous riot in Baltimore, the most disgraceful occurrence in the political history of the country, Colonel Pickering says:—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I have received the ‘Federal Republican,’ issued from your house the day preceding the massacre, and the papers of the 3d, 5th, and 7th instant; the last announcing what was nearest to my heart,—the certain escape and safety of Mr. Hansom. You will know where to address him, to communicate my joy. The first report left him among the slain. No death since that of Hamilton excited so much regret. I viewed him as one of the brilliant lights and distinguished heroes of this country, destined to guide and save it. God be praised that this hope and expectation are not extinguished. I have now only to fear that his ardent mind will urge him to undue exertions before his complete recovery from his wounds. Go on, my excellent friends: you have the respect, the affection, and the prayers of all good men, and the best ground to rely on the protection of Heaven. Adieu.”

Colonel Pickering’s bold and powerful addresses to the people, public letters in the newspapers, speeches and course in the Senate, and active correspondence with leading men in all parts of the country, had made him the chief champion of the Federal cause. He had, all along, for years maintained that the inevitable tendency, and, as he declared his belief, the design, of the administration, was to plunge the country into a war with Great Britain, in furtherance of the objects of the French Emperor. The event had now occurred. His

foresight and wisdom were vindicated. A general concurrence in the sentiment of Chief Justice Marshall—*“events have fully demonstrated the correctness of your opinions on subjects the most interesting to our country”*—prevailed among the people. The idea was forcibly expressed in a sentiment pronounced at a Federal gathering in Maryland: “Colonel Pickering, who first rent the veil of Machiavelism, and exposed to the nation the hideous deformity of Jeffersonian policy.” This reputation for patriotism, statesmanship, and ability, as well as integrity and courage, began to prevail among his fellow-citizens, beyond the limits of his own party, as was soon strikingly proved.

As the fall elections approached, he was put in nomination to represent the Essex north district in the thirteenth Congress. The election took place November 2d, 1812. The “Salem Gazette” of the next day announced the result, that the “venerable and long-tried patriot, the Hon. Timothy Pickering, is elected by a vast majority of votes.” In some of the towns of the district, as in Gloucester, where, in the election for Governor, six months before, the Democratic party had cast three hundred and forty-one votes, and in Hamilton, where it had cast thirty-three votes, not a man could be found to vote against Colonel Pickering. In the course of this canvass, the Democratic press in the district and throughout the country had heaped the bitterest and most reckless slanders upon his name. When the votes came in, it was discovered that the great mass of the Democratic party could no longer be deceived or misled by their leaders on this point. Their verdict was a stern rebuke, and received as such. He was no longer the object of

political libels. However much men might differ from him on party questions, it was now evident that all respected him as an honest man and faithful public servant. There is no instance in American politics of a popular indorsement equal to that given on this occasion by the electors of the Essex north district of Massachusetts. The "Salem Gazette" of December 15th has the following article:—

"HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING.—The success of the unceasing and malicious efforts of the ruling party, for many years past, to destroy the character of this patriot of the Revolution, may be judged of by the following fact,—that in November last he was designated as a candidate to represent the district in which he lives in Congress (a district so compact that he is probably personally known to almost every individual voter), and that of two thousand three hundred and fifty-two votes he had two thousand two hundred and forty-nine; that is, all but one hundred and three. Thus, clad in the people's armor, he will again go forth to confront that party which Washington said was the *curse of our country*."

Some passages of letters received from friends in 1812 will illustrate the estimation in which he was held. Robert Walsh, writing from Philadelphia, January 12th, 1812, says:—

"I hasten to reply to the letter with which you have honored me. Nothing was necessary in the shape of an apology for any communication you might have been pleased to make to one who, from his boyhood, has always contemplated your character with reverence, and whose chief delight it is to know that he enjoys the esteem of such men as yourself. I can never be otherwise than anxious to hold communion with you in any way, and to obtain from you either advice or information on any of the topics which engage your private attention or affect the public welfare. I trust that you have not relinquished your labors of the closet. They will do good, if any can be done, among us."

Some correspondence between Colonel Pickering and the Rev. Joseph Pickering, in England, has been noticed in a previous volume. The following is from a letter dated Paddington, Middlesex, August 11th, 1812: —

“I beg you will accept my best acknowledgments for the letter which I had the honor and the happiness to receive from you by the hands of your son Henry, whose ingenuous countenance and pleasing manners will be a letter of recommendation wherever he may go. He is now upon a country tour. I wish he had better weather ; but he carries with him a cheerful disposition and an inquiring spirit. I trust, therefore, the influence of unpropitious weather will be counteracted by the many things he will find in the course of his journey to interest and to delight him ; and I hope to see him at his return well and happy.

“Be assured it will give me the greatest satisfaction to be of any use to him, and he shall receive from me every attention in my power ; but I live at a little distance from the metropolis, and in so humble a way that I cannot flatter myself with the expectation that a young man like him, with such good connections, and, no doubt, with such valuable recommendations, should give me much of his time and company.

“I can have no doubt that I should esteem him much for his own sake ; but I must always respect him, Sir, as the son of a gentleman so highly distinguished for his public principles and eminent talents, as well as for his private character. It were praise enough for any man to say that his name will go down to posterity, as your name will, with *that* of Washington ; but even more may now with truth be said, and it will be recorded that you have been true to *his* principles, even to the present hour, — that you have steered through life one steady course, and have lately dared, with patriotic zeal, to assert the true interests of your country against the mighty tide of power, and the overbearing stream of opinion, with too much success artfully instilled into the minds of a deluded people.

“I beg my best compliments to your son John ; and with very sincere wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and family, I remain, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

“JOSEPH PICKERING.”

Daniel Webster was elected to Congress from New Hampshire in 1812. He and Colonel Pickering entered the House of Representatives together. On the 11th of December, of that year, he wrote to Colonel Pickering, as follows, from Portsmouth : —

“No event of the kind could have caused me more regret than that my absence, when you were here, should have prevented me the pleasure of seeing you, and of paying you, in person, the respect which I feel for your character.

“Among the consequences which may probably grow out of recent events, I look forward to none with more pleasure than the opportunity which may be afforded of cultivating the acquaintance of one of the *masters* of the Washington school of politics. Wholly inexperienced in public affairs, my first object is to comprehend the objects, understand the maxims, and imbibe the spirit of the first administration ; persuaded, as I am, that the principles which prevailed in the cabinet and councils of that period, form the *only anchorage* in which our political prosperity and safety can find any *hold* in this dangerous and stormy time. If my progress in the science of Washington policy should be in proportion to my regard for its dead and *living* teachers, I shall have no occasion to be ashamed of my proficiency. Intending to visit Boston this winter, I contemplate paying you my respects at the place of your residence.

“I am, with the utmost respect, your obedient servant,

“DANIEL WEBSTER.”

Colonel Pickering's daughter, Mary, was married April 12th, 1813, to Benjamin Ropes Nichols, of Salem. Her father set out for Washington May 13th, 1813 ; reached New Haven on the 15th, and Washington on

the 22d. His accounts of journeys to and from the capital, at the opening and close of sessions of Congress, are worthy of preservation, as showing the state and incidents of travel in those days.

In a letter to his son Henry from Philadelphia, May 19th, he says:—

“To this place my journey has been safe, and reasonably expeditious. I reached New Haven on Saturday afternoon, embarked in a packet in the evening, and arrived the next day at New York in the afternoon. On Monday morning entered the steamboat for Brunswick, enjoying a beautiful view of the country, particularly on both sides of the Raritan. The boat did not move so fast as I expected, but the tide, as well as the wind, was against us. We did not reach Brunswick till after four, P.M., although we left New York at seven in the morning. At five, we left Brunswick in a stage, and were nine hours in getting to Trenton, passing, between Brunswick and Princeton, about sixteen miles of excessively bad road, more than half worse than I ever saw. I walked five or six miles where, sometimes, there was not even a dry footpath, but miry clay, from which, in some instances, I struggled to draw out my feet. Sometimes all the passengers were obliged to alight; the horses (though good) being equal only to the draught of the wagon and baggage. At Trenton, we again entered a steamboat at seven A.M., and reached this city at half-past one P.M.

“It will amuse the family and all my friends to learn that Governor Gerry was my fellow-traveller from eighteen miles on this side of Boston to this city. He was remarkably civil, and, therefore, I could not be a churl. At Hartford, the general election having been the day before, the town and all the taverns were full and running over, and Gerry and I were constrained to lodge in the same bed. The whole adventure was amusing, and my recital of it created no small degree of merriment among my friends, and I would detail it in this letter if time permitted.”

He describes the journey, in a letter to his wife, from Washington, May 24th: —

“The roads through Jersey and Maryland were worse, and far more dangerous, than I ever knew them; but I reached this city in safety, in perfect health, and, as usual, without fatigue. I arrived here on Saturday afternoon, the 22d, in company of some of my old acquaintances, who, preferring to pass through Baltimore, I came with them. There is now entire tranquillity in that place.

“You will probably have heard that Governor Gerry was my travelling companion. He was very civil, and I returned his civility. The most remarkable circumstance was that all the taverns in Hartford (where we arrived the first day from Boston) were full, and in the stage tavern only one bed was left. I then told Mr. Gerry (as it was now near midnight) that I would either release my claim to the bed, or we would draw lots for it, or each take one side of it. ‘That is very fair,’ said he; ‘we will each take one side.’ So we slept in the same bed! This I related to a friend in Hartford, and so ’twas soon reported abroad, and excited no little amusement. Some gentlemen there (whom I did not know, but who knew me), said, pleasantly, ‘that the millennium must be near at hand,’ seeing Gerry and I had lain down together. But which they would call the lion, and which the lamb, I do not know.”

The political antagonism between these two men had long been so sharp, and their personal relations, consequently, so hostile, that this enforced companionship, and ludicrous juxtaposition as occupants of the same bed, naturally gave rise to ‘no small degree of merriment.’ The newspapers entertained their readers by accounts and comments, and many particulars were enlarged upon, and anecdotes circulated, as to the way in which these belligerent politicians bore themselves to each other on

this journey. It was represented that passages of raillery occurred between them on the way which, though pointed, were jocular in their spirit. It is certainly much to the credit of both of them that, instead of sulkily ignoring each other, — near neighbors as they had been for the greater part of their lives, early friends and copatriots in the times that tried men's souls, throughout and long after the Revolutionary conflict, — they made the best of the necessity that had brought and kept them together by day and by night, engaged in free and easy conversation, and indulged, as was reported, in good-natured and familiar pleasantries and banterings. An article, from an Albany paper, went the rounds of the press, which is here presented.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING'S MANTLE. — The following is a matter-of-fact anecdote. The Vice-President and Mr. Pickering were fellow-travellers on their way to attend the late extra session of Congress. When on board the Burlington steamboat, the Vice-President having complained of being chilled through with cold, Mr. Pickering very politely offered him the use of his cloak. It was readily accepted, and the cloak was thrown over Mr. Gerry. ‘Now’ (said the Vice-President), ‘I shall do well, for the mantle of Timothy has fallen upon me.’ ‘I wish you may’ (replied Mr. Pickering), ‘for it is now, in very truth, the mantle of charity, and covers *a multitude of sins.*’ ”

The first session of the thirteenth Congress commenced May 24th, 1812, and terminated August 2d. Colonel Pickering was constant in his attendance, and took part occasionally in current debate, but made no extended or elaborate speech.

The following are extracts from his letters to his wife during this session : —

“ June 6th. The most interesting information I can give in what concerns ourselves and our family is, that I continue to enjoy my accustomed good health, and that I have received, not from my former friends only, a kind welcome, but respectful and hearty greeting from a multitude of strangers who had heard of me by the hearing of the ear, but manifested the most sensible gratification in seeing, and taking me by the hand. This attention was the most marked at the public dinner yesterday at Georgetown, where probably three hundred persons were assembled to celebrate the Russian victories. More strangers were introduced to me than I can reckon up. Many came from distances of thirty, forty, fifty, and even eighty miles to the celebration, and one from the State of Ohio. A more cordial greeting I never met with. The gentleman from Ohio sat by me a little while, and, at parting, giving me his hand, he said, ‘ I shall never see you again, but from the bottom of my heart I say, God bless you ! ’ He had travelled four hundred miles from home to be present at the celebration, and was so highly gratified that he told me that he would cheerfully have ridden some hundreds of miles farther than have missed of it.

“ Although so strongly armed in honesty as to fear no evil, and to soar above reproach, yet it was consoling and encouraging to me to witness such proofs of esteem, affection, and respect from strangers, thus strongly marking their approbation of my conduct as a public man, and with eagerness pressing forward personally to pay me what they evidently considered to be a well-deserved tribute. These things produce a calm satisfaction, and, joined with the knowledge that I possess the good opinion and cordial esteem of the most estimable of my fellow-citizens, who are known to me, infinitely outweigh all counter-opinions ; while the slanders of mine and my country’s enemies have long, long ceased to produce any other sensation than pity and contempt.

“ I am a fellow-lodger with seven gentlemen who were all strangers to me, but who are sensible and agreeable men. Mr. Hunter, Senator from Rhode Island ; Messrs. Kent, Geddes, and Howell, from the State of New York ; Messrs. Ridgley and Cooper, from Delaware State ; and Mr. Cyrus King (half-

brother to Rufus), from the District of Maine. We are at Mrs. Wadsworth's, on Capitol Hill, not an eighth of a mile from the Capitol."

"June 13th. To-morrow it is probable that the house will commence the consideration of some of the tax bills. It is expected that the Democrats will quarrel among themselves; and I am happy to find a disposition general among Federalists to let the war members wrangle and wage fierce conflict with one another. If they advance to the act of passing them, I hope not a Federal vote will go with them; and this hope, from the sentiments I hear expressed, I believe is well founded. The war men are well convinced of the necessity of providing funds to pay the interest of loans, though they appear to doubt their ability to borrow without imposing taxes; and yet dreading, as they do the king of terrors, to do acts so unpopular, they will, it is likely, take this course: pass the laws laying taxes, and suspend their operation until they learn the result of the peace mission to Russia; if peace take place, then all the tax laws to be void; and they will encourage the people to expect peace, to render them patient under the war, until the next meeting of Congress, in December."

"July 18th. Yesterday was my birthday, and this is yours. The variety of scenes through which we have passed makes the time seem long since we knew each other; but, without such recollection, the words of the Psalmist strike us as true,—‘Our lives pass away as a tale that is told.’ The strong attachment to life which the Deity has implanted in our natures was evidently essential to our being; or, in adverse events, mankind would rush into the arms of death to escape from present pain. As it is, a few have not fortitude to bear up under the ills which are incident to this state of existence. I confess that I look forward to the passage of a considerable number of years among my friends on earth; judging from the firmness of my constitution and seldom varying health. Yet I feel perfectly resigned to the will of heaven, if that be to shorten the number of my days."

Among the letters from his correspondents, at this

time, the following, from his dear friend and former cabinet associate, James McHenry, from its interesting character, deserves to be preserved in this Biography. Colonel McHenry reached his home, near Baltimore, and lived several years afterwards : —

“ CHERRY-TREE MEADOWS, July 24th, 1818.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ When we labored together in the same cabinet for the public welfare, I conceived for you a real esteem and sincere friendship. I could not mistake your character, and valued it according to its worth. It wanted the courtly charm of pliancy, but it possessed what is better, — the roughness of inflexible integrity and a candor that defied concealment. The calumnies that have since assailed you (in which I have also partook), as I knew them to be unmerited and unfounded, could in no ways lessen this esteem. To this hour, it remains undiminished. These calumnies I exposed in a letter I addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which was read in that branch, where it remains. I had a number of copies of this letter printed, but I distributed only a few of them, with an injunction not to publish their contents. This is the only trouble these calumnies ever gave me, and the only notice I ever took of them, public or private. Religion, I thank God, enabled me to forgive their inventors. As for those who, too ignorant to discern the motives in which they originated, and the purposes for which they were propagated, and who yet entertain them (for there are still such, I presume), they never stood in need of my forgiveness. I pitied them as mistaken and deceived enthusiasts. With respect to a different description of men, who knew their falsity, but, notwithstanding, will seize occasions, in cold blood, to keep them alive among the populace, I also forgive them, and I pray that they may be forgiven by God. Alas, how many crimes and evils, national and private, flow from inordinate ambition and unbridled party-spirit! In these days, how abundant the examples!

“ This is, perhaps, the last letter I shall ever write you. I

have, it is true, gained a little strength, which will encourage me to try whether, by short stages, I can regain my old home. My children there are extremely desirous to see me. I also wish to see them. The physicians, too, urge exercise as essential to recovery. I have determined, therefore, to make the experiment, and leave the issue to that Being whose providence is alike extended to individuals and nations, without whose privity a sparrow does not fall to the ground.

“May God lengthen your days, without mingling them with pains, sorrows, or misfortunes, and grant us a happy meeting, where there is neither pain, sorrow, or suffering.

“Your affectionate friend,

“JAMES MCHENRY.

“Hon. TIMOTHY PICKERING, Member of Congress.”

Before taking his seat in the thirteenth Congress, Colonel Pickering published in the “Salem Gazette” a series of letters to the people of the United States, ten in number, the first appearing March 12th, 1813, the last, April 20th. Their design and import are indicated in the language introducing them.

“Having it in contemplation publicly to express my sentiments on the enormous LOANS called for by our rulers, to enable them to prosecute the war against Great Britain, it seems proper first to make some observations on the war itself. For, if it be just and necessary, the best efforts of every citizen should be used for its effectual support and its speedy and successful issue; but if it be unjust and unnecessary, if it derives its origin from the malevolent and selfish passions, veiled in the garb of honor and patriotism, it cannot be too strongly marked with terms of reprobation.

“I have long entertained the opinion that the few men who, for the last twelve years, have moved all the springs of public action, directed all public measures, and aimed to fix the destinies of our country, intended to involve it in a war with Great Britain, to indulge their inveterate hatred of that country, to subserve the views of France, and to secure themselves

in the possession of power. For to the passions and prejudices of the people, in favor of the French and against the English, which those men have zealously and perseveringly excited and cherished, they are deeply indebted for the power now in their hands. This is so true that, for many years past, their partisans have deemed it sufficient to ruin any man in the eyes of the people to pronounce him a friend to Great Britain; or, in their language of vulgar abuse, a *British Tory*. And this is the lot of every independent citizen who expresses his abhorrence of the abominable acts of the French, and condemns the mischievous and unwarrantable measures of his own government.

“While France assumed and bore the name of a republic, professing the broadest principles of *liberty*; and uninformed, as were most men (myself among the number), as to the nature of *French liberty* and *French republicanism*, the American friends of France had an apology for their French partialities, — partialities for a ‘sister republic.’ But a few years were sufficient to show that, in the name of liberty, the rulers of republican France put in practice the most horrible and merciless *tyranny* at home, and the most ambitious and unprincipled projects of conquest in relation to all the neighboring nations; among them, overturning every government and State which bore the name of a republic. But this display of the most detestable tyranny and ambition by France abated nothing in the zeal of a certain portion of her American partisans for her cause: not even when the government of that country, seized by a single tyrant, exhibited the most ferocious, cruel, and bloody despotism that ever afflicted the Christian world; a demonstration that the professions of liberty and republicanism with which those French partisans filled the public ear were all false and hollow. The real lover of justice and liberty, the friend to the rights of mankind, must instinctively hate tyranny under every form, and however exercised, whether by many, by few, or by one.”

In this bold, vigorous, and fervid style he treats the questions growing out of the war with Great Britain, tracing it back to the policy of Jefferson, and holding

up those who brought it on, and continued to prolong it, to condemnation in the strongest light in which the subject could be presented from a Federal point of view. The last letter concludes thus : —

“ Of the general prosperity of the United States, when Mr. Jefferson entered on his Presidency, we have his own public testimony, that they were *then* ‘in the full tide of successful experiment.’ *Now*, we unfortunately know, *they are at dead low-water.*”

Soon after his return from Congress, he published in the “ Boston Daily Advertiser,” “ Letters to the People of the United States,” eight in number, presenting additional views of the public affairs of the day, and particularly discussing the “ Russian mediation.” The editor of the “ Advertiser” introduced them thus, in his paper of September 22d, 1813 : —

“ We are happy to lay before our readers, this day, the commencement of a series of letters, from a venerated statesman and patriot, on a subject which has excited the highest interest in the public.”

The first letter commences thus : —

“ I again address you, fellow-citizens, under my proper signature ; because, a primary object in view being to state *facts*, these ought to be supported by *evidence*, — by public documents, where applicable to the subject and attainable, or on my own testimony, or that of others, who in my opinion are entitled to credit. I am desirous, also, that the *observations* I make on *facts* may be presented to your consideration, with that degree of *interest* to which a long practical acquaintance with public affairs and public men gives me some claim. And I hope the time is at length arrived, when strong but unfounded prejudices, favorable to one set of men and adverse to another, may give place to wholesome, though to some, perhaps, still

unpalatable truths. On such a salutary change in the public mind, the salvation of our country depends."

The conclusion reached by the considerations and reasonings presented in this series of letters is, that "peace is attainable without more expense of blood or treasure," and on advantageous terms, "whenever our rulers shall seek it in sincerity and good faith."

The second session of the thirteenth Congress commenced December 6th, 1813, and terminated, April 18th, 1814. Colonel Pickering appeared December 7th. He paid vigilant attention to the proceedings of the house, occasionally speaking briefly on points as they rose. On Saturday, February 26th, he addressed the house in an elaborate speech, which was concluded on Monday, the 28th, on the loan bill. Writing to his son Henry, March 6th, he says: "I have a very long speech (long from a detail of numerous important facts) to write out from the imperfect notes of the stenographer, and which my associates of the minority propose to publish in a pamphlet."

A letter from Hosea Moffit, then a member of Congress from the State of New York, to a friend in Albany, dated March 1st, 1814, has recently been published, in which the speech is described as follows: * "Mr. Pickering spoke on Saturday and yesterday (Monday). He is an uncommon man, — about seventy; possesses his voice, recollection, his manner, as at thirty. He literally gave chapter and verse, and communicated more real information, than was disclosed in the whole fifteen days before." As printed in a pamphlet form, it occupies

* The Historical Magazine. Henry B. Dawson. New Series, Vol. VIII., No. 2. August, 1870, p. 112.

seventy-two pages. Some extracts will show its character; instructive, able, and spirited in its substance and style. It commences thus:—

“MR. CHAIRMAN,

“Yesterday a gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Wright), in the course of his observations on the loan bill, mentioned but one thing which I think at all necessary to notice, and that not connected with the bill: it was the old story of Jonathan Robbins; and he expressed a wish that I would inform the committee, whether the person so called was delivered up pursuant to orders from *me alone*, as the newspapers had often represented, or by the direction of the President of the United States.

“This story, Mr. Chairman, has so often been got up for party purposes, I will, from my present recollection, give an account of it; although, like other ‘lies so oft o’erthrown,’ it may be again revived, and again rung through the United States, to serve the same unhallowed party views.

“Being then Secretary of State, the application for the person called Jonathan Robbins, but whose real name was Thomas Nash, came to my hands. But, that the case may be correctly understood, I will read that article in our treaty with Great Britain (commonly called Mr. Jay’s treaty) which contains a mutual stipulation for the delivery of persons charged with murder or forgery.

“‘Article 27.—It is further agreed that his Majesty and the United States, on mutual requisitions by them respectively, or by their respective Ministers or officers authorized to make the same, will deliver up to justice all persons who, being charged with murder or forgery, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other; provided that this shall only be done on such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed.’

“The President (Mr. Adams) having been consulted, and his express directions received, I wrote to Judge Bee, then

the district Judge of the United States for South Carolina, to this effect, — that if the case of Thomas Nash came within the purview of the treaty, — that is, if the evidence of his criminality was such as would authorize his apprehension and commitment for trial, in case the offence charged had been committed within our own territory, — then he was to be delivered up to the British officer demanding him. This was done.

“ It will be in the recollection of gentlemen, that this man, Thomas Nash, with other ruffians of the crew of the British frigate ‘Hermione,’ rose on their officers and murdered them, and carried the frigate into a Spanish port in the West Indies; Spain being then at war with Great Britain. Nash was discovered and arrested at Charleston, and the proceedings took place which I have stated. But Nash had assumed the name of Jonathan Robbins, and said he was an American citizen, born at Danbury, in Connecticut. This declaration of the ruffian, though entitled to no credit, was sufficient for the partisans of opposition to raise a hue-and-cry against the Federal administration, which they wished to pull down. I therefore wrote to the selectmen and town-clerk of Danbury (which was a small country village), requesting them to make diligent inquiry, whether any person of the name of Jonathan Robbins had been born there within a period which I supposed would go beyond the age of Thomas Nash. They sent me certificates that no person of the name of Jonathan Robbins had been born in Danbury within forty or fifty years then last past. These certificates having been communicated to Congress, and published, put down the party clamor, and for a while the slanderers were silent; but the ghost of Jonathan Robbins has since been repeatedly conjured up, particularly when at any time it was convenient to bring a railing accusation against me.

“ I fear, Mr. Chairman, that, in discussing the subject before the committee, I shall disappoint the expectations of my friends, without satisfying myself. For though I have been long in public life, I have been but little used to public speaking. The memory, the arrangement, and the comprehensive view of a subject, which are necessary to a public speaker, in

me are deficient. I shall endeavor, however, to lay before the committee facts which I deem important, with such just inferences as shall occur to me; relying on the discernment of gentlemen to supply the rest.

“A gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) has told you that the object of the minority was to destroy the faith of the government by preventing the loan. I am, indeed, opposed to the loan; but I distinguish between the faith of the administration and the faith of my country. The credit of the country is good, and, under a proper administration, acting in a cause in which the great interests and welfare of the *country* were at stake, the loan would be effected. My aim is to put an end to this unjust and ruinous war; and, therefore, I will oppose all supplies for carrying it on. It is the duty of Congress to withhold supplies, pursuant to a power vested in them by the Constitution, when necessary to prevent any administration from persevering in measures injuriously affecting the public welfare.

“The same gentleman told us that it was a maxim among the Romans, ‘that their country was never to be presumed to be in the wrong.’ Had not the Roman people been influenced by this maxim; on the contrary, had they questioned the rectitude of the measures of their government, and reasoned on the causes and pretences for their perpetual wars,—the ancient world might not have been deluged with blood; while nations sunk beneath the arms directed by the ambitious leaders of that republic, as the continental nations of modern Europe have fallen before the arms of France; which, both in her republican and imperial state, appears to have taken Rome for her model. Any government may err, either ignorantly or corruptly, and, in either case, its measures tending to public mischief ought to be opposed.

“The same gentleman, adverting to the alleged causes of the war, the *British orders in council* and *impressments*, said he would first consider impressments, ‘because a man is preferable to a bale of goods.’ Yet *property* is the ground of almost all the quarrels among mankind, as well between nations as individuals. It was *property*, affected by the orders in council, which was professed to be the principal cause of

this war. *Property* was, in fact, the primary cause of the contest with our mother country, which terminated in the war of our Revolution. Great Britain imposed small duties on a few articles of our imports from her, and claimed a right to impose others by an act of Parliament ; and thus to take from us our *property* without our consent.

“ The gentleman from South Carolina, with his *usual courtesy* of language, said that, ‘ to the shame of gentlemen in the opposition, they tried to diminish the number of impressed seamen ; ’ that gentlemen most nearly concerned in the protection of seamen were opposed to the measures of government intended for their relief, and felt less sympathy for our seafaring citizens than those who had no immediate connection with them. These are very extraordinary charges ; and the supposition is so unnatural that those whose fathers, sons, and brothers are exposed to impressments should feel less sympathy for them than was felt by gentlemen from the interior, and who never saw a sailor or ship till they came to this city, that the gentleman ought to have paused before he brought this accusation against us. He ought to have doubted its correctness. We do feel for our seafaring brethren as we ought, but have no purpose to answer by gross exaggerations of the numbers impressed. We wish to come at the truth of facts. That there should exist such superior and extreme sensibility for impressed seamen among those who have no immediate connection with them, is, in the nature of things, incredible. We are authorized to doubt the sincerity of such professions ; and the gentleman who allows himself to call the members on this side of the house a ‘ factious opposition ’ must excuse me if I say that I do not believe those professions to be sincere.

“ The gentleman from South Carolina said that, ‘ if the facts and nature of the case were not disguised, there would be but one mind among the people. ’ Here I am happy to agree with the gentleman. The subject has, indeed, been disguised, — *but not by us*. I will strip it of its disguise, by which the people have been deceived, and endeavor to present it in the simple garb of truth.

“ In the debate on the bill for filling the ranks of the army,

in order to continue the war, one reason assigned was, 'to redeem the military character of the country.' Sir, I do not think it needs redemption, — I mean that I do not think our *country* disgraced. The like materials for an *army* exist as in the time of our Revolutionary war. But soldiers are not formed in a day. New officers and new men require much and long instruction. Soldiers taken from the tranquil walks of civil life must pass through a course of strict discipline, and be gradually inured to dangers, to acquire the steadiness necessary to meet, on equal terms, the regular troops of an enemy. The uniform exercise of the musket is the easiest part that soldiers have to learn. To march, to wheel, to change their positions as the scenes of action change, and yet preserve their order, are the difficult parts of duty. If, without such essential preparation, our troops have been led into action, disasters were to have been expected.

“Entirely different is our naval war. There both officers and men have already learnt to march on the mountain wave; and their minds are familiar with danger, — with the perils of storms and tempests that would appal the hearts of landmen. They are also, as seamen, perfectly skilled in all the movements and manœuvres rendered necessary by changes of the wind or the conduct of the enemy; and nearly all they want besides, at the breaking out of war, is to learn the exercise of cannon, — a work of ten or fifteen days. Hence it was, that, very early after the commencement of the war of our Revolution, our armed vessels met those of the enemy on equal terms, reckoning man for man, and gun for gun. And for myself I wanted no new proofs of our ability to meet an equal enemy on the seas. That in the encounters which have happened in the present war a superiority has appeared on the side of the American armed vessels is not surprising, when it is considered that, by the war, nearly all our seamen were thrown out of employment; the declaration of war having put an end to our fisheries and almost annihilated our mercantile navigation, whence it happened that our naval officers had it in their power to man their vessels with a superior class of sailors. The enemy, on the other hand, manning thousands of merchant vessels, and many hundred vessels

of war, had their choice of seamen lessened. For a long time, too, they had been almost without an enemy on the ocean; and their only enemy there they had been accustomed almost uniformly to beat, and, consequently, to *despise*. Hence they had grown over-*confident* and *careless*; circumstances which, even when the forces should be equal, could hardly fail to produce defeat and disgrace.

“The gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. Robertson), at the beginning of his observations on the loan bill, spoke of a gentleman, for some years an honorable member of this house, whom he denominated ‘a distinguished Jacobin of the eastern States.’ Sir, after the just vindication of Mr. Quincy’s character by one of my colleagues (Mr. Baylies), little is left for me to add. I well knew Mr. Quincy’s father. No man was more zealously and ardently engaged in the measures of resistance to the unconstitutional acts of Great Britain which preceded the actual war of our Revolution. At the instance of eminent patriots of that day, he undertook a secret embassy to England, to effect objects deemed important to the maintenance of our rights. I, perhaps, was the last of his friends who saw him immediately before he embarked. He went, and was returning, but enfeebled in health. Just as he approached his native land, he expired. Honored and gratefully remembered, for his pure patriotism, abilities, and virtues, it is the high and laudable ambition of the son to imitate his sire; and in the same honorable pursuits, to render himself eminently useful to his country.

“The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Forsyth), in mentioning the opposition of the minority to the loan bill, and other war measures, a cribed it to their ‘malignant prejudice.’

[Mr. Forsyth rose to explain, and said he did not mean to comprehend *generally* the party in opposition to the government, but some only, or a few.]

“Well, Sir, I do not see that I am excepted in this explanation. The gentleman’s remark having been made in this house, must be considered as applicable to some, at least, of its members. But, Sir, my character is not to be affected by any such charges: for (and slandered as I have been, I trust I shall be excused for saying) it stands on the rock of integrity

and truth, and not all the powers of Democracy and Hell can shake it.

“ ‘Unhallowed ambition (said the gentleman) sits upon their bosom, stifling reason, and subduing the better feelings of the heart!’ and then in the language, but not with the tone of lamentation and regret, added, ‘They must die in their sins, unanointed and unaneled!’ Sir, to this gentleman, and to all others who hold the same sentiments, I will content myself with applying the words of Job to his upbraiding friends: ‘No doubt *ye* are the *men*, and *wisdom* shall die *with you*.’

“The gentleman’s colleague (Mr. Cuthbert) who spoke before him, and who has so lately taken a seat in this house that I had not seen him before, rose and spoke on the same side of the question, and with extreme vehemence, — with apparent fire and fury; but, on taking a chair nearer to him, I found that, in the midst of the storm, his face wore a benignant smile. This gentleman (Mr. Cuthbert) candidly uttered a truth more important than any I have heard from the same side of the house. He said, ‘Great Britain has rescued the nations of Europe.’ Yes, Sir; when those nations had been subdued, or awed into submission, by the power of France, Britain, undismayed, persevered in her mighty efforts to restore them to their independence; and, in the glorious result, has proved herself to have been justly entitled, ‘*The world’s last hope*.’

“But the gentleman from Georgia, to whom I have repeatedly alluded (Mr. Forsyth), said that Great Britain was not fighting for the liberties of the world, that we erred in ascribing to her the safety of nations, and asked what influence had the mighty navy of Great Britain in deciding the battle of Moscow? what in gaining the victory of the allies at Leipsic? Sir, if I had heard these questions asked anywhere but on the floor of this house, I should have said they were very shallow questions. The British *fleet*, it is true, could not sail on the plains of Moscow, nor navigate a branch of the river Elbe at Leipsic. But when the nations of the Continent had sunk under the arms of France, Britain fighting for her existence, successfully maintained the combat. She

did much more. With her *fleets* commanding on the seas, she transported her armies to Portugal; encouraged and taught her inhabitants to fight, and with their united force defeated and expelled the armies of France. Portugal re-deemed, the British and Portuguese entered Spain, uniting theirs with the Spanish arms, to deliver that country also from the yoke of France; and this, too, after years of hard fighting, has been accomplished,—the *fleets* of Britain all the time transporting strong reinforcements of troops, and stores of all kinds, alike indispensable and immense, for such great and long-continued operations. The *fleets* of Britain also, still commanding on the seas, compelled her enemy to transport, slowly and expensively, by land, every thing requisite for his projected conquest of Russia, and the maintenance and relief of the fortified places accessible by water. But, still further, the *fleets* of Britain gave scope for the exercise of the unconquerable spirit and the energies of her people, in those great enterprises which, by their example and effects, kept alive or rekindled in the nations of Europe the spirit to resist, and, finally, to overthrow the universal tyrant.

“The same gentleman asked, for what were the Spanish patriots contending? and he answered, it was to determine who should be their master, Bonaparte or Bourbon; adding, that to *us* it was immaterial whether Joseph or Ferdinand ruled Spain. And was it indeed a matter of indifference to us and to the world, whether Bonaparte added another kingdom to his European dominions, and that kingdom Spain, with her immense territories and resources in both the Indies? For who does not know, that, with his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, the French emperor would have commanded him and all his subjects?

“The same gentleman from Georgia also asked, whether the minority did not expect that indemnities would have been demanded of France, for all the injuries we had sustained from the execution of the Berlin and Milan decrees? And then affirmed that such indemnities would have been demanded, although the eagles of Bonaparte had been erected on the walls of Moscow! So, Sir, in the words of the poet, often quoted, you may ‘call up spirits from the vasty deep,’

but will they come when called? Sir, the President himself, who has so often mentioned the *just expectations*, the *authorized expectations*, of such indemnities, cannot expect any will be obtained. General Armstrong, when our Minister in France, having, in a letter to Mr. Madison, mentioned the enormous spoliations of American property, particularly, I think, under the Rambouillet decree, declared, *that their very magnitude forbade all hope of restoration*. Sir, there is not a member of this house, that sets any value on his reputation as a man of sense, who will expose himself to ridicule by saying that he expects France will give indemnities for her immense depredations on our commerce, which amount to at least thirty millions of dollars. Mr. Chairman, I will notice but one thing more which fell from the gentleman from Georgia: He said he would continue the war a hundred years, rather than subject American seamen to impressment! Sir, without questioning the profound wisdom of this sentiment, I will barely remark that, were the war to be continued but for a small portion only of that period, we should have neither ships nor seamen; a consummation, as I have before observed, undoubtedly corresponding with the wishes of Mr. Jefferson and his genuine disciples.

“But, Mr. Chairman, attempts have been made to justify this war for ‘sailors’ rights,’ by the doings of the Federal administration under the Presidents Washington and Adams; and passages in my own official letters on the subject have been read, and with a tone and emphasis which it was thought, perhaps, would strike me dumb. Of those letters, written from thirteen to seventeen years ago, when Secretary of State, I had no particular remembrance. The administration have now hunted them up with great diligence, and, for my own part, I feel no regret. Always accustomed to think freely, and to speak and write what I think, I have never any dread of exposure. Thinking too humbly of myself to imagine that I can avoid errors in opinion, I am, when convinced, not too proud to acknowledge them. But, Sir, on reading the passages referred to, I do not find this apology to be necessary.

“For the purpose of exciting keener resentments among the people against Great Britain, her ships of war have been

called by the most opprobrious names,—dungeons and *floating hells*,—and the condition of our impressed seamen on board of them a state of *slavery*. Yet, Sir, there is not an American naval officer who would not feel it a reproach, if told that the discipline on board his ship was less exact or inferior to that of British ships. It is that exact discipline which enables both to exert their utmost force. That our *seamen* entertain no such frightful ideas of British ships of war, is certain, because considerable numbers voluntarily entered, and some have declined being discharged. But the same parcel of documents which I am now examining furnish proof in point. It is in a letter from Mr. Pinckney, dated in London, the 18th of March, 1793, to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State. He says, ‘Our trade continues subject to great inconveniences, both from our seamen being impressed, from the idea of their being British subjects, *and from their entering voluntarily on board of the king’s ships, tempted by the present high bounties.*

“But the honorable speaker (Mr. Cheves) thinks, that to have treated without a previous suspension of impressments would have been an abandonment of the rights we claim on the subject. What, then, would have been the effect on Great Britain? Her government is at least as confident of the right to impress British subjects from neutral merchant vessels (and I think I have shown that this confidence is well founded) as our government is of the right of neutrals to be exempted from such impressments. If, then, the British government had, as a preliminary to negotiation, *restored* all pressed seamen, and ordered the entire practice to be *discontinued*,—this, according to the reasoning used in this case, would have been an abandonment of the British rights. And was it reasonable to make such a demand?

“The honorable speaker, if I understood him correctly, supposed our government to have given proofs of its desire to obtain peace on terms which the minority themselves would approve; and if the majority should accept less, they would prostrate the honor, dignity, and independence of the country; meaning, I presume, that the entire abolition of impressments would be indispensable to preserve our honor, dignity,

and independence. I will put a case. Suppose, what seems likely to happen, that, by the aid of Great Britain, the independence of Holland should be restored, and with that her commerce: and suppose the latter, as formerly, should be spread on the ocean, and that British seamen found on board Dutch merchant vessels should be impressed and taken from them. Does any gentleman imagine that the states of Holland would consider their sovereignty to have been thereby invaded?

“The honorable speaker mentioned the British strength in their finances; but that their expenses were immense. So likewise are their resources. He remarked that this American war was maintained by Great Britain at a vast expense, — double to that of the United States. This, Sir, may well be doubted. Just the reverse may be presumed. It has been often said, and I have not heard it contradicted, that the flour furnished to the Western army cost the United States a hundred dollars a barrel, including the enormous expense and waste in the transportation. And two gentlemen who were in the last Congress stated to me this striking fact concerning the forage supplied to that army. A wagon started with forty bushels of corn. The team of horses consumed eighteen bushels in going; the driver reserved eighteen bushels to feed them in returning, and delivered *four* to the army. It is presumed, then, that this wagon was employed not less than six and thirty days; the hire of which, and the cost of the thirty-six bushels of corn eaten by the horses, must have amounted to at least two hundred dollars; so the corn delivered to the army cost fifty dollars a bushel! And, from all we have heard, unexampled extravagance and waste are exhibited in every scene of this miserable warfare.

“The honorable speaker further remarked, that to Great Britain this war promised neither glory nor profit. And does it promise either to us? And which, from the degree of suffering, will first be weary of it? Another motive, he said, would urge Britain to be at peace with us, — to enjoy the benefit of our commerce. And would the renewal of that commerce be less beneficial to us than to her? ‘But she is engaged in a GREAT CAUSE in Europe,’ and therefore must

desire peace with the United States. Yes ; Britain had been pouring out, and was continuing to pour out, rivers of blood and floods of money, to rescue Europe from the grasp of the universal tyrant, and restore independence to the nations. This was indeed a GREAT CAUSE ; and was this a time to attack her, — to press her with the burthen of the American war ? I leave the question to the reflections of that gentleman and his friends.”

The foregoing extended extracts have been given from Colonel Pickering's speech on the loan bill, partly from their intrinsic value, but also to show his mastery of the subjects brought into the debate, and his manner of meeting opponents in argument, and in political discussion. The peculiarity of the speech is, that it makes no display of what is called eloquence : there is not a single attempt, from beginning to end, to produce an oratorical effect. Its strength is wholly in presenting facts and truths in plain and forcible language, and in the perfect knowledge of the subject it exhibits at all points. As such it made the impression described by Mr. Moffit, a member of the house at the time. A correspondent of the Baltimore “Federal Republican,” writing from Georgetown, says : —

“On Saturday, Colonel Pickering occupied the floor in opposition to the loan bill. He commenced a little before one P.M., and spoke three hours, when the committee rose before he had closed his speech. Colonel Pickering took a most able view of the conduct of this government since the commencement of that most foolish and loathsome policy which has laid in ruins the commerce of this country. The Colonel reviewed, from the commencement, our dispute with England relative to impressment, by *facts, stubborn facts*, which cannot be disputed or evaded ; he demonstrated that it never was even dreamt of as a cause of war until it came forth in the Message of the President, introductory to this

war. He trampled beneath his feet the puerile declamation of Mr. Calhoun upon that subject. And, unless we are much mistaken, that presumptuous stripling will not soon forget the manly rebukes and triumphant retorts which issued from the lips of this venerable patriot, able statesman, and Revolutionary soldier. He this day concludes his speech; and, we have no doubt, will review the war and its progress with unequalled ability."

Among the numerous encomiums on this speech received from various quarters, none could be of higher value than the following.

John Jay wrote to Colonel Pickering, in reference to it:—

"It certainly is desirable that the tracts which explain and elucidate our national measures should be substantiated and recorded. They will be useful to statesmen as well as to historians, and tend, in some degree, to abate the delusion which, like a moral influenza, has infected so large a portion of our citizens. Many of the speeches in Congress which I have seen are reputable to our country. I wish a select number of them were in volumes, and deposited in our town libraries.

"Your pen has given to the people and to posterity much useful information, and many patriotic admonitions. The times are daily affording it new and interesting topics.

"With real, and I may say, habitual esteem and regard, I am yours."

Chancellor Kent writes:—

"Permit me to say that I do, and have long held, the doctrines contained in your speech, and which, I think, you have most clearly illustrated.

"You have more undeniably than any writer I have seen exposed the baseness of the motives, and the hypocrisy of the manner, of our first embargo, and the restrictive laws that followed it.

“As the storm has gone over, and something like a serene sky smiles again, I look forward to better times.

“Be assured, Sir, that I feel the utmost respect for your public and private character.”

Some passages of his correspondence at the time, relating mostly to personal matters, are subjoined. The following are from letters to his wife:—

“Washington City, December 19th, 1813. There will be six members of Congress lodging on Capitol Hill who have their wives with them. With all their husbands I am intimately acquainted. I have before informed you that Mrs. Tallmadge and Mrs. Oakley were my fellow-travellers. You know my sentiments of Mrs. Horsey (my favorite Miss Lee); and Mrs. Reed, of Marblehead, is a sensible and very agreeable woman. Mrs. Hunter, of Rhode Island, I have seen but once. Mrs. Ridgely (whose husband was a very pleasant fellow-lodger the last session) is yet to come. Mr. King and Mr. Gore, with their wives, are at Georgetown, better than three miles distant.”

“January 1st, 1814. We have now entered on a new year; I pray God, it may be to us and ours a happy one, and that we may have many future occasions for mutual congratulations. Give my kindest love to every member of the family.”

“January 9th, 1814. Among other things which I have been reading since I came here, is ‘Boswell’s Life of Johnson.’ I had occasionally read parts of it when the books were in the hands of our children at home; but I did not read enough to know its great value. It furnishes more entertainment, and more instruction for our conduct in life, than any book that ever fell in my way. But its beauties and excellencies can be *fully* known only to the classical scholar. Of course a portion of it would be lost to me; yet much more is intelligible to me than to the mere English reader. Hence I promise myself a fresh feast of intellectual pleasure reading it on my return to you and the children. There are lessons of wisdom in

every page which will bear repetition until they are indelibly impressed on the mind."

"January 16th. Although I have nothing of special consequence to communicate, I feel unwilling to let one week pass without some evidence of my remembrance.

"I have gone through with 'Boswell's Life of Johnson,' in which I find more to instruct and amuse me than in any work I ever read. It deserves to be read repeatedly, as a *manual*; as what, though not always *in hand*, should be at hand. It demands the more attention and study to understand Johnson's profound reflections on human life and manners. Perhaps I read it with the greater pleasure, because in every page almost I met with those *frank* expressions of his opinions and feelings (the opposite of flattery and suppression of sentiments) which some would call rude, or, at least, *imprudent*, and for which, you know, my friends sometimes censure me. We are always pleased to meet with a congeniality of sentiment in persons of consideration, whose characters for discernment and knowledge give weight to their opinions.

"I confess, however, that Dr. Johnson's answers and remarks were sometimes too rough and severe to be excusable. Of this he was so sensible that frequently he made voluntary atonement to the offended party. But an apology offers for *him* not applicable to other men. A mind so exalted above all who came in his way, even his most distinguished associates, would be more sensibly affected with improprieties, bad reasoning and bad taste, and burst into a strong or violent expression of contradiction or rebuke.

"There are some spices of superstition both in him and Boswell which derogate from their characters; and in Johnson stronger prejudices, especially in relation to religious subjects, than I have ever observed. Johnson was a High Church of England man and a Tory, but a moral and a pious Christian. His scrupulous regard to truth charms me."

"January 30th. Last Sunday I was absent from this city, having on Wednesday afternoon of the 19th gone with my friends Grosvenor and Hanson to Annapolis, to join in the celebration of the victories of the Russians and their allies

over Bonaparte; and we did not get back until Sunday evening the 23d. I had never been at Annapolis. It is still the seat of government for Maryland, and is called a city, though it is but a village, containing less than eight hundred inhabitants. But the situation is uncommonly pleasant.

“ You will recollect that, on my way home from this city last summer, I went by Fredericktown, and there lodged at the house of Mr. John Hanson Thomas. At Annapolis we lodged at his sister’s, Mrs. Magruder, whose husband is a lawyer. We were most kindly entertained. On Thursday we had the public dinner, and on Friday evening Mrs. Magruder gave a ball, which brought together all the belles of the town. For there is a very genteel society there, the most important public offices being kept at Annapolis, and a number of men of fortune residing there. But in personal beauty I saw not one equal to a certain Wenham girl. The legislature was sitting, and many of the Federal gentlemen were at the ball, which, being unexpected, and suddenly given, the gentlemen were unprovided with shoes and silk hose; *so all danced in their boots*. We passed the evening very pleasantly, and the next day (Saturday) set off on our return; stopping (pursuant to invitation) to dine at Captain Murray’s, formerly a naval officer, whose wife is the sister of Mrs. Hanson. Here we lodged, and enjoyed an exceedingly agreeable society. The next day we were pressed to dine at a Mr. Donaldson’s, whose wife is another sister of Mrs. Hanson, at Upper Marlborough, fifteen miles from Washington; but finding that this would prevent our getting to Washington to attend Congress on Monday, I was obliged positively to decline; so Grosvenor and I pursued our journey to this city.

“ Mrs. Magruder took me in her carriage, with two young ladies, her neighbors, who were at the ball, about five miles, to a ferry, where we parted. Giving her my hand, I discerned a signal (which I could not mistake) for a *kinder greeting*; after which I could not, you know, be so ungallant as to pass by the *younger* ladies. After I was gone, the rest of the company arrived (Hanson’s wife and sister, and another young lady), to whom Mrs. Magruder (as Grosvenor informed me) pleasantly related the occurrence just now mentioned;

saying she was the first lady in Maryland who had received a kiss from Colonel P., and the young ladies were not *displeased*. There is an ease and cordiality (accompanying good breeding) among the ladies here, to which we are very much strangers in Massachusetts, and they are well educated. If Congress should rise at a convenient time in the spring, our very kind friends on this tour extorted a promise from Grosvenor and me that we would make them another visit on our way to the northward. And Mr. Bayley, a member of Congress from what is called the Eastern Shore of Virginia, has repeatedly pressed me to go with him to visit his district, where (as almost everywhere) I have some excellent friends."

"February 6th. On Thursday last I dined with Mr. Smith, a merchant at Georgetown, with a good deal of company, — a number of them members of Congress. After quitting the table, we went to the drawing-room, where some ladies were assembled. There Mr. Smith introduced me to an old lady of seventy, his mother. He then told me that for a good while his mother had not left her chamber, but had come below on purpose to see me. She remembered General Washington prior to the Revolution, when he was a Colonel. She venerated his character, and entertained a great respect for his old associates and genuine disciples.

"On Friday I dined with another wealthy merchant at Georgetown, *Washington Bowie*, together with a few other members of Congress who, like me, purposely avoided any visit to the Palace. Other gentlemen, his friends, dined with us, making up a pretty large company. Among them was Mr. Chapman, a lawyer and respectable citizen of Maryland, who recognized me. The pleasure he expressed in meeting me was striking. He said he had several times when a subaltern mounted guard at my quarters at New Windsor, and that he always dined with me and had a lodging on such occasions. He appeared to remember with much satisfaction these civilities, — a satisfaction, mingled with respect, such as I meet from every distinguished Federalist to whom I am introduced. His attentions, however, were the more marked from the recollection of our joint services in the Revolutionary war. He was then a youth only about eighteen years old. Mrs.

Bowie, perhaps five and thirty years old, an agreeable and very amiable woman, dined with us. She is the mother of seven children, the oldest not fourteen. In the evening, when I was about departing, the children (or most of them) were introduced to me. I gave each my hand. Their father told them who I was, and bid them remember it. Then, walking towards the door of the room, Mr. Bowie called to me. "Here is one more." I stepped back. He had a fair, sweet child standing on his knees. It was a girl three years old. I kissed her and retired.

"Such incidents in my life I know will give you pleasure, and therefore I recite them. The substantial and marked respect and affection (of which I receive abundant proofs wherever I go) of persons of the first standing in society, infinitely more than compensate me for the obloquy cast at me by the leaders and supporters of vice and Democracy throughout the United States. Indeed, the slanders of these wretches never disturb my repose, or for a moment abate the tranquillity of my mind. I trust that you and my children alike despise the slander and the slanderers."

"April 8th. To-day Colonel Thorndike told me he had a carriage at Philadelphia to take home with him, and invited me to be his companion."

"April 10th. I have concluded to accept of Colonel Thorndike's invitation to take a seat with him in his new coach from Philadelphia."

Congress rose on the 18th of April. Colonel Pickering wrote to his wife on the 16th: "I shall start that morning before day for Baltimore, with some other members; and, if the British ships do not obstruct the passage, expect to embark on Monday afternoon in the steamboat to go up Chesapeake Bay, and to reach Philadelphia on Tuesday before night." From Philadelphia the two friends rode leisurely, at short stages without change of horses, visiting persons and places by the way, and lying by in bad weather, to their homes in Beverly and Wenham.

CHAPTER VII.

Board of Commissioners for Sea-Coast Defence, and Board of War in Massachusetts. — Elected to the fourteenth Congress from Essex South District. — Third Session of thirteenth Congress. — Correspondence. — Speech on military Peace Establishment. — Correspondence. — First Session of the fourteenth Congress. — Correspondence. — John Randolph of Roanoke. — Colonel Pickering declines a Re-election to Congress.

1814-1816.

IN the war of 1812, while in conflicts between fleets on the lakes, and ship to ship on the ocean, the United States were brilliantly successful, their navy was not large enough to appear with combined strength at sea. British squadrons could hover over the coasts without resistance. In 1814, a series of attacks were made by them in force, with large numbers of accompanying troops at various points on the Atlantic shore. One of them penetrated to Washington itself, captured and sacked the city, and dispersed the government. President Madison escaped by flight. It became necessary to summon the States to their own defence. Massachusetts, then comprising what is now the State of Maine, presented a long interior frontier, open, undefended, and indefensible. Its coast — with the exception of a small strip, where New Hampshire presents a narrow front to the sea, extending from the Vineyard Sound to Eastport — was fringed along its whole length by accessible harbors, which were constantly threatened by squadrons of the enemy. They captured Eastport, and advanced to the

mouth of the Penobscot, taking possession of Castine, and holding the country to that point.

A "Board of Commissioners for Sea-Coast Defence" having been appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts, under the authority of the legislature, was organized in September, 1814. Although Colonel Pickering was necessarily absent from the State much of the time, attending to his duties in Congress, his experience through the war of the Revolution, his energy and wisdom, and great executive ability, made it important that he should have a seat in this body, and afford it the benefit of his advice and co-operation. His associates were General David Cobb, some years Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, chairman of the board; General John Brooks, then Adjutant-General of the State, and afterwards Governor,—both of them eminent and distinguished officers in the Revolutionary war; Israel Thorndike and Thomas H. Perkins.

A "Board of War" for Massachusetts was subsequently organized, at the head of which Colonel Pickering was placed.

In June, 1814, an act had been passed redistricting Massachusetts for the choice of members of Congress. By this act the town of Wenham was detached from the North Essex district, and appended to the South Essex district, which was ordinarily regarded as a stronghold of the Democratic party. Under the pressure of the embargo and war, it had for several recent Congresses been carried by the Federalists; but, before and after, it was accustomed to elect Democrats. Colonel Pickering had been defeated in it in 1802; and, upon his final retirement from Congress in 1816, it elected a Democratic

candidate. Perhaps the object of the Federal legislature, in transferring Wenham to the Essex south district, was to save it; there being no doubt that Colonel Pickering would be adopted as the Federal candidate, which he was, on Friday, November 4th, 1814. The "Salem Gazette" had the following article:—

"FEDERALISTS,

"On Monday next you will be called on to vote for a Representative in Congress. The HONORABLE TIMOTHY PICKERING is our candidate. The nomination is sufficient to ensure the zeal of his native county. He has devoted his life to the service of his country, with uniform ability and integrity. He has opposed all those measures which have brought us to the brink of ruin. He has predicted all their consequences. Such men would have saved us from our present calamity and danger. Such men alone can restore us to peace and prosperity. Colonel Pickering is a suitable man for the present tremendous crisis. He is entitled to, and will receive, the zealous support of

"ESSEX SOUTH DISTRICT."

The vote of Salem was four hundred and sixty-six for Pickering, and sixty for the Democratic candidate. In four of the nine towns composing the district,—Gloucester, Lynn, Manchester, and Lynnfield,—Colonel Pickering had every vote; every vote but one in Beverly; and seven to one through the whole district. A seat in the fourteenth Congress was the last political position he ever held by popular election, which, taken in connection with a similar result two years before in the North Essex district, may be considered as the final verdict of the people of his county and his immediate fellow-citizens, in favor of the integrity and patriotism of his long public life,—a testimonial as honorable as any man

ever received. The lesson is worthy of the notice of every political aspirant. It proves that a character of uprightness, truthfulness, and fearlessness, more than all things else, wins the hearts of the people. No man, as a political controversialist, or party leader, was ever more decisive, strenuous, bold, and defiant; but the great body of his strongest opponents, satisfied that he was honest, and beholding that he was frank and brave, could not find it in their hearts to lift a hand against him at the ballot box. A temporary relaxation of party ties gave the people an opportunity at these elections to act dispassionately; and they availed themselves of it to express their confidence in, and respect for, an honest man.

At the time of this last election, and for two months before, Colonel Pickering had been absent attending to his duties at Washington. The third session of the thirteenth Congress had commenced September 19th, 1814. Business in connection with the "Board of Commissioners for Sea-Coast Defence" delayed his departure from Boston to the 22d, and he did not take his seat in Congress until the 28th.

Writing to his wife from New York, Saturday the 24th, he says: —

"I left Boston on Thursday morning, and lodged at Hartford that night. After two hours' sleep, I was awaked to proceed for New York; starting at one o'clock in the morning. The stage arrived here last evening at eight o'clock. But I stopped short eight miles off, in order to pass the day with Mr. Gouverneur Morris; but it had begun to rain this morning, and appearances indicated a continued rain for the day; and having no means of going to Mr. Morris's but an open chair, which would expose me to a soaking rain, I was under the necessity of giving over my intended visit, though

with much regret; for I wished greatly to converse with him, to learn the sentiments of an enlightened mind, and a statesman of large experience, at this critical period of our public affairs.

“At Worcester, I fortunately was joined by an acquaintance, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and a highly worthy man, Mr. Bigelow. We have concluded to proceed on our journey at four this afternoon, twenty miles, which will enable us to reach Philadelphia to-morrow in good season. I am less hoarse with my cold than when I left Boston: it appears to be going off.”

“Washington, September 27th, Tuesday. It gives me pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival in this city. I got in to dinner. My travelling was more expeditious than ever; yet I did not come in the mail stage, nor suffer much inconvenience for want of sleep, although I slept but one hour and a quarter on Sunday night. My cold has not entirely left me; for it was not easy to regulate my diet on the way, as my movements were so rapid.”

“October 2d, 1814. As I expected, all the boarding-houses near the building in which Congress sits were occupied before I arrived. This I do not much regret; for it constrained me to inquire for lodgings nearer to Georgetown, and I found them at my old quarters, Mrs. Thompson’s, — but one mile and a third from the Congress house; while, to counterbalance that distance, I have but fifteen minutes’ moderate walk to my friends in Georgetown. Here, too, I board at ten dollars a week, while on Capitol Hill the price is thirteen dollars, and my room, diet, &c., are perfectly satisfactory.

“I left at my former lodgings a new silk umbrella (price six dollars), a hat, the cushion Elizabeth furnished me with, some books, pamphlets, &c.; and the whole were plundered by the banditti on the late invasion of the city.”

During this session of Congress, Colonel Pickering did not engage much in debate, and principally, after the war was terminated, on the proposed plan of a mili-

tary peace establishment. He spoke several times briefly in favor of reducing it below the number proposed by the administration party, and on the 24th of January, 1815, he addressed the house at length. A few extracts will show the character of his speech. He thus commenced it, saying, "that he held in his hand the message of the President of the United States, transmitting to Congress a treaty of peace and amity with Great Britain. He had supposed this an authentic document; that we really had been at peace; that we had been rejoicing and illuminating. But were he, or any other person, to form his opinions on the words used by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun), he should conclude that we were still at war. That gentleman had urged, as a conclusive reason why we should not reduce the army below ten thousand men, that we did not yet know the disposition of the enemy!"

"Could any gentleman seriously apprehend another war after what had taken place at the close of this? It had been said that the pride of Great Britain would be wounded by the events at New Orleans." To this he answered, "She had made peace without knowing the result of that expedition. Why did she make peace? Some supposed on account of the aspect of affairs in Europe. He rather attributed it to the state of things in Great Britain. The sentiments of the opposition in both houses we know to have been favorable to peace. The sense of the people of England on that head may be gathered also from the vast number of petitions for peace with the United States. It may also be attributed to the conviction experience had taught, of its being clearly the interest of Great Britain to be at peace with

us. She wants a vent for her manufactures. Her merchants had supposed, when the whole continent was open to her, there would be an insatiable market for her commodities. There was an error in that speculation, and many of her merchants were injured, if not ruined, by engaging in it. The continent was inundated by British manufactures: the people of the continent were unable, or not inclined, to purchase, and the goods remained in consequence in the hands of the exporters. The British nation, therefore, so large a portion of whose people are manufacturers, were anxious for peace with the United States, that this better market than any other should be open to them. This is the great reason why they desired peace with us. He adverted to the recent disaster of the British army before New Orleans. The expedition was fitted out with the approbation, and under the eyes, of the British ministry, by whom it was provided with an immense number of troops and vast equipments, destined expressly for the subjugation of New Orleans. Before the issue of that expedition was known, from which complete success must have been anticipated, the same ministry concluded a peace."

"But the gentleman from South Carolina says, Great Britain has a great army in Canada, and may attack us, if we disarm ourselves. What motive can she have to do so? If they made peace when they were in possession of very important posts on our frontier, and expected New Orleans to fall, how can we expect they will attack us for the purpose of conquest?"

During this session of Congress, as in all times of absence from home, he kept up a frequent correspondence with his wife; communicating his views of public affairs,

giving advice as to the management of the household and farm, detailing incidents of personal experience, and often entering upon the discussion of important and serious general topics. The following passages from a letter to her, dated November 27th, 1814, illustrate his religious character and sentiments, as uniformly displayed throughout his life : —

“ From your account of sister Gooll, I shall not see her again. In my last, or the one-preceding, I desired you to mention to her my kind remembrance. A year ago, she seemed extremely desirous of living. I hope that now her mind is at ease, and reconciled to her approaching departure, of which, I presume, she is well aware.

“ Although we have almost daily before our eyes instances of mortality, yet none are fitted to affect the mind so deeply as those of our particular friends and relatives. To me, however, the thought of death is familiar; not a day passes that the idea is not present to me, yet without depressing me. My cheerfulness never deserts me. It is our *duty to enjoy*, with *gladness of heart*, the bounties of our Heavenly Parent, as well as to be humble and resigned in affliction. Amidst all the troubles of life, I have always entertained the opinion that *good* preponderates over *evil*; that happiness, or, at least, calm, tranquil enjoyment, exceeded suffering; and that to be habitually sad and gloomy was to be ungrateful to the Author of our being and the Giver of so many good things. If we meet with affliction, how small a portion of our time does it occupy, compared with the hours, days, and years of almost uninterrupted enjoyment of comfort, of serenity, and cheerfulness, and, sometimes at least, of what may truly be called happiness! Let us not, then, be cast down at any events. We all know that we must die; but when, none can tell. It is our first duty, then, so to think of it, and so to act, that the approach of death may not surprise or alarm us. Or, in the words of the Psalmist, ‘let us so number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.’ The highest wisdom is

to learn and to practise what is virtuous and pious. This will be our employment, I trust, and that of our dear children."

In his accustomed letter to his wife, on "New Year's Day," he thus, in 1815, expresses himself:—

"I write now particularly because it is the first day of a new year, and gives the occasion to wish and to hope that Providence may preserve us to enjoy it, surrounded by our children, who are so justly dear to us, all contributing to the mass of happiness of which human nature is capable. Were this kindness of heart accompanied with a measure of wealth, it is natural to think our enjoyments would be increased. But when we look into the families of the rich, there may generally be discovered a variety of circumstances which would forbid a desire in poorer neighbors to exchange conditions with them. It is an undoubted truth that the wisdom and goodness of God are vindicated by a more equal diffusion of happiness than most are inclined to acknowledge. An individual, or a family, feel sensibly their own pains and disquietudes, and think their friends more happy; but they are ignorant of the sorrows and vexations which afflict them, because their external deportment conceals them, — at least under the veil of *contentment* and, not seldom, even of *gaiety*.

"I was to have gone, to-day, to dine with some friends at Mr. Catletts, in Alexandria; but a cold, which I have had for a few days (in common with many others), attended with a slight fever and pain in my head, determined me to stay at home and diet myself, eating no meat; so that, to-morrow, I expect to be well. My friend, Kent, told me yesterday that he should live ten years longer, for the lessons of circumspection in regard to diet and manner of living which he had learned of me. Like me, he now drinks water only, and eats moderately: and hence enjoys an unclouded serenity and cheerfulness, without occasional glooms, which used to trouble him. Last winter, we were fellow-lodgers. 'I have observed' (said he to me) 'your uniform cheerfulness and constant elasticity of mind and body, accompanied with great temperance, and I am determined to follow your example.'" The adherence to

this resolution led to the declaration made to me yesterday, as above mentioned. Last winter, living very near the Capitol, and taking very little exercise, I was unusually sparing in my diet, more than at any former period of my life. We had a fellow-lodger, a robust man, apparently glowing with health; yet often complaining, and every week tampering with medicines. More than once I recommended to him to abstain from medicine and regulate his diet; supporting my advice by my own experience; having, for more than thirty years, wholly superseded the use of medicine by immediately adopting a regimen corresponding with the nature and degree of my indisposition. But my advice was thrown away; the gentleman preferring to indulge his appetite in the quantity and variety of his food, and to relieve himself from its effects by medicine! Yet he was a man of understanding and worth, and, in regard to liquors, unexceptionably temperate.

“During the siege of Yorktown, in 1781, the fatigues incident to my office, joined to the nature of the climate, occasioned a bilious disorder for a few days, for which the physician prescribed some medicine; and I do not recollect that I have taken a particle since.”

The “friend Kent” mentioned in this letter was a member of Congress from New York, and brother of the celebrated Chancellor.

During the earlier part of this session of Congress, Colonel Pickering carried on a frequent correspondence with his associate Commissioners for the Sea-Coast Defence, his colleagues of the Board of War, and Governor Strong; and arrangements to protect Boston, and the most exposed harbors and points of landing, against attacks and invasions, were vigorously prosecuted.

Writing to his wife, February, 1815, he says: —

“Having a few minutes to spare before I go to bed, I write once more from Washington, and probably for the last time before my departure, which is fixed for Saturday, the 4th of March. As the roads are expected to be worse than common

(though they have always been horribly bad) from here to Baltimore, we purpose starting very early ; for, though but little more than forty miles, it will require the whole day to get through with a light load. For the sake of more comfort and safety, as well as expedition, seven of us have engaged a wagon for ourselves at an extra price. From Baltimore we shall proceed to York, in Pennsylvania, thence to Lancaster, and so to Philadelphia ; all the way from Baltimore being a turnpike road, for the most part a bed of stones broken fine, which, though rough like a pavement, is free from ruts, and therefore safe, and admitting of quick travelling. I do not know precisely the time necessary at this season to travel from Baltimore to Philadelphia on this route, but I suppose only two days. If so, I shall reach Philadelphia on Monday, the 6th, and, as I am determined to leave that city by Thursday, the 9th, I shall expect to be at New York on the 10th, and leave it on the 11th or 12th ; hence conclude I may reach Boston by the 15th."

It has been stated that Colonel Pickering's daughter Mary had been married in 1813. She was happily established in Salem. The families with which he was intimate in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Georgetown, were urgent in their solicitations that he would bring his other daughter, Elizabeth, to visit them during the period of the next session of Congress. She was a young lady of the most interesting character, and of uncommon personal attractions. Her father referred to her in his letter to his wife of January 30th, 1814, quoted in the preceding chapter, in which, after describing the company at a ball, he said, "For personal beauty, I saw not one equal to a certain Wenham girl."

On the 22d of September, 1815, Colonel Pickering wrote to his dear and devoted personal friend, Alexander C. Hanson, a member of Congress from Maryland, as follows : —

“The repeated invitations by you and Mrs. Hanson have determined me to bring with me my daughter Elizabeth, now that circumstances will render it convenient for her to visit the seat of government. But, before all things, your health is to be consulted. If this, and the situation of your family in other respects, be such as to admit of my daughter's being an inmate during a part of the ensuing winter, she will accompany me; otherwise, the project will be given up. I write thus early, because, if Elizabeth go with me, I shall commence my journey two or three weeks sooner than would be necessary for me to travel alone to Washington, to allow her time to see the towns and cities and my friends in them on the way.

“And now, my dear Sir, I have to pray you and Mrs. Hanson to be so much *my* friends, as well as your own, as to deal frankly in this matter; and if any changes shall have taken place which would render the visit of my daughter inconvenient to you, I must enjoin you to tell me; for your health and the comfort of your family, and the gratification of my daughter, must not come in competition.”

Writing to his wife, from Philadelphia, November 22d, 1815, he says:—

“Elizabeth's letter from New York, and that from Philadelphia, to Henry and Octavius, with my postscripts, I presume were communicated or mentioned to you. We are both very well, and were much satisfied with the attentions of our friends. We arrived here this day week. On Friday went to Belmont, and came back to the city on Sunday morning in Mr. Peters's carriage, — he being with us, — and all attending at an Episcopal church the consecration of a new bishop. Mr. Peters and his daughters have fallen in love with Elizabeth. Mrs. Willing was disappointed that Elizabeth did not go to her house. She (Mrs. Willing) has recovered from her malady, and appears to be well, but is cautious in going out only in good weather. She and her sister Sally have manifested such kind attentions to Elizabeth, and expressed a desire and expectation that she will

pass some time with them before she returns to New England, that I concluded (and E. assents) to let Elizabeth come back from Washington in the winter (say the latter end of January), and stay here until Congress rises, and I return, and take her home with me. Mrs. Astley has desired her to pass some time with her. One of her husband's daughters is grown up, and appears to be a pleasing girl. I have had my time thus far occupied in attending Elizabeth in receiving and returning visits. Mrs. Hodgdon seemed almost angry that we did not go to her house. She has asked me to let E. stay with her a week on her return. E. cannot but be gratified with the attentions she has received.

“You will recollect Thomas Peters, a short and fat man, the brother of the Judge. A daughter of his is at her cousin Maria Willing's; and being ready to return to Baltimore, where her father lives, she will go with us. She is a sensible young lady, and the Judge speaks of her in very handsome terms. It will be particularly agreeable to Elizabeth to have such a companion on the way. We have concluded to depart hence, next Friday afternoon, in the steamboat, going down the river to Newcastle (about thirty miles), where we lodge. The next morning, at daylight, start and cross by land—eighteen miles—to Frenchtown, on the shore of Chesapeake Bay, and there embark on the steamboat for Baltimore,—sixty miles,—where we expect to arrive before night. How we shall then proceed I cannot now decide; but I have learned that Mr. Hanson's sister Grosvenor remains very sick. It is probable, therefore, that after seeing the family, and staying there and at Baltimore a few days, we shall go on for Washington, so as to arrive there on Friday or Saturday, the 1st or 2d of December. The residue of this day and to-morrow will be wholly occupied in visits.”

“Washington, December 3d. My first letter was written from Philadelphia, from which place Elizabeth and I departed on Friday, the 24th ultimo, and should have reached Baltimore the next day by five in the afternoon; but the boiler of the ‘Chesapeake’ steamboat was so leaky that they were obliged to repair it. This detained us till past two in the afternoon, and delayed our arrival at Baltimore till two on Sunday

morning ; so we slept and stayed on board till after sunrise. We were visited at our lodgings by numbers of my friends who heard of our arrival. We returned these visits on Monday, and dined with a number of guests (male and female) at General Ridgeley's, one of whose daughters is married to Charles Hanson, brother of Alexander C. Hanson, our friend. General Ridgeley is a very rich man, and liberal and hospitable as rich. Charles Hanson lives on a large farm three or four miles from his brother Alexander's, and the latter is eleven or twelve miles from Baltimore, about ten of them on the direct route to Washington. This farm (near eight hundred acres) fell to his wife, as her part of her father's estate. The house is situated on a high hill, to which the ascent is easy, and which commands an extensive and pleasant prospect. Its name, Belmont, is quite as appropriate as that of Judge Peters. Mr. Hanson (whose letter, you may remember, informed us of the gradual improvement of his health since he resided on the farm) is wonderfully well ; and, compared with his condition when at Wenham, may be said to be robust. In going to view a part of the farm, he walked over the ground, whether rough or smooth, with as much speed and vigor as I was disposed to use. I am fearful of his becoming too confident of his strength, and thereby hazarding a fatal relapse. His sister, Mrs. Grosvenor, I left alive last Thursday morning, but so wasted that she cannot long survive. I went in to see her the preceding evening, and sat a good while conversing with her and Mr. Grosvenor. At eleven o'clock, fearing to fatigue her too much, I took her hand and bid her good-night, while she, with a gentle smile of indescribable sweetness, thanked me for the visit. She is a very interesting woman. She is perfectly sensible of her situation, and, with Christian composure, awaits her dissolution. I mentioned to her brother Elizabeth's concern at the idea of remaining with them under these circumstances, but he answered that they expected her to stay with them, and that on the expected mournful event her company would be particularly grateful to Mrs. Hanson. What a charming woman *she* is ! you have often heard me say. She appears to have very delicate health. Their daughter, now thirteen

months old, appears intelligent and very forward. She pronounces a few words plainly.

“On Thursday I went with Mr. Hanson and Mr. Grosvenor to dine with Charles Hanson; and, there lodging, I the next morning set off for Washington, arriving at four afternoon.

“Having on Sunday, while at Baltimore, received a visit from Colonel Howard (an old Revolutionary officer of my acquaintance), his lady (who was a daughter of Judge Chew), and a daughter, I went with Elizabeth on Monday to return the visit. We were greeted very politely and kindly, and Colonel Howard urged that Elizabeth, after visiting Mr. Hanson’s family, should return to Baltimore, and stay some time at his house. *He would go for her himself.* Colonel Howard is immensely rich, by the sale of city lands, of which, when very cheap, he was an extensive proprietor. One of his sons has a daughter of General Ridgeley for his wife. I went to see my worthy friend, Mr. M’Henry, and found him in bed, just as I left him last March. He was very cheerful. His only daughter (Mrs. Boyd) would have gone to see Elizabeth, but it was too late for that day, and the next we left Baltimore to go to Mr. Hanson’s. Mrs. Boyd and her mother, Mrs. M’Henry, hoped Elizabeth would spend some days with them. Elizabeth has received very distinguished attention from all my friends, and the guests whom she saw at their houses. The eyes of the gentlemen, I observed, were frequently fastened upon her, and she enjoyed a great share of their conversation.”

“City of Washington, December 7th. A letter received yesterday from Elizabeth, dated on Sunday the 3d, announced to me the death of Mrs. Grosvenor on the morning of that day; expiring with perfect resignation, and without apparent pain. On Monday the family were to proceed to Annapolis (Elizabeth going with them), where the body was to be interred,—the family burying-place. This event will determine the early removal of Mr. Hanson and family with Elizabeth to Georgetown, where he has a house ready furnished. Thus circumstanced, Elizabeth will probably remain here longer than I had proposed when in Philadelphia, where it may suffice if she passes the six or eight last weeks of the

session of Congress, and await there my call on my way home."

Colonel Pickering was in his seat at the opening of the first session of the fourteenth Congress, December 4th, 1815. He took part frequently in debate, mostly in brief remarks; sometimes, however (particularly on the treaty-making power as lodged by the Constitution in the President and Senate), speaking at considerable length. He voted for "the compensation bill," changing the pay of members of Congress from six dollars a day to fifteen hundred dollars a year; saying in the debate on the subject that, in his opinion, "it would certainly despatch the public business, and save the public money. The depreciation of money had been more than fifty, some thought seventy-five, per cent. If the change is proper, shall we adopt a self-denying ordinance, and say we will not give to ourselves what we are willing to give to our successors?" After suggesting some alterations in the manner of doing business, which he thought would be proper if the bill passed, he concluded by declaring "that as to that rascally prudence which had been mentioned on a former day by Mr. Randolph, he was as destitute of it as anybody. He had never in his life taken time to think whether an act would make him popular or otherwise, and he should disregard such a consideration on this occasion."

Colonel Pickering took a great interest in works of art. His taste was severe, and offended by incongruity of design in embellishment, or a violation of simplicity and appropriateness of ornamentation. During this session of Congress, there were several debates on arranging the grounds and decorating the building of the

Capitol, in which he participated. One of his speeches was reported in the papers with some particularity. The popular discussions and movements were then in progress which a few years afterwards resulted in converting Maine from a district of Massachusetts into a sister State.

“ Mr. Pickering rose, and afforded the house considerable instruction and amusement by a piece of shrewd, judicious, and natural criticism upon certain models he had examined of sculptural ornaments intended for the Capitol. He wished to inquire of the chairman of the committee, had that honorable gentleman been in his place, whether figures intended by the architect to represent the several States were to be comprehended in the provision, or whether those fantastic images were to be laid aside. They are (said Mr. P.) female figures. The one designed to represent New Hampshire has a fish in her hands. Now, of all the fish caught in the sea by the people of New England, forty-nine in fifty, perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred, are taken by the inhabitants of Massachusetts. The female representative of Massachusetts has a *boy* by her side to represent the district of Maine, — this little *brother* can never, we presume, grow into a *sister*. The lady of Vermont has a raw calf-skin thrown over her shoulder, and two of the legs hang dangling from her bosom. Mr. P. did not know with what emblem the lady of Virginia would be exhibited, — perhaps with a *buckskin* over her shoulders; whether with the horns on her head, or, like the calf's pate of Vermont, resting on her left shoulder, he could not tell; but, doubtless, a pair of the legs would be suspended from her breast.

“ Mr. Pickering mentioned some former devices of the same architect. In the vestibule of the north wing were pillars represented as supporting an immense weight of stone. Instead of naked shafts, their surfaces were formed into perpendicular rounds. When a stone-cutter had been employed upon them good part of a winter, behold these rounds, cut into joints, became corn-stalks, and the capitals were decorated with ears of corn. Mr. P. said that he, at that time, intimated

the impropriety of this device,—corn-stalks supporting a massy stone! ‘But,’ said the architect, ‘they have a band round them.’ ‘Still,’ replied Mr. P., ‘they are only bundles of corn-stalks.’

“In an apartment adjoining that where the Italian statuary was moulding in clay, the models for the female figures which I have mentioned (continued Mr. Pickering), stone-cutters were at work upon blocks of stone intended for capitals of another set of pillars, which capitals they were ornamenting with leaves to represent tobacco leaves, from which I think it may be presumed that the shafts of those pillars are to be composed of tobacco stems.

“The honorable speaker will recollect the stone gallery in the Senate chamber. There were several male figures beneath with their hands raised to support it. The figures were not colossal or herculean; but, even if they had no weight to bear up, the very attitude, with hands stretched out, and permanently elevated as high as their heads, was enough to give pain to the beholder. (Mr. Pickering exhibited the attitude of the arms, which was the most incapacitating possible for sustaining a weight: it was something like that of a pulpit orator in the act of praying.)

“Mr. Pickering concluded by saying that he had seen, in a printed report on the public buildings, that blocks of marble had been ordered from Italy to be wrought into those female figures, upon the heads of which the gallery was now apparently to rest; and by declaring that he could not vote for the proposed appropriation, unless the preposterous State emblems he had described were swept away.”

The session closed April 30th, 1816. Extracts of letters to his wife, during its period, illustrate his character and that of some other interesting persons, shed light upon the society of the day, and carry along the story of his domestic life.

“Washington, December, 19th, 1815. I have concluded to pass Christmas at Baltimore, according to my first intention. My excellent friend, Mr. McHenry, by the enclosed

letter has reminded me of my promise to dine with him on Christmas-day, and kindly invites me to lodge with him. I shall do both.

“Yesterday I was called from my seat in the house (just before our adjournment) by a messenger. I went below, and in a carriage at the door found Mrs. Peter and her sister Lewis (Nelly Custis that was). They wishing to see the new chamber in which the house assembled, I conducted them to the gallery, the house being still in session. Mrs. Peter pressed me to ride with them to her house (Tudor Place) to dine; and, as Mrs. Lewis was going home the next day, I accepted the invitation, and passed an agreeable afternoon. I walked to my lodgings from Tudor Place, a distance of four miles, in an hour and five minutes, without the least fatigue.”

“January 14th, 1816. On Friday the 12th, I dined at Mr. Peter’s. In the evening I went to see Elizabeth, but could stay only a few minutes, as a gentleman with whom I was returning to this city was waiting for me. As I rose to depart, Elizabeth put into my hands some letters from her brothers, and with them one from herself to me, as I found on opening the bundle at my lodgings. The next morning (yesterday) I wrote an answer. A copy of this, and her letter, I enclose. These will exhibit my feelings and her own. In these a mother is entitled to the earliest participation. Could she have been settled near to us, it would have afforded us much greater satisfaction; but, on the question of matrimony, a girl can scarcely be said to have any choice, as to her place of residence, if she has first given away her heart.

“By ‘a competent fortune,’ I suppose Elizabeth understands a sufficiency to maintain a family genteelly. In what it consists, I do not know; but, I presume, a portion of the paternal estate, of which Mrs. Hanson’s share was the valuable plantation of Belmont, which is about ten miles on this side of Baltimore. Whether any, and what, other property goes into his fortune, I am not informed, not having seen Elizabeth since the receipt of her letter.”

The letter written to Elizabeth by her father, on this occasion, was as follows:—

“MY DEAR CHILD,

“Before breaking the seal, I saw the subject of your letter. ‘Open and read,’ in the superscription, was enough.

“You ask my ‘cordial approbation.’ That I cannot give, because I do not know Mr. Dorsey sufficiently to form an opinion of his character. But I will say, what should give you equal satisfaction, — nay, better, since I am so slightly acquainted with Mr. Dorsey, — that I have full confidence in *your* discernment, taste, and discretion. If, in mind and heart, as well as in blood, he is the brother of Mrs. Hanson, the proposed connection cannot fail to receive my ‘cordial approbation.’ Of my confidence in you, take this proof. On the day I rode from Belmont, to dine at Charles Hanson’s on our way, his brother asked me ‘if you were *disengaged*. I answered that you were *not* engaged. He then mentioned Mr. Dorsey (whom neither you nor I had seen) as a worthy young man, and that Mr. Grosvenor and he had advised him to the step he has taken in tendering to you his heart and his hand. Now, I avoided communicating this to you, because, your own happiness being paramount to all other considerations, I thought *that* would be best consulted by leaving this most interesting of all human things to your own decision.

“The mere chance of so distant a separation from you made no impression on me: the prospect of its *reality* excites very painful regret. But such is the course of events in this world; and every parent and every child must acquiesce.

“With the tenderest affection, and with flowing tears, I embrace my dear Elizabeth.”

Although Colonel Pickering had a commanding presence, with a Roman countenance and striking features, and was in no respects an ordinary or homely-looking man, no one would have thought of calling him handsome; yet this beautiful daughter, chiefly in the nobility of her mien, bore his image so remarkably that all recognized the likeness. In a letter to his wife he says, “When Elizabeth has appeared in the gallery of the House of Representatives, she has been, at once, distin-

guished and known in a row of her sex by her *resemblance to me.*"

Writing to his wife, January 23d, he says : —

"Yesterday I received your letter of the 16th. It made me unhappy by the description of your solitary situation. It must not be so any more. If I live, I must be absent next winter also, and Elizabeth will be away. My letter of the 14th will have informed you of her engagement to Mr. Hammond Dorsey, the brother of Mrs. Hanson. Under these circumstances, you must live in Salem next winter."

"I do not know why it is that General Ridgeley (now Governor of Maryland) and his whole family manifest so much respect and kindness towards me and Elizabeth. He has (besides his personal invitation to me when at Baltimore, in Christmas week) sent me repeated messages by gentlemen who have come here, desiring me to make him a visit, just about this time, at Annapolis (the seat of government), where he is now attending the legislature. I should go with great pleasure, but that I think it improper to leave my seat in Congress, now that important business is on the carpet. Elizabeth will go with Mr. Dorsey, accompanied by Mr. Hanson. Mrs. Hanson cannot leave home. Elizabeth appears *already* like a *sister* in the family."

"February 4th. Last Thursday I received a letter from Judge Peters, and transcribe one paragraph. He says, 'My health is very good, but I have not been able to take a week to myself, since I saw you and your charming daughter, — to whom remember me affectionately. I am told she is the belle of the South. Let her take care of her head, lest it become vertiginous. My old hopper is often so, but from very different causes than those operating on her.' You see my old friend is fearful Elizabeth's head should become giddy by flattering attentions. I think she has not been in danger. Her good sense, and exemption from vanity, were her sufficient sureties."

"February 18th. Before I left home, I thought I should never accept of another election to Congress, if my constituents were disposed to send me; because I should have more

satisfaction in living in the small circle of my family, and because, in truth, I had become tired of public life. But, since Elizabeth is probably to dwell in Maryland, — certainly so should both she and Mr. Dorsey live, — I have felt an inclination to continue a while longer a member of Congress, that I might, annually, see her for two years more after my present term expires, — in all, three more winters, one of which I have pleased myself in thinking you might pass with Elizabeth. Her residence will be only an easy day's ride from Washington. Of course, I could see you both several times during the session."

"February 22d. On Tuesday, I dined at Mr. Hanson's, and in the evening went to a ball, which was called the birth-night ball of General Washington, anticipated two days; the birthday of the General being the 22d (this day): but, as they depended on the music from this city, which was engaged for the city ball of this evening, the Georgetown people were constrained to have their ball on Tuesday. The last birth-night ball which I attended was in Philadelphia, the last year of the General's Presidency. This is my eleventh winter in Washington. My intimacy at Mrs. Peter's, Mrs. Washington's granddaughter, seemed to require this mark of respect, if ever, to be exhibited; and, Elizabeth being present, the occasion was not to be neglected. Elizabeth danced with great moderation, yet not inelegantly. I do not like the *fashionable* throwing about of the feet, as displayed by those females who are, of course, called the finest dancers. These make very great exertions. There were a good many pretty girls; but, after surveying fifty or more (the whole group present), I did not discover any comparable in beauty to —. In speaking of beauty in general, as I do, I should regret that any one should imagine that I deemed it of very great value. Its first impression is certainly highly pleasing to the beholder, and presents the person possessing it to great advantage; and, indeed, it can never cease to please where there are eyes and tastes; but I have found, all my life long, that good sense and an amiable disposition were alone essential to secure the esteem of a man of understanding. To them, beauty or comeliness is an agreeable appendage."

In one of his letters to his wife, during this session, dated January 29th, 1816, Colonel Pickering thus describes John Randolph, of Roanoke: —

“ Mr. Randolph is the most uncommon man I ever knew. He has learning, sagacity, and a vivid imagination, with an extraordinary memory. He occupied the attention of the house the last Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. When he broke off yesterday, he was quite exhausted. But, though his discourses have been so long, he told us, yesterday, that he had but just entered on the *threshold* of his discussion. For the most part, his speeches are incoherent, darting from one topic to another, and abounding in allusions to ancient and modern history, and to persons; and he seldom mentions a name without giving the character of the person, whether good or bad. He has given a history of our own government, as administered by Jefferson and Madison; displaying scenes of monstrous corruption. From these reproaches, he excepts the first five years of Jefferson's administration. *Mr. Randolph, during those years, was Mr. Jefferson's agent for managing the House of Representatives.*

“ The business before the house when Mr. Randolph rose on Thursday to speak was the *direct tax*, — whether it should be reduced from six to three millions, or whether there should be any direct tax this year. But, though this was the subject, I do not think his observations pointed to it for more than twenty minutes out of the twelve hours, so desultory have been his speeches. Yet he is listened to with attention; because there are some profound thoughts, some biting satire, and some strokes of humor, throughout his discourses. He reproaches the self-called Republicans with having adopted all the principles and measures of Federalism which formerly they so loudly condemned, — an expensive navy, a large standing army that will endanger the public liberty, and swarms of officers mischievously extending executive patronage.”

During the latter part of the session, Colonel Pickering's son Octavius made a visit to the capital, and it

was arranged that, on his return, he should take Elizabeth with him to Wenham. On the 13th of April, Colonel Pickering wrote to his wife as follows:—

“The most pleasant intelligence I have now to communicate is, that we may reckon with a degree of certainty that Congress will rise by this day two weeks, at farthest; that will be April 27th. If so, I shall expect to reach home by the 8th or 10th of May. I must stay a day or two at and near Baltimore, that I may have an opportunity to see Mr. Dorsey’s farm, the situation intended for his house, and, generally, his arrangements on his farm. His elder brother’s farm of about five hundred acres adjoins Hammond’s, and is advertised for sale. His price (Mr. Hanson informs me) is one hundred and twenty dollars an acre, and that he had been offered one hundred dollars. Its vicinity to Baltimore gives it this value. I suppose Hammond’s is of equal value.

“Yesterday, I received the enclosed note from Hammond. I shall comply with his request. The painter is a Mr. Wood from Philadelphia. He has taken Elizabeth’s likeness, which I think a very good one. Mr. Randolph (who had seen Elizabeth at Mr. Hanson’s) said to me yesterday, — ‘I see Miss Pickering’s picture is still at Mr. Wood’s. It is a beautiful picture.’ These pictures by Mr. Wood are large miniatures.

“Many members of Congress have been, and are sick, and two have died, — Mr. Brigham of Massachusetts, and Mr. Stanford from North Carolina; both worthy men, and both before enjoying good health, and likely to live yet many years. Mr. Stanford had been a member of the House of Representatives more than twenty years, — his age forty-eight.

“I presume Elizabeth and Octavius are on their way home from Philadelphia.

“You will remember Mr. Robertson, who married Hannah Ruff, and that his present wife was Miss Clarkson, an English lady, whom (being an orphan) Doctor Edwards and his wife brought with them from England. And you have heard me say that Mrs. Edwards lived in the family of Mrs. Robertson. Her intimate acquaintance in Philadelphia (to which she removed, after the death of Doctor Edwards) was Miss Breck,

now Mrs. Lloyd. A few days since, Mr. Robertson wrote me that Mrs. Edwards intended to make a visit to her friend, Mrs. Lloyd, in Boston, and desired him to inquire of me whether I should go directly home from Philadelphia; and, if so, she would be glad to accompany me. You will have no doubt of my answer. As I shall want to see a few friends on the road, Mrs. E. will be able to travel as fast as will suit my convenience; and, if it were otherwise, one so gallant as they say your husband is, would not be impatient of a little delay in a case of this kind."

Colonel Pickering reached home about the middle of May. On the 12th of August, his daughter Elizabeth was married in Wenham, to Hammond Dorsey, of Maryland.

The "Salem Gazette" of October 25th, 1816, in reference to the election in Massachusetts of members of the fifteenth Congress, had this article: —

"The patriot Colonel Pickering, who has served his country faithfully so many years, and who now honors this district in Congress, will be the Federal candidate at the approaching election. Every person acquainted with the history of our country knows the ability and irreproachable integrity with which he has discharged the duties of various important offices during a course of more than FORTY YEARS. No one ever impeached the motives of Colonel Pickering. No Federalist denies his long and great public services and his distinguished merit, and, as these constitute the greatest claim to support in a REPUBLIC, we trust he will receive the united votes of the disciples of WASHINGTON, in ESSEX SOUTH DISTRICT."

At the district convention held in Salem, October 31st, the following letter was read by the moderator: —

"WENHAM, October 29th, 1816.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having been engaged as you know in various public employments from an early to an advanced period of my life,

more than long enough to render retirement desirable; I had contemplated a year ago a renunciation of public life, after the term of the present Congress should expire. An unexpected occurrence, wholly of a private nature, induced a suspension of this contemplated renunciation; though only for one more congressional term of two years, should my constituents think proper to elect me. But, as I have never asked for, nor attempted to form an interest to obtain, any one of my public employments, so I had concluded to let the pending election to Congress take its course; determined to serve the next two years if elected, and being also perfectly contented to stay at home. Two or three weeks ago, however, I understood that considerable dissatisfaction had been manifested among some of my Federal constituents, on account of my voting for what is called the 'compensation law,' which substituted an annual salary of one thousand five hundred dollars in place of the former compensation of six dollars a day to members of Congress: other causes of dissatisfaction may exist, though to me unknown. Considering, therefore, how nearly balanced was the *Federal* by the *opposite* interest in this district, I had concluded by public advertisement to decline being a candidate. From this, however, I was diverted by information, that probably the Federalists would not be more united in any other candidate. I am led to believe that this information may be incorrect. And, being desirous of removing the only obstacle depending on me to a union of their votes,—that is, myself,—I withdraw; and request you, my good Sir, immediately to make known this determination, that the few days remaining, prior to the election, may be improved to effect that union.

“ Allow me to subjoin a single observation,—that, in voting for the *compensation law*, as in every other act of my public life, I did not take time to consider whether it would be popular or unpopular; but, simply, whether the measure was just and right, and calculated to promote the public good. And such I thought, and still think, the law in question. With great regard and esteem, I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“JACOB ASHTON, Esq.”

The ingenuous frankness of this letter is observable. It gives, plainly and simply, the "occurrence wholly of a private nature," as the reason which had led him to reconsider the previous determination he had formed not to be a candidate for re-election. In his letter to his wife of February 18th, above cited, he explains why it would be agreeable to him to go to Washington for another term. But, as he had become convinced that his renomination would be "an obstacle to the union" of the party to which he belonged, he set aside at once all consideration of what would be promotive of his personal and private happiness, and withdrew his name from the convention. Believing that the welfare of the country depended upon the prevalence of the Federal party, he felt bound in honor and duty to subordinate and sacrifice, to its harmony and success, all interests and feelings as an individual. It being understood that his resolution to take himself out of the field was absolute and irreversible, William Reed, his immediate predecessor in Congress, offered the following resolution, which was adopted by the unanimous vote of the convention:—

"That this convention deeply regret that any causes should exist to induce their present Representative, the Hon. Mr. Pickering, to decline a re-election; that they entertain the most profound respect for his character, and the liveliest gratitude for those eminent services, which, through a long life of integrity, activity, and patriotism, he has rendered to his country."

The "Salem Gazette," in publishing these proceedings, thus expressed itself:—

"The letter of the Hon. Mr. Pickering, in this day's paper, discovers the unhappy and broken state of the Federal party in our district; and, at the same time, displays the

devotedness of that venerable patriot to the cause, in withdrawing from the field lest his name should mar the election. We will add our firm belief, that the sentiment unanimously expressed by the convention toward that gentleman is the sentiment of a very great majority of his constituents."

Colonel Pickering left Boston for Washington, November 25th. Writing to his wife, from on board the steamboat, in Chesapeake Bay, November 31st, he says: —

"I do not remember, in all my journeys to Washington, ever to have travelled so pleasantly, the roads being in good condition, and the weather generally very fine for the season. You will know that I left Boston on Monday last, at noon. The next day, at 4 P.M. I reached New Haven; and the tavern connected with the steamboat being nearly two miles from my friend, Mr. Hillhouse's, and he being at Philadelphia, I omitted going to see his family. Indeed I was weary, having travelled all the preceding night, deprived of sleep; and to walk between three and four miles, so late in the afternoon, was too much to think of. The next morning at six, we set off in the steamboat for New York, where we arrived early in the evening. This was Wednesday. Thursday I proceeded for Philadelphia, where I arrived on Friday, at noon, and hastening to Mr. Hodgdon's for a few minutes, and having met Mr. Willing (Mr. Peters's son-in-law), I returned speedily to the Delaware steamboat, in which, at one o'clock, we descended the Delaware River to Newcastle; and, arriving about six o'clock, lodged there; but set off this morning at four. We expect to reach Baltimore at half-past four this afternoon; and, should I find it practicable, may go to Mr. Hanson's (ten miles) in the evening; otherwise, to-morrow morning, and pass Sunday there. On Monday, December 2d, I expect to leave Belmont for Washington.

"I have had Mr. Ward of Boston, a member of Congress, for my companion the whole way. As I advanced, I met with many other members; and there are eight or ten now on board the steamboat with me."

Writing to his family again, December 3d, from Washington, he states that he "passed Sunday at Belmont, with Elizabeth and her new connections, — all well, except Mr. Hanson, who is, and probably always will be, an invalid; yet he rides and walks with ease, and talks, as he is wont, with animation."

"I am at my old lodgings, Mrs. McCordell's, and with my old fellow-lodgers of the last session, to the number of six (myself included), and two new ones, who are in appearance quite acceptable."

Again writing to his wife, December 14th, he informs her that his friend, Mr. Hanson, had just been elected a Senator of the United States, by the legislature of Maryland, in place of Robert Goodloe Harper, who had resigned; but that his family, including Elizabeth and her husband, would continue at Belmont. In conclusion, he assures her, — "Seeing my public life is to close with this session, I shall be impatient in waiting its termination."

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Session of the fourteenth Congress. — Speeches on the Compensation Law, and on internal Improvements. — Correspondence. — Colonel Pickering's Reputation. — His Merits recognized by political Opponents. — Thomas H. Benton. — Charles Jared Ingersoll. — Philip P. Barbour. — John Randolph of Roanoke. — The Close of Colonel Pickering's Services under the United States. — A Member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts.

1816-1818.

THE second session of the fourteenth Congress commenced December 2d, 1816. Colonel Pickering took his seat the next day. He seems to have entered more largely and frequently into debate than had been his usual custom. On two subjects, particularly, he took a leading and effective part, — the "Compensation" question and "Internal Improvements." Some passages from his speeches on these subjects — for on each he addressed the House several times — illustrate his principles and his character.

On the second day of the session, a proposition was introduced to repeal the act, of the preceding session, "to change the mode of compensation" to members of Congress. The next day a committee was raised to consider the subject. On the 18th of December, the committee reported a bill to repeal the act, and the discussions to which the report gave rise occupied the house at great length, and from time to time. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, who had no sympathy with those

who had got up a clamor on the subject; and, no doubt, for the purpose of putting to the test members who were seeking popularity by joining in it, and therefore advocated the repeal of the act, — on the 14th of January moved an amendment to the following effect: “to repeal entirely the law of last session, and require a deduction from the amount of pay received by the members, of so much as, during the past and present sessions, they shall have received over and above the rate of six dollars per day;” and, in explaining his motion, said, that “each Congress ought to take upon itself the responsibility of assessing its own pay; that to do so was a duty devolving on it, from which it had no right to shrink. If they had now assessed it too high, in their own opinion, they ought to refund the surplus.” Mr. Randolph’s motion being ruled to be in order, the house had to meet the subject on the point of refunding. Colonel Pickering presented his views on the 16th of January, the house being in committee of the whole, to the following effect: —

“He was opposed to the amendment offered by the honorable gentleman from Virginia. I cannot consent,” he said, “to refund the compensation granted by the law of the last session. It was a compensation for services rendered. It was conformable to the Constitution, which declares that the Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation, — for what? to defray their expenses, as some have contended? No; but ‘for their services.’ And how these should be compensated was best understood by the eminent men who framed the Constitution, and who, in the several State conventions, accepted and ratified it. Many of these distinguished citizens were members of the first Congress, in 1789, when the original compensation was fixed, and what they proposed was approved by Washington; than whom

no man entertained a more correct sense of personal dignity, nor more justly estimated what was due to character and station; at the same time, no man observed a more exact economy in the expenditure of money, whether his country's or his own. No one can be ignorant of the comparative value of money in 1789 and 1816; that the prices of the articles necessary for decent living were, in the latter period, at least double what they were in the former. Take, for example, wheat, the price of which did not then exceed one dollar a bushel. The gentleman from Virginia, before me (Mr. Randolph) beckons, and says it was only three shillings and sixpence (fifty-eight cents) a bushel! But suppose it to have been a dollar; six bushels of wheat, worth six dollars, were then only equal to the daily pay of a member of Congress. The same six bushels of wheat, in 1816, would bring from twelve to fifteen dollars. Hence it follows that the compensation to members of Congress, in 1789, was double in value to the compensation as it stood prior to the law of March, 1815,—nay, more than double; for the six dollars for every twenty miles' travel in 1789 was equal to twelve dollars in 1816; and, by the law of the last session, the allowance for travel remained unchanged,—six dollars only for every twenty miles. Imagine that the compensation, in 1789, had been set at six bushels of wheat per day, and continued to this time, would any one now think of receiving only three bushels a day, and distribute the other three among his constituents? If some gentlemen are willing to serve for a bare reimbursement of their expenses, receiving the residue in honor, I am too poor to join that class: I must have stayed at home, to cultivate my little farm. I must be paid for my 'services.' If, indeed, the present compensation, so much below what it was in 1789, greatly surpasses the services I am capable of rendering, this should have been looked to by those who sent me here: I did not send myself, nor offer myself as a candidate. I know not by whom my name was proposed, originally for the Senate, latterly for this House. All I know of the matter is, that formerly I was there, and now am here, in consequence of the elections; and the compensation I have received I shall retain; nor, unless it be forced from me, will I let it go."

On the conclusion of Colonel Pickering's remarks, the question was taken on Mr. Randolph's motion, and negatived by a large majority.

The next day, the bill being before the house restoring the old compensation laws, Colonel Pickering spoke again, substantially as follows:—

“He observed that yesterday he had hastily made a few remarks on the subject under consideration, at the moment when the question was to be put on an amendment proposed by the honorable gentleman from Virginia before him (Mr. Randolph). He would now add a few more. The comparative value of the compensation to members of Congress, as fixed in 1789, and that, by the law of the last session, deserved a more explicit statement.

“Taking the average length of the sessions of Congress at five months, or one hundred and fifty days, and the real value of the compensation of 1789 to be double (and it was certainly more than double) the value of the same nominal sum in 1816, the result of the comparison would be this:—

150 days at \$12	\$1,800
The average travel of members to the seat of government, 400 miles, at 20 miles for a day, and the same in return, together 40 days at \$12	480
Making the average compensation to a member of Congress, in 1789, equal in the money of 1816, to	\$2,280
In 1816, the law allowed a salary of	1,500
But left the allowance for travel at the original nominal sum of six dollars for every 20 miles; consequently the 40 days' travel gave only .	240
Total value of the compensation in 1816	\$1,740

or less in value, than members received in 1789, by five hundred and forty dollars in the money of 1816. Yet the clamor has been excited by an alleged increase, as well as a change, in the mode of compensation.

“But the time when this supposed increase was enacted has been pronounced improper and unpropitious, just when the country had emerged from an expensive war, and the people were burdened with taxes. But what was the case in 1789? Six years, indeed, had elapsed from the close of a seven years'

war, but its distressing consequences remained. We had no national government of force to relieve the country from those distresses; hence, commerce and all other branches of industry languished. A debt (the sacred debt of the Revolution, the price of our independence) of more than seventy millions remained unpaid. The public *révenue* was then incipient; and the whole receipts from commerce, in 1789 and the two following years, united, amounted to but about six millions and a half of dollars; whereas, the revenue from the same source, in the single year of 1816, amounted to about twenty millions of dollars; and the entire revenue from the customs and other sources, in that one year, amounted to about thirty millions; at the same time the public debt was stated at about one hundred and twenty millions. Since the year 1789, the population of the United States has more than doubled, the wealth of the people has trebled, and the style of decent living (in addition to the increase of prices) become vastly more expensive.

“But the public voice has been raised against the law of the last session! Yes, a lying spirit had gone forth (as one gentleman had said), and deceived the people. From every part of the house gentlemen had ascribed the public clamor to artifice and intrigue. Some Federalists (and they probably began the outcry), remembering the charge of extravagance formerly made, as one means to undermine the Federal administration, and the ‘odious’ compensation law having a Democratic origin, those Federalists seized the occasion to attack their political adversaries with their own weapons. Others denounced the law, in order to render unpopular those who voted for it, or who availed themselves of its provisions, and thus to supplant them in the public favor, and step into their places. Others joined in the clamor, to be in the fashion, or to acquire some stock of popularity for future use. Others again, — and those alone whose opinions deserve attention, — honestly disapproved of the law, because uninformed or misinformed as to the merits of the question. Since the publication of the able and clear report of the committee on the subject, such men have become satisfied that the measure was correct. Had that report gone forth with the

law, no such clamor as we have witnessed would have been raised, and we should not now be debating the question.

“ We have heard something about patriotism on this occasion, but there was no room for it on this subject. He trusted no gentleman would take offence if he said that patriotism had not brought a single member into that house ; that there was, in truth, no more reason that men should labor for the public than for individuals without being paid for it, and the compensation should comport with the high and important nature of the services to be performed.”

He then referred to instructions he had received from the legislature of Massachusetts censuring the compensation law of the previous session of Congress, and requesting the Senators and Representatives of that State to use their influence to effect its repeal. “ As to instructions,” he continued, “ whether from the legislatures or the people of a district, he did not admit their validity. If they contain reasons for or against any measure, these will merit a respectful consideration ; but instructions, unaccompanied by reasons, were not entitled to the observance of Representatives. He felt humbled that the legislature of Massachusetts should have descended to this small business, especially as it was one exclusively intrusted to Congress by the Constitution. If on any important public measure a State legislature think proper to express their sentiments, with their reasons, and especially if a national measure operate unequally, the State aggrieved will rightfully remonstrate, and instruct its Representatives accordingly. If the case be clear, they will of course obey ; if it be doubtful, the opinion of their constituents will turn the scale. But they should go no farther, because they are bound not to contravene the general welfare, for any partial or local interests.

“He would say one word more on patriotism. The only patriotism belonging to this subject is that which, by providing liberal compensations for the service, shall induce those who best understand and are most able to promote the great interests of our country to accept of seats in Congress. To bring forth such men, he wished the law to remain as it is.”

The bill before the house was a re-enactment of the old compensation law, the sum to be allowed *per diem* being left in blank, to be determined by the house. On the motion to insert ten dollars, Colonel Pickering voted in the affirmative as he did on the motion for nine dollars; but, on the motions to fill the blank with eight dollars and with six dollars, he voted in the negative. Mr. Randolph's motion to *refund* was, of course, ineffectual. The house had too much self-respect to consent to receiving a less sum than it had voted for its members at the previous session. All it could be brought to do was to continue its own act to the close of its term, repealing it from that date, and providing against the revival of previous acts on the subject. The whole subject went over to the next Congress, which passed a compensation bill, at the rate of eight dollars *per diem*, and eight dollars for every twenty miles of travel.

The gradual lengthening of the first session of each successive Congress, after a while made the *per diem* compensation equal to one thousand five hundred a year. Finally the salary principle has become established, and the compensation law of 1815 fully vindicated.

Colonel Pickering's views and votes on this subject have been particularly presented, because impartial justice and truth demanded it. However men's opinions

relating to it differ, the fact that he was an advocate of large and liberal compensation to men in public office may not be concealed. His sentiments were on this, as on all matters, strong and decided. He believed that low salaries were in conflict with the theory of republican institutions, by which it was designed that the people should be able to avail themselves of the services of such persons as they might judge most competent and suitable without reference to their pecuniary circumstances. Salaries insufficient to enable public men to meet the liabilities, or comply with the proprieties, of their stations in a becoming manner, tended necessarily, he maintained, to give a monopoly of offices to persons of largely superfluous means. How unreservedly and emphatically he was accustomed to express these opinions is shown in the following note, addressed by him while Secretary of State to the British Minister:—

“Mr. and Mrs. Pickering have received the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Liston to dine with them next Monday, which would be accepted with pleasure, but that Congress do not allow persons holding *executive* offices under the United States (unless they possess private fortunes) to have any convivial intercourse with foreign Ministers, and scarcely admit of it with the most intimate of their fellow-citizens. It is deemed honor enough for executive officers to toil without interruption for their country, and indulgence enough to live on mutton, mush, and cold water.

“Friday, March 18th, 1798.”

At this session Colonel Pickering took great interest in the subject of internal improvements, and bore a leading and efficient part in the debates and action of the house relating to it. On the 7th of February, 1817, the house resumed the consideration of a “bill to set

apart and pledge, as a fund for internal improvement, the bonus, and United States share of the dividends, of the National Bank." In the "Annals of Congress," the following statement is made of what occurred on the subject that day:—

"[In the progress of the bill various amendments were proposed for the first section, and some of them adopted; when Mr. Pickering moved to strike out the whole of the first section after the enacting words, and offered a substitute, which was finally adopted. This expressed the objects for which the funds arising from the United States interest in the National Bank should be pledged to be, — 'for constructing roads and canals, and improving the navigation of watercourses, in order to facilitate, promote, and give security to internal commerce among the several States, and to render more easy and less expensive the means and provisions necessary for their common defence;' and that the several States might equally share in the advantages to be derived from such an appropriation of those funds, it was further proposed that they should be applied in each State, in the ratio of its representation in the most numerous branch of the national legislature, for the purposes aforesaid, and in such manner as Congress, with the assent of each State, should by law direct."

"In supporting these amendments, and obviating objections, Mr. Pickering spoke several times in the course of the discussion, and the following is a summary of his observations:—]

"A gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Harding) had said the bill as amended was deceptive. If, said Mr. Pickering, plainly to describe the funds to be applied in this case, and explicitly to state the objects on which they should be expended, were deceptive, then the gentleman's charge was just.

"The parts of the Constitution to which Mr. P. had more than once had occasion to refer, as the grounds on which his support of the bill rested, were those which gave to Congress the power, 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States,' and 'to provide for the common

defence.' The regulation of commerce with foreign nations comprehends all the measures requisite to secure to the United States their due share in its benefits; to divert its streams, arising from their own productions, from foreign channels, and to turn them into their own, for the profit of the citizens of the United States. This advantage would be immense, in relation to the vast and rapidly increasing products of the States bordering on the lakes and their water communications, which products, without good roads and canals, will descend the St. Lawrence instead of proceeding to the Atlantic States.

“As incidents to the commerce with foreign nations, and so far as it takes place by sea among the several States in the coasting trade, light-houses, beacons, and piers have been erected, because necessary for the security of that commerce. But this necessity is of the moral kind, — highly useful, — the means of preserving property and lives, and not absolute, or one without which that commerce could not exist; for we know that American commerce, coeval with the settlement of the country, was long carried on without light-houses, beacons, or piers; and, even so late as the commencement of our Revolution, not more than four or five light-houses are recollected to have been erected. Their multiplication, and the construction of public piers, are the work of the government under the present Constitution; and was it ever said or thought by any one that these acts of our government, from the beginning of Washington's administration to this day, were violations of the Constitution? It has indeed been said that the last clause but one in the eighth section of the first article expressly mentions ‘the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;’ but whoever will examine that clause will perceive that it does not give Congress any power to erect those works, but simply to exercise exclusive legislation over the places where they are erected, such places having been previously purchased with the consent of the States in which the same shall be. The power to erect such works and buildings is nowhere expressed in the Constitution. It is, then, an *implied* power whose existence is recognized by the Constitution itself. But where can it be

found unless it be involved in the express powers to regulate commerce and to provide for the common defence? Without navigation, without commerce by sea, we should need no light-houses, beacons, or piers.

“ If, then, it was constitutional to erect the works which have been mentioned,—to give facility, safety, and expedition to commerce by sea,—will any one deny the constitutional power of Congress to erect similar works on our interior waters, on the great lakes? A proposition is now on our tables to erect a lighthouse at Presqu’Isle, on Lake Erie, for the same useful purpose as the lighthouses erected on the seacoast. But what entitles the citizens on the borders of the lakes to peculiar and exclusive advantages in transporting their products to market? Common water transportation is cheap, and it is more so when, by means of lighthouses, beacons, and piers, it is expedited and rendered more safe. And every one knows how much cheaper and safer, and more expeditious, is land transportation over good roads than over bad ones. Why, then, should the inland inhabitants be denied advantages which none hesitate to grant to the borderers on the great waters? Commerce is the exchange of commodities, and is necessary to be carried on by land as well as by water; and, when canals shall be added to good roads, the facilities and cheapness of interior commerce, among the several States, will be proportionably increased.

“ For the common defence, troops and all the munitions of war are provided. Good roads and canals would at all times render their movements and transportation more cheap, expeditious, and safe. In time of war these accommodations would be of the utmost moment. It has been admitted that, at that time, it would be constitutionally right to make good roads for the passage of troops and the transportation of artillery, stores, and provisions; because most materially contributing to the necessary means of defence. Is it not, then, equally right and proper to anticipate the utility and necessity of such works as good roads and canals in time of peace, when alone it is practicable to make them?

“ Another benefit to result from good roads may be mentioned, though not so important as the last; that is, the

greater safety and expedition with which the mail would be carried on the great lines of communication through all the States.

“It has been objected that the distribution of the avails of the proposed fund among the several States, to be applied in constructing roads and canals in such manner as Congress, with the assent of the several States, shall direct, would give rise to long and injurious contests. But if, instead of the proposed application of the fund, the whole were left at the sole disposition of Congress, similar contests must arise, from the diversity of opinions and interests among members, which will never fail to exist. That any State will withhold its assent, and thus lose the immense advantages of such improved channels of communication, is to the last degree improbable. Such only, it is to be presumed, will be projected by Congress, as, while they benefit the whole Union, will be peculiarly advantageous to the individual States through which they shall run.”

In those days, speeches in Congress were published in full, by the authorized reporters, only where members wrote them out at length, either before or after delivery: all others were reported in a brief and summary form. Colonel Pickering did not prepare for report his speeches delivered during the debate on this subject, in its several stages. The substance of them only is found, as given above, in a condensed form in the “Annals of Congress.” The general character of his arguments and statements is exhibited, and it is seen that he comprehended and set forth the principles of that policy of internal improvement, which afterwards was carried so fully into effect by the government. The discussions in the house were very earnest and animated. A motion to indefinitely postpone the whole subject was strenuously urged, but rejected by a vote of seventy-four to eighty-six. Colonel Pickering’s amendment was adopted

without a division. The bill, thus amended, gave rise to another vigorous contest. Mr. Randolph spoke for nearly three hours against it; Mr. Calhoun advocated it; several other leading members engaged in the debate. On the final vote, the bill, in the shape Colonel Pickering gave it, was passed by the house, — eighty-six in the affirmative, and eighty-four in the negative. Three-fourths of the Massachusetts delegation voted against the bill, and every other member from the New England States, except Daniel Webster of New Hampshire, who voted for it. The bill, after much debate, passed in the Senate, by a vote of twenty to fifteen. President Madison, on the 3d of March, 1817, returned it to the House of Representatives, with a veto. The house voted to pass the said bill, the President's objections to the same to the contrary notwithstanding, by a vote of sixty to fifty-six. Two-thirds being required, the bill was lost. It is observable that, on this occasion, the Speaker, Henry Clay, although the House was not equally divided, claimed and exercised the right to vote, recording his name in the affirmative. Perhaps the country was then not quite ready to sustain the policy urged by Colonel Pickering; but it was indorsed by the votes of HENRY CLAY, JOHN C. CALHOUN, and DANIEL WEBSTER.

During this session, Colonel Pickering served in the standing committee on elections, and of the special committees to which the several topics of leading importance in the President's Message were distributed: he was chairman of that raised to consider what related to the more effectual prohibition of the African slave-trade.

His letters to his wife, during this session of Congress,

present interesting views of the state of society at that time in Washington, and the manners and modes of life prevailing there and in the neighborhood among leading families ; and, as this was his last winter at the capital, they may be largely quoted.

Writing to her from Washington, on Saturday evening, December 21st, 1816, he says : —

“ I am glad to get information of domestic affairs, and especially of your health ; mine continues very good, and I have nothing to regret on that score, but that sensation of slight pain back of my right shoulder, which is of more than a year's standing. I have for a good while been suspicious that the unsteadiness of my right arm might proceed from that cause ; this unsteadiness remains without abatement, I think, except in the action of writing, which I perform with more facility since I left home, owing, probably, to my exemption from labor, and to my writing *daily* more than I did in a *month* at home. Having now, for about a month, been free from labor, I have recovered the activity and alertness in all my movements which have been noticed by all observers for many years past.

“ Last Thursday evening, the French Minister and lady (Mr. and Mrs. Hyde de Neuville) had their house filled with company. I never passed an evening of the kind so pleasantly ; though the assembly was too numerous for the rooms, — not fewer, I imagine, than eighty ; more gentlemen than ladies, because few members of Congress have with them either wives or daughters. Perhaps there were thirty ladies. Mr. Bagot (British Minister) and his lady were there, splendidly dressed. She is the mother (as she told me last year, in the course of conversation) of four or five children, yet still a very pretty woman, and of agreeable, because frank and unaffected, manners. Mr. and Mrs. de Neuville were distinguished for the great plainness of their dress ; an agreeable couple, — neither old nor young. They were Royalists in the French Revolution, and have resided some years in the United States. They converse in English with ease ; she,

however, with a very defective pronunciation. Every gentleman who has spoken of the Thursday evening party seemed delighted with the great simplicity of their dress and manners, accompanied with easy politeness."

"December 29th. Last evening I wrote to Henry, mentioning my excursion to Captain Murray's and the neighborhood. Captain Murray married Mr. Dorsey's eldest sister, and invited me pressingly to pass Christmas at his house, Elizabeth being there. From Captain Murray's I went, on Thursday, to visit some of his neighbors, seven miles distant. There I was urged to stay and dine with another of them on Friday. This was Mr. Maxcy. This gentleman (about twenty-eight years old) married an heiress, the grand-daughter of the late Judge Chew, of Philadelphia. Maxcy is a native of Massachusetts, was a lawyer of much promise at the bar of Baltimore, paid his addresses to Miss Galloway, and married her. Her landed estate being large, Mr. Maxcy soon left the bar, and finds ample employment in farming his wife's estate, which is greatly improved in his hands. He and other gentlemen in the neighborhood (including Captain Murray) appeared to take peculiar pleasure in improving their estates; in short, to be very fond of rural life.

"Mrs. Galloway is about sixty-three years old, sensible, perfectly polite, and very agreeable. She told me she had seen me at her father's, Judge Chew's. As soon as I realized this (that she was Judge Chew's daughter) I seemed to be at home. Captain Murray and Mr. Dorsey came on Friday to dine with me there, as they had done the day before, at Colonel Mercer's, — another wealthy landholder, within half a mile of Mr. Maxcy's. Just at sunset we returned to Captain Murray's; and yesterday I came back to this city, accompanied by him and Mr. Maxcy, in Captain Murray's carriage. I was thus for four days in the society of these gentlemen, their families and friends. I never passed four days in visits more pleasantly. I was delighted with the good-fellowship manifested among all the gentlemen and their families in that neighborhood. They seemed like members of the same family, rather than mere neighbors. I am very well myself, and have manifestly gained flesh, *since I ceased working as a laborer.*"

“ January 16th, 1817. Congress sat late on the 11th. Mr. Randolph was one of my companions in the hack (after the adjournment), and very politely asked me to take a bed at his lodgings that night, which I did not choose to omit ; for I wanted to be more acquainted with him ; and it was near ten o'clock before we rose from table. He occupies two rooms, and has two negro servants. He is a most agreeable, entertaining, and instructive associate. We sat up till after midnight ; and we talked (our beds being in the same chamber) half an hour after we laid ourselves down. I took breakfast with him, and we continued our conversation till eleven, when we went to church. The preacher was Mr. Mead, son of my excellent friend, Colonel Mead, who was an Aide-de-Camp to General Washington in 1777. Taking dinner with Mr. Thomas Peter, I walked thence to church in this city, and heard Mr. Mead again. He is an ingenious young man, and of exemplary manners and piety ; so plain, so simple, so zealous in the cause of religion, Christianity itself recommended from his lips appears with additional charms.

“ Next Monday, I understand, is the Queen of England's birthday. Mrs. Bagot, the British Minister's lady, has sent numerous cards of invitation. I shall then have another opportunity of seeing a crowd of the ladies of the district : comeliness is not uncommon, but beauty rare. The last time I saw sister Dodge, we both agreed that our Mary appeared more graceful than ever ; so that I can easily believe she appeared to advantage on the evening you mention.

“ We have been employed in the House of Representatives all this week on the compensation law. The one thousand five hundred dollar salary law will doubtless be repealed ; but I think the daily pay, to be substituted for it, will finally be increased to something near to an equivalent. While all, or nearly all, the advocates for the repeal ascribe the popular excitement to misinformation and deception, to demagogues and to intriguers who clamor against the voters for the law merely to get their places ; yet, such is the fear of the misled people, such the desire to gain or retain popularity, a multitude are willing to humble themselves, and bow to the uninformed, the misinformed and perverted will of ‘ the sovereign people.’

This will not be my course. I shall adhere to my avowed principles, and use all my influence (whatever it may be), in opposition to the repeal of the law ; laying aside the instructions from the legislature of Massachusetts ; while I publicly treat them with decency, I shall hold them in contempt."

" February 9th. I have received an invitation to dine next Tuesday with Mr. Bagot. Dining lately at the French Minister's, I had the good fortune to sit beside Mrs. Bagot, who you have heard me say was a very pleasant woman. A gentleman on the opposite side of the table asked her about her little daughter, who is four years old, and praised her. I had not seen her. I remarked pleasantly to Mrs. Bagot that gentlemen were apt to make compliments of that sort, knowing they were acceptable to mothers. ' Ah, but my daughter is a sweet little girl, and you will acknowledge it when you see her.' ' Why, madam, no man is more delighted *with sweet little girls* than I am ; and when I find such, I am not backward to manifest it.' ' And if you do not so find them ? ' she replied. ' I am silent.' ' Oh, then, I shall know what you think of mine ; but I am sure you will be pleased when you see her.' Here ended our dialogue on the subject. I hope I shall have reason to caress the little creature : I certainly shall if she is like her mother. Mrs. Bagot is so frank, so sociable, and so absolutely free from affectation, and *withal so pretty*, that a person must want sensibility not to be pleased with her.

" Marquis Wellesley, Mrs. Bagot's father, and Lord Wellington are brothers. Another brother, I believe, is now the British Minister to the Court of Spain. An extraordinary family, to be, so many of them, highly distinguished.

" A few days since, I had a letter from Judge Peters, not on business, but, as he said, merely to *brighten the chain*, — an Indian expression, meaning to renew the evidence of friendship. His daughters, whom I love, were well, and himself entirely so. He was seventy-two years old last June."

" Time passes rapidly along. In twenty-eight days the session will end ; and I shall be happy to end my public cares. I enjoy, by anticipation, the tranquillity of private life, although it should be a laborious one."

In Colonel Pickering's miscellaneous correspondence, at this period, which was extensive and various, relating to political, philanthropic, and agricultural subjects, the following letter, giving his views on a question that long engaged his attention, is worthy of preservation. It is dated from the city of Washington, February 8th, 1817, and addressed to Thomas Stewardson and Thomas Wistar.

“GENTLEMEN,

“This afternoon I received your letter of the 4th, mentioning the improvements among the Indians on the Alleghany and Cattaraugus by the instrumentality of agents employed by the Society of Friends. The information gives me much pleasure, and I am greatly obliged by the communication.

“Knowing, as I do, the rapacity of some men among the whites, I am not surprised at the attempts to seduce the chiefs *to sell the seats from under themselves and their people*. It is in the power of the government to defeat these attempts. But artful men may apply to it for the appointment of a commissioner to hold a treaty; and by false but plausible representations, and perhaps, too, aided by certificates of men apparently disinterested, obtain their requests; the poor, oppressed Indians ‘having no comforter.’ As you invite me to offer my advice on this subject, I here present for your consideration the thoughts which at once occur to me.

“1. Let the chiefs and all their people assemble in council, and enter into an agreement never to sell their lands, or any part of them, without the assent of the warriors or grown men, as well as of their chiefs. A writing on parchment by duplicate might be prepared by one of your law friends, to be executed by the Indians; one copy to be kept in their settlement, and the other by your society.

“2. Let each family have a sufficient quantity of land assigned to it, which, under its cultivation, will be adequate to the support of all its members; and let this be an inheritance inalienable by the occupant except to an Indian: as their numbers increase, by the young men coming to an age to

manage small farms, let lands be accordingly set off to them, and be alike inalienable.

“3. Let an arrangement of this sort be proposed and clearly explained to them as the basis of an application to the legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania (for I suppose their lands lie in both States) to confirm it.

“4. Let a memorial be presented to the President of the United States, praying him to give no heed to persons who shall apply to him to appoint agents to superintend the sale of their lands; and laying before him a copy of their family compact (if they shall be persuaded to form one), to render the appropriated lots of land and farms inalienable. By laws enacted from the year 1790 to 1802, no purchases of Indians' lands are valid unless made at a treaty held under the authority of the United States. The former laws were temporary; the last, enacted 30th of March, 1802, is without limitation.

“If so much can be effected, and some of your society continue to live among these Indians, exercising due vigilance to prevent any tampering from the whites, I should think them pretty well secured.”

Particularly pleasant relations always subsisted between Colonel Pickering and the Society of Friends. He sympathized fully in the interest they took in the welfare and civilization of the Indian tribes, and in their philanthropic views generally. There was much in his tastes, habits, and modes that was in accordance with theirs; and, on his final retirement from Congress, one of their most eminent and honored members, Roberts Vaux of Philadelphia, wrote to him, as follows:—

“Permit me to request the favor of thy acceptance of the two volumes which accompany this note, — one of them ‘Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford;’ the other, ‘Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet.’

“Pardon me for embracing this occasion to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which, as an individual, I owe for those

services rendered to our common country during that portion of thy life which has been devoted to public duties since I have been of an age capable of reflecting upon them. They surely are services for which higher and more imperishable rewards are in store than it is in the power of humanity either to withhold or dispense.

“I am, with great respect, thy junior friend,

“ROBERTS VAUX.

“COLONEL PICKERING.

“PHILADELPHIA, Arch Street, 8 mo. 18th, 1817.”

Colonel Pickering replied as follows : —

“DEAR SIR,

“My sincere acknowledgments are due to you for your very kind letter of the 13th, accompanying the presents of your Lives of Lay, Sandiford, and Benezet.

“Although long since grown indifferent to unjust reproach (of which few more than I have been the object), I was never insensible to the approbation of those whom I thought, and the discerning part of the world would be ready to pronounce, wise and good men, and when such approbation springs spontaneously, and even without personal acquaintance, from a candid view of my public conduct, it is peculiarly grateful. The characters of public men, however, are often greatly misunderstood. Few have opportunities of knowing them intimately. One, a friend, pronounces the eulogy, and it is repeated by others who presume the eulogist knows what he applauds: the praise extends; it grows into fashion; and fashion governs the world. But I have lived too long, ‘through evil report and good report,’ to be unknown to discerning and unprejudiced minds; and I should offer a poor compliment to your understanding and faculty of observing, were I to disclaim all merit for the services to which you refer. Be assured, I have often felt regret that they were not of more value. In truth, I have not seldom been mortified by praise, presumed to be just, but which I was conscious I did not deserve.”

During the twelve years of Colonel Pickering’s service in the two Houses of Congress, party passions ran high

through the country: the animosities and prejudices of his opponents were specially concentrated against him, and he bore the brunt of his position, as the bold and defiant leader of a hated minority. The attempt to break him down by a vote of censure in the Senate has been described. New men, of the Democratic party, came into Congress with the most hostile feelings towards him. But his course, although decided and fearless, was so dignified, consistent, and courteous, as well as manly, that personal prejudice yielded to the conviction that he was honest and patriotic, and gave way to sentiments of respect for his age, experience, wisdom, and integrity. This result, steady and gradual, appears in the records of debate, and was particularly demonstrated in the last session of the fourteenth Congress. The weight of his character had become recognized. The testimonies of eminent political opponents to this effect are quite abundant and remarkable.

Thomas H. Benton, so long the eminent leader of the Democratic party in the Senate of the United States, in a speech delivered in that body, May 22d, 1846, on the "Oregon jurisdiction bill," thus spoke of Colonel Pickering: —

"Mr. President, when a man is struggling in a just cause, he generally gets help, and often from unforeseen and unexpected quarters. So it has happened with me in this affair of the Utrecht treaty. A great many hands have hastened to bear evidence of the truth in this case; and, at the head of these opportune testimonies, I place the letter of a gentleman who, besides his own great authority, gives a reference to another who, from his long political position in our country, the powers of his mind, and the habits of his life, happens to be the one who can shed most light upon the subject. I speak of Colonel Timothy Pickering, — the friend and companion of Washington; his

Quartermaster-General during the war of the Revolution; his Postmaster-General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, during his Presidency; a member of this body at the time the treaty was ratified which made us a party to the treaty of Utrecht; always a man to consider and to understand what he was about: in fact, Washington wanted no other sort of men about him."

The letter Colonel Benton had received was from Timothy Pitkin of Connecticut, giving extracts from a communication made to President Jefferson, in 1804, by Colonel Pickering, on the boundary of Louisiana, and which has been noticed in this Biography. The communication thus made by Colonel Pickering contained a passage of decisive importance from "Hutchin's Description of Louisiana." Colonel Benton could not find the book in the congressional library, but several persons sent him copies from different parts of the Union; and, "upon comparison," he says, "I find Mr. Pickering's extract to be correct to a letter. It is full and complete to the point in question."

After making this reference to the paper addressed by Colonel Pickering to Mr. Jefferson, Colonel Benton proceeded:—

"And now I will say that I saw Mr. Pickering once, and under circumstances to remember him. It was at the extra session of Congress in 1813; he was a member of the House of Representatives, I a looker-on from the hot and suffocating gallery, better paid for my sufferance than those who are listening to me now. I saw an aged man, always in his seat, always attentive, always respectful. The decorum of his conduct struck me. I inquired his name: it turned out to be one who had been formed in the school of Washington, of whom I knew but little up to that time but through the medium of party watchwords, and of whom I then said that,

if events should ever make me a member of Congress, I should love to imitate the decorum."

Colonel Benton, in a conversation not long before his death, remarked that the impression made by Colonel Pickering's deportment in the house had remained vividly on his mind ever since. He particularly noticed how constant was his attention to the business and proceedings, that he listened respectfully to every speaker, however unattractive his manner, and however opposed to his own might be the sentiments of the member addressing the body. He seemed, more than any one else, to realize the design of a deliberative assembly,—that all might offer their views, and that whatever might be presented, from whatever quarter, in whatever shape, should be courteously heard, and fairly weighed. "In short," said Colonel Benton, "I looked upon him as a model legislator, and have always continued, without regard to political differences, to hold him among the honored patriarchs of the country."

Charles Jared Ingersoll was, with Colonel Pickering, a member of the thirteenth Congress. In his "Historical Sketch of the second War between Great Britain and the United States," he gives notices of several distinguished men in Congress at that time. That of Colonel Pickering, while it shows the political antagonism between them, indicates clearly the personal respect Ingersoll entertained for him notwithstanding; and may be considered as expressing the views of Democrats generally, as to Colonel Pickering's honesty, strength of character, and power of mind. As the account of the passage in Colonel Pickering's speech on the "loan bill" was given by Mr. Ingersoll from memory, it is not

surprising that it differs a little from the speech as reported.

“ Timothy Pickering’s is a name familiar and conspicuous in the first fifty years of the United States. He served in the commissariat in the army of the Revolution, was Postmaster-General, then Secretary of State, in Washington’s administration, and, as the latter, inherited by President John Adams, to whom it proved an unprofitable devise; for he became so hostile to his own chief as to condemn his measures, his appointments, and even carry opposition to the extreme of denouncing the President, at his drawing-rooms, as a fool and a marplot. This was because Mr. Adams paused in going all lengths in joining England in a war against France. In 1812, Mr. Pickering abated none of this antipathy, but abominated the French and their Emperor as heartily as the Englishman who proclaimed it part of his creed to hate a Frenchman. Mr. Pickering was a large-framed, muscular man, with a prominent Roman face, intense in his politics, hating Adams, nor esteeming Washington’s talents, holding Jefferson and his school in sovereign aversion. It was said that Washington spoiled a good Postmaster-General, to make a bad Secretary of State, when he promoted Mr. Pickering from one of those places to the other. But Mr. Madison jocularly added that, after due allowance for Pickering’s abuse of the French, with which his despatches were always spiced, they were able papers. In 1812, he was the representative of what was called the Essex Junto, a root and branch opponent of the war, and denounced all who loaned money for it. If he had been a clergyman, his homilies would have been in unison with those before quoted, as specimens of the clerical tone of Massachusetts; yet was he perhaps as well entitled to his opinions as those who thought otherwise, and perfectly sincere in them. His reputation was that of a consistent, upright man, who lived and died, firm in the convictions he cherished, hard, but honest. On a great field-day debate, in 1814, on the loan bill, when the house in committee of the whole gave six weeks to those speeches for political capital, at home and abroad, which are among the ways and means of free countries

with a free press, — much preferable to more serious combats — Mr. Pickering, in the course of his harangue, looking through his spectacles full in the chairman's face said, with great emphasis, swinging his long arm aloft, that he stood on a rock. 'I stand on a rock,' said he, 'from which all Democracy,' then raising his voice and repeating it, 'not all Democracy, and hell to boot, can move me, — the rock of integrity and truth.'

The errors of statement in the foregoing are of no account, as regards the purpose in presenting it. Mr. Ingersoll seems to have had a very imperfect knowledge of Colonel Pickering's positions and functions in the Revolutionary war. He was not Postmaster-General when made Secretary of State, but was, and for some time had been, Secretary of War. To say that he was "a bad Secretary of State" was singularly in conflict with Mr. Madison's testimony, adduced in the next sentence, as to his ability in the discharge of the duties of that office. The charge that he "denounced the President at his drawing-rooms as a fool and a marplot," is inconsistent with the fact that the relations between him and "his chief" were courteous and respectful until the sudden and final rupture between them. Mere loose partisan talk is not a basis for grave historical statements. Mr. Ingersoll's account is decisive evidence, however, that Colonel Pickering's political opponents had learned to respect him; that they recognized his justly established reputation, as "a consistent, upright man;" and admired his honesty, perfect sincerity, firmness in his convictions, and boldness in maintaining them.

Philip Pendleton Barbour, of Virginia, was one of the eminent men of his day, member of Congress from 1814 to 1825, at one time Speaker of the house, Judge of a

Virginia Court, President of the Constitutional Convention of that State in 1829, Judge of the United States District Court, and a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1836 to his death in 1841. He was one of the strongest Democrats in the country, and always regarded as a genuine representative of that party. The following letter records his estimate of Colonel Pickering:—

“ALEXANDRIA, Va., February 9th, 1852.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“It was from me that you heard the anecdote concerning Mrs. Bryan’s brother and the Honorable Timothy Pickering, to which you refer in your letter to Mr. Wylie.

“I derived the facts from Judge Barbour’s own lips. He told me that, owing to his political education in the school of Jefferson, and the representations in Democratic party papers which he had read in reference to Timothy Pickering, he had conceived a violent prejudice against him, both as a politician and a man.

“While his mind was under the influence of this state of feeling, it happened that Mr. Pickering and he were placed upon the same committee of the House of Representatives, and both being industrious members they met together at the committee room before any of the other members came there.

“At the first moment of their first interview, the Judge said he felt so much aversion to Mr. Pickering, that he was disposed to keep aloof from, and enter into no conversation with, him. But Mr. Pickering volunteered, in a most courteous and agreeable manner, some remark to which the Judge was constrained to make a civil reply; and the subject, he said, led to other remarks and other responses, until the conversation became interesting, and he felt that he was in the presence of a man of intellectual power and of much information. Already he began to feel that Mr. Pickering was a better man, and perhaps not so unworthy a politician as he had supposed him to be.

“They soon afterwards met again under similar circum-

stances, and similar results ensued. The Judge's preconceived antipathy to Mr. Pickering had by this time nearly vanished. It was succeeded by feelings of respect and attachment. So far was Mr. Barbour from being reluctant thereafter to enter into conversation with Mr. Pickering, that he declared to me he looked forward to their early meeting in the committee-room with delightful anticipations, and that these were uniformly realized.

“The Judge said he had never met with a man in whose honest simplicity of heart and candor of opinions he felt more confidence. And the rich stores of Mr. Pickering's mind, he declared, were to him a source of mental enjoyment which made him regret that he had not been acquainted with it sooner, and that he could not have access to it longer.

“Judge Barbour was a man of ardent sensibilities; and although somewhat prone to adopt unfounded prejudices, yet of these his mind was easily disabused, especially by personal intercourse, when they pertained to persons; and it appeared to afford him heartfelt gratification to atone for injustice done to his fellow-men, under the influence of wrong opinions, when he was convinced of their error.

“Hence he seemed to take pleasure in dwelling, in terms of eulogy, upon what he regarded as the domestic virtues and the amiable and noble traits of Mr. Pickering's character. He touched upon these with pathetic emphasis, and described Mr. Pickering's own views of his sufferings for his country, and the injustice with which his sacrifices and his patriotism had been visited by the fanaticism of party, with a fervor of manner which proved how deeply the recital had sunk into the Judge's heart. This recital comprised a representation of Mr. Pickering's circumscribed pecuniary resources, and the necessity he was under of laboring upon his little farm with his own hands. This feature in his character the Judge considered as a proof of the purity of his political life, and of his high independent spirit; and he (Mr. Barbour) concluded his references to Mr. Pickering with the declaration, that, however much he might differ with the latter in relation to some of his leading political sentiments, he regarded Mr. Pickering as an honest man and an upright statesman.

“I give you the foregoing hastily scribbled outline of my recollections of Judge Barbour’s sketch of his interviews with, and opinions concerning, Mr. Pickering, and without attempting to recite the Judge’s exact words on the occasion, I am sure that I exhibit their purport.

“Very respectfully your friend,

“DANIEL BRYAN.

“GEORGE L. WARD.”

On the 30th of January, 1817, John Randolph, in the course of a speech in the House of Representatives, expressed himself thus:—

“No man in the United States has been more misunderstood, no man more reviled, — and that is a bold declaration *for me to make*, — than Alexander Hamilton, unless, perhaps, the venerable member from Massachusetts, who generally sits in *that seat*” (pointing to the seat usually occupied by Mr. Pickering); “and whom, whatever may be said of him, all will allow to be an honest man. The other day, when on the compensation question he was speaking of his own situation, when his voice faltered and his eyes filled at the mention of his poverty, I thought that I would have given the riches of Dives himself for his feelings at the moment; for his poverty was not the consequence of idleness, extravagance, or luxury, nor of the gambling spirit of speculation: it was an honorable poverty, after a life spent in a laborious service, and in the highest offices of trust under government, during the war of Independence, as well as under the present Constitution. Sir, I have not much, although it would be gross affectation in me to plead poverty. Whatever I have, however, such as it is, I would freely give to the venerable gentleman, if he will accept it, to have it said over my grave, as it may with truth be over his, — Here lies the man who was favored with the confidence of Washington and the enmity of his successor.”

The house listened in profound and respectful silence, and every mind accorded with the tribute paid to one whom all allowed to be an honest man.

With the expiration of the fourteenth Congress, on the 3d of March, 1817, Colonel Pickering's public life in the service of the United States was finally closed. It may be considered as dating back to December, 1776, when he marched with his regiment to join the army of Washington in the Jerseys, and embraced a period of more than forty years in military and civil services, with but brief intervals; the only one of considerable length was that spent in the administration of affairs and the execution of functions imposed by the authority of Pennsylvania, in organizing and establishing law, order, and peace in one of its then frontier counties.

In retiring from the service of the United States, he bore with him the respect of the people of all parties and sections, as demonstrated and attested by Colonel Benton, Judge Barbour, John Randolph of Roanoke, and even of the most strenuous political opponents, like Charles Jared Ingersoll.

On his return home he visited his daughter, at her residence in the vicinity of Baltimore; Mr. M'Henry, and particular acquaintances there and in Philadelphia; Mr. Boudinot at Burlington; others in New York; and his old friend Hillhouse at New Haven.

From Wenham, March 31st, 1817, he wrote to Mr. Randolph as follows:—

“Lingering on my way from Washington to see friends whom I might never meet again, I did not reach home until the 29th, where I found your letter of the 15th from Richmond. I am gratified that you were so good as to give me an account of the restoration of your wonted health. I wish this may be improved and long continued. Allow me to express another wish, which fresh health and the leisure you can *command* will enable you to indulge, for the public good,—

that you would commit to paper the history of important events deeply affecting the welfare of your country, of which you have been a witness, and to which your manner, your illustrations, and your reflections, would give peculiar interest.

“I am too much flattered by your request not to take pains to comply with it. Having given to my children and friends my profile, drawn, engraved, and printed by St. Menin, I searched for some additional impressions, which I had caused to be struck off to answer additional calls, but which (from the slightness of the engraving) were comparatively faint. The remainder of them I could not find; but in the search I luckily discovered one of the original proof prints, which I do myself the honor to enclose. I have now to make a request, in my turn, not for a debt reciprocally due, but as a favor, that you, if possessed of a spare impression, will send to me a print of your own likeness. It would gratify many of my friends as well as me.

“Before my arrival at New York, I was solicited by a painter of that city (Mr. S. L. Waldo) to sit for my portrait. I viewed his pictures; they appeared to be well executed, and the likenesses of the faces which I knew were striking. I sat. The painter was pleased with his own work: he intimated a desire to have it engraved if I had no objection. Should the engraving be made, I shall get some of the prints, which, if well executed, will present me in a different, and perhaps preferable, aspect; and I shall take the liberty of sending one to you.

“To return to your letter. You recovered by ‘following the instincts of nature.’ My own natural feelings have been my guide to health these fifty years. If indisposed, I changed my diet to one more or less simple, according to the degree of indisposition, — down to barley-water, rice-water, or corn-meal water-gruel, without butter or sugar, or any other condiment, save simple salt; and usually in one, two, or three days I was well, — rarely, very rarely, taking any physic; *none* that I recollect, since the siege of Yorktown. I have never had occasion to keep my bed one day in my life. Doubtless a good constitution was the essential basis of such uncommon health, while *regimen* was probably not much less essential.

"I do not recollect to what post-office I should address this letter, but your name will in Virginia be as sure a guide.

"With great respect and esteem, I am, &c.,

"TIMOTHY PICKERING.

"HON. JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke."

Mr. Randolph replied as follows:—

"ROANOKE, April 20th, 1817.

"My trunks are packed, and my horses at the door; and I am just taking wing for Richmond and Norfolk, whence I shall embark for Europe. As I was about to step into my carriage a servant arrived from the post-office with your welcome letter of the 31st of March. The profile is truly acceptable, as will be the other engraving from Waldo's painting. I have placed it in my portfolio along with some others of my friends that I am taking with me, and I have turned the key of my cabinet (perhaps for the last time), to procure for you the last engraving that I have, from a miniature by Wood, who painted it in the first session of Mr. Madison's administration, June, 1809.

"My *compagnon du voyage* (you see I have already begun to jabber French) is impatient. Adieu, my dear Sir. A letter addressed to the care of Messrs. James and John Dunlop, London, will reach me. I am, with the most unfeigned esteem, your obliged and faithful servant, John Randolph of Roanoke."

The following interesting correspondence occurred soon after Colonel Pickering's return to Wenham:—

"PHILADELPHIA, 4 mo. 5th, 1817.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I went to my cottage the forepart of the week to give some directions preparatory to removing my family thither for the season. I was absent several days, having previously ordered a barrel of Say and Sockel's best ale to be put on board a schooner, called 'Hero,' Captain Dagget, bound for Boston, addressed to Timothy Pickering, Esq., of Salem, to the care of Timothy Williams, Esq., of Boston. On my return I found that the vessel had sailed with the cask, but

without any bill of lading being signed by the captain, or letter of advice concerning it. My son-in-law, B. Warren, knows the captain, and says he is an honest man, a regular trader, and will deliver the cask agreeably to the direction nailed on the cask, written by myself; which I hope will be performed. I beg thy acceptance of this small token of the esteem which thy conduct, in several exalted stations, has justly gained, and thy amiable conduct in private life has inspired me with. I have seen Doctor Logan, who speaks with high satisfaction of the pleasure he enjoyed in the conversation, the evening thou favored him with thy company at Stenton, before thy departure. I regret only, in thy retirement from public business, the circumstance that it will prevent any opportunity of my obtaining another interview with thee in thy passages to and from the seat of government. I cannot forbear mentioning a conversation which my son Redwood had with Langdon Cheves at Charleston, S. C., to whom I had given him a letter on his late trip thither. He returned unexpectedly a few days ago. Langdon Cheves told him there was no man that had been in Congress in his time with whom he would have more enjoyed an intimate intercourse of conversation, and an exchange of sentiments, than with Colonel Pickering; but he never could obtain it, there being always, when he saw thee, some impediment to prevent a full disclosure of his mind or thine; and my son, to whom he did freely communicate himself, says he did sincerely regret it.

“Farewell, my friend, and may the satisfaction of mind (the highest reward this life affords) which results from reflection on a life spent in the service of thy country, with the most upright intentions for its good, and without a cause for reproach, attend thee to thy last hour.

“If the widow of William Northey be living, be pleased to communicate the lively sense I retain of her kindness to me, when I spent part of two days in her family, forty-three years ago.

“Thy affectionate friend,

“MIERS FISHER.”

“ WENHAM, May 5th, 1817.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have had the pleasure of receiving your very kind letter of the 5th, and soon after the barrel of ale arrived; a token of the kind sentiments you entertain for me, of which, if it were possible for me to be regardless, every bottle I should taste would upbraid me. Next to the ‘self-approving hour,’ the approbation of honest and discerning men is most grateful. I sincerely thank you for the very obliging expression of yours. Concurring with the testimonies of other congenial minds, I am persuaded to believe, while conscious of great defects, that I have not lived altogether in vain.

“ Mr. Cheves’s observations to your son, which you kindly recite, give me much satisfaction; because, I considered him as an upright, as well as very intelligent, man; I sincerely regretted that he approved, if he did not promote, the war with Great Britain. But he had received the impressions of the party to which he originally belonged; and it requires time to remove early and strong prejudices. On the floor of the house, he justified the declaration of war at the time it was made on this ground, that Great Britain, hard pressed by the European powers and without an efficient ally, might, and probably would, yield to what his party pronounced to be the just claims of the United States. This, I thought, was an ungenerous, and in the actual state of the civilized world at that time, an unwarrantable sentiment; and I noticed it accordingly, in the remarks I submitted to the house.

“ I am pleased to be assured that my visit to Stenton was acceptable to Doctor Logan. That it was so prolonged is a proof how much the visit was gratifying to me.

“ The widow of William Northey lives ten miles from me. I will embrace the first opportunity to communicate your kind remembrance of her.

“ If my health and activity should continue, I do not despair of more than once seeing you, and others of my friends in and near Philadelphia; and now bid you an affectionate farewell.

“ TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“ MIERS FISHER, Esq.”

On the 31st of May, 1817, Colonel Pickering was elected by the legislature of Massachusetts a member of the Executive Council, and served one year in that body. It is a singular circumstance that, in his long and varied public life, while he held many official stations under the government of Massachusetts, as a Province and as a State,—several military and civil commissions, Judge of Admiralty, Judge and Chief Justice for many years of the Court of Common Pleas; member of the Commission for Sea-Coast Defence, and of the Board of War in the war of 1812,—he never was attached to the government proper but in two instances, each of brief duration. On the 4th of June, 1776, he was chosen one of the Representatives of Salem, in the General Court, to carry out the views of the town, expressed in a vote to this effect,—“That if the Honorable Congress shall, for the safety of the United American Colonies, declare them independent of Great Britain, we will solemnly engage, with our lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure.” After a brief attendance, he was called to other duties in the impending struggle. A period of forty-one years intervened, before he was placed in the Executive Council.

At the conclusion of the political year in May, 1818, his official life, under the government of the State and nation closed. From the year 1771 to the opening of the Revolution, he was in places of trust and importance in the administration of town affairs. Town-Clerk, all along on the Board of Selectmen, for the most time its Chairman; Assessor, Fireward, Overseer of the Poor, and in whatever post his extraordinary activity and industry were seen to qualify him pre-eminently to occupy:

in the war of the Revolution; in various services in Pennsylvania; in Indian missions, negotiations, and treaties; in the cabinets of Washington and Adams; in both Houses of Congress, — his life was a long-protracted and diversified, as well as important, arduous, and conspicuous, political and civil service, embracing from 1771 to 1818, forty-seven years. In its length, it is, perhaps, without a parallel: and considering the amount of labor performed; the elevation and responsibility of the area included in the range of his official duties; the strange perils and adventures of Wyoming; and the extreme vicissitudes of his experience, — high public positions alternating with laborious toils; the ceremonies of courts with the conditions of a hard-working farmer; at one moment conducting, as chief officer of state, the intercourse of the nation with foreign ambassadors; the next, building with his own hands, as a shelter and abode, a log-hut in the primeval wilderness; and, the next, occupying a seat in the Senate of the United States, — his story has no equal in the biographies of the great men of the country. But, although his political official life terminated in 1818, his active interest and participation in the affairs of his country, and public services, not political, still continued for many years.

CHAPTER IX.

Agricultural Society of Essex County. — Colonel Pickering its President. — His Address in 1818. — Visit to his Daughter in Maryland. — Her Death. — Agricultural Address in 1820. — Journey to Baltimore. — Removes his Family to Salem. — Correspondence with Jefferson on Religion. — Chairman of the Salem School-Committee. — Visit to Philadelphia. — James Taylor. — Address before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. — Wins the first Premium at a Ploughing-Match. — Reads the Declaration of Independence at a Fourth of July Celebration. — Relations with John Adams. — Adams and Cunningham Correspondence. — His "Review" of it. — Agricultural Report. — Engaged to write the Life of Hamilton. — Visits Philadelphia and New York. — Personal Friendships. — Interest in the Greek Revolution. — Address on the Subject. — Death of his Wife. — Essex Agricultural Address in 1828.

1818-1828.

ON the expiration of his service in the Executive Council of Massachusetts, Colonel Pickering, relieved of official duties and cares, entered on the free and full enjoyment of those engagements and occupations, as a farmer, which had been, and continued to the end to be, his favorite pursuit. He had taken a great interest, the year before, in the formation of the "Essex Agricultural Society;" and, on the 5th of May, 1818, an address communicated to it by him, as its President, was, in his necessary absence, read by another. It was printed, and is a valuable and instructive document.

At the congressional election, in November, 1818, there being no Federal candidate, some individuals,

without any organized concert, threw about four hundred votes for him, as a voluntary complimentary expression. This was entirely without his previous knowledge, or that of any of his personal friends. The regularly nominated Democratic candidate was of course elected.

In the latter part of this year he prepared, in the form of a letter to his son Henry, and in compliance with his request, the account of his experiences in Wyoming, particularly in 1787 and 1788. It was printed, and has been largely drawn upon in a previous volume of this Biography.

In the beginning of February, 1819, he started from home to visit his daughter Elizabeth, at her residence, about seven miles from Baltimore. Writing to his wife from Philadelphia, February 6th, he says: —

“I arrived here yesterday, about eleven in the forenoon. Before I left home I felt much reluctance to commence the journey; yet I never before travelled with so much ease. The roads were never so good, and the carriages have been improved. There are now several lines of *stage-coaches*, hung on springs, like those which ply between Boston and Portsmouth; but, perhaps, with some improvements.”

The use of steamboats on some sections of the route, as well as improved vehicles and roads, made the contrast with former modes of travel so great that he expresses himself in the strongest terms.

“The journey was so remarkably easy, that, had I judged by my feelings only, I could not have known but that I had been sitting in an easy-chair, since the moment I parted from home.”

After spending some days with his daughter, he went

on to Washington. Writing to his wife on the 18th of February, he says: —

“I rode hither last Tuesday, on horseback, from Mr. Dorsey’s, about thirty-four miles. On the Friday and Saturday preceding, there fell a snow, about eight or nine inches deep, on a level. Very little of it now remains. Yesterday I went to the Halls of Congress, and received a cordial welcome from my old acquaintances, as well among those called Democrats as Federalists. After this I had a half-hour’s conversation with the President; and, last evening, went with Mrs. Peter’s family to the Drawing-room. Mrs. Monroe looks uncommonly well for a lady at her time of life. The President’s house, rebuilt, is finished and furnished in a style of splendor surpassing any thing before exhibited in the United States. If it were the abode of royalty, nothing more costly or magnificent could be required. The truth is that Republicans are not only proud, but more proud than the subjects of kings, the courtiers alone excepted. The actions of the former belie all the professions of Republican simplicity.

“Being in perfect health, having this winter evidently gained some flesh, and riding in the open air giving me more than my usual color, I am told by almost every one who formerly knew me that I look younger than when they last saw me. One said that I appeared younger than I did twenty years ago. To this extravagance I only answered, that I felt no older than I did two years ago, the time when I left Congress.”

He gave to his wife the following account of their daughter’s situation: —

“Mr. Dorsey’s house is roomy and very convenient. It presents from its elevated site an uncommonly fine prospect of great extent. Having, in repeated conversations, become better acquainted with him, I am able to pronounce him possessed of an excellent understanding; and he manifests the evidences of a pure, liberal, and good heart. He is also attentive to the management of his farm. I have great reason

to be satisfied, and believe that Elizabeth is really happy in her connection."

From Washington he rode back to Mr. Dorsey's; and, after spending some days there, bid Elizabeth farewell, and reached home early in April.

It was a last farewell. She died August 11th, 1819, at her residence, at Elk Ridge, after an illness of three weeks, commencing with bilious fever.

Mrs. Pickering wrote as follows, August 26th, to Mrs. Frances Maria Garrison, the good friend who had been with her daughter in her sickness:—

“MY KIND FRIEND MRS. GARRISON,

“I have received your letter of the 18th, full of affection for my dear deceased daughter. In this afflicting dispensation of Divine Providence, I am comforted in the recollection of her virtue and unaffected piety. It is also a great satisfaction to know that, in all times of need, she had so tender a nurse, and that you received from her such proofs of her good and amiable heart as have produced in you the kindest feelings towards her. Her distant separation from me was always grievous; but, as it was the consequence of her own choice, I acquiesced. The happiness of parents is bound up with the happiness of their children. She had often urged a long visit from me, and I expected the gratification, in the ensuing year, with her father. I was also very desirous of seeing her sweet infant; a desire increased by Mr. Pickering's description of her. If she should live until old enough to bear the journey, I hope yet to see her here.

“Accept my sincere thanks for your kind attentions to my dear daughter, and the communication of your warm sentiments of affection for her.”

On the 21st of February, 1820, at a meeting of the Essex Agricultural Society, held in Topsfield, Colonel Pickering delivered a discourse, which was published, replete with practical and valuable suggestions, the re-

sult of his long experience as a working farmer, and of an extensive acquaintance with the literature of what he calls, in addressing the husbandmen of his native county, "our profession." The subjects particularly discussed were "deep ploughing and manuring," "root crops," "Indian-corn and winter grain," "live-stock," and "orchards."

On the 3d of July he left home for Baltimore, starting from Boston the next day. A letter to his wife states that he arrived at Baltimore on the 8th, "at four o'clock in the morning."

"Thus, in four days and one night, I performed this long journey, sleeping quietly every night, — two nights on land, and two in the steamboats.

"Calling at Mrs. Donaldson's, she informed me that Mrs. Garrison being sick, she had engaged another nurse, of excellent character, to take charge of the child, who, with her father, were at Belmont. Here I found her very well, full of life, and beginning to talk. Mr. Dorsey enjoys good health; and his interesting sister, Mrs. Hanson, is as well as I have ever seen her; little Mary was in her arms when I arrived at the door. I was not expected till about next Tuesday.

"As the new nurse is a stranger to the child, I think they must pass two days together at Mrs. Donaldson's, to become acquainted, and the child be quiet and contented on the journey. So I do not expect to leave Baltimore till next Wednesday or Thursday. I shall make it easy to the child, by stopping a day in Philadelphia, and a day or two at New Haven, where Mr. Hillhouse insisted on my going, with the nurse and child, to his house."

The grandchild of whom he had charge on this journey was a year and nine months old. He speaks of her, in a letter to his wife of July 17th, while on the route, as follows: —

“The child is handsome; its resemblance to her mother when a child, though less handsome, — with its intelligence, with all the tender recollections which the circumstances give rise to, — have already made her very dear to me.”

In the spring of this year, the family removed from Wenham to Salem. The change had long been earnestly desired. Two years before, his son Henry wrote to him as follows: —

“I know not how to address you upon a subject which, though it has given me a good deal of anxiety, may appear of little importance in your eyes. I have long thought, and I am not singular in the opinion, that you are wearing out a life of inestimable value, in pursuits (honorable, indeed, and certainly, in many respects, most pleasant to you) which are incompatible with your age. Thinking, as I do, I cannot but be uneasy at your situation; and, as I have the means of rendering your life comfortable, and its decline easy, I should be criminal in my own mind if I should delay any longer to endeavor to effect an object which I have so much at heart.

“I propose, therefore, that you should either relinquish your farm entirely, or else that you should procure a tenant who, living under your own eye, would conduct it in a manner to please you. I know your fondness for rural life. I would not deprive you of that source of pleasure; neither would I persuade you to do any thing which may be disagreeable to you. All that I ask of you is, to *desist from labor*. And, to convince you that my request is not an unreasonable one, I now inform you that it is my serious determination to obtain for you a suitable annuity for the residue of your life. But, as I must expend a considerable sum to obtain such an annuity as I should be satisfied with, I propose to you to convey to me, outright, the farm in Wenham (on condition that you shall hold it rent-free during your life, and that I shall pay to my mother the annual rent of it, in case she should survive you). And, as I have taken my brother's children under my especial care, I should expect, besides, to receive and hold to my own use all moneys which

may hereafter be obtained for the Starucca farm ; and, in consideration of this, your bond to Lurena shall be cancelled."

No arrangement was agreed upon at that time. On the 27th of March, 1820, Henry renewed his proposals, and in strong and urgent terms. In consideration of his father's relinquishing to him "all his tangible property of whatever nature," he declared his readiness to expend twenty-five thousand dollars in securing to his parents an annuity for their respective lives. This sum was double the amount of his father's property. Henry required that the farm and all other tangible property should be conveyed to him outright, in arranging the business, so as to give the transaction the character of a bargain,—the appearance of an exchange of equivalents ; for he knew that his father would not accept of such a sum as he proposed to expend in securing the annuity, as a *gift*, while able to work for a living : but his chief, and, indeed, only object, was to relieve his father, for ever after, of pecuniary cares, and, above all, to prevent his continuing the arduous toils of a husbandman, by separating him entirely from his farm. He concludes his letter, written from Salem, on this occasion, in these terms :—

"I am afraid that you will think that I am in too much haste about the matter : but I assure you that I shall not be at ease till my views on this head are accomplished ; nor shall I feel that you are permanently fixed *here* till you have heartily entered into the proposed arrangement."

Besides the sum, above stated, which Henry so earnestly desired to appropriate in purchasing the annuity, he had spent an equal amount in providing for the care

and education of his brother Timothy's sons, and in such benefactions, innumerable and constant, as his father had been willing to have him contribute to promote the comfort and enhance the privileges and enjoyments of the family. But he could not prevail upon his father to comply with his noble offer. Nothing could induce Colonel Pickering to abandon the character and occupations of a tiller of his own acres. He had inherited, and he cherished through life, the New England passion to be a landholder. To feel that he is no other man's tenant-at-will; that, within his proper metes and bounds, he is monarch of all he surveys, — this makes a man fit to be called one of the sovereign people. Colonel Pickering realized this sentiment. It assured him of the dignity of his profession as a farmer, and contributed to that independence of mien which marked him in the circles of society and in all the scenes and walks of his life. He loved, moreover, to breathe the fresh air of his own fields and to move about them with free limbs, unfettered by fashion, in the loose garb appropriate to the labors of the axe, the hoe, and the plough. He delighted to witness the tribute of nature to industry; to see the growth from seeds he had planted; to watch the result of the toils of his own hand, and of experiments in culture. To these pleasures he became more and more addicted, the longer he lived. To a life of pensioned indolence, shut up in a crowded town, he could not reconcile himself.

It was finally arranged, in the early part of 1820, that his family should be permanently established in Salem, in which place he was to have his domicile; and that the farm was to be put in charge of a tenant, with the

understanding that in the spring and summer he should, in the week-days, be accommodated in the house, and participate in the operations of the farm, according to his pleasure, returning to Salem on Saturdays. So it continued for years, and, indeed, to the end of his life. When the weather was favorable, he went to Wenham when he liked, and occupied himself according to his fancy while there. Arrangements were made for him to ride to and fro ; but he often preferred, and insisted on, walking, — an exercise in which he always found enjoyment, and was an adept. Slightly inclining forward, following the centre of gravity, with elastic muscles and long strides, he traversed the ground with the ease and celerity of an Indian. I have often met him, after he was eighty years of age, coming into Salem from Wenham, his whole system exhilarated, his step light and buoyant, and without the least appearance of fatigue.

On the 26th of December, 1820, Colonel Pickering addressed an elaborate letter to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, giving his views on the proper military establishment of the United States in time of peace.

A correspondence between Colonel Pickering and Mr. Jefferson, about this time, on religious subjects, is of great interest. Colonel Pickering wrote to him, as follows, on the 12th of February, 1821 : —

“ SIR,

“ You will recollect that Gibbon, in his history of the ‘ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,’ treats of the Christian Religion, and that he assigns five secondary causes of its prevalence, and final victory over the established religions of the earth. Among these, one was ‘ the miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church.’ It seems plain that Gibbon considered the miracles, ascribed to Jesus and his Apostles,

alike destitute of reality as those which are found in the legends of the Church of Rome. In relation to the latter, Bishop Watson, in his letters to the historian, puts 'to his heart' this question, 'Whether her absurd pretensions to that very kind of miraculous powers you have here displayed as operating to the increase of Christianity have not converted half her members to Protestantism, and the other half to infidelity?'

“But absurdities in relation to Christianity are not confined within the pale of the Church of Rome. There are some doctrines taught in Protestant churches, in Europe and America, so repugnant to the ideas I entertain of the perfect wisdom, justice, and benevolence of the Deity, as to authorize the opinion that they could not be the subjects of a divine revelation. I have not found them in the books said to contain such a revelation, and I long ago renounced them. They constituted parts of parental and school instruction from my earliest remembrance; but I never taught them to any of my children. I believed them implicitly till I was of age to think and inquire for myself; and one other doctrine to a later period, that of the Trinity, for I had not heard it called in question in any pulpit, and books on the subject had not fallen in my way. Few, indeed, who can read and understand theological controversies allow themselves time to investigate the merits of the questions involved in them. Official and professional duties occupy the attention of most, and, of numbers of the remaining few of educated men, science, and the general pursuits of literature, engross the leisure hours. Some of these to whom doctrines are presented for religious truths which shock their reason, taking them without further inquiry to be the Christian system, they reject this as an imposture.”

After relating the particulars of a case of this kind that had recently come to his knowledge, he proceeds, addressing Mr. Jefferson, to say:—

“I take the liberty, Sir, to send you Mr. Channing's sermon. Whatever you may think of his views of Christianity,

I am sure that the firm and energetic avowal of his opinions, his candor, his ingenuity, and the elegance of his composition, will fully compensate you for the time you shall spend in its perusal.

“ You cannot be uninformed of a prevalent opinion among your fellow-citizens, that *you are one of the learned unbelievers in revelation*. Your ‘ Notes on Virginia ’ contain expressions which, if they did not *originate*, have served to strengthen, that opinion. You know the influence of a distinguished name over the minds of its warm, and especially of its youthful, admirers ; and should you become, if you are not now, a believer, you will deeply regret the effects of that influence. You can entertain no doubt that, eighteen hundred years ago, there appeared in Judea an extraordinary person, called Jesus Christ, the founder of a sect which, after him, were called Christians ; for Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny speak of him, and of his sect. You also strongly appreciate the *moral precepts* purporting to have been delivered orally or in writing by Jesus, and by some of his followers who professed to be ear and eye witnesses of his words and of the wonderful works ascribed to him. You have called the religion described in the records of those witnesses our ‘ benign religion ; ’ and could you banish from your mind the recollection of the strange tenets which have been grafted upon that religion, and examine its history and unsophisticated doctrines with the same unbiassed disposition in which you read the histories and other writings of celebrated Romans, you might not think them unworthy to be believed by the most enlightened minds. Certainly, no one can think himself justly exposed to the charge of *credulity* for entertaining that religious faith of which Boyle and Locke and Newton were sincere professors.

“ A letter from me, unless on business and the common occurrences of life, you would not expect ; for to literature I have no pretensions, and in politics we did not agree ; but I can disapprove of the principles and oppose the measures of men in public stations with an entire exemption from unkind feelings towards them as individuals. By some I have been injured ; but I am not conscious of entertaining a particle of

resentment or ill-will towards any human being. In all his imitable perfections, Christians believe it to be their duty to imitate God, 'who' (St. Paul saith) 'will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.' In this spirit, and in the simple style of antiquity, I bid you, Farewell.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“The Honorable THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

Jefferson replied as follows:—

“MONTICELLO, February 27th, 1821.

“I have received, Sir, your favor of the 12th, and I assure you I received it with pleasure. It is true, as you say, that we have differed in political opinions; but I can say, with equal truth, that I never suffered a political to become a personal difference. I have been left, on this ground, by some friends I dearly loved; but I was never the first to separate. With some others, of politics different from mine, I have continued in the warmest friendship to this day; and to all, and to yourself particularly, I have ever done moral justice.

“I thank you for Mr. Channing's discourse, which you have been so kind as to forward me. It is not yet at hand, but is doubtless on its way. I had received it through another channel, and read it with high satisfaction. No one sees with greater pleasure than myself the progress of reason in its advances towards rational Christianity. When we shall have done away the incomprehensible jargon of the Trinitarian arithmetic, that three are one and one is three; when we shall have knocked down the artificial scaffolding reared to mask from view the simple structure of Jesus; when, in short, we shall have unlearned every thing which has been taught since his day, and got back to the pure and simple doctrines he inculcated,—we shall then be truly and worthily his disciples; and my opinion is that, if nothing had ever been added to what flowed purely from his lips, the whole world would at this day have been Christian. I know that the case you cite has been a common one. The religion-builders have so distorted and deformed the doctrines of Jesus, so muffled them in mysticisms, fancies, and falsehoods,—have caricatured

them into forms so monstrous and inconceivable, — as to shock reasonable thinkers, to revolt them against the whole, and drive them rashly to pronounce its founder an impostor. Had there never been a commentator, there never would have been an infidel. In the present advance of truth, which we both approve, I do not know that you and I may think alike on all points. As the Creator has made no two faces alike, so no two minds, and probably no two creeds. We well know that among Unitarians themselves there are strong shades of difference, as between Doctors Price and Priestley, for example. So there may be peculiarities in your creed and mine. They are honestly formed, without doubt. I do not wish to trouble the world with mine, nor to be troubled for them. These accounts are to be settled only with him who made us; and to him we leave it, with charity for all others, of whom also he is the only rightful and competent Judge. I have little doubt that the whole of our country will soon be rallied to the unity of the Creator, and, I hope, to the pure doctrines of Jesus also.

“In saying to you so much, and without reserve, on a subject on which I never permit myself to go before the public, I know that I am safe against the infidelities which have so often betrayed my letters to the strictures of those for whom they were not written, and to whom I never meant to commit my peace. To yourself I wish every happiness; and will conclude, as you have done, in the same simple style of antiquity, — ‘*Da operam ut valeas; hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.*’

“THOMAS JEFFERSON.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esq.”

At the annual town meeting in Salem, March 12th, 1821, a general feeling was expressed in favor of raising the condition of the public schools, and a list of persons was made out, and concurred in, to constitute the school committee. It consisted of the most eminent citizens of both political parties. Colonel Pickering's name was at the head of the list; and he was elected Chairman of

the Board. His associates were Joseph Story, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; Nathaniel Silsbee, whose service as a member of Congress had just terminated, and his successor Gideon Barstow; Leverett Saltonstall, David Cummins, John G. King, John Pickering, and Benjamin R. Nichols, — all leading members of the bar; — Samuel Johnson, M. D.; A. L. Peirson, M. D.; and William Fettyplace. The distinguished gentlemen all engaged in the service. The impulse thus given to the schools has constantly been felt from that day to this, and the policy maintained of bringing prominent citizens to share in their superintendence.

At the regular congressional election in Massachusetts, in November, 1820, there was no choice in the Essex South District, a majority of all the votes being then required. The Federal party was divided by contentions in its ranks. At the second trial, on the 8th of January, 1821, there was again no choice, the Federal vote being broken up among a dozen candidates. The third trial was on the 16th of April. An organization was attempted by the Federalists, who put Timothy Pickering in nomination. The unity of the party was largely restored, but not sufficiently to secure the end; and the Democratic candidate was elected.

Early in October, 1821, Colonel Pickering went to Philadelphia, to meet the members of a land company with which he had long been connected, for the purpose of settling its affairs. So complicated was the business, and so great were the delays and embarrassments connected with it, that he was detained in that city nine months. The tediousness and annoyances of the business were relieved by the society of old friends and of new ones.

A friendship was formed with one person in particular, which led to much satisfaction and gratification at the time and interesting correspondence ever after. He speaks of him thus, in a letter to his wife, of December 26th : —

“ There is an admirable lay preacher at the Unitarian Church here ; but he is, in fact, an acute divine. He was a merchant, — a Scotchman, — and is in comfortable circumstances. After forty years of age, he learned Hebrew, that he might for himself explain some dark passages in the Old Testament ; perhaps particularly perverted to support the ‘ strange doctrine,’ as Dr. Watts calls it, of the Trinity, — strange, according to the orthodox notion of it. Mr. James Taylor is this acute divine. He now appears to devote his time to this profession, and officiates regularly without receiving any compensation. I formed an acquaintance with him early after my arrival here, and find him an amiable as well as a very sensible man. His prayers are not long, but admirable, and remarkably pertinent to the subject on which he preaches ; his language elevated as his sentiments, and yet easily understood. He was invited by the New York Unitarian Society to attend the ordination of their minister, a son of Professor Ware. And, last Sunday, Mr. Taylor gave to his congregation in this city so pathetic an account of the proceedings at the ordination as to make the tears rise in my eyes. The eulogy he pronounced on the sermon of the Professor was greatly affecting.”

Writing to his wife from Philadelphia, March 3d, after speaking of the small amount that would probably accrue to him in the final settlement of his land transactions, he says : —

“ My greatest sorrow amidst adverse events is, that, at so advanced a period of our lives, *you* are not enabled to live perfectly at ease, — not *unemployed*, — for no condition is more miserable than the having nothing to do, but only to be so far employed as would be most agreeable. Although I cannot

say that I ever 'knew how to abound,' I have known, in some measure, 'how to want;' and, for myself, I shall find little difficulty in conforming to our means, though these may be scanty. I am pleased with society; but, if this incurs an inconvenient expense, I shall have no difficulty in living in perfect retirement."

The newspapers of the time had the following statement: —

"At a dinner given on the 22d ultimo by the First Troop, Philadelphia Cavalry, our distinguished fellow-citizen, the Hon. Timothy Pickering, who was one of the guests, was complimented by the following toast. It was thus introduced by observations from Captain Smith: —

"GENTLEMEN: I no doubt utter the sentiments of all present, when I express the high degree of satisfaction that is experienced on greeting among us a venerable patriot of our Revolution, — the long-trying friend of his country; the upright, independent, inflexible politician; the companion, the friend, the trusted statesman of the great Washington, — one who now enjoys vigorous health, in the seventy-sixth year of an useful life, the chief part of which has been devoted to the active service of his country. We will drink

"'A continuance of the health of our venerable and much respected guest, the Hon. Timothy Pickering, — the Cincinnatus of America.' Drank in a bumper glass, — standing, — nine cheers. Music, 'Yankee Doodle.'"

When the applause ceased, Colonel Pickering rose, and replied: —

"GENTLEMEN: The compliments just offered me were so unexpected, I am ill prepared to express my sense of the honor they confer. I will therefore only say that, without personal ambition, I have endeavored, in the various offices I have held, to do my duty, and, in doing it, to serve my country."

Which was received with reiterated applause.

The following toast was given on the same occasion by Andrew Gregg, Esquire, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: —

“The ancient colony of Massachusetts Bay, — when the mother country treated her with parental kindness, first to assist her; and, when with oppression and arbitrary authority, first to resist her, — the birthplace of Timothy Pickering.”

After concluding the business which had kept him so long in Philadelphia, he was in New York, on the 15th of July, 1822. The “Evening Post,” of that city, in an interesting article, to the effect that “the founders of a free government seldom live to behold the magnitude and glory of their own works,” has the following: —

“Illustrious men we still have among us, moving and vigorous in the walks of life and in the extraordinary enjoyment of their faculties, who beheld with anxious eyes the rising of that sun that shone on the American Congress, when the most free and enlightened of all governments that time has produced was brought into existence, — men whose bosoms glowed, and whose valor and enthusiasm kindled when the first tone of freedom and sovereignty was breathed within the walls of our political assemblies, and when the first cannon was heard in the fields where we contended.

“Among these illustrious survivors, Timothy Pickering holds a conspicuous rank. He left our city yesterday for his seat in Massachusetts, and he left us on his birthday, when he could say that seventy-seven years had passed over his head. This is a measure of duration not ordinarily reached; and, more especially, it is not reached in that condition which pertains to the venerable patriot of whom we are speaking. He appears to possess all the vivacity and energy of those days when he filled the first stations in the gift of his country, and acted a conspicuous part on the political theatre of the nation. Time, that has bleached his

locks, has neither diminished the powers of his vision, impaired the vigor of his memory, or lessened the firmness of his voice.

“The history of the eventful times through which he passed, and the momentous occurrences in which he participated, are familiar to his recollection, in their minutest details. He carries with him the civil history of his country. He can yet remember every dark cloud which hung over her destinies; he can describe every appalling crisis that tried the spirit, the firmness, and the zeal of her patriots; he can dwell with ease on the eloquence of her early orators, and tell the origin of most of those celebrated State Papers which called forth the praises and admiration of the Earl of Chatham in the British Parliament.

“We express a hope, — and we have good grounds for the expectation, — that this venerable statesman will devote the evening of his days to placing on record the history of those events and transactions so familiar to his remembrance, so honorable to himself, so glorious to his country. To what better purpose can he devote his time? How can he serve posterity more essentially than by placing before their eyes, in an impartial light, the picture of the times that have been? He has served his country in the field and in the cabinet: let him close his labors by acting as the historian of his own times.”

On the 9th of October, 1822, Colonel Pickering delivered the address before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, at Brighton, which was published. It treats of the food of plants; of the increase, preservation, and renewal of the productiveness of soils; of the making of butter and cider; of the turning in of green crops; and of ploughing. It is an able and instructive discourse, showing the results of a life-long study of the works of agricultural writers and of his own protracted experience and observation, and in a style so simple and lucid as to attract and reward the attention of a

general reader. He was a practical as well as a scientific farmer, careful and skilful in all the labors of that calling ; but, perhaps, he was pre-eminently distinguished as a ploughman. When over seventy-five years of age, in competitive trials with the sturdy yeomen of Essex county, he bore off the first premium at a ploughing match. In the address at Brighton, he gives his views on this subject, as follows : —

“ In ploughing, the first aim must be to make straight furrows, and of a uniform breadth and depth ; and so to turn over the furrow-slice as completely to cover whatever plants or manure are upon it. All this cannot be effected with a *hurried* step. And what benefit can possibly result from such a step ? A farmer's oxen at the plough must labor a great part of the day, properly to turn over an acre. To do this, without a driver, will require a skilful ploughman and well-trained oxen. To encourage the forming of *such* ploughmen and oxen, should, I conceive, be the sole object of ploughing matches. Working-oxen, at the plough, may be considered as well trained when they obey the voice of the ploughman, to keep the track in which they ought to move, and step as quick as will be compatible with the necessary continuance of their labor. And, as the annual exhibitions at this place have demonstrated the practicability of performing the *general* operations of the plough with one yoke of oxen, without a driver, it may merit consideration whether premiums should not be thus limited in all future trials with the plough. Under such limitations, every farmer who is ambitious to exhibit proofs of superiority in these points, would be sensible that his oxen must attain a certain size, and be, though not fat, yet well fleshed ; which would give strength to their sinews and momentum to their exertions. With such oxen, all our agricultural labors would be so well performed that there would be no room to envy the condition of farmers in any of our sister States ; in some of which their horses consume, perhaps, as much grain as would furnish bread to all the inhabitants of New England.”

In preparing for the celebration of the Fourth of July, in 1823, at Salem, the committee of arrangements requested Colonel Pickering to take part in the public ceremonies by reading the Declaration of Independence. At the public dinner on the occasion, the President of the day, Judge Story, gave this toast: "Colonel Pickering, our venerable guest, — a zealous patriot, a disinterested statesman, an incorruptible citizen." Colonel Pickering prefaced the reading of the Declaration of Independence by giving a condensed view of the course of occurrences which led to the crisis of the Revolution, and of the circumstances connected with the adoption by the Continental Congress, on the Fourth of July, 1776, of the "Declaration." These remarks were so interesting and important that the committee of arrangements, by a special vote, requested to be allowed to publish them; and they were printed in a pamphlet form. They comprised extracts from a correspondence between Colonel Pickering and John Adams, the latter of whom had complied with a request made by the former to give the details, as remembered by him, of the proceedings that led to the preparation and composition of that famous paper, which are embodied in the introductory statements of Colonel Pickering. This pamphlet attracted great attention at the time.*

Friendly and respectful communications had passed between him and Mr. Adams; and three times they had personally met since the rupture between them in 1800. Colonel Pickering, among his miscellaneous manuscripts, speaks of "three accidental interviews" with President John Adams: —

* Appendix D.

“ On December 20th, 1801, at the anniversary celebration of the landing of the first Colonists at Plymouth, that year, at Boston ; on the last Saturday of September, 1812, at Mr. Quincy's, in the town of Quincy, dining with the Trustees of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society ; and at Boston, in 1817, immediately before dinner, in the drawing-room where Mr. Adams and a great number of gentlemen assembled to dine with President Monroe, at the public dinner provided by gentlemen of Boston. I was then at Boston, attending as a member of the council ; all the members, with the Governor (Brooks) and Lieutenant-Governor (Phillips), being invited to the dinner. In all these instances, President Adams voluntarily and promptly made the first advances in the civilities that ensued between us.”

Edmund Quincy, in the life of his father, Josiah Quincy, gives an interesting account of the second of these interviews. Colonel Pickering, happening to be in Boston that day, was prevailed upon to accompany John Lowell to Quincy. Neither he nor Mr. Adams was apprised that they should meet. On the arrival of Colonel Pickering, the account says :—

“ The welcome was as cordial as he could desire, but my mother felt obliged, while giving it, to tell him whom he would presently encounter, that he might decide for himself whether to stay or return to town.

“ ‘ I did not think of meeting Mr. Adams,’ he replied, ‘ when I agreed to accompany Mr. Lowell hither, as I knew he had left the Board ; and, if my being here will occasion any uneasiness to yourself or Mr. Quincy, I will go away immediately. But, personally, I have no objection to meeting Mr. Adams.’ ”

“ Scarcely had this preliminary been adjusted when Mr. Adams drove up. My father presented himself at the coach-door, and made substantially the same statement of the existing state of affairs that my mother had just despatched, which the ex-President received in the same spirit that his former Prime-Minister had manifested.

“ ‘As your friend, Mr. Quincy,’ said he, ‘I shall be most happy to see Colonel Pickering.’ Accordingly, after paying his respects to his hostess, he turned to Colonel Pickering, and they met with all the external cordiality of old friends who had been long separated, but never divided. They took wine together, according to the good old-fashioned custom of the time ; they talked over old times and old friends, told old-world stories, and made themselves exceedingly agreeable and entertaining to the company, and, we will hope, to each other. When the party broke up and Colonel Pickering took his leave, he and Mr. Adams shook hands together, and expressed the pleasure they had had in each other’s society. After Colonel Pickering was gone, my mother expressed to Mr. Adams her hope that this unexpected meeting had not been unpleasant to him ; for it had been a most interesting one to herself and the rest of the party. ‘No, madam,’ said he, ‘I certainly hope to meet Colonel Pickering in Heaven, and, next to Heaven, I surely should be willing to meet him here in your house.’ ”

There can be no doubt that time and age had softened and assuaged the enmity between these two strong and great men. Memory, whose light brightens towards objects which it spans in the far-back past, had turned their thoughts more and more to the early days which had tried their souls, and in whose perilous and glorious struggles they had stood side by side. They had become willing to let the cloud of oblivion settle over the intermediate period, and obscure the view of the unhappy animosities engendered in the comparatively ignoble scenes of political passion and confusion ; and had it not been for circumstances that occurred soon after the friendly correspondence between them in 1823, in reference to the then approaching celebration of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the two aged

patriots would have descended to the grave, more and more at peace with each other.

Between the years 1803 and 1812, a private correspondence was carried on by John Adams with William Cunningham, a friend and kinsman. It was strictly confidential in its nature, Mr. Adams enjoining that it should not reach the public; at any rate, not in his lifetime. In it he expressed, in his most unguarded and unrestrained manner, the harshest sentiments towards several public men with whom he had been at variance, and in particularly bitter terms in reference to Colonel Pickering. The son of Cunningham, to whom the papers had come on the death of his father, prevailed on by some motives and inducements not explained, allowed them to be published in 1823. Colonel Pickering had no knowledge of the existence of this correspondence, until he read it in print. Its character, and the manner in which he was assailed and represented in it, impelled him to notice it; and, in 1824, appeared his "Review of the Correspondence between the Honorable John Adams, late President of the United States, and the late William Cunningham, Esq." This was a production of great ability, and considering his age, then on the verge of eighty years, most remarkable. It occupies one hundred and forty compactly printed pages, and displays his faculties and spirit wholly unabated. It is animated, forcible, perspicuous, and pungent in its style; full of historical political reminiscences, anecdotes, and narratives, illustrating men and events; and is a source of invaluable information respecting the party conflicts that so violently agitated the period it covered. As was

to have been expected, it is severe and resentful, in commenting upon the charges and hostile representations directed at him in the course of the "correspondence."

"In performing this task," he says, "which Mr. Adams has imposed on me, I shall be obliged to take a pretty extensive view of his character, and present some features in the characters of others whom he has introduced into his letters. In these he has been pleased to give me a conspicuous place, making me a standing theme of reproach. Although so many of his shafts have been levelled at me, from his full quiver he has shot many others. For myself, I determined on a formal vindication; aware, at the same time, of the labor it would cost me, in looking for and examining numerous documents, written and printed, of many years' standing. Accusations which a page would comprise might require a volume to refute. By many persons, forgetting the latter years of his life, and thinking only of his Revolutionary services, Mr. Adams is hailed as 'great and good,' and is now familiarly designated by the flattering title of 'the venerable sage of Quincy.' I am as ready as any man to acknowledge — I have, not long since, before a very numerous assembly, acknowledged — Mr. Adams's merit in contributing largely to the vindication of the rights of the Colonies, and in effecting the Independence of the United States: it was an act of justice which I feel no disposition to retract. But 'great men are not always wise,' and some, after many good deeds, commit inexcusable faults; and, whether these injuriously affect one's country or individual citizens, they ought to be exposed, — for the public welfare in one case, and in the other to rescue individuals from the effects of undeserved reproach."

Perhaps no political publication of the kind ever produced a deeper or wider sensation than Colonel Pickering's "Review" of the Adams and Cunningham correspondence. The first edition was immediately exhausted; it was circulated all over the country and filled the

columns of newspapers. For years it afforded topics for political discussion. It was charged in some of the papers that the letters were brought before the public to bear against John Quincy Adams in the then approaching presidential election: but this could not truly be imputed to Colonel Pickering; for, as has been stated, he did not know of their existence. Some editors said that, as Mr. Adams had forbidden his letters to be published *during his life*, so Colonel Pickering ought to have caused the publication of his vindication to be postponed *until after his own death!*

It was generally conceded, however, that his duty to his country, as well as to himself, demanded the work, and that he had performed it well, and with no more acerbity than the occasion justified. His manuscripts show, in voluminous correspondence with leading political friends, with what earnest and lively interest it was received by them.

The publication of those private letters of Mr. Adams was an outrage. The language in which men express themselves in unguarded private communications bearing upon others, in political or any other controversies, ought to be allowed to remain buried with the dead past. Legitimate history does not ask for the accumulation or preservation of such materials, and scorns to be the vehicle to bear them down to posterity.

In the presidential election of 1824, in which the prominent candidates were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford, — Mr. Adams being finally chosen by the House of Representatives, — Mr. Crawford was Colonel Pickering's preference.

In 1825, Colonel Pickering prepared an elaborate report, printed by order of the trustees of the Essex Agricultural Society, announcing the premiums awarded in that year, with a list of those to be offered the next, "with remarks and explanations for the information of the farmers of Essex County." This is a very valuable document, giving the results of his experience, observation, and reading, in every department of husbandry.

Colonel Pickering had entertained the purpose of devoting the leisure of his last years to the preparation of an extended and carefully elaborated work on the political history of his own times. With this in view he entered in his scrap-books reflections as they occurred to him, rough notices of characters and events, and brief treatises on leading topics. Indeed it had always been his custom to put in writing, — with no view to publication, but for his own amusement only, and to preserve the practice of organizing his thoughts — such criticisms as occurred to him in reading a book, reminiscences of eminent characters and prominent subjects, and his views on important and interesting measures brought into notice in conversation with friends, or arresting particular attention, from time to time, in the community, or in the course of public affairs. Among his miscellaneous manuscripts, collected into volumes, are many discussions, comments, notes, and memoranda of this kind.*

From the project of writing such a memoir of the politics and history of his times, he was diverted by earnest solicitations addressed to him by the family and friends of Alexander Hamilton, urging him to write the life of that distinguished character. He was attracted to the

* Appendix.F.

task by the affectionate admiration he cherished for the memory and invaluable public services of the man whom he regarded as the greatest of American statesmen. But he shrunk from the undertaking from a sense of his want of qualifications necessary for such a biography as the case demanded.

In a letter to his son Henry, dated September 3d, 1828, Colonel Pickering states that General Hamilton's surviving executor, General Fish, proposed to him to write the life of Hamilton, which, he goes on to say, —

“I declined as above my mark. The last year, however, when I was in New York, and, after three and twenty years from the death of that great man had elapsed, and two undertakings of his biography (Dr. Mason's and Mr. Hopkinson's) had proved abortive, I consented to engage in the important work. It will require time, and much research and study, to enable me to approach in the execution the justice due to his eminent character. Possessing yet a sound mind in a sound body, I entertain a hope — I pray it may not be a too confident one — that it may please the Author and Disposer of life to continue mine long enough to perform the task I have mentioned; and another, the writing memoirs of my own time, for which I have, for a few years, been occasionally making notes. The two works have a natural connection, but the Biography will be the first. And, if I complete them satisfactorily, I shall then think that I have not lived in vain. TRUTH will be my guide, of which there is too little in history; and in funeral orations and set eulogies on deceased patriots much less.”

In the beginning of July, 1827, he went to Philadelphia on matters of business, in which city and New York he was detained for two months. Much of his time in the latter city was spent with the Hamilton family, in consultations in reference to the subject of writing the life of the General. Mrs. Hamilton and her

children had it much at heart, and it was urged by many of the leading persons there. At last, on the first of August, 1827, a formal written contract was made, signed by Elizabeth Hamilton and Timothy Pickering, specifying the terms of the agreement, and placing all the papers relating to the subject in the hands of the latter. On his return to Salem, in the early part of September, he set himself to the work.

His readiness to encounter labor, and the thoroughness with which he performed the most difficult tasks, when constrained by a sense of duty to undertake them, have been illustrated in previous instances related in this Biography. When Fauchet's intercepted letter came into his hands and those of Washington and Wolcott; and it was necessary for them to understand its contents, while neither of them could read it; when, too, it would not have been safe to communicate it to another person, — Colonel Pickering hunted up his old dictionary and grammar, and actually relearned his long-forgotten French. When, enforced by the urgency of Washington and the exigency of the occasion, he accepted the office of Secretary of State, feeling and declaring himself wholly unacquainted with the diplomatic learning necessary for the place, he went to work and acquired it; so that John Adams, conversant as he was in explorations of knowledge in the department of international law, and in precedents and practices of diplomacy, was astonished at the thorough mastery of such subjects shown in Colonel Pickering's State Papers — an admiration in which Madison afterwards concurred. So when he had been prevailed upon to write the private and public memoirs of Alexander Hamilton, — a work which

he profoundly felt demanded a classical finish and dignity of style to which he made no pretensions, and in which he had had no training,— he summoned to it a patience and perseverance of preparation of which few men, in any period of their lives, would have been capable.

Immediately upon returning to Salem, before arranging his manuscripts or organizing his materials, he educated himself anew, as it were, for the occasion. He commenced an extensive course of reading. He sought to catch the spirit, and cast his thoughts and style after the model, of the masters of history, ancient and modern. He read over Sallust, Cæsar, Cicero's Letters, Horace, Livy, and Tacitus, the last two with particular interest, as preparatory to his life of Hamilton. He studied to render his English more "pure and undefiled" by reading the best of the prose classics of that literature, and to enrich expression, diction, and illustration by renewing his enjoyment of favorite passages from Milton, Pope, Cowper, and Goldsmith. He read with careful and critical appreciation a few months before his death Shakspeare's four great tragedies, — Othello, Hamlet, Macbeth, and King Lear. The writings of his friend Fisher Ames, with his life by President Kirkland, afforded him renewed delight. In reading Latin works, he used, where available, accredited translations, but keeping the originals by him to verify particular passages, and secure a nicer appreciation of the elegancies and beauties of their style.

This occupation was relieved and interspersed with almost weekly visits to his farm, and by a still voluminous correspondence on private and public affairs, and

with old associates. The number of his personal friendships — many of them with the most eminent persons during his period — is quite remarkable; and those friendships were warmed with the most affectionate sentiments. The feelings of Washington towards him, as has been stated, became more and more marked with the glow of attachment, to the end of their correspondence, not long before the death of the former. Such was the tone of the letters that passed between Colonel Pickering and his distinguished correspondents mentioned on a previous page of this volume, with John Lowell of Roxbury, Josiah Quincy, and innumerable others; above all, Richard Peters and James Hillhouse; Lafayette in his letters, writing as “an old fellow-soldier,” addresses him as his “dear companion in arms:” but the most remarkable, perhaps, was the tender affection, mingled with profound respect, cherished towards him by John Randolph of Roanoke. In one of the last letters of that extraordinary man, dated at Washington, April 14th, 1828, he says: “May you, my dear Sir, enjoy many, many years of the vigorous health that is the reward of a life of temperance and virtue, spent in the service of your friends and of your country.” His last letter was as follows: —

“WASHINGTON, Thursday, April 24th, 1828.

“On Tuesday (the day before yesterday) I was sent for to vote on my own motion, made before, to postpone indefinitely the tariff bill. When I arrived at the hall, a motion was made for a call of the house, then to amend the title of the bill, by a *wilde* man from Georgia. This *petite guerre*, and the noisomeness of the atmosphere, overcame me. Soon after I reached my lodgings, I found the blood pouring from my lungs. I think the drama draws to a close.

“For ‘Smith’s verses on the old continental money,’ which the reporter puts into my mouth, pray read what I actually

said,—‘Swift’s verses on the motto upon Chief Justice Whitshed’s coach.’ I remember once that they transmuted ‘fruges consumere’ into ‘dealers in perfumery.’ God bless you, my dear! I am, living or dying, your friend,

“J. R. of R.”

Colonel Pickering took a deep interest in the struggle of Greece for independence. Among his loose minutes is the following criticism on an article in the “American Quarterly Review,” vol. v. p. 212.

“The reviewer denies the right of interference of any other powers (as G. B., F., and R.) in the quarrel between the Greeks and Turks.

“Would this writer pronounce unlawful—a violation of the law of nations—the interference of France in the civil war, or, in the character of his sentiments, the revolt of the Colonies? Will he condemn all the patriots who composed the Revolutionary Congress for asking and earnestly soliciting that interference?

“If he saw two individuals bruising each other in fight, one much weaker than the other, and for that reason insulted and abused, would he pass on unfeelingly and not attempt to relieve the oppressed?

“Nations, powerful enough to afford protection, would be justified, in like manner, in affording relief to an oppressed people, who had risen in arms against their cruel tyrants; and, in the case of the Turks, every petty officer is an insulting and oppressive tyrant to the enslaved Greeks.

“The three great powers have so far interfered, not on the score of religion, but oppressed humanity.

“The Turks are not within the pale of the law of nations. The reviewer suggests the contrary, because the European nations have *made treaties* with them. But they have made treaties with the Algerines; and are those detestable tyrants, robbers, and pirates, also within the pale of national law?”

In the “Salem Gazette” of March 25th, 1828, appeared the following call:—

“TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF SALEM.

“A circular letter from the Greek Committee of New York has been addressed to me, to be communicated, for the purpose of procuring some relief for the HELPLESS PORTION of the population — the women and children — of some parts of Greece, and who are in a perishing condition for want of food and clothing. Details of their *unexampled suffering* are furnished by Dr. Howe of Boston, who, devoted to the cause of humanity, has passed much time in Greece, and been an eyewitness of the scenes of distress which he describes. His statements are followed by similar information from Mr. Miller, the agent of the Greek Committee of New York, who has seen the wretchedness of the Greeks, and been employed to distribute the provisions and clothes sent to Greece, the last year, from that city. He says ‘no pen can describe the misery of that devoted country.’

“Having consulted a few persons on this subject, it has been judged expedient to propose a meeting of the inhabitants, at the Town Hall, next Saturday, at three o’clock in the afternoon, when the circular letter, and any further information which may be obtained, will be communicated, to be followed, it is hoped, by some efficient measures to accomplish the object for which the meeting is proposed.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

A very general meeting took place at the time and place designated. Colonel Pickering was chosen to preside, and the Town-Clerk acted as secretary. A series of resolves relating to the subject and occasion was adopted, containing the following:—

“*Resolved*, That a committee be now appointed to conduct the proposed charity, with power to procure a suitable depository of clothing and provisions; to appoint a storekeeper, and a treasurer to apply the money collections in procuring supplies of clothing and provisions, and sending the same to the Greeks, — in all these things exercising their best discretion in the means of accomplishing the objects of this charity.

“*Resolved*, That this committee be desired to prepare a

statement of the suffering condition of the Greeks, founded on the information of Dr. Howe, Dr. Russ, and Mr. Miller; to have the same printed in hand-bills, of which copies shall be sent to the reverend clergy in every town in the county of Essex, requesting that the same may be read to their several congregations, and recommending contributions in the manner above proposed; and to correspond with the agents and committees of the several towns, to obtain a concurrence and co-operation in the measures which shall be judged best to render the charity most effectual and most useful."

The meeting appointed Colonel Pickering Chairman of the committee thus ordered to be raised. In presiding over this large public assemblage, in making the necessary preparations for its business, and in conducting the proceedings, he showed his peculiar, and wholly unabated, executive energy. Of course, he managed the correspondence with the several towns and their agents, and superintended the whole business to its completion.

The address prepared by him, entitled "The Suffering Greeks," admirably adapted to its purpose, was read in the churches, and put into a pamphlet form for preservation. Near its opening, it says, "To persons conversant in geography and history, the situation of the countries inhabited by the Greeks, and their ancient fame, need no description; to others, the following brief sketch thereof, and of the Turkish conquests, may be acceptable." After presenting these subjects in a condensed, lucid, and interesting form, and painting briefly the successes and the sufferings of the Greeks in the contest for independence, which had continued for seven years, and whose successful issue seemed to be secured by the intervention of England, France, and Russia, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, the address concludes thus:—

“ Hopes are entertained that this interference may eventually be crowned with success. If, however, peace shall not be soon restored between the Greeks and Turks, and the latter, bidding defiance to the three allied powers, shall enter into a war with them, we trust the emancipation of the Greeks, and, perhaps, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, will be the great result.

“ But the misery of the Grecian women and children, and of men enfeebled by age, remains. Their relief is the object of this statement. Eloquence is not necessary to persuade : the facts speak to the heart ; and it is confidently believed that they will not speak in vain.” *

In the death of his wife, which occurred August 14th, 1828, a few minutes before eight o'clock in the morning, Colonel Pickering experienced the greatest bereavement that could possibly befall him. The character of this admirable woman has been given in an earlier chapter of this Biography. It suffices to say that no more beautiful, lovely, and happy instance of wedded life can be found than they presented. In the approach, prospect, or apprehension of a great domestic affliction, he expressed his distress of mind as freely as others usually do, and in the strongest terms of an agonized spirit ; but when the dread event actually occurred, and he felt the hand of God upon him, he bowed in silent and devout submission. So it was in this case. Not a murmur escaped his lips. A more perfect manifestation of Christian resignation cannot be imagined. Relieved and comforted by the sympathy of condoling friends, his language was not of words, but of tender and profound sensibility, portrayed in his countenance, showing that his

* This, one of the last of Colonel Pickering's productions, written while he was passing through his eighty-third year, is given in full in Appendix E.

feelings could not be uttered, that his heart was bleeding, but that his hope and faith were on high.

There is no reference to it in his general correspondence at or near the time. He wrote to his son Henry, then in the State of New York, on the occasion. No copy of this letter is to be found. On the 15th of August, he announced the event in a brief note to his brother-in-law, Judge Wingate, who was then in his ninetieth year; and whose reply, written in his own clear and strong hand, is as follows:—

“STRATHAM, August 22d, 1828.

“On the 20th instant, I received your letter of the 15th, announcing the sorrowful tidings of the death of sister Pickering. I can very sincerely condole with you under the bereavement. Although her age was such that you could not expect to have enjoyed her society long; yet, even at this late period, you must feel the painful void occasioned by her death. Her amiable qualities of mind, and her very benevolent and affectionate treatment of her friends, had very greatly endeared her memory to us all. I had peculiar reason to love and esteem her for the many marks of friendship I have received from her. We have much consolation to support you and her friends in her decease. We have no room to doubt that it is a happy change to her; and, considering how far we are advanced in the journey of life, you and I cannot be long before we shall follow her; and I think we may innocently please ourselves with the hope and expectation of recognizing our Christian departed friends in a blessed hereafter. I hope that your health and fortitude of mind will be such that you will make us a visit in the course of the ensuing autumn. Desiring an affectionate remembrance to all friends, I am your mourning friend and brother,

“PAINE WINGATE.”

On the 21st of August, Colonel Pickering's dear old friend, Richard Peters, died. These two events, happen-

ing within a week, produced a deep effect upon his feelings, and changed his relations to the worlds before and after death, — a wide blank was left in life, and the ties that drew him to a higher scene of existence were multiplied. The effect was noticeable in his mien and ways. His mind was led to indulge more in what it had always been inclined to, — meditations upon the life to come. He was, indeed, bereft, and more alone in the world than he had been.

But his religious faith, and the fortitude of his mind, bore him up; and, with a hopeful spirit, he continued his literary labors, interested himself in the affairs of society, and enjoyed the intercourse of his friends. He attended, as usual, the anniversary cattle show of the Essex Agricultural Society, at West Newbury, on the 25th of September, 1828, having taken great pains to procure appropriate engraved certificates, suitably embellished, to be presented to such persons as might receive prizes for the best articles presented, or premiums in the competitive trials. These he carried with him to the show.

He delivered the address on this occasion, which was received with great gratification. It contained many valuable suggestions drawn from his experience, observation, and reading. It referred, particularly in some portions of it, to his agricultural pursuits, forty years before, in the interior of Pennsylvania.

The address is introduced as follows: —

“The society may recollect that, at its two last annual meetings, I expressed a desire to be released from the duties of President, in which I have been serving from its first institution, in 1817. Yielding, however, to the requests of members, I have continued in that station. But, at the late

meeting of the trustees, I informed them of my positive determination to be no longer a candidate for the office.

“Having come to this determination, I had concluded, on taking leave, to present to the society a short address. But, if I had contemplated making a formal discourse, circumstances, since occurring, would have prevented my making it. I can now offer only a few desultory observations.

“Within my memory, the ideas generally entertained of the occupation of the husbandman appear to me to have materially changed. It has ceased to be considered as an employment adapted only to that portion of society which was to consist of mere laborers. It is now deemed an honorable pursuit, by engaging in which no man, however elevated may have been his birth or station, feels himself humbled in partaking of its labors. On the contrary, men of the learned professions; others who inherit fortunes, or who have acquired them by their own industry in other employments,—now not unfrequently engage with zeal in the business of the practical farmer; and, with useful emulation, they strive to excel in their new occupation. This, it is true, does not yield them profits like their former pursuits, which, indeed, they neither expect nor desire, but are content if they sustain no loss; while their improvements, effected by more ample pecuniary means, proving what is practicable, present useful examples to their neighbors, who, bred to husbandry, and constantly present at every operation, and diligently laboring with their own hands, will render such improvements more profitable than they were to those who introduced them. This change of public sentiment is auspicious to the farming interest.

“I may here mention another source of improvement in husbandry: the mutual communications of valuable discoveries and useful practices. These may be most conveniently made to the trustees by the members of the society. However small some of the improvements might be, yet they must be worth knowing, *because they are improvements*. Such mutual information as I have here recommended is a species of charity or benevolence. I may therefore say, on high authority, ‘To do good, and to communicate, forget not.’”

He then, as exemplifying and acting up to his advice, presents some suggestions, the result of his own experience and observation, as to the construction of ploughs, particularly of their "mould-boards," and relates some interesting facts of conversations he had had with Mr. Jefferson on the same point, of the concurrence of their views on the subject, and of the exertions of Mr. Jefferson to introduce the same improvement. The address thus concludes : —

"With these observations, I must take leave of the society, recommending a perseverance in its object, being fully persuaded of its utility thus far ; and that, by the attention of practical farmers, and their mutual, free communications, its usefulness may be continued and increased."

In a prefatory note accompanying its publication, the trustees say : —

"The address of the venerable President of the society will be read with much interest.

"Besides his important public services, rendered in the course of a long and active life, Colonel Pickering's zeal and exertions for the improvement of agriculture entitle him to the grateful remembrance of the farmers of Essex. Familiar from early life with the theory and practice of agriculture, and attached to it from inclination, most of the time which the claims of the public would permit him to appropriate according to his wishes, was devoted to this his favorite pursuit.

"His public spirit was such that, whether in office or private life, the public good seemed the great object he had in view. This was conspicuous in his agricultural pursuits, and especially in his zeal and efforts to make known and diffuse as widely as possible the benefits of any improvement or discovery in agriculture, whether made by himself or others. His high reputation, his knowledge of agriculture and zeal for its advancement, combined with a readiness and happy talent in communicating information, either orally or in writing, en-

abled him to render, probably, greater services than would have been in the power of any other individual.

“His public addresses to the society, and communications to the periodical works of the day, show the accuracy and extent of his knowledge of agriculture, with the strong interest he felt in its progress, and may be remembered among the best productions of the kind our country has afforded.”

A very able and interesting address, by Nehemiah Cleveland, delivered in 1865, thus speaks of Colonel Pickering's Presidency: —

“This association was founded in 1817. A sensible address, by Mr. Pickering, was read to the society in 1818, its author being unavoidably absent. In February, 1820, Mr. Pickering again addressed the society, in a discourse full of practical information and advice. On the 5th of October, in that year, the society held, in my native town, its first cattle-show, and perfectly do I still recall the tall and venerable form of its first President as I saw him holding his own plough in the competitive trial on that occasion. It was, indeed, a memorable example. Many years before that day, the name of TIMOTHY PICKERING had been written bright and high on the temple of our national fame. And now, in that hardy, vigorous old Roman, we saw one who had been a distinguished patriot and warrior of the Revolution; an illustrious founder and administrator of the republic; a Senator and statesman; and, better than all, the counsellor and friend of Washington. Having, not long before, retired from the public service, he was living, a hard-working farmer, on his own ground, near Wenham Pond. To this employment he brought judgment and skill, and the matured wisdom of long and varied experience. His devotion to agriculture was not only earnest and enlightened, but benevolently expansive. By his voice and pen, by precept and example, he did much toward awakening in this community a deeper and more intelligent interest in his favorite pursuit. Among the founders of this association, he was unquestionably the leading man; and that it came into being under such auspices, is an honor to which the society may ever look back with commendable pride.”

Before returning to Salem, he visited his sister, the wife of Judge Wingate, then eighty-six years of age, at their residence at Stratham, in New Hampshire.

On the 12th of November, 1828, he wrote to the daughter of Richard Peters, as follows:—

“ You, my dear Sally, have lost a tender and affectionate father, and I an amiable and affectionate wife, both far advanced in life, and broken by the decays of animal nature which are incident to old age. Under such circumstances, their departure, though grievous to those they leave, reason will consider, certainly, not as an evil, but rather a relief to themselves. For many years afflicted with a debility of stomach, sometimes distressingly painful, and latterly subject to more frequent returns of it, my wife had neither the expectation nor the wish for a prolonged life. Three years ago, when dangerously sick, she expressed this sentiment; and, when I think on her tender frame, it appears remarkable that she should have lived to pass her seventy-fourth year. Innocent and pure, she could anticipate only happiness in futurity.

“ Fifty years had elapsed, last February, since I commenced my acquaintance with your father; and I have always reflected, and often mentioned, with pleasure, that, in all that long period, in and out of office, with familiar intercourse, not even a *hasty*, much less an *angry*, word ever passed between us.

“ I have always felt my obligations to him for his friendship and liberal hospitality, which made me a partaker in the pleasures of his conversation and unequalled wit.

“ I do not recollect that I ever repeated to you a striking observation of Mr. Jefferson's on that distinguished trait in your father's character. It was at the time when the House of Representatives was engaged in conjuring up articles of impeachment against Judge Chase, of which a prominent one was his conduct at the trial of Fries for treason in the Circuit Court of Pennsylvania, where your father was on the bench with Chase. At length, Dr. Leib offered a resolution for impeaching your father also. On that day, I dined with Mr. Jefferson, then President, and mentioned Leib's resolution.

‘ Ah ’ (said Jefferson) ‘ that won’t do ; on the like ground, they may impeach Judge Griffin.’ Griffin was the District Judge of Virginia, and had sat with Chase on the trial of Callender for a libel on President Adams ; and this was the basis of another prominent article of the impeachment.

“ This led to a conversation concerning your father, with whom Mr. Jefferson was well acquainted, and in the course of it he remarked, precisely in the following words : ‘ If all the good things which Peters has said were collected, they would make a greater mass of wit than was ever uttered by any one man.’ In a matter of *taste*, I am ready to place a value on Mr. Jefferson’s opinion ; and here I am satisfied that he spoke the truth.

“ But a pious divine and poet has said : —

‘ This life’s a dream, an empty show ;
But the bright world to which we go
Has joys substantial and sincere, —
When shall we wake and find us there ! ’

“ You must be sensible, my dear friend, that religion alone can afford solid and durable support under the bereavements which all must experience. Our departed relatives cannot return to us ; but we must go to them. To prepare for a happy reunion should be the great business of survivors.

“ Desiring to be remembered kindly to Miss Delany, I bid you, my dear Sally, an affectionate farewell.

“ TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

When Colonel Pickering relinquished the service in which he had through life been interested, in behalf of the agricultural prosperity of his native county, his mission of public usefulness was fulfilled. Soon after the time of his leaving college, in 1763, he became an active citizen : receiving a military commission in January, 1766 ; engaging in clerical labors in the public offices of the Registry of Deeds, in the county of Essex, and of Town Clerk ; instructing in sacred music the church choirs of Salem and Marblehead, and drilling

military companies to meet the crisis, as the clouds of the Revolutionary war were beginning to gather, — *for nearly sixty-five years*, he had been earnestly occupied in the duties of a good citizen, foremost in all efforts, in local and limited, and in the most elevated and comprehensive, spheres ; in the affairs of neighborhoods, and in those of the nation ; in benevolent and philanthropic movements ; on fields of war ; in Senates and in Cabinets, — he had labored without rest, through all this long period to propel society onward, and promote the welfare of his country. But his labors were now over, and the hour of his departure at hand.

CHAPTER X.

Colonel Pickering's Death. — Sermon on the Occasion. — His Character.

1829.

SUNDAY, January 4th, 1829, was an extremely cold day; although calm and cloudless, there was a penetrating chill in the atmosphere. It was Colonel Pickering's practice to attend church in all weathers. His son Henry, in an account of the circumstances of the occasion, states: —

“When my father brought in his surtout from the entry (it was by no means a proper garment for such a season), I assisted him to put it on, and observed while I was doing it that the weather was so severe that it would be well for him to wear his cloak in addition. But he expressed an unwillingness to do this, as he said he should be warm enough while walking, and that it would not be necessary at church.”

His vigorous manner of walking ordinarily produced a glow that rendered extra clothing superfluous. The cold, however, that day was so extreme that he suffered from it going to and returning from church. While there he was chilled, the warmth from the furnace failing to prevail over the extraordinary severity of the weather. His pew was in front of the pulpit and next to it. In looking down upon him, I realized his exposure, and experienced the most serious apprehensions as to the effect upon him. In descending from the pulpit to the communion table, in passing him, he leaned

towards me, and intimated a wish that the service might be shortened. His suggestion was regarded.

On reaching home, he complained of feeling unwell, declined to partake of dinner, and withdrew to his chamber. He joined his family at the tea-table, but appeared more than usually serious. In the course of the evening he read aloud Buckminster's sermon, from the text, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted," remarking that he had read it not long before with great pleasure. It was supposed that he was thinking particularly of the death of his wife. His conversation was turned to his early days, and he talked with tender reverence of his father. The next day, and for a day or two afterwards, he was not well; but, by following his own long-practised regimen of living upon broth and other simple food, and keeping house, he seemed to be recovering. But, venturing out too soon, a relapse took place, and assumed the shape of a violent pleuritic attack that baffled all remedies. Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, attended him, in consultation with his own faithful and skilful physician, Dr. A. L. Peirson. Dr. John D. Treadwell, of Salem, was also called in. His sufferings were very severe, — a strong frame struggling against the clutch of death upon some of the vital organs. The case became alarming, and soon hopeless. He was fully aware of it, and made the necessary communications with his sons. To his son John he said, on the evening before his death, "For my part, I should be willing to die now." He expressed the same sentiment to Henry and Octavius.

In the forenoon of Tuesday, the 27th, upon learning that I was below, he requested to see me. On reaching

his chamber, I found him in great suffering; but he was able to converse with me. Alluding to his approaching dissolution, he remarked that he had wished that his life could have been prolonged a few years, in order that he might have made known some truths, important in an historical point of view, and added (in reference to what he might have written), "Perhaps it is no matter," and then, in a mournful tone, repeated the lines:—

"Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land,
All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

As conversation was difficult, and much interrupted by pain and exhaustion, he did not enlarge upon the sentiments of a religious nature appropriate to the crisis, saying that they had always been the topics of his thoughts and reflection, and not deferred to the closing scene. This I well knew. They had been the subjects of frequent conversation with me and with others. No man ever kept himself more prepared by the meditations of his daily life for its last hour. After again saying that he had hoped to live a little longer, in a manner which proved his entire resignation, and perfect faith, and Christian hope, he concluded: "I bow to the will of God. I am ready and willing to die." He requested me to pray with him, first asking to have his son Henry, who had withdrawn to another room, sent for. After the prayer, which under the circumstances was necessarily brief, he said, "It is well," and we took our last leave of each other.

His mental faculties remained entirely unimpaired. His fortitude of mind, and the devout submission of his spirit, never for a moment deserted him. In the extremity of his sufferings, not a murmur escaped his lips.

The final release occurred at eight o'clock in the morning, on Thursday, January 29th.

The burial of his remains took place on the afternoon of Saturday, January 31st. A great concourse, comprising a very large number of the aged people of Salem and the neighboring towns, and numerous relatives and distinguished persons from remoter places, attended on the occasion, and walked in the long procession to the grave, the bells of the town tolling as they moved.

The following is a memorandum by Henry Pickering:—

“Salem, April 29th, 1829. The stone chamber in the south burying-ground, Broad Street, being prepared for the remains of my dear parents, Mr. P. Dodge's tomb was opened very early this morning, and the coffins carefully borne to the top of the hill, and deposited, one on the other, in their final resting-place. As soon as the coffins were deposited, a covering of granite slabs, about one foot thick, was placed over the whole, and the seams filled with mortar. The sun had just risen.

“The coffin containing the remains of my dear mother was placed on that of my father, in conformity with the wish expressed by him to that effect in a solitary conference with him. He observed to me that he should leave directions in writing upon the subject, but he did not. He was deeply affected.”

Over the tomb a solid monument was raised, consisting of three blocks of granite, placed over each other, each six feet in length, a foot or more in thickness, and between three and four feet in width. On the polished horizontal surface of the upper one, four feet above the ground, is cut in capitals the following inscription:—

BENEATH THIS MONUMENT
ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF
TIMOTHY AND REBECCA PICKERING.

HE WAS
AN ASSERTER OF THE RIGHTS
OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES,
A SOLDIER
IN THE WAR FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE,
A STATESMAN
IN THE CABINET OF WASHINGTON.
INTEGRITY.
DISINTERESTEDNESS, ENERGY, ABILITY,
FEARLESSNESS IN THE CAUSE
OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE,
MARKED HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT.
PURE IN MORALS, SIMPLE IN MANNERS,
SINCERE, BENEVOLENT, PIOUS,
IN PRIVATE LIFE
HE WAS REVERED AND HONORED.
SHE DURING A LIFE
OF EXTRAORDINARY VICISSITUDE
WAS DISTINGUISHED BY
FORTITUDE, RESIGNATION, DISCRETION,
MATERNAL AFFECTION:
IN THE WORDS OF HER BEREAVED HUSBAND,
"A SPIRIT MORE GENTLE,
MORE INNOCENT, MORE PURE,
NEVER, PERHAPS,
APPEARED IN THE FEMALE FORM."
HE WAS BORN JULY 17TH, 1745;
AND SHE ON THE 18TH, OF THE SAME MONTH, 1754.
SHE DIED AUGUST 14TH, 1828,
HE JANUARY 29TH, 1829.

The newspapers throughout the country noticed the death of Colonel Pickering with great interest; all concurring in the sentiments expressed by the "New York Daily Advertiser:" —

"By the death of the Honorable Timothy Pickering, the country has lost a statesman of distinguished talents, a politician perfectly upright and disinterested, and a patriot of the purest integrity and virtue. A great portion of his long life was devoted to the service of his country in the field or in the

cabinet ; and, in every situation in which he was called to act, he exhibited much more than ordinary ability, and the most inflexible firmness and honesty. Few men live to such an age ; and no man, with whom we have ever had the opportunity of being intimately acquainted, retained beyond the age of fourscore years, a more vigorous bodily frame, or more solid and active mental faculties. After spending nearly half a century in the public service, he retired to private life, after having filled some of the highest places under the government, without having enriched himself in the least degree from the emoluments of office.

“In the relations of private life, few men were ever more universally esteemed and respected. He possessed an interesting simplicity of character that we have hardly ever known equalled, and never surpassed.”

From the numerous private letters of condolence to his family, one only is selected, — from its contents, as well as from the character and great age of its author, worthy of preservation. Judge Wingate wrote to John Pickering thus : —

“STRATHAM, February 8d, 1829.

“DEAR SIR,

“I yesterday received your letter of the 30th ultimo, informing me of the death of your father, and my very dear friend and brother. Although he had passed much beyond the usual period of life, yet to part with so amiable and excellent a friend and relative must be felt as a most afflictive event. I want words to express my sensations on this occasion, and to administer to you and to the family the consolation and support I could wish. May you and they experience the divine consolations which the Christian religion, and that only, can afford. I have lived in the most intimate and undisturbed friendship with this amiable deceased for more than sixty years, and I do not recollect ever to have met with a frown from his countenance in my life. He was always kind and placid and affectionate, and it was his greatest gratification to confer favors, and to promote the happiness of those who stood in any family relation to him. But why should I descend to

relate particular offices of his kindness? His whole life was spent in disinterested exertions to do good in the world, and to promote the interest and welfare of all around him ; and I know not the man more deserving of universal eulogy. I hope, at a period not far distant, to meet him in the world of spirits of just men made perfect, where we may spend an eternity in uninterrupted joy and felicity. It is not yet six months since we were called to mourn for the death of sister Pickering, your amiable mother. Since that time, we had the great satisfaction of a visit from your father, when he appeared to enjoy unusual health and vigor for one of his age. But now, alas ! he has gone to be here no more. I have room to add no more, but only my love to your wife and family and to all our friends ; and be assured that I am your very respectful and affectionate uncle,

“PAINÉ WINGATE.”

On Sunday, February 1st, the day after Colonel Pickering's funeral, the event of his death was especially noticed in the services at the First Church in Salem. In the forenoon, the Rev. Dr. Prince, the senior pastor, preached from the texts, Psalm xxxvii. 37 : “ Mark the perfect man and behold the upright : for the end of that man is peace ; ” and from Numbers, xxiii. 10 : “ Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.” In the afternoon, as junior pastor of the church, I preached a sermon, which was published. It is here reprinted ; because the reflections and reminiscences which have occurred during the intermediate period of more than forty-four years, together with the researches that have been required in preparing this Biography, have convinced me that every sentiment expressed in that discourse is just and true. So far as it goes, it will contribute to a summary of the character of Colonel Pickering. Some remarks will be added more particularly delineating it.

"SERMON.

"PSALM XV. 1, 2. *'Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.'*

"If there is any one virtue which awakens a more profound admiration than all others, it is integrity, residing in the inmost heart, and manifesting itself throughout the whole life. There never, in any community, civilized or uncivilized, was a system of morals, whether ascertained by positive description, or existing only in general public sentiment, in which integrity has not been placed among the highest of the virtues. There is an instinctive emotion of admiration and of reverence in the most uncultivated and even in the most depraved hearts, whenever this sublime attribute is manifested or mentioned.

"I would appeal to the student of classic history, and ask, whose character, in the long catalogue of the great and wise whose names are recorded there, is contemplated by him with the deepest and purest satisfaction and admiration. He will answer, if his judgment is guided by correct and elevated principles of moral taste and discernment, '*Aristides*,' the Grecian patriot whom the people, in a moment of folly and madness, banished because he was 'just;' because he did what he thought to be his duty, no matter how unpopular might be the act; because he uttered what he thought to be the truth, no matter how many might be offended. The passing generation of the small community of which he was a member injured and calumniated him, and rejected him from the midst of them; but he held fast his integrity, and would not let it go, and his name is hallowed in the admiration of the countless millions of all subsequent generations.

"In the first chapter of the Gospel of John, we find a brief notice, in the simple and characteristic style of the sacred writers, of an interview between Jesus and a man named Nathanael. He is mentioned but once more in the Scriptures, and then in such a manner as to inform us incidentally of the fact that he was a fisherman on the lake or sea of Tiberias. A few lines contain all that is known to man of the humble individual who thus painfully, and in an

obscure calling, gained his daily bread by his daily labor. But these lines, few and simple as they are, contain a eulogy, the highest and best to which man can aspire. 'Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, *Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.*' These were the words of him who knew what was in man; and, coming from him, they convey an encomium the value of which can neither be questioned nor estimated. The memory of the poor Israelite whom they describe will be cherished and honored wherever integrity and sincerity are honored. And all men in every age have honored them. The more the world is advanced in a knowledge of sound principles, and in the cultivation of moral sentiments, the greater will be the honor paid to these virtues; and the time will surely come, if it has not already come, when the praises of kings and warriors, and of men of every other description of renown, will be poor and insignificant when compared with the declaration which Jesus made, when the humble but upright fisherman of Galilee approached him, 'An Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.'

"Our text describes such a man as was the heathen Aristides and the Jewish Nathanael, and it declares that such a man shall abide in God's tabernacle and dwell in his holy hill, shall enter the abodes and partake of the joys of heaven. Let us examine the description which it contains of a man of integrity, of sincerity, and of honor, — a man in whom there is no guile.

"'He that walketh uprightly.' In this clause we are presented with the definition of a character and life which are established upon the principles of virtue, and upon a sense of duty. The man who always acts and speaks and moves under the guidance of the rules of a high morality; who, in every step which he may be called to take, instead of consulting his selfish interest, temporary expediency, worldly customs or principles, worldly applause or censure, inquires of his conscience and his God, Is it right? and, if they answer in the affirmative, moves fearlessly on, to do or to suffer, — this man 'walketh uprightly.'

"'Worketh righteousness.' This expression implies not merely good and upright conduct, but activity in the per-

formance of it. The man whom the Psalmist would describe is one who, by industrious continuance in well-doing, renders himself useful and valuable in society; who is ever actuated by an enlarged and benevolent zeal to promote happiness and virtue; whose hand is ready to be put forth in every good enterprise; whose time and faculties are steadily and strenuously devoted to beneficial employments; who is willing to make exertion, and takes delight in making it, to relieve the suffering, defend the defenceless, and reward the worthy; who constantly strives, while Providence permits him to dwell on the earth, to promote the great object of its administration, by faithfully and earnestly exercising all his energies in every direction in which they can usefully be put forth. This is the man who 'worketh righteousness.'

"And speaketh the truth in his heart." This is the last point in the character described in the text. It implies that strict veracity is observed, that nothing but truth is spoken. But it implies more than this. It requires, when taken in connection with the previous clauses, that the truth should *always* be spoken; that even, when selfish considerations would prompt to silence, there should be, not merely a willingness, but a disposition, to declare and defend the truth, without regard to private expediency or fear of personal consequences. The man who comes up to the description of the text, will always feel within him an original, positive, and urgent impulse to bring forward his testimony and countenance in favor of the true principle and the righteous cause; he will feel that the Divine Being has commanded him to promote and sustain on all occasions, under all circumstances, that truth, which proceeded from him as from a fountain, and which, by the ministry of his faithful and fearless children, is at last to have free and wide course, and be glorified throughout the earth.

"He who merely abstains from aiding in giving currency to what is false does not do all, nor the best part of, his duty. He must come forward and speak out the truth, or what he thinks to be the truth. He must give utterance boldly, and without reserve, to his own honest opinions, or he cannot be considered as having discharged his whole duty to his fellow-

men, or to Him, who called him^d y the gift of reason, to the sublime pursuit of truth ; who, when he kindled the light of intellect within him, ordained that it should shine around him upon others. If there were not so much timidity and indifference among good and enlightened men with respect to the prevalence of truth ; if all were disposed openly and fearlessly to express their sincere opinions, — the public sentiment of every community would be far more sound and correct than it now is, or ever has been ; and the cause of truth receive an impulse which it has never yet felt among men.

“ The expression, ‘ in the heart,’ has an important meaning, and must be carefully taken into consideration. It determines that it is not required of a man to maintain or to speak the actual abstract truth ; but the truth, according to his *apprehension of it*. If, after an honest, fearless, earnest, and diligent exercise of his faculties upon a subject, he arrives at a certain result concerning it, and declares that result, even if it be not the actual and abstract truth, still it is truth ‘ to his heart ’ and he speaketh the truth in his heart.

“ The character described by the Psalmist, we have now seen, is that of a man who, in all his conduct, is governed by a supreme regard to principle and duty ; who industriously and earnestly exercises his faculties upon useful and benevolent designs and employments ; and who zealously seeks, at all times and under all circumstances, to sustain and advance the cause of truth. Such a man he says ‘ shall abide in God’s tabernacle, and dwell in his holy hill.’ Heaven is his portion, and he is secure of the favor and blessing of his Creator and Father. In this world, he may suffer tribulation, but ‘ he cannot be moved.’ There is a virtue that goeth forth from his example and his memory ; and when death shall have spent its power upon him, he shall be raised in honor and in glory, and be transported to a world where eternal rewards shall be conferred upon truth and virtue, and where, in the bosom of his God, he shall dwell for ever beyond the reach of change and suffering and sin.

“ We need not be troubled, therefore, my friends, when the just and upright die. It surely will be well with them. We have a promise resting upon the word of God that they

are pleasing in his sight, and that an entrance shall be ministered unto them into the kingdom of heaven. How glorious is the reward which is thus assured to the pure and just and upright! and what a rich consolation is given to those from whom such are removed!

“To us, my friends, is this consolation given; and we all, at this moment, can appreciate it. The infinitely wise Ruler of the universe has removed, from the midst of us, an honored and venerated member of this congregation and church. He was pure, just, and upright. He was a man ‘in whom was no guile:’ during a long life he ‘walked uprightly, worked righteousness, and spoke the truth in his heart.’ Let us be comforted, therefore, by the blessed assurance that he will ‘abide for ever in God’s tabernacle, and dwell on his holy hill.’

“It is well known to you that it is not my custom to invade from this place the private sorrows of bereaved families, by any particular allusions to the causes of their affliction. Consolation is best administered to the hearts of mourners in those private and domestic retirements where their loss is chiefly felt. There is a tenderness of sensibility in the bosoms of the sorrowing, which shrinks back from public exposure. Yet I cannot but feel that the present is an occasion which demands a departure from the principle which usually governs me. If, when a great and good man, whose life and character have ever illustrated the principles of virtue and religion, whose example of integrity and duty, if presented to the community, would surely inspire a love and admiration of its own excellence, and whose influence has always been given to the promotion of those ends for which the pulpit has been erected; if, when such a man dies and the whole community is mourning his loss, the pulpit does not improve the favorable opportunity to impress upon all a deep sense of his virtues, and thus excite a desire to imitate them, — it is false to its trust. I therefore beg the indulgence of those to whom this our severe bereavement has carried the keenest affliction, while I attempt to discharge the duty of my office, by presenting to you, my friends and people, and urging upon your imitation the virtues of that great man who has just fallen in the midst of us.

“ Our country has lost one of its purest and most patriotic, one of its most honored and useful, citizens ; but his character will ever remain among its richest treasures. This ancient town has lost one of its most active and virtuous inhabitants ; but his name will for ever be written high among the highest in the catalogue of its illustrious sons. This church has lost one of its most worthy and devout members ; but never, never, while memory remains, shall we forget that venerable and dignified form ; those noble features upon which our eyes have delighted to look when assembled here to commemorate our Saviour, or to worship our God.

“ If this were the place or the occasion, I might rehearse to you his honorable and brilliant career of public service and usefulness, from a period long anterior to the American Revolution, through all its scenes of blood and suffering, and in stations of great public trust and importance, since the commencement of the government of the nation, almost to the day of his death. He not only served faithfully this his native commonwealth and the nation at large in the general government, but his name stands among the fathers and founders of another commonwealth, one of the largest in the Union. At the time of his death, he was among the last surviving members of the convention which framed the present Constitution of the great State of Pennsylvania, and his zealous exertions procured the insertion into that instrument of the all-important article the object of which was to *secure to the whole people* of that commonwealth the blessings of education, by a legal and certain provision for the gratuitous instruction of the poor. But I must not allow myself to enter into an enumeration of his great and various public services. Truth and justice and virtue imperiously require that a full and thorough delineation of his upright and illustrious life and character should be transmitted down among the historical treasures of future generations. To perform this duty will be the sacred privilege of filial affection. His venerable image will be preserved in the hearts of his countrymen. His worthy example will shed a guiding and cheering light upon the years that are to come, and a high place will be assigned him among the descendants of the Puritans and Pilgrims,

and among those noble and fearless men, who, by their great actions and services, rendered their own age the heroic age of their country.

“ Our venerable and honored friend possessed, and through life exhibited, virtues which it well becomes us to commemorate in this place, and aspire to in all places. I can only glance at some of the most striking traits of his character. He was distinguished for the *native simplicity of his heart and manners*. This characteristic is especially worthy of notice when we consider the high rank which he held among the distinguished men of the nation, the dignified places he had occupied, and the wide space which his reputation has filled in the history and opinions of his country. Although he must have been conscious of all this, still we never perceived the least effect arising from it, to diminish the simplicity and ingenuousness of his deportment. He literally knew no guile. The feelings of pride, jealousy, and suspicion, seem never to have entered his heart. He would listen with respect and confidence to all, however humble or however young, who might be thrown into his company. In his manners and in his feelings he carried the great Christian doctrine, that we are all of one blood, brethren of the same family, children of the same parent, heirs of an equal inheritance, into the most perfect development. He looked not on the most humble as his inferiors, and never abased himself by flattering the most exalted. In this sense, which is its only legitimate and should be the only allowable sense, he was the most thorough *Republican* with whom I have ever been acquainted.

“ The next striking attribute of his character was its *firmness*. For this he is known and distinguished throughout the whole nation. When his mind was once made up with respect to the course marked out by his views of duty and principle, there was indeed no power which man could wield, no inducement which this earth can offer, that would be sufficient to appal or to allure him from pursuing it. There was a noble grandeur, a sublime magnanimity in his character in this respect, which all have acknowledged and applauded. And those who may have thought proper to pursue a different course, — so plain was it that he was governed, not by pride or

pertinacity of opinion, but solely by his conscientious sense of duty, — even they have ever regarded his firmness with lively admiration and with sincere respect. This attribute of his character naturally led him to the formation of the most fixed and decided opinions of men and things, which to a superficial observer sometimes assumed the appearance of prejudice. I allude to this because it affords me an opportunity to mention what has always seemed to me the most extraordinary point in his admirable character. *He was not a prejudiced man.* He was remarkably free from prejudice. The nature and the evil of prejudice is, that it discolors the whole moral vision. The man who is subject to it, when he has conceived a dislike to a particular person, on account of something wrong in his actions or character, is rendered unable to see or to appreciate whatever there may be in him that is good and praiseworthy. It was not so with our venerable friend; and my admiration of his pure and upright mind never rises so high as when I remember instances in which he has been the voluntary, the earnest, defender of individuals towards whom he has entertained a strong feeling of disapprobation for real or supposed faults, when they have been undeservedly assailed, or their actual excellencies been denied. He was disposed to do justice to all men. He could not bear to sit in silence when manifest injustice was done even to his enemies.

“ While his mind was thus elevated by its supreme love of justice above the reach of prejudice, it is true that he entertained the most fixed and decided opinions, as has just been observed, of men and things. And it was perfectly natural that he should. As he was governed in the formation of those opinions by the most conscientious principles, it was impossible for any doubt or hesitancy to arise from *within* respecting their correctness or justice. And every one who has witnessed his great intellectual vigor, as it appeared in his unrivalled conversation, and in the unsurpassed clearness, purity, and simplicity of his nervous and powerful writings, must immediately have perceived that his apprehension of character, of duty, and of truth, could not have been otherwise than strong and decided. All good and great men

have entertained, every good and great man must necessarily entertain, fixed and determined views and opinions.

“ He was a most *active man*. I mean by this that he was willing and anxious, upon principle, to fill up as high as he could the measure of his duty, to be as useful as his faculties and his circumstances would enable him to be. He felt that he was responsible to their Giver for the use of his powers, and he acted upon a prevailing sense of the duty of doing all that he could do for the improvement and welfare of his fellow-creatures while he remained among them. He seemed to regard this as the condition upon which his life was given and continued to him. The great variety and number of his public services and social employments illustrate his love of activity and his disposition to be useful. It must be fresh in the memory of us all, with what zeal and energy he devoted himself, not many months since, when the call of misery reached us from a distant and famishing land, to the compassionate purpose of providing the means of answering that call. This was the last great service which he rendered to his fellow-men, and it was a fit termination of a life of continued active beneficence.

“ He was remarkable for his *pure, deep, unfailling love of truth*. On every subject, he sought to attain to it; in every direction, he pursued it. It was uttered in all that he spoke; it shone in his whole life; it prompted to every act; it was written in his countenance; it was never violated at his hands.

“ All whose privilege it was to enjoy an intimate acquaintance with him will ever cherish a recollection of the *gentleness of affection and tenderness of sensibility* which existed in a rare and beautiful combination with the sterner features of his inflexible character. To the world at large the aspect in which he was chiefly contemplated may have been that which presented to view his energy and firmness; but they who were permitted to be with him, in those scenes and relations in which the heart gives way to the impulses of its nature, can never forget exhibitions of a tenderness of soul which the rough collisions of life could not harden, of a sensibility which time did not impair.

“ But I must hasten to present to you the character of our honored friend in another and a still brighter light.

“*He was a religious man.* He was a devout believer in the Christian revelation. This was the fountain from which his virtues drew their strength, their beauty, and their grace. He was not only a devout, but he was a studious, Christian. It is but seldom that you will meet with a man, even of that profession of which the Bible is the text-book, so thoroughly and minutely acquainted with the Scriptures of both covenants. His knowledge of the sacred writings appeared in the most natural and beautiful illustrations drawn, in the course of free and familiar conversation, from every part of the volume that contains them. And it was impossible to be at all in his company without discerning how profoundly and how frequently he must have meditated and reflected upon the doctrines and prospects of religion. All who have worshipped in this assembly must have noticed with what constancy he waited upon the services of the sanctuary : neither distance nor inclemency of the weather could detain him from the worship of the sabbath. In this respect, how well did he represent his pilgrim ancestors ! What a good example has he left behind him !

“ His *religious opinions* were in harmony with those which are here presented and entertained. He was led to them by the deliberate exercise of his mature understanding, and he recommended and adorned them by a long course of virtue and piety. They were at all times a source of consolation to him ; they shed light upon his path in life, and gave him an unflinching support and refuge in a hope that was fixed in heaven. They imparted to him calmness, faith, and peace of mind upon the bed of death. It was my sorrowful privilege to be with him for a few moments not long before his departure, and to join with him in a service of devotion. ‘ I had hoped,’ said he, ‘ to live a little longer ’ (for a purpose which he proceeded to mention to me), ‘ I had hoped to live longer ; but,’ he continued, directing his venerable countenance upward, ‘ I bow to the will of God ; I am ready and willing to die.’

“ Thus lived, and thus died, our beloved and venerated friend and fellow-worshipper. While the history of his coun-

try records his actions, and the hearts of his countrymen cherish his memory, let us, my friends, all strive to imitate his example, to cultivate his virtues, to strengthen ourselves by his principles, — then may we hope, like him, to leave a character behind which will be esteemed by all who contemplate it, and will grow brighter with truth and time, and to follow him to those rewards which await integrity, purity, benevolent usefulness, and piety in a better world; for our text assures us that all who, like him, walk uprightly, work righteousness, and speak the truth in their hearts, shall abide in God's tabernacle and dwell in his holy hill."

Some particular circumstances and remarks that could not well be comprehended in a funeral discourse, and others suggested by an examination of the materials used in this Biography, illustrative of Colonel Pickering's person and character, may, in its conclusion, be presented.

The continuance of his active participation in the labors of life, and the preservation of such unbroken health, to such a protracted period, although, of course, largely attributable to an observance of temperance and salutary habits, were the result of a wonderfully strong original constitution. His physical powers and faculties of labor and endurance were always remarkable. As early as the opening of the Revolutionary war, he was, indeed, under the necessity of using spectacles, and he suffered occasionally from inflammation of the eyes; but the difficulties and annoyances from this source did not increase, but rather diminished, as he grew old. In his latter years, he was apprehensive that he was becoming deaf. He experienced some inconvenience of this kind in conversation, and feared that it would so increase as to shut him off from the pleasures of social intercourse. He used to describe the character and effect of this disability by citing the lines from *Samson Agonistes*, —

"I hear the sound of words ; their sense the air
Dissolves, unjointed, ere they reach my ear."

But this deafness did not seem to become greater from year to year. With these exceptions, Time never laid his hand heavily upon him. His elastic step, his strong tread, remained ; all his muscular powers were vigorous to the end. In the last year or two of his life, some heavy object *fell* upon one of his shoulders from a loft in his barn ; and he was disabled for a short time. Upon asking him whether he had wholly got over the effect, " Yes," said he, brandishing his arm, " I am ready for a wrestling match with any man in Salem." I have no doubt that he would have been equal to such an encounter. It was a peculiarity in his case that, in middle life, he looked much older than he was ; his locks were early thinned, and silvery. But, in his later years, he looked younger than he was, apparently with more flesh upon his large frame, and more bloom upon his countenance. This was, unquestionably, the effect of a relaxation to a considerable extent of the labors of his farm.

His original mental corresponded with his bodily powers. His faculties worked strong and quick. His perceptive and observing powers, and his memory, were great. And if he had been able to lead the life of a scholar, he would have achieved excellence in science or any branch of learning. Although he always disclaimed any pretensions to literature, few minds were more enriched by its treasures. Whenever a respite was allowed from the practical occupations in which his life was, for the most part, employed, and there was no call upon him for domestic cares, and no opportunity to engage in the pleasures of conversation, a book was his comfort and delight. He read carefully, and thought much on what

he read. It was repositied in the storehouse of his mind. And to impress it more deeply, and secure its preservation, he was in the habit of making copious extracts and notes. His miscellanies contain criticisms and comments on the ancient historians, and the characters they portrayed ; upon Hume and Gibbon and Ferguson. Interesting essays are found among his papers on Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon" and Dr. Channing's great article on the subject ; and notices and memoranda, suggested by the books he read, are scattered through his manuscripts.

It is remarkable how much he retained through life that was derived from his excellent early education, and how much he gathered of literary culture in such hours as he could snatch from official business or out-door labor. His writings are illustrated and enriched from these sources to an extent to be ordinarily expected only from scholars and men of professional training.

His style in composition is particularly to be noticed. Writing to one of his sons, then a lad of ten years of age, he says : " I thank you for writing, and desire a repetition of the favor. And as time was lost (as you tell me) between your mamma and aunt, in disputing who should help you write, I hope in future you will depend on *yourself*, and write just what comes into your head. If I were to go home, I am sure you would have many things to tell me ; and why cannot you write them in a letter ? Try ; and, I doubt not, you will succeed." As, from his college days throughout the whole period of his life, he made the proper use of his own language a special and constant study, seeking to appreciate and exhibit its force, and aiming at conciseness, simplicity,

and naturalness of expression, he acquired such a clearness and freedom of style that his sentences flowed lucid and fluent from his pen. They conveyed with exactness his thoughts; and such a facility of construction was acquired, that the thought, however complex, was brought out fully, and made easily intelligible to the reader. It was because he was so easy and ready a writer that he was able to accomplish so much. Although so large a portion of his time was spent in executive duties while in public office, and in bodily labors when retired to private life, many of his publications approached the form, and embraced the quantity, of volumes, such as the "Plan of Discipline," the "Review of the Adams and Cunningham Correspondence," the several series of his "Addresses to the People of the United States," his speech on the loan bill, and diplomatic papers while Secretary of State. When we add his other congressional speeches, and the innumerable documents composed by him in the various departments of which he had charge, and in Indian negotiations; his political and agricultural addresses and pamphlets; the discussions among his papers of topics of all kinds; besides annotations and treatises suggested by books he happened to be reading; and cast our eyes over the folios of his manuscripts, containing a truly vast private correspondence, not counting a still larger quantity not bound into volumes, — it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the productions of no single pen ever surpassed his in the aggregate; and all in the same simple, pure, and forcible style.

As he taught his young son to *write as he would talk*, so he followed the converse of the rule, and acquired

the power of *talking as he would write*, — with the same carefulness and accuracy; and, in consequence, as a conversationalist, he had no superior. His concise, clear, and strong diction, — its effect heightened by distinct articulation, — correct emphasis, energy, and fitness of gesticulation, intonations of voice suitable to the moment, and warmth, earnestness, and fluency of manner and language, made it a treat to listen to him: in narrative and anecdote he had no superior.

The stranger and outside observer received from his peculiar, commanding, and resolute aspect, like that of a stern old Roman, an impression that such, and such alone, was his character; but his friends, who had the opportunity of knowing him in private, discovered a gentleness and tenderness of heart that endeared him to them to the extent that has been described in the preceding chapter. Among the pleasing reminiscences connected with his memory, is that of witnessing this singular combination of tenderness and sternness, in his person and manner, as he walked with his wife along the street, going to or returning from church, or on other occasions. The side next to her, as she leaned on his arm, was all gentleness and courteous carefulness, on the other side he was treading and gesticulating with athletic energy, and looked as though he was ready to meet a world in arms.

This sternness of bearing, and the energy of his expressions in the strife of parties, led to an imputation that he was particularly severe in his feelings and passions towards opponents, and he was spoken of as “a good hater.” He was indeed subject to a delusion which misleads all controversialists in politics, religion, or any

thing else, but which in his case was more apparent than in others, because he was bolder and more earnest in his utterances, — he confounded his own convictions of truth with the absolute truth, and did not bear constantly in his mind, as fallible beings ought to do, the liability of all men to error in matters of judgment and opinion. It did not occur to him, and it never does to any, in the contests of life, that things look totally different from opposite points of view. It appeared to him evident that a subordination of the policy of this country to the designs of France would be fatal to its independence and liberties; that the embargo was fraught with ruin; and that the war with Great Britain was unjustifiable and wicked. They appeared so from his point of view. Assuming that they must appear so to all others, he regarded the support of them as criminal. A similar delusion prevailed on the other side: equally bitter judgments were passed; and all the leading men of the country vilified each other. Colonel Pickering was not alone, or singular, in appearing to hate his opponents. Such sentiments of personal hostility were common to all. So it ever has been, so it now is, and so it ever will be, until all discover that subjects present a different aspect seen from different points; that consequently honest men may receive different and even opposite impressions, and that confidence in opinion ought to be for ever conjoined with a sense of fallibility. At any rate, all references to the characters and motives of disputants are uncalled for, out of place, and mischievous. When they become wholly discarded in discussing questions; when the subject-matter is alone considered on its intrinsic merits, and arguments and

disquisitions are confined to it, without reference to the personal merits or demerits of individuals on either or any side,—political science and measures of government, theology, philosophy, and knowledge in all departments, will feel the power, and exhibit the triumphs, of truth.

In this connection it may be remarked, that while Colonel Pickering's opinions were strongly held, and his language towards and concerning opponents was severe, he never became so much the victim of prejudice as not to be able and prompt to do them justice when he felt that they were wronged. Perhaps towards no man did he ever experience a keener hostility than towards John Adams, which, although it had been much assuaged, was revived by the publication of the Cunningham correspondence; yet, even after that, he would not sit in silence while injustice was done to the real merits and services of that great man. On one occasion, at a social gathering of gentlemen, a prominent individual of the company, supposing, perhaps, that it would be agreeable to Colonel Pickering to hear Mr. Adams denounced, expressed himself strongly against him, going so far as to depreciate his Revolutionary record. "Sir," said Colonel Pickering, "I knew something of those times, and of the men who acted in them; and I tell you, Sir, that John Adams was a master spirit in the proceedings that led to the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence; and that by his agency and influence essential aid was procured for the cause in foreign courts."

While courteous relations always existed between him and John Quincy Adams, they never acted politically together after Mr. Adams espoused the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and voted for the embargo. Colonel

Pickering opposed his election to the Presidency in 1824 and 1828. But he cordially supported many of the measures of his administration, particularly the Panama mission; commended heartily some portions of his Messages; and always maintained that he had eminent abilities as a statesman.

Where Colonel Pickering had the most decided political hostility towards particular public men, the recurrence of friendly relations, as occasion offered, was evidently very satisfactory to him, as shown in his correspondence with Jefferson on the subject of religion, and his meeting John Adams at Mr. Quincy's, and the letters that passed between them relating to the Declaration of Independence.

While his principles required him, as a statesman and Senator, to oppose the war of 1812, to bring it as soon as possible to a close, and to contend against the war policy and spirit of the country, his feelings as an American patriot continued warm through the conflict. It was noticed that, on his way to and from the halls of Congress, he often called at the War Office, making anxious and earnest inquiries, and proffering suggestions, which, from his experience as Quartermaster-General of the Revolutionary army, were particularly valuable in the bureaus of subsistence, supplies, and transportation, and were fully appreciated. His visits were always welcome and agreeable to the officers of the department.

It has been noticed in the course of this Biography with what faithful care he provided for the education of his children. He watched over their training; and by his letters when absent, and his precept, example, and aid when at home, awakened in them a love of knowl-

edge, and a purpose to adhere to virtue and reverence religion. He treated them as rational beings, respected their understandings, and addressed them in his letters as a friend and equal, as well as a father; discussing with them important topics in the same tone and style as with his other correspondents, — taking them, as it were, into his counsels. He was the companion of their enjoyments as well as of their studies. As a parental educator he had great success. Two of his eight sons died when children, but had given the brightest promise of every excellence. Two other sons were stricken down by mental maladies before entering on the stage of active life; but, so long as possessed of responsible faculties, were worthy of all regard and affection. Of the other six children, it may be said that none of them ever gave their parents a moment's anxiety for their virtue. Their lives were without fault. They performed their parts well and honorably in the world, were the comfort and joy of their friends, and ornaments of society.

Early in life, before entering upon manhood, Colonel Pickering formed a deep and inflexible resolution to be just and honest in all transactions and dealings with his fellow-men; to be truthful in language and deed; and obedient to the injunctions of conscience, under all circumstances and at all times. This was, no doubt, mainly the result of a religious education; but it was held by him as a distinct and special resolve, to which he stood fast with a chivalrous allegiance and devotion. He put it on, and kept it on, as an armor, knowing that it, and it alone, in the conflicts of life, would make him invulnerable, and be a divinity to hedge him in. It enabled him to defy his enemies. He boldly challenged scrutiny, and

was ready and willing to have all the actions and words of his life laid bare. What he said on this point was not boastfully but bravely uttered, and his integrity was acknowledged and honored by his countrymen. The newspapers of his party styled him the "American Aristides," and the claim they made to have him so entitled was conceded by his opponents. A principal clerk in the war department declared to Mr. Hillhouse that Mr. Madison, while Secretary of State, said that "God never made a more honest man than Timothy Pickering."

On several occasions, Colonel Pickering publicly declared that he "was exempt from political ambition." In this, as in every thing else, he was perfectly truthful. In obedience to the demands of the hour, and the call of Washington, he had abandoned all means of emolument, and even of support, and given himself to the service of his country. At the close of the Revolutionary war, he resorted to commercial pursuits to maintain his family, but without success. Then he went to Wyoming, and labored as a farmer. His means being reduced, and the demands for the subsistence and education of his family becoming imperative, he sought office, but was unsuccessful. The appointments for which he made solicitation, that of Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania and certain positions in the treasury department of the general government, were each out of the line of political advancement. All the offices he ever held came to him unsought-for at the time; and many of the most important ones, against his reluctance, and even remonstrance: such as Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General of the Revolutionary Army. He was, as it were, forced to accept that of Secretary of State,

declaring over and over again, his want of qualifications for the post. This low estimate of his own abilities amounted almost to a defect in his character. No man ever bore the burden of that office when it was heavier, and no man ever bore it with a firmer or an easier step. His power to qualify himself for any situation was extraordinary, and surprised his friends; but he never could be convinced of it. Perhaps, no one in the history of the country has held so many and such a variety of offices; and no one has ever been less subject to the imputation of being "an office seeker," or of "political ambition."

He was quick to discern any departure in works of art from proportion, congruity, or the fitness of things. But besides his speech denouncing and ridiculing certain models and designs intended to embellish the Capitol at Washington, but which were fortunately abandoned, there is no evidence of his having paid particular attention to architecture, or to painting or statuary; but in music he took delight. His temperament was poetic. He was an admirer of Shakspeare, Milton, Cowper, and Pope; often reperusing portions of their works, and thus storing them in his memory. He would shed tears over passages from his favorite poets, and repeat them for his own continued satisfaction and enjoyment. At the close of a hard day's work on his farm. the opening line of "Young's Night Thoughts," as he was heard to murmur it, would soothe and welcome him to his rest, —

"Tir'd nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep."

Not long before his death, he read aloud in his family, Pope's "Messiah," saying, in conclusion, "Magnificent poetry!"

But his highest enjoyment was in sacred poetry, — the old psalms and hymns to which he had been accustomed. He taught the singing of them in classes, years before the Revolution ; and they were sources of joy and pious edification to his dying day. He loved particularly tender and plaintive, but he also appreciated the most solemn and lofty, strains. Among his favorite tunes were — Old Hundred, St. Ann's, China, Greenville, Brattle Street, Denmark, Evening Hymn, Redeeming Love, Winter, Pleyel's Hymn. He was a constant attendant, a reverent participator, and a careful listener, in the services of the sanctuary ; but, while in his pew, he joined his voice with the choir, and his soul was rapt, melted, or elevated, in profound devotion.

He was a believer of the Christian religion. He received it as a revelation from God. What are called the laws of nature, he believed, were merely the established sequences of things ; the power that ordained and perpetuates them being that of God. He beheld a divine hand in the grains that rose out of the earth along the track of his plough, as well as in the movements of the starry hosts on high. He had no difficulty in accepting the evidence of miracles. The suspension or interruption of the order of things for an adequate purpose, was consistent with the divine wisdom and sovereignty. The regeneration of mankind, by the precepts, example, and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, he regarded as such an adequate purpose. And he believed that it would be accomplished. He looked upon the scriptures as the great fountain of moral and religious wisdom, and he studied and explored them as such. It has been seen how, in his writings, public and private, he drew upon them.

In conversation with his friends, no subjects more attracted him than topics of religious interest and scriptural interpretation. He indulged, without dogmatism, in discussing even the deep things of religious speculation; comparing opinions, where only conjectures could be made, and it was felt that absolute knowledge and certainty were unattainable.

Happening, a little less than two months before his death, to discuss with him the appearances of the Saviour to his disciples, after his resurrection and before his ascension, — I preferring the hypothesis that the transmutation of his material into a spiritual body occurred at his resurrection, he maintaining the opinion that the change and transfiguration did not take place until his ascension, — the next day he sent me the following: —

“THE APPEARANCES OF JESUS TO HIS DISCIPLES.

“John’s Gospel, xx. 19. In the evening of the day of his resurrection, ‘when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.’ (20th) ‘And when he had so said, he showed them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.’ (24th) ‘But Thomas was not with them when Jesus came.’ (26th) ‘And after eight days, again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.’ (27th) ‘Then said he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.’

“The first obvious idea suggested by the words, ‘the doors being shut,’ is of a *miraculous* ENTRANCE into the room. But Jesus came with his human body, — a body of flesh and bones; and it staggers all belief that this body entered through a pore of the wood or a keyhole. There are no words expressly stating this entrance as miraculous; nor does it seem at all

necessary to suppose it. The disciples shut the door to *conceal* themselves; not as in a *castle*, in which they could bid defiance to the Jews; and if they locked or barred the doors, they well knew that the officers of the chief priests and Pharisees, with their attendants, or a mob of exasperated Jews, could easily break the door in pieces, and so enter and take them. The door, then, we may conclude, was merely shut, and not fastened. And while they were thus privately conversing about the wonderful events which had just taken place, — confounded by the crucifixion of their Master, which was death to all their hopes, and astonished at his resurrection; and while all their thoughts were absorbed in the contemplation and discussion, — Jesus might open the door and enter *unobserved*, even until he appeared ‘in the midst’ of them. And when there, it seems that it was necessary to show them the scars in his hands and in his side, to convince them that it was he, their Master.

“This construction receives an illustration and confirmation from the case of the two disciples going to Emmaus on the day of the resurrection. The recent wonderful events engrossed all their thoughts and conversation on the way when Jesus joined them, and their minds were so totally abstracted that they did not recognize him: not even when he opened to them the Scriptures — the prophecies concerning himself presenting fresh objects of wonder to their bewildered minds — did they discover who he was, and he did not tell them. But when they went to supper, and he blessed and brake the bread and gave it to them, in the manner which, from their long attendance on him, had become familiar to them, ‘they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight;’ that is, in the midst of their fresh astonishment, he suddenly retired; before their sober recollection returned he was gone, as if it had been a spectre that had vanished from their sight.

“November 24th, 1828. The subject above noticed having been touched on last evening, and some additional thoughts upon it just now occurring, they are sent to Mr. Upham for his consideration.”

The following prayers are among Colonel Pickering’s papers, in his handwriting: —

"FOR A SUNDAY EVENING.

"O thou Father of light, and Fountain of consolation and grace, who hast formed us in thine image, rendered us capable of thy contemplation and service, and called us in the gospel of Jesus Christ to glory, honor, and immortal life, grant that we may not dishonor our high origin, or forfeit our glorious destiny. Invited, as we regularly are, to revive and deepen our sense of the ennobling truths of Christianity, may we have our faith confirmed by their illustrations, and our endeavors animated to make a continual progress in the Christian life. And may we at no moment forget our accountability for the great privileges we enjoy. Graciously regard those who have been deprived of them by their corruption or abolition, and awaken such as heedlessly neglect them, when within their reach and even pressing on their attention.

"O thou all-wise, all-righteous Disposer, we commit ourselves into thy hands during the night coming, the week upon which we are to enter, and the uncertain period of life that remains. And, although we know not what is before us, we are encouraged by experience to rely entirely on that wisdom which cannot err, and on that goodness which will not fail. Let our desires and calculations be moderate, in respect to this world's enjoyments. Grant us, what is most desirable, contentment and gratitude as to what thou givest, and what thou withholdest. Let us seek first and chiefly the graces which shall fit us for thy kingdom, assured that thou will add thereto all needful good.

"May we who are united by domestic ties be faithful to the relations we mutually bear, and connected by that tender bond of Christian fellowship which purifies and elevates every earthly affection. And may thy gospel extend its benignant sway to the utmost limits of our earth; so that from every clime where there are men to experience thy care, and hearts to taste thy bounty, may ascend the incense of a pure offering to thy throne in the heavens.

"Now to the King, eternal, immortal, invisible, the truly wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen."

" A PRAYER,

" WRITTEN ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH, 1828.

" Almighty God, our Creator, Preserver, and constant Benefactor, we desire, with humility and reverence, to address to thee the grateful homage of our hearts that we have been created, and for the faculties bestowed with our existence, whereby we are enabled to discern, in the works of creation, thy infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; presenting to our minds an object of supreme and delightful adoration and praise. But, while we thus contemplate thy perfections and thy incomprehensible nature, we are filled with astonishment and awe; and, under a sense of thy beneficence towards us, we are humbled at the consciousness of our unworthiness, because we have not, with care and diligence, exercised the various faculties with which it pleased thee to endow us; that we have neglected to make those mental and moral improvements which would have enabled us to perform more acceptably all the duties arising from our relations to thee, to our fellow-beings, and to ourselves. Pardon, we beseech thee, all our offences of omission and commission; and grant that in all our thoughts, words, and actions, we may conform to thy known will manifested in our consciences, and in the revelations of Jesus Christ our Saviour; and thus redeem the time we have lost in unprofitable pursuits, while we have too much neglected the cultivation of our souls, to prepare them for a future happy and never-ending existence.

" Father of mercies! we thank thee for the continuance and prolongation of our lives, and the daily supplies of the means of living, the fruits of thy bounty. Filled with gratitude, may we use the good things thus conferred upon us, without abusing them; observing that temperance in all our enjoyments which shall render them more permanent and delightful, and the better qualify us to discharge the duties pertaining to this life, and the preparation for another and a better. And, by patient continuance in well-doing, may we seek for glory and honor and immortality; and wilt thou, the Father of our spirits, grant us life eternal. Hear us, we beseech thee, as the disciples of our ascended Lord; while to

thy great name we ascribe the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever."

The reader of these volumes remembers the prayer composed by Colonel Pickering, at the request of his wife, during the Revolutionary war, to be read by her, in her distant separation, and by him while in the army; and has noticed how in his correspondence, particularly with her and their children, and in all the scenes through which he was called, the sentiments of religion occupied his thoughts. His was a life of piety, and he was a man of prayer. That he was an humble, obedient, faithful disciple of the Saviour; and that, in his long path of service and duty, his daily walk was with God, — constitute the crowning grace and glory of his character, and give him a pre-eminence among the great names inscribed on the military and civil records of his country. In finally summing up his Biography, I may be permitted here to repeat the closing paragraph of a memoir prepared for Longacre and Herring's "National Portrait Gallery of distinguished Americans," and published in the first volume of that work at Philadelphia in 1837.

Colonel Pickering was a sincere, thorough, and consistent Republican, in his principles, habits, feelings, and manners. He appreciated the value of his own rights, and was ever as ready to protect the rights of others as his own. Reason and revelation both taught him that we are all of one blood, brethren and equals. The Bible was the object of his habitual study and meditation; and the religion, which he had examined and professed in his early manhood, received his obedience and support through a long life, and was found an all-sufficient source of comfort, resignation, peace, and satis-

faction, on the bed of death. The memory and example of such a man are among the most precious possessions of his countrymen. His name will be more and more honored as the lapse of time removes him from the shadow of those clouds of error, prejudice, and passion, which always encompass the passing generation. Even now the youthful scholar, as he gazes on the noble features of TIMOTHY PICKERING, while exploring the history of the American Revolution, and of the government under the Constitution, proudly acknowledges and ardently admires an assemblage of private and civic virtues which Plutarch would have rejoiced to commemorate. As he thinks of the venerable patriot bending over his plough, and literally earning his bread by the sweat of his face, the image of Cincinnatus, the great Roman, rises before him ; and, when he considers his unsullied and unassailable integrity, truth, and justice, Aristides, the good Athenian, seems to be in his presence. But, when he contemplates in his single character their virtues combined, and the whole adorned, illuminated, and hallowed by the bright and heavenly radiance of the Gospel, he exclaims, "Cedite, Romani ; . . . Cedite, Graii."

Regarded in this light, the character of Timothy Pickering may indeed truly be said to surpass all Grecian and all Roman fame.

SUPPLEMENT.

COLONEL PICKERING'S FAMILY AND DESCENDANTS.

TIMOTHY, the father of Colonel Pickering, was born February 21st, 1703, and died June 7th, 1778, aged 75 years, 3 months, and 17 days. He married Mary, daughter of Colonel Joshua Wingate, of Hampton, N. H., December 2d, 1728. She was born June 25th, 1708, and died December 12th, 1784; aged, 76 years, 5 months, and 17 days. Their average age 75. 10. 17.

They had nine children, as follows: —

- I. SARAH, born February 8th, 1730; married John Clarke; died November 21st, 1826. Age 96 years, 9 months, 13 days.
- II. MARY, born April 9th, 1733; married, first, Rev. Dudley Leavitt; second, Nathaniel Peaslee Sergeant. She died January 30th, 1805. Age, 71. 9. 21.
- III. LYDIA, born March 10th, 1736; married George Williams; died October 21st, 1824. Age, 88. 7. 11.
- IV. ELIZABETH, born November 23d, 1737; married John Gardner; died October 12th, 1823. Age, 85. 10. 19.
- V. JOHN, born March 13th, 1740; H. U. 1759; died August 20th, 1811. Age, 71. 5. 7.
- VI. LOIS, born April 30th, 1742; married John Gooll; died February 4th, 1815. Age, 72. 9. 4.
- VII. EUNICE, born April 30th, 1742; married Paine Wingate; died January 7th, 1843. Age, 100. 8. 8.
- VIII. TIMOTHY, born July 17th, 1745; H. U. 1763; married Rebecca White; died January 29th, 1829. Age, 83. 6. 12.

IX. LUCIA, born November 23d, 1747; married Israel Dodge; died November 1st, 1822. Age, 74. 11. 8.

Average age, 82. 11. 8.

The longest lived of this remarkable family, it will be noticed, was one of the twin daughters, reaching an age of more than a hundred years. The parents lived together nearly half a century, and were never called to know, by their own experience, the loss of a child. The seven sisters became the heads of families, and the descendants of them each respectively, under various names, have ever adorned society.

Judge Wingate is often referred to in these volumes. He was of the class of 1759, of Harvard University; and, for many years, the last survivor of the graduates of that institution. Originally a clergyman, settled over the Congregational society of Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, he was drawn into civil life, in which he long acted a conspicuous part: was a delegate in the Congress of the confederation; one of the first Senators of his State in the Congress of the United States under the Constitution; afterwards a member of the National House of Representatives; and for many years a Judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire. Colonel Pickering, writing in 1827, says of him: "Paine Wingate, the husband of my sister Eunice, was born May 14th, 1739, old style. He was the son of the Reverend Paine Wingate, of Amesbury; the eldest brother of my mother. Mr. Wingate, now eighty-eight years old, enjoys excellent health, has strength to labor in the summer, and his mental faculties, always respectable, remain unimpaired." He died, March 7th, 1838. Allowing for the change of style, his age was 98 years, 9

months, and 13 days. The age reached by his wife, as has been stated, was 100 years, 8 months, and 8 days.

Their average age was 99 years, 5 months, and 25 days. Such a joint longevity of husband and wife has, it is probable, very rarely occurred.

Colonel Timothy Pickering was married to Rebecca White, on the 8th of April, 1776. In one of his family memorandum books, he gives this account of her parentage, stating that she was born at Bristol in England, on the 18th of July, 1754: —

“She was the daughter of Benjamin White, a native of Boston, who, following the sea, became engaged in the British navy. He had married Elizabeth Miller, of Bristol, by whom he had two daughters: Rebecca, above mentioned; and Elizabeth, who was born on the 21st of June, 1756, at London.

“In the war of that period between Great Britain and France, he went to the East Indies, master of the ‘Weymouth,’ a sixty-four gun ship. He was at the taking of Manila from the Spaniards, and entitled to a share of the money stipulated to be paid for the ransom; but the cause was (it seems) finally abandoned by the British court, and no part of the ransom was ever recovered by the captors. [See the letters of Junius to Sir William Draper on this subject.]

“At the close of that war, he returned to his native place, Boston; bringing with him his wife and eldest daughter, Rebecca. They arrived about the last of November, 1765, the memorable year of the Stamp Act.

“His wife died at Boston of a consumption, the last Wednesday, being the 29th, of May, 1770; and he himself the 31st of July, 1771, also of consumption. After his return to Boston in 1765, he engaged as master of a vessel, in the London trade, in which he continued till May, 1771.”

The children of Timothy and Rebecca Pickering were as follows: —

- I. JOHN, born at Salem, February 7th, 1777; H. U. 1796; married Sarah White; and died May 5th, 1846.

- II. TIMOTHY, born at Philadelphia, October 1st, 1779; H. U. 1799; married Lurena Cole; and died, May 14th, 1807
- III. HENRY, born at Newburgh, N. Y., October 8th, 1781; and died May 9th, 1838.
- IV. CHARLES, born at Philadelphia, May 25th, 1784; and died May 12th, 1796.
- V. WILLIAM, born at Philadelphia, February 16th, 1786; and died, June 16th, 1814.
- VI. EDWARD, born at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, September 12th, 1787; and died October 11th, 1793.
- VII. GEORGE, born at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, August 7th, 1789; and died April 23d, 1826.
- VIII. OCTAVIUS, born at Wilkesbarre, September 2d, 1791; H. U. 1810; married Jane Pratt; and died October 29th, 1868.
- IX. MARY, born at Philadelphia, November 21st, 1793; married Benjamin Ropes Nichols, H. U. 1804, S. H. S; died March 22d, 1863.
- X. ELIZABETH, born at Philadelphia, November 21st, 1793; married Hammond Dorsey; died August 11th, 1819.

Of four of his sons, above named, Colonel Pickering gives the following account in a memorandum:—

“EDWARD died at Philadelphia of the yellow-fever, which proved fatal to upwards of four thousand of the citizens.”

“CHARLES died at Germantown, near Philadelphia, after a sickness of about three months. He took cold; a fever followed; his lungs were affected so as to produce a hectic cough. His fever, though sometimes abated, never left him. He was continually wasting; and died, after a residence of two weeks in the country, whither he was removed by the advice of his physician.”

“WILLIAM, in the winter of 1802–3, showed signs of partial derangement; the disorder gradually increased. He was finally (September, 1807) sent to the Pennsylvania hospital, in Philadelphia, where were the best accommodations in America

for persons in his condition. All means used for his restoration failed. His mental powers became more and more enfeebled until his death."

"GEORGE was instructed at the Academies of Exeter and Andover; and was admitted into the University of Cambridge at the same time with his brother Octavius. But, in about a year, his irregularities indicated a disturbed mind, which induced me, with his own ready assent, to take him home to Wenham, where I lived on my farm. George there worked moderately on the farm, but gave evidences of increased derangement of his mind; and, finally, it was found necessary to put him into the Asylum for the Insane, in Charlestown. As his mental disorder had not increased after being removed to the asylum; and, as he appeared distressed at the thought of being confined there as long as he lived, speaking of it as a *jail*; and distressed ourselves with his poignant complaints, — his mother and I concluded to make the experiment of taking him back to Wenham in the spring or forepart of summer of 1825. And we went there with him; but, in three or four days, found it was not safe for us or the tenant's family; and we were constrained to carry him back to the asylum. The present spring (1826), the physician (Dr. Rufus Wyman), wrote me that George appeared to be in a decline. He was much emaciated, and became extremely feeble. I went to see him on April 22d, and again on the 23d, when he was nearly exhausted. He died in the evening of that day, Sunday."

There is not known to have been any indication of insanity among the members or connections of the Salem branch of the Pickering family in previous generations. The malady of William, described above, and in this work elsewhere, evidently arose from conscientiousness as to filial duty, so sensitive and tender as to become morbid. The case of George may have been attributable to a severe accidental injury to his head when a boy.

Before darkness settled over their faculties, they were of equal promise with their brothers and sisters; and, in

the development of their minds and characters, rewarded parental care, and justified the principles and methods of their father in the treatment and culture of his children.

Benjamin Ropes Nichols, the husband of MARY, died April 30th, 1848.

Their children:—

- I. LUCY ORNE, married to J. Ingersoll Bowditch, A.M., A. A. S.
- II. BENJAMIN WHITE, H. U., 1842, LL.B.
- III. MARY PICKERING.
- IV. ELIZABETH PICKERING, married to Cyrus Frederic Knight.

The children of Lucy Orne and J. Ingersoll Bowditch:—

Henry Pickering, H. U., 1861, M.D., Assistant Professor of Physiology, married to Selma Knauth; Charles Pickering, H. U., 1863, married to Cornelia L. Rockwell; Charlotte; Lucy; Eliza; Alfred.

The children of Elizabeth Pickering and Cyrus F. Knight are Mary, Herbert, Arthur, Margaret, Elizabeth.

Hammond Dorsey, the husband of ELIZABETH, died February 7th, 1823. They left one child, Mary Elizabeth Pickering, who married Thomas Donaldson, of Baltimore. Their children are Caroline, Mary, Elizabeth Pickering, Thomas, Lucy, Ellen, John Johnston, Frances, Frederick B., Ethel.

Caroline married Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, of the United States Navy; and their children are: Henry Dorsey, Thomas Donaldson Leroy, Robert Bogardus.”

Of Colonel Pickering's four sons who reached maturity, or were permitted to act a part on the stage of life, the following are the records in brief:—

Notices of the eldest, JOHN, from his early childhood, have been found scattered through these volumes. Of him it was said, and with as much assurance as of any one who ever moved in the sphere of ordinary humanity, that he was without fault. The evidences contained in

the family correspondence, as to the details of his growing up, and in the observation and memory of all who knew him, are uniform to this effect. He never gave occasion for any other sentiment than satisfaction and love to parents, relatives, and acquaintances. His life, from the beginning to the end, was innocent, pure, beneficent, and upright. The early attainments of school and college were preludes to constant acquisitions of the culture and knowledge which ultimately ranked him among the foremost of the learned and accomplished men of his age.

Bred to the profession of the law, his labors, in a large practice, were efficient and successful; while, in its special learning, whether relating to forms and procedures in courts, or in its various branches as a science, he had few equals. His writings and explorations as to jurisprudence in general; the framing, revision, and codifying of statutes; the usages of tribunals, the construction of legal instruments, in modern and ancient times; and the practice and principles of law in this country, England, and Europe, — are various, and, in the aggregate, voluminous.

His erudition outside of his profession, particularly in philology, was most extraordinary, and given to the public, from time to time, in periodical journals, and in distinct essays, discourses, and volumes. A master of his own, he was conversant with many other tongues, — European, Oriental, aboriginal American, and Polynesian, — ancient and modern. Besides his vernacular, he spoke and wrote easily and fluently four foreign languages, read freely five others, was quite familiar with four more, and had critically and minutely examined a dozen besides. The disquisitions he published, relating to this

vast circle of forms of speech, entitled him to be called "the admirable Pickering."

His attainments and productions in what is popularly known as "classical learning" were unsurpassed; of which his "Greek-English Lexicon" is a monument. Others have since been published, drawing largely from his, and not always acknowledging the indebtedness. His dictionary, however, retains, and always will, its authority and value.

He had an early taste for mathematics, and acquired great proficiency in that science, reading and appreciating fully the translation, by his friend and neighbor Dr. Bowditch, of the "*Mécanique Céleste*." He was fond of pursuing, and communicating to others, the branches of natural history, especially botany; had skill and practical adeptness in mechanics and in music; and his knowledge and tastes in the fine arts generally were highly cultivated. His contributions to general literature were numerous and valuable, — in orations, lectures, and reviews, in notices of the characters of eminent persons, and miscellaneous pieces.

At the same time, and all the time, he was faithful to the proper business of his profession; his practical eminence in which was attested, not only by a very extensive practice, but by the fact that, shortly after removing, in 1829, from Salem to Boston, he was appointed City Solicitor of the latter place, continuing in the office while his health allowed, and until within a very short time of his death.

He always bore an active part in the affairs of the community, engaged earnestly in the promotion of local interests and improvements, and was firm and zealous in

the discharge of public and political duties. For several years, he was vigilantly at his post as a representative of his town, and a Senator from his county in the legislature of Massachusetts, and was the immediate successor of his father in its executive council. Various reports, speeches, and enactments illustrate his ability and industry as a legislator.

When his extensive, elaborate, and learned correspondence with eminent scholars in other countries are added to the account, the astonishing extent of his labors may be in some degree estimated. The productions of his pen in the course of his life reached an amount equal, for the period of years covered by them, to those of his father. And, what is truly remarkable, in both cases they had leisure always to attend to the ordinary duties and cares of daily occurrence in the charge of their families and the transactions of business. Their hours were never so crowded as not to leave room for, nor their minds so burdened as to prevent their engaging in, the pleasures of society and the intercourses of neighborhood. They both were ever free to take part in agreeable entertainments, in easy conversation, in recreation, and in rest. Their labors were fully thrown off, and despatched, as they were discharged. Their studies left no cloud behind them. Their faculties came out fresh from application; and they were ever as ready for music or talk, or relaxation of any kind, as those who have the least to do, to care for, or to think of.

John Pickering's great attainments were recognized by the community, far and near. He was elected Professor of Hebrew and other oriental languages, and afterwards of Greek Literature, in Harvard College; but

declined both appointments, from a sense of the duty he owed his family, in continuing his professional pursuits, and from a controlling devotion to the wide range of studies to which his life was given. That he could not be induced to abandon them for any more confined pursuit became known, and prevented his being called to a professorship of law in that institution, or to the most eminent academical positions. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Harvard University, and also by the college at Brunswick. He was President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the American Oriental Society. He was a member of numerous other learned bodies, either acting, corresponding, or honorary, in all parts of this country; and in other countries, — at Berlin, Paris, Copenhagen, Palermo, and Athens.

In the years of his opening manhood, a residence in Lisbon and London, in connection with the highest circles in those courts, and travels in Holland and France, under auspices that gave him access to the best society, imparted a refined courtesy to his manners that marked him for life. A lofty stature, — for he was taller even than his father, being six feet one inch and a half in height, although his frame was less broad and athletic, — with an erect bearing, and intellectually formed head and countenance, made his presence stately and imposing; but blended with it was an attractiveness, arising from the benignity of his demeanor, that predominated over other impressions.

This learned lawyer, great scholar, and truly accomplished gentleman, — crowned with so many honors, with such a world-wide, pure, and elevated fame, — still re-

mained one of the people: by the simplicity of his deportment, the sweetness of his disposition, and freedom from pride and guile, ingratiating himself with all classes; drawing towards him the humble and the young, and winning every heart. He had a mild and gentle humor, and at once enjoyed and contributed to all cheerful and innocent pleasantries. Indeed, a more lovely and noble character is seldom met with. He was a sincere, enlightened, and reverent Christian, — constant in his attendance upon public worship; long a member, and for many years a ruling elder, of the First Church in Salem. He was deeply interested in sacred music, and was one of the regular choir in the stated services of the Lord's-Day. His learned researches comprehended the Scriptures in their original languages; and he was an enlightened theologian, liberal, candid, and charitable towards all.

That the foregoing statements, as to the character and attainments of John Pickering, are not extravagant, or in the slightest degree overdrawn, is demonstrated by the testimony of contemporaries and acquaintances, whose opinions will be received, from their universally recognized competence to form them, with absolute confidence.

His early associate in legal and classical studies, and life-long friend and companion, the Honorable Daniel Appleton White, of Salem, delivered a very able and interesting eulogy before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. William Hickling Prescott, the celebrated historian, prepared a memoir for the Massachusetts Historical Society, published in their "Collections" (Third Series, Volume X., p. 204). Having the

same birthplace, and, from the intimacy of their families, enjoying through life opportunities of knowing Mr. Pickering, with kindred tastes and similar eminent culture and learning, Mr. Prescott is the highest possible authority. The present senior Senator of Massachusetts, in the Congress of the United States, published an article in the "Law Reporter" of June, 1841, which is one of the finest productions of that distinguished gentleman.

Judge White, in the course of his eulogy, addressing the members of the Academy, says: —

"All of you, gentlemen, had the happiness to know Mr. Pickering, in his social as well as literary character, and need not that I should speak to you of his kind and courteous manners, his sweet temper and disposition, his benevolent virtues, the richness of his conversation, and the delight which his society afforded. He was, as you well know, a man universally respected; who never lost a friend, and never had an enemy; whom once to know was always to love and esteem." "The memory of John Pickering will live throughout the learned world. So long as human language exists, and is cultivated, his name will be honored. If he sought not fame, he has found it the more surely, and in a higher degree. His precious reputation rests on ground as solid as his ambition was pure. It will extend with the benign influences of his learning, and it will brighten as it extends."

Mr. Prescott says: —

"No brighter example need be sought than that afforded by the subject of this memoir, who, in the midst of engrossing professional duties, found time for various acquisitions, and for the composition of laborious works, that might have tasked the energies of the most industrious scholar."

He thus speaks of Mr. Pickering's college life: —

"He was steeled by early education and his naturally fine temperament against the coarser seductions of pleasure. He

bent his faculties to the great purpose of making himself a scholar, and this in the most opposite departments of knowledge. He now laid the foundation of his critical acquaintance with the classics, and acquired that reverence for the immortal masters of antiquity which strengthened with his years. He became distinguished also by his proficiency in mathematics, and is said to have derived peculiar satisfaction from some academic honors awarded to him for this proficiency. He established, moreover, during his collegiate career, a reputation for those manly virtues, — for modesty, candor, love of truth, simplicity of purpose, and winning courtesy of manner, — which endeared him to all who approached him, and to many bound him with the ties of enduring friendship.”

In describing his explorations and attainments in the dialects of the aboriginal American and Polynesian nations and tribes, Mr. Prescott says that the production of the greatest importance from his pen relating to this subject was “An Essay on a Uniform Orthography of the Indian Languages of North America,” which appeared in 1820, in the fourth volume of the “Transactions of the American Academy.”

“The Essay, which he published in a separate form, the following year, attracted great attention among scholars, both at home and abroad. Sir William Jones, had he lived to this period, might have rejoiced in the realization of his wishes in regard to the existence of some intelligible and universal medium of communication for the languages of the East, — since he would have found such a medium now afforded by a simple contrivance, — the more beautiful, like all other skilful contrivances, from its very simplicity. The success of the scheme, as shown by its practical application, must have exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its author. Thirty years have not elapsed since the publication of the memoir, yet the alphabet has been applied to eleven of the aboriginal languages of this continent, and in some of them newspapers are regularly printed in these characters. Two of the Afri-

can dialects, and that also of the Sandwich Islands, have been reduced to writing on the same system of orthography; and various works, including the Scriptures, published in them; and the Syrian Mission of Jerusalem has proposed to extend the same system, so widely countenanced by the learned, to the languages of the East. Thus, by the ingenuity and industry of the American philologist, the means have been devised for a free communication between the scholars of different countries, engaged in these obscure investigations. They can now profit by one another's assistance, in subjecting the fruits of their researches to philosophical analysis; while the untutored savage is furnished with a medium of communication by which the light of civilization may be poured in upon his darkened intellect.

“Such extensive acquisitions could have been the result only of the greatest industry and perseverance. He had early acquired a power of abstraction; and, the subject of his meditations once fully presented to his mind, he could secure and detain it there until he had carefully examined it in all its bearings. The time and place were altogether indifferent to him; and his mental processes were equally undisturbed by the bustle of the court-room and the conversation of his friends.

“But Mr. Pickering had what was more uncommon, and what, to the degree in which he had it, may be regarded as a real gift of nature, — a most tenacious memory. Most men find it easier to forget than to remember. With Mr. Pickering, to learn and to remember seemed to be synonymous. Such a power, if not genius, is next akin to it. It is to the scholar what imagination is to the poet. It is the arsenal whence he can draw at will the weapons for his intellectual combats. With this power Mr. Pickering could pass from one subject to another, finding each where he had left it. Nothing had been lost in the interval. No step was to be retraced; but each new step carried him still onward in the interminable march of knowledge.

“The dominant impulse in his breast was the good of his fellow-men. This sentiment, which he inculcates in one of his last discourses as the true motive of the scholar, was not

with him an empty boast. His whole life showed it to be sincere. The works to which he devoted himself were not those that catch the popular eye. He was content to toil in the obscure mines of literature, where his labors were almost hidden from observation. Most of his contributions to science were free offerings, without compensation, and are to be found embodied in the collections of learned societies. His pen was ever prompt in the service of others. Nor did his good offices stop here; and more than one author can recall to mind the assistance which he gave him when coming before the world, and the sympathy which he never failed to manifest in his success. The success of another, indeed, whether friend or rival, filled him only with satisfaction. He had a soul too large for envy; and he hailed with delight every real contribution to science, from whatever quarter it came.

“Mr. Pickering’s inquisitive mind drew in knowledge from every source within its reach: from books, meditation, society; from the educated traveller, or the simple mariner who brought back tidings of some distant island the language of which still remained to be explored. Strangers having such information resorted to his house, eager to impart their stores to one who could so largely profit by them. In this way he obtained the materials of his last communication to the American Academy, being a very interesting account of the remarkable race who inhabit Lord North’s Island, and of the language spoken by them.

“Mr. Pickering was tall in stature and of a commanding presence. His features were regular; his mouth small and well formed; his nose of the Roman cast; his serene and ample forehead seemed to be the fitting seat of contemplation. His whole deportment was such as to command respect, yet tempered by a benignity of manner which inspired the warmest feelings of regard. His manner indeed was not only courteous, but courtly. He had that courtesy which is seated in the heart; and his good breeding was the form in which he expressed the benevolence of his nature.

“His equanimity of temper, and a life of tranquillity, exempted him from many of those corroding cares which sour the happiness and too often shorten existence. But, in

the summer of 1845, he felt the approaches of a disease which, at first, had nothing very alarming in its aspect. As it gained ground, and he grew weaker in body, he still showed reluctance to relinquish his literary occupations, — as a veteran, unused to defeat, unwillingly retreats before odds too great to be resisted.

“In the following spring his health failed so sensibly that it was evident the end could not be long protracted. He prepared to meet it, however, in the true spirit of a Christian philosopher, — in the spirit in which he had always lived. He experienced all the alleviations to his illness which the sympathy of friendship and the endearing attentions of his own family could afford. His wife, disabled by bodily infirmities, had for some time been deprived of her sight. But the attentions which she was thus excluded from paying, and which a woman only can pay, were bestowed in full measure by his daughter, whom he had ever regarded — as was due to her admirable qualities — with peculiar fondness and parental pride.”

The following passages are from Mr. Sumner's memoir : —

“His style is that of scholar and man of taste. It is simple, unpretending ; like its author, clear, accurate, and flows in an even tenor of elegance, which rises at times to a suavity almost Xenophontean. Though little adorned by flowers of rhetoric, it shows the sensibility and refinement of an ear attuned to the harmonies of language. He had cultivated music as a science, and in his younger days performed on the flute with Grecian fondness. Some of the airs which he had learned in Portugal were sung to him by his daughter, shortly before his death ; bringing with them, doubtless, the pleasant memories of early travel, and of the ‘incense-breathing morn’ of life.”

“While dwelling with admiration upon his triumphs of intellect and the fame he has won, let us not forget the virtues, higher than intellect or fame, by which his life was adorned. In the jurist and the scholar, let us not lose sight of the *man*. So far as is allotted to a mortal to be, he was a

spotless character. The rude tides of this world seemed to flow by without soiling his garments. He was pure in thought, word, and deed. He was a lover of truth, goodness, and humanity. He was the friend of the young; encouraging them in their studies, and aiding them by his wise counsels. He was ever kind, considerate, and gentle to all; towards children and the unfortunate, full of tenderness. He was of modesty 'all compact.' With learning to which all bowed with reverence, he walked humbly alike before God and man. His pleasures were simple. In the retirement of his study and in the blandishments of his music-loving family, he found rest from the fatigues of the bar. He never spoke in anger, nor did any hate find a seat in his bosom. His placid life was, like law, in the definition of Aristotle, 'mind without passion.'

"Beyond the immediate circle of family and friends, he will be mourned by the bar, amongst whom his daily life was passed; by the municipality of Boston, whose legal adviser he was; by clients, who depended upon his counsels; by all good citizens, who were charmed by the abounding virtues of his private life; by his country, who will cherish his name more than gold or silver; by the distant islands of the Pacific, who will bless his labors in every written word that they read; finally, by the company of jurists and scholars throughout the world. His fame and his works will be fitly commemorated on formal occasions hereafter. Meanwhile, one who knew him at the bar and in private life, and who loves his memory, lays this early tribute upon his grave."

John Pickering's wife died at Salem, December 14th, 1846.

Colonel Pickering states in a memorandum that she was the daughter of "Isaac White, who was the son of John White, elder brother of my wife's father. Her mother was Sarah Leavitt, second daughter of my sister Mary, whose husband was the Rev. Dudley Leavitt."

The children of John and Sarah White Pickering:—

- I. **MARY ORNE.** To her the writer of these volumes is indebted for many valuable materials and kindly offices in the prosecution of his work.
- II. **JOHN, H. U. 1830**; married to Mehitable Cox. Their children: Sarah White, Mary Orne, John.
- III. **HENRY WHITE, H. U. 1831**; married to Frances Dana Goddard. Children: Rebecca White, married to John G. Walker, commander U. S. N.; Frances Goddard, died May 28th, 1865; Henry Goddard, H. U. 1869, LL.B.
- The children of Rebecca White (Pickering) and John G. Walker: Frances Pickering, James Wilson Grimes, Susan Grimes, Henry Pickering.

Of the life, character, and death of Colonel Pickering's second son, **TIMOTHY**, notices have been given in the preceding volumes. He was a man of strong and decided traits, of few words, of an independent spirit, of immovable integrity, of the purest morality, and of marked energy; a good scholar at college; intrepid and efficient as a naval officer. The last years of his life were spent in agricultural pursuits in Pennsylvania. His wife, Lurena, died at Boston, April 22d, 1860. Their children:—

- I. **CHARLES, H. U. 1823, M. D. 1826**; married Sarah Stoddard Hammond; member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Naturalist of the "United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842," under the command of Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.
- II. **EDWARD, H. U. 1824**; married Charlotte Hammond. Children: Ellen Hammond, died July 13th, 1861, aged eighteen years. Edward Charles, Bachelor of Science, H. U. 1865; Assistant Professor of Lawrence Scientific School; Professor of Physics in Massachusetts Institute of Technology. William Henry.

Of Colonel Pickering's eighth son, **OCTAVIUS**, notices

have occurred in these volumes. His extraordinary accuracy and fidelity led to his being employed in the most responsible trusts where those qualities were required. He was one of the reporters of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, in 1820, and the "reporter" of the decisions of the Supreme Court of that State from 1822 to 1840. The twenty-four volumes of his "Reports" are recognized as authority in all courts. Besides his eminence as a learned and exact lawyer, he cultivated a decided scientific taste, was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the founders of the Boston Society of Natural History. The integrity of his principles and the purity of his character commanded universal esteem and affection. The manuscripts of his father, throughout their vast extent, show marks of the conscientious and thorough carefulness with which he explored them, and his minutes give evidence that he had studied the history of the time with laborious diligence.

The first volume of this Biography is a monument of his scrupulous regard to truth. The refined delicacy of his feelings as a son is apparent, and to some extent restrained his pen.

His wife, Jane Pratt, was an English woman, a niece of William Pratt, who was the husband of Mary Williams, daughter of Colonel Pickering's sister Lydia. While on a visit to Boston, she was married to Octavius Pickering. In 1841, they went to England with their son, and remained there seven years. Mr. Pickering availed himself of the opportunity to make excursions on the Continent, as well as in Great Britain. His wife did not long survive him, dying March 16th, 1869. Their

only child was Henry Pickering. H. U. 1861. Married to Mary Goddard Wigglesworth. He has provided for the continuation and completion of this Biography.

Every reader of these volumes will feel that justice requires a special notice to be given of Colonel Pickering's third son,

HENRY. Having in his childhood conceived a strong desire for a city life, he was when a youth, in pursuance of his own earnest wishes, placed in a merchant's counting-room and store in Philadelphia. He was happy in that employment, and his prospects most flattering. His natural properties, his tastes, and the refinement of his mind and manners, fitted him to enjoy and adorn the polished society of that cultivated city. Just as he had begun to take part in it, when in his nineteenth year, his father was dismissed from office, and went into the wilderness to make a clearing for the maintenance of his family. Henry at once, of his own accord, and without a moment's hesitation, determined to abandon and sacrifice all, and go with his father into the woods, share in his toils and privations, keep at his side to guard him against every danger, and be his constant companion, to cheer him in his solitude, and bless him by reverent affection and attention. This devoted son was never married, but consecrated his life, from that hour, to the service and welfare of his parents and family.

He accompanied them on their removal to Massachusetts. Entering the counting-house of his prosperous and generous-hearted cousin, Pickering Dodge, he was enabled to engage in adventures, small at first, but steadily successful, until he became an importer to a considerable amount on his own capital. His business

abilities were superior, and fortune favored him. He acquired a handsome estate, and took his place among leading merchants. He enjoyed the confidence of the mercantile community, filling the office for some time of cashier of one of the principal banks.

His mind was highly cultivated, by habits of study, foreign travel, and conversance with the best society. Although not having enjoyed a collegiate education, he was familiar with Latin, Greek, and French literature. His house was embellished by a choice and extensive collection of works of art; he was a connoisseur in statuary and painting, and had pursued architecture as a science. His temperament, mental habits, and daily thoughts and sentiments, were highly poetic, and he indulged in exercises of his pen giving expression to this turn of his mind. His productions were various and spontaneous, suggested by the contemplation of works of art, of scenes of nature that deeply impressed his imaginative and sensitive spirit, and awakened his sense of beauty, and of great historic names or events. They were written for his own gratification, communicated to particular friends, and in some cases put in print for private circulation. A few were published: "The Ruins of Pæstum, and other compositions in verse," in 1822; "Athens, and other poems," in 1824; and "Poems, by an American," in 1830. Being conceived in a meditative and contemplative mood, they were not of a nature to attract the attention of superficial readers, or to be appreciated by the popular mind; but persons of a refined taste cannot but recognize in them a spirit of extraordinary purity, a heart of the noblest sensibilities, and the richest results of a finished and polished classical culture.

His verses were the vehicle that conveyed his enthusiastic love of art, and his strong family affections. Of sculpture he thus expresses himself, in his poem on Athens:—

“There Paros, dear to art, his lofty brow,
Shadowy, amid the emerald sea, erects;
Revealing to the curious eye alone
His dazzling caves, whence Egypt’s mighty fanes,
Of wondrous fabric, or thy temples fair,
Renowned Greece, were with a giant’s strength
Upraised. Thence, too, were ta’en those precious blocks
In which celestial forms were oft concealed,
Till Genius, breathing on the mass inert,
Dissolved the spell, and gave to radiant day
Their forms divine.”

In a poem entitled “Daphne,” he pours forth his fond remembrance of his beloved departed sister Elizabeth.

“My dear, lamented Daphne! Shall that form—
That form, so heavenly fair, ne’er bloom again?
Thy dust, alas! is not commingled here
With kindred dust: but doth it aught avail?
Lo, where repose long-forgotten race,
The lengthened line of thy progenitors;
Whilst thou, far amid southern climes, beneath
The tam’rind and the orange tree, art laid,
Fit resting-place for thee!”

His reverent affection and tender care for his mother were remarkable from childhood. Severe sufferings, during a serious illness, in her old age, led her to say, “I wish I were in heaven.” He concluded a poem, under the title of those words, in the following stanzas:—

“My mother, still we must not part,—
Let hope thy soul sustain!
And every lenient art I’ll use
To mitigate thy pain.

“And all beyond the reach of art,
Religion shall assuage;
Balm in the wounded spirit pour,
And soothe of grief the rage.

“ For, oh! whene'er that time shall come,
 (My prayers avert it long!)
 And this thy wish shall be fulfilled,
 And thou to heaven belong, —

“ Thy sorrowing son, should he be here
 To feel the blow that's given,
 Must then like thee in anguish say,
 'I wish I were in heaven.' ”

Henry Pickering was, in all his qualities, fitted to be an ornament of society. His countenance was of the Roman cast; his frame was erect, broad, and full-chested; his height five feet and eleven inches; his presence dignified and commanding; and his manners were polished. A modest courtesy pervaded his mien. He enjoyed all that was refined and truly elegant in fashionable life. His company was genial, easy, and cheerful; beloved by his associates, he was disposed, in a quiet way, to be sociable with all, and seen to be wholly free from pride. He was fond of the young, and every child that grew up in the community around him felt grateful to him for pleasant notices and kind attentions.

But his great trait was devotion to his parents, his brothers and sisters, and their families. Few days intervened between his visits to Wenham; and, with watchful care, every thing that the limited wishes of his father or mother gave him an opportunity to do, or that they were willing to have done, was arranged and provided. He prevailed upon them to accept innumerable little contributions to their comfort and enjoyment. If any considerable aid was required, his purse was ever open, and to any extent. He assumed the entire charge of his brother Timothy's family, treated his widow as a beloved sister, and met the whole expense of the bringing up, subsistence, and education, at school and college,

of her two sons, clearing the path for them to an establishment in their professions. He watched with careful vigilance the training of his two sisters, and saw to it that they had every accomplishment and every advantage that could be placed within their reach ; and, as for his brothers, and all belonging to them, his hand was ever open to aid and to serve them. In such tender, considerate, faithful, and munificent filial and fraternal offices, he sought and found the chief and constant happiness of his life.

But of this happiness he was suddenly bereft. One of those convulsions in the commercial world to which that period was particularly exposed swept his property entirely away. Fortunately, however, his work had been, in the most material respects, accomplished. His parents had become comfortably provided for, and all the branches of the family prosperously established, before the catastrophe occurred. He at once surrendered every thing of which he was possessed to meet, as far as possible, the liabilities in which he was involved. His fine house, and all its elegant contents, including his rich and rare collection of pictures and statues, and curiosities of art and science, were sacrificed. He parted with them, not without a pang, as the following lines show : —

“ THE DISMANTLED CABINET.

“ Go, beautiful creations of the mind,
 Fair forms of earth and heaven, and scenes as fair,
 Where art appears with Nature's loveliest air —
 Go! glad the few upon whom Fortune kind
 Yet lavishes her smiles. When calmly shin'd
 My hours, ye did not fail a zest most rare
 To add to life; and when oppressed by care,
 Or sadness twined (as she hath often twined)

With cypress wreath my brow, even then ye threw
 Around enchantment. But, though I deplore
 The separation, in the mirror true
 Of mind, I yet shall see you as before ;
 Then go : like friends that vanish from our view,
 Though ne'er to be forgot, we part to meet no more ! ”

Though stripped of all the fruits of the enterprises and labors of his life, he lost not faith nor hope. He went at once to New York in search of business, and, after a while, completed some new arrangements.

His misfortunes were lamented by all ; but his parents felt not the loss of property so much as that of his presence and society. In a letter to him from Salem, his father says : —

“ MY DEAR SON,

“ At your departure yesterday, you left heavy hearts behind. But regrets for unfortunate enterprises are unavailing. A philosophic, and especially a religious, mind will look upward with hope, and maintain a calmness and fortitude superior to all ‘the ills that flesh is heir to.’ But the only sure basis of that fortitude is conscious integrity. The afflicted Job said, ‘My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go ; my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.’ Adhere to this, and all will be well.

“ You return to New York with the design, if practicable, of becoming an associate in some productive business ; but of this your expectations are uncertain. Make a fair trial. I hope you may succeed. An *ordinary* employment of mere *drudgery* you cannot submit to : the laborious life of a farmer would be preferable. Formerly a husbandman was in little estimation ; but times are changed : farming is now universally considered as honorable ; men of all classes in society engage in it with zeal, and are applauded. In some former letter I told you I was the more decided in retaining my Wenham farm, because of the uncertainty of mercantile pursuits, and the not unfrequent changes from wealth to poverty. I should feel no reluctance to return to Wenham ; and, if my

difficulty in hearing common conversation should increase, it would be a welcome retreat; already that defect deprives me of no inconsiderable portion of the pleasures of society. Your mother and I may yet live some years; and, should it be found expedient to take up our residence in Wenham, nothing could be so grateful, nothing could afford equal solace, as the tender assiduities of so affectionate a child as you are. A very moderate pecuniary income, to supply us with clothing and groceries, would make us comfortable. House-rent would be saved, and fuel would cost only the labor of cutting and preparing it. The farm would furnish us with bread and meat, and the surplus sold pay the workmen's wages. The management of fruit-trees, bushes, and vines, and a superintendence of the whole operations, without hard labor, would be all that would be necessary on your part.

“Let us hear from you frequently, and pray open your heart freely to your affectionate father.”

Henry formed a mercantile connection in New York; but it came to a disastrous termination, owing to liabilities contracted long before his connection with it. His embarrassments were inextricable, and all chance or possibility of retrieving his affairs for ever closed. Unwilling to be a burden to a family which he had lived only to aid, he resolved never to return to Salem, and sought an humble seclusion in the vicinity of Newburgh, in which to pass the remainder of his days.

The shortness of his mother's sickness, and its unexpectedly early termination, prevented his being with her in her dying hours; but, reflecting upon his father's lonely bereavement, he broke his resolution to return no more to Salem, as appears from the following passages in a letter to him from his father, dated September 3d, 1828:—

“MY DEAR HENRY,

“Your letter of August 19th came duly to hand, marked with the tender feeling which has ever distinguished your character, which could not fail of being deeply excited, and the fresh perusal of which fills my eyes with tears. This moment, Lurena brings to me your letter of August 30th. But a few minutes before, I had spoken to Octavius of your situation, and told him I would write, and desire you to return to Salem, and make one of the family, certainly for the ensuing winter. I am pleased to find this coincidence of intention and desire. There is no ‘necessity’ for your *immediate* return; yet I hope it may be within the time you suggest, — a month, or six weeks at farthest.

“For a good while past, I have been contemplating your situation, and had spoken of it, with painful solicitude, to your mother; and meant now to have detailed to you my reflections. But I waive them, as you will so soon be here.”

Upon reaching Salem, Henry devoted himself constantly to the solace, comfort, and happiness of his father, — watched over him in his sickness; was at his bedside day and night; administered to every want; tried to relieve every pain; held him in his arms when raised to mitigate distress; heard his last words; received his last blessing; and closed his eyes in death.

After the sorrowful duties of the occasion had been discharged, he examined his father’s papers, reduced the vast mass of his manuscripts to a preliminary state of order to facilitate the work of a future biographer, and copied, for the gratification of friends, documents of particular interest to them. Finding the friendly letters that passed between his father and mine, and which his brother Octavius has incorporated in the first volume of this work (page 491), he sent to me copies of them. He remained in Salem until, under his superintendence, a

solid structure — so solid as not to be moved while the world lasts — was provided to receive the remains of his parents, and he had seen their sacred relics deposited in it, according to his father's expressed wishes; massive granite, constituting, in its simplicity and dimensions, a fit monument, piled upon it, and surmounted by a tablet with a suitable inscription, prepared with the aid and suggestions of the classical taste of his friend, and the friend of the family, Benjamin Merrill, Esq.

The mission of his life, as the guardian and benefactor of his parents, being thus fulfilled, — his heart saddened by the thought that offices of filial reverence and tenderness could no more be rendered, but grateful for the untold happiness and benefit he had derived from their love and virtue, and also grateful for the opportunity he had enjoyed, in the days of his prosperity, to promote their comfort and welfare, — he returned to his chosen and final home on the banks of the Hudson. The locality had always been dear, and consecrated in his memory and fancy. It was the scene of his earliest childhood, and where he first drew the breath of life, in the midst of the Revolutionary war, at the headquarters of the army, and while his parents were members of Washington's military family.

He introduces a short poem, on the "Hudson," thus: —

"On thy romantic banks, imperial flood,
I waked to life and joy; but, ah! too soon
Was exiled thence; and now the rosy morn
Which softly beamed upon my youth is past,
And gathering clouds the cheerless day involve.
I come a weary wanderer to thy brink,
And reverent kiss thy wave. Oh that, unchanged,
Thou wert again as when my infant eyes
First met thy sparkling glance, and that the bloom
Of life once more were mine! Yet why for thee

That ardent prayer ? Has the sun drained thy founts ?
 Or hast thou swerved from thy majestic course ?
 As proudly onward sweep thy waves to-day
 As when thy mighty springs were first unlocked
 To swell the exulting main ! ”

He loved to meditate and gaze upon the Hudson, because with it were associated the two venerated images of the father of his country and of his own father, who, during a large period of the Revolutionary war, were together ; the latter as Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, and member of the Board of War, when headquarters were in the vicinity of its banks, especially at Newburgh or its neighborhood. He thus speaks of them in his poem on “ The Hudson : ” —

“ Washington, whose patriot zeal,
 Consummate prudence, singleness of aim,
 And rare, unblemished purity of soul,
 Were nobly with his country's fortunes linked,
 In cloudless splendor through all time shall live.”
 “ Nor, if majestic virtue charm mankind,
 Or piety sincere, or heaven-born truth,
 Or honest worth, like that Rome once revered,
 Or warm devotion to the public weal, —
 Shall he whose great yet injured name I bear
 Sink in the grave, unhonored and forgot ! ”

His father's executors were ready to supply all his wants and wishes, as they were authorized and required to do ; but Henry Pickering preferred to provide, as far as possible, for his own maintenance. For this end, he sought occupation in contributing to the columns of newspapers and other journals in his neighborhood and in the city of New York, which, with some matters of business, led him occasionally to visit that place, where he died after a short illness.

If another book should be written after the manner of Fuller's “ Holy State,” it would be difficult to find an

example more beautifully illustrating "the good son" or "the good brother" than the life of Henry Pickering presents.

His failure in business, and the indebtedness, the extent of which was not ascertained, in which he had become involved by the mismanagement and imprudence of parties with whom he had become associated in commercial enterprises, — much of it, too, incurred before his connection with them, — required that the father should make some arrangement to provide for the case. What property he had was all absolutely needed for the support of his wife and family. He was under no legal, moral, or conceivable obligation to meet Henry's liabilities. If he should die without a will, Henry's portion would at once be swept away to strangers. If he should leave, by will, a devise to him, it would share the same fate. It was most painful to think of making no provision whatever in a will for such a son, to whom, in fact, he was really pecuniarily indebted for more than double his whole estate, of, in fact, disinheriting him, so far as would appear on the face of the document, and become a matter of record. But it was the only way in which he could serve him, or secure to him any relief.

He accordingly prepared a will, in which Henry's name is not mentioned, placing his entire property in the hands of executors, requiring them to provide suitably and sufficiently for his wife and the widow of his son Timothy, in all other respects giving them unlimited discretion in the management and distribution of his estate. They were his two other sons and his son-in-law, representing the family; and it was certain that any thing they might do for the benefit of Henry, and to

whatever extent, would be heartily approved by every member of it. He also prepared a letter to the executors, expressing his views and wishes in general, and more particularly in regard to Henry. He folded the letter with the will, in the same envelope; and, lest it might be mislaid or lost, he conformed the first draught of the letter, by interlineation and erasure, to the corrected copy placed with the will, wrote a certificate that it had been made a perfectly correct copy, and filed it away separately for the guidance of administrators: so great was his care that Henry should be provided for.

The "letter" was dated and the "will" signed and executed on the same day. The latter was presented for probate, and duly established on the 17th of February, 1829.

These two documents constitute the conclusion of the notice of HENRY PICKERING, and are the appropriate final appendage to the Life of TIMOTHY PICKERING.

LETTER TO EXECUTORS.

"To my sons, John Pickering and Octavius Pickering, and my son-in-law, Benjamin Ropes Nichols.

"The uncertainty of life, at my age, should induce persons possessed of property, and who have any reasons for distributing it in any other manner than that for which the law of the land has made provision, to make their wills, to direct the mode in which the distribution should be made. This duty is still more incumbent on me, who am so far advanced in life. Annulling any will and testament by me formerly made, I have, this day, made my last will and testament. This is the more expedient, to prevent any embarrassment, delay, and expense, in obtaining from the courts of law authority to sell real estate; and it may be found expedient

to sell the whole of mine, and I have authorized it accordingly.

“Your brother, Henry Pickering, you know, had once acquired a handsome property; and you know the very liberal and kind-hearted manner in which he bestowed much of it for the benefit of his brothers and sisters, and for the two sons of his deceased brother Timothy and their mother, besides the aid he from time to time afforded to me. In addition to which, he some years ago, when he possessed the means, with tender affection proposed to settle on me a capital sum of money, the income of which would have been sufficient for the support of myself and family in the frugal manner in which we had been accustomed to live, in order that I might pass the residue of my sojourn on earth in bodily ease and mental enjoyment, exempt from the personal toils and minute cares of a farmer. It now appears unfortunate that I did not accept the offer; for its annual product, added to my own resources, would now have enabled me to provide for his comfortable and decent subsistence, until some business should occur that would enable him again to provide for himself. Reduced by losses in trade; and, by his late commercial enterprise in New York, not only stripped of what remained, but immersed in debts, — he is destitute of the means of living. Were I possessed of an ample fortune, I would relieve him from his present thralldom and mortifying condition, as soon as his share of the debts due from his commercial house could be ascertained. But, this being impossible, and, as all my resources may be adequate only for the support of my family, imparting to him barely what will preserve him from want; and, as in case of my decease before he and his partners shall have settled with their creditors, a devise and bequest to him would not only fail of relieving him, but would so far deprive my family of subsistence, I have placed the whole of my property, after my decease, under your exclusive management, so long as my wife shall live. Afterwards reserving what my will directs respecting my daughter-in-law, Lurena Pickering, you are to make a distribution of the residue and remainder of my estate, real and personal, among my children and grand-

children and their legal representatives; varying the proportions, according to their respective circumstances, as kindred, affection, and humanity shall dictate; giving to each something as a token of my affection, but most to those who are in the most necessitous situations. But, above all, bearing in kind remembrance my son Henry, to whom we are all so much indebted, for his pecuniary disbursements so generously and so affectionately made to all the branches of the family who have partaken of his bounty. To him, therefore, I would have you transfer, by proper conveyances, all my real estate in this county, or, if previously sold, as directed in my will, then the net proceeds thereof to be enjoyed by him and his heirs and assigns. And this appropriation to Henry, should he again acquire the means of living independently of it, will probably result only in a suspension of a distribution of it among the different branches of my family, comprehending my children and grandchildren, who all share in his tender affection.

“My interest in lands in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Virginia, counting chiefly and almost wholly on those in Pennsylvania, will probably yield four or five thousand dollars.

“At Salem, the fifteenth of May, A.D. 1827.

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

THE WILL OF TIMOTHY PICKERING.

“I, Timothy Pickering, of Salem, in the County of Essex, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do make this my last will and testament.

“After my decease, my executors, herein after named, are to take possession of all my real estate, in the county aforesaid, consisting of the following parcels, to wit:—

“1. Of the two eastern brick tenements, in the block of buildings in Warren Street, in the easternmost of which I now dwell, with the land under and adjoining the same; and the out-buildings thereon; bounded northerly on Warren Street, easterly on Flint Street, southerly on land in possession of the widow Reed, and westerly on land and the other part of the said block of buildings belonging to Pickering Dodge.

"2. Of land in the South Fields in Salem, lying, at this time, in two principal fields, which are separated by a stone-wall fence, and bounded northerly on land of Ezekiel Hersey Derby, westerly on land belonging to, or in possession of, Jonathan West, from said Derby's land to Forest River, and thence round by said river and Salem harbor to Derby's land aforesaid, together with the right of way for passing with cattle, carriages, teams, and persons, over the said Derby's land, from the great public road to my said fields.

"3. Of a pew in the meeting-house of the First Congregational Religious Society, in Salem.

"4. Of my farm in Wenham, containing all the parcels of land which I bought of Samuel Russell Trevett, together with the small additions thereto, by me subsequently made: one being of a narrow piece of land which I purchased of Pelatiah Brown, the westerly end of which bounds on the great public road through Wenham, and the northerly side on land of Moses Horne, or in his possession; the other addition is of a lot of land of about three acres, which I bought of Nathaniel Kimball. Also a right of making a ditch in said Brown's land, which lies on the northerly side of the road leading from Wenham to Manchester, for the effectual draining of my low grounds in my said farm, pursuant to my deed from said Brown. The said three-acre lot is in Wenham Swamp.

"5. Of two pieces of salt-marsh land, in Ipswich, each containing about nine acres; one piece lying at Bar Island, the other at Plumb Island, being the same two pieces of marsh which I purchased of said Trevett, as part of, and pertaining to, his farm, purchased by me as aforesaid.

"Together with all the privileges and appurtenances to the said parcels of real estate, or to any of them, belonging.

"When possessed of the said real estate, my said executors are to manage the same in the best manner they can, and apply the income thereof, together with my personal property, or the proceeds and income thereof, in the first place, to pay my debts and funeral charges; and then, for the comfortable and suitable support of my wife, Rebecca Pickering; and also of my daughter-in-law, Lurena Pickering, the widow

of my son Timothy, so long as she shall continue a member of my wife's family; and afterwards, should she survive my wife, until her sons, or either of them, shall be in a condition to make an equal or better provision for her; or until, in any other way, she shall be comfortably provided for.

“ But if my said executors shall judge it expedient, in order to obtain from my said real estate a better income, for the more agreeable and sufficient maintenance of my said wife and daughter-in-law, in the manner above mentioned, to sell any part, or the whole, of my said real estate, I hereby empower them to do it; conveying the same, in due form, to the purchaser or purchasers, their heirs and assigns; placing the moneys thence arising at interest, or in some productive stock or funds, at their discretion.

“ I also hereby give to my said executors full power to sell, and, by good and sufficient deeds, to convey all my lands in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Kentucky, and all my right and interest in said lands, or any of them, placing the moneys received therefor at interest, or in some productive stock or funds. But, as the amount of income arising from all the real estate and moneys aforesaid, together with my personal estate, may not be adequate to the suitable support of my said wife and daughter-in-law; then, in such case, my said executors are to apply so much of the principal sums, to be raised as aforesaid, as shall be necessary for that object; or in the purchase of annuities for the lives of my said wife and daughter-in-law, and of the survivor of the two.

“ After the decease of my said wife, and reserving so much of my estate, real and personal, or of the proceeds thereof as shall be requisite for the comfortable and suitable support of my said daughter-in-law, should she survive her mother, and for so long time as she shall need such provision, as herein before directed, all the residue and remainder of my estate, real and personal, is to be disposed of by my said executors, in the manner they shall judge to be equitable and proper, among my children and grandchildren, and their legal representatives by consanguinity; taking into view, in this distribution, the respective circumstances of my children,

grandchildren, and their legal representatives; varying the distribution, giving them more or less, according to those circumstances; some of which demand a grateful and particularly kind remembrance, and all of which are, and will be, well known to my said executors, in whose correct way of thinking, liberality, and affection, I place entire confidence for the fulfilment of my views and intentions concerning the final distribution of my property, as above suggested.

"I appoint my sons John Pickering and Octavius Pickering, and my son-in-law, Benjamin Ropes Nichols, executors of this my last will and testament. And in case of the death of any, or either of them, all the powers and trusts, hereby committed to them, are to be executed and performed by the survivors and survivor of them.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1827.

"Signed, sealed, published and declared, by the said Timothy Pickering, the testator, as his last will and testament, in presence of us, who in his presence, and in presence of each other, have hereto subscribed our names as witnesses, the word 'draining' being first interlined, and also the word 'my.'"

"CHARLES W. UPHAM.

"JOHN STONE.

"WM. F. GARDNER."

TIMOTHY PICKERING. [SEAL.]

APPENDIX.

- A. THOUGHTS ON A MILITARY PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.
- B. ON THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE UNITED STATES.
- C. A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE, IN THE BALTIMORE NORTH AMERICAN.
- D. OBSERVATIONS ON THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
- E. AN APPEAL FOR THE SUFFERING GREEKS.
- F. MISCELLANIES.



APPENDIX.

A.

(Vol. I. 461 ; II. 350 ; III. 146.)

“THOUGHTS ON THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT PROPER FOR
THE UNITED STATES AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR
IN 1783.

“NEWBURGH, April 22d, 1783.

“SIR,

“You was pleased to ask my opinion of the military establishments proper to be adopted by the United States on the conclusion of the war. As it is a subject of the first consequence, I have considered it with attention, and now submit to your Excellency my thoughts upon it.

“In order to form a just judgment of the military institutions necessary for the safety of a State, we must consider the principles of its government, its relative situation, and its ability.

“The form of government which has for its sole objects the security of the lives, the liberties, and happiness of the *people*, being fixed in the United States ; and all military establishments being burthens on the people, — these should be admitted so far only as they are necessary to secure the former.

“A standing army would endanger our liberties ; and, fortunately, our relative situation does not require one. The same circumstance which so effectually retarded, and in the end conspired to defeat, the attempts of Britain to subdue us, will now powerfully tend to render us secure. Our *distance* from the European States, in a great degree, frees us of apprehensions from their numerous regular forces.

“But, if our danger from those powers were more imminent, yet we are too poor to maintain a standing army adequate to

our defence ; and, were our country more populous and rich, still it could not be done without great oppression of the people. Besides, as soon as we are able to raise funds more than adequate to the discharge of the debts incurred by the Revolution, the surpluses should doubtless be applied in *preparations* for building and equipping a navy ; without which, in case of war, we can neither protect our commerce, nor yield that assistance to one another, which, on such an extent of sea-coast, our mutual safety requires.

“ For these reasons, we must have recourse, for our general defence by land, to the only palladium of a free people, — a well regulated and disciplined militia. I say for our general defence ; because some permanent establishments, for the protection of our frontiers and the security of our magazines, will be necessary, independent of the militia.

“ The troops requisite for the frontiers will be determined by the objects which there naturally present themselves to our view. These are, — the securing the capital passes between the United States and the neighboring powers : the protection of the trade and intercourse of our frontier settlements with one another, and with the Indians ; especially by the waters of the rivers and lakes which form our northern and western boundaries : and, by posts far advanced into the Indian country, to awe the savages, and check any hostile dispositions.

“ With these views, it may be proper to fix a small post, with a subaltern’s guard, at such a place on the river St. Croix as will give the greatest facility to the Indian trade in that quarter ; and this, perhaps, less for the profits of the trade than for securing their friendship by a constant intercourse, and giving them opportunities of obtaining, regularly, all the supplies of goods their wants shall require.

“ The lake Champlain, forming the great communication between Canada and the United States, but, at the same time, easily admitting of reinforcements, a Captain’s command, and no more, may be requisite at Ticonderoga.

“ The communication with lake Ontario, by Oswego, may require a subaltern’s command.

“ Niagara, being the most important pass in America, com-

manding the extensive communications opened by the river St. Lawrence, Hudson's River, and lake Ontario, on the east; and the countries, British and American, bordering on the large and numerous lakes, and the river Mississippi, on the west; and being so situated in respect to the Indian tribes, the Six Nations particularly, that a military force there would form a very influential check upon them,—will require a body of troops as respectable as a Major's command.

“The like reasons operate, in a degree, in relation to the post of Detroit, which, therefore, will require a Captain's command.

“It is said that the most beneficial fur trade was formerly carried on by the waters beyond Detroit, even as far as the Lake of the Woods. To protect this trade, and, at the same time, thereby secure the friendship of the Indians, it will be expedient to fix two or three posts in that country, in places which shall be found best adapted to answer the purposes here mentioned.

“The southern boundaries, on the Floridas, will also require some posts, by way of security against the Spaniards, and to protect our traffic with, and influence, the Indians.

“There will be several deposits of military stores, at each of which only a subaltern's guard will be necessary, except at West Point, where, as the grand depository, and a fortification of consequence, one hundred men may be required. The other deposits may be in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. These guards may, with most advantage, be composed of, or trained as, artillery-men, who should also learn all the duties of infantry. In raising these guards, the recruiting officers may be instructed to engage gunsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters, in preference to other men. The officers should certainly be artillerists, who, besides the command of the guards, should have charge of the magazines, of the cleaning and repairing of arms, and of mounting the artillery. These services to be performed by the guards, with the aid of such additional workmen as shall occasionally be judged necessary.

“Each State will probably choose to garrison, with troops of its own, all its forts on the sea-coast.

“The troops necessary for the purposes before mentioned may be thus stated:—

At the post on the river St. Croix	80 men.
Ticonderoga	75 ”
Oswego	40 ”
Niagara	120 ”
Detroit	60 ”
The posts above Detroit	100 ”
The posts on the southern boundary	200 ”
West Point	100 ”
The four other depositories	80 ”
	<hr/>
Rank and File	800 ”

“I have not distinguished them into infantry and artillery, though a proportion of the latter will be necessary at every post. But I see nothing that forbids the infantry to acquire, at least, all the practical knowledge of artillerymen; and it would doubtless be useful.

“In this estimate, I have considered only the efficient force requisite for the peace establishment of the United States. The invalids may still be kept a distinct corps, and form an addition to the garrison of West Point. If they shall exceed the numbers that post shall require, the surplus may be distributed among the arsenals, where, as artificers, laborers, or guards, they may find sufficient employment.

“The forts or block-houses which are to be built at the posts which shall be fixed on the frontiers will, of course, be adapted to the strength of the garrisons which shall be assigned for them respectively. Where any forts are already built, but on plans too extensive to be guarded by the small garrisons here proposed, interior works or citadels may be erected, proportioned to those garrisons.

“For the purpose of fixing the posts on the frontiers, it will be necessary to retain two or three engineers, each of whom, having a separate duty, should be accompanied on this service by an officer of ability. These may be field-officers, and vested with the command of the standing troops, who may be formed into one regiment of four battalions; the regiment to be commanded by a Colonel, or Lieutenant-Colonel, and each battalion by a Lieutenant-Colonel or Major. In order to raise these troops, the States may be divided into four dis-

tricts; each of which should furnish a battalion. To erect these posts, in the first instance, a competent number of three-years men will doubtless be retained in service; unless others can be engaged on cheaper terms.

“As many as two engineers will probably be always found necessary for visiting the posts and repairing fortifications, or erecting new ones as circumstances shall require.

“It is hardly to be expected that the arsenals will be constantly kept in proper order, unless they are subject to visitations, at least annually. The visitor may most properly be an artilleryman, who is both practically and scientifically acquainted with his profession. He may be one of the field-officers of the regiment; for I see no necessity of keeping the infantry and artillery distinct. The officers of each, employed in time of peace, will have sufficient leisure reciprocally to acquaint themselves with the duties of the other. The visitor will make his reports, as well as estimates of all needed supplies, to the war office.

“All supplies for the garrisons and posts can best be furnished by contract, which will render it unnecessary to retain any staff-officers in service.

“Neither will it be necessary or even prudent to continue in service any officers of rank other than those required by the foregoing propositions. I recollect to have seen it remarked, as an instance of the policy of the Switzers, that they left the appointment of their general officers to the occasion which should require them; when, unembarrassed by men already in office, they would elect those whose talents and skill promised the greatest advantage to the state.

“These are all the permanent military establishments which appear to me necessary for the public good.

“The foregoing observations, perhaps, extend to all the objects relative to which your Excellency expected my opinion. But the military establishments therein proposed being inadequate to the general defence of the country (which, doubtless, must engage your attention as well as that of Congress), I have thought it would coincide with your views, to lay before you my sentiments respecting a militia, which are therefore subjoined.

“As the militia must form the bulwark of the United States, it ought to be put on a most respectable footing. This, I am aware, will be difficult to accomplish; because most men are disposed to shift off burthens of which the immediate use and necessity are not apparent to their senses. It will, therefore, behoove Congress to make the more serious and pointed efforts to form this great establishment.

“By the articles of confederation, each State is bound to keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia; but how this provision may be rendered effectual merits the most attentive consideration.

“The militia of England is divided into classes, each of which is to serve three years. Each class contains about thirty thousand men, including Wales. Scotland was not comprehended. For the purpose of disciplining the militia, with the greater facility, at its original formation in 1757, it was provided that Sergeants should be drawn from the regular troops. The plan met with great opposition in some counties; but, at length, it generally prevailed; and the classes were well disciplined. During each year, they were assembled at different times for exercise; in the whole, to the amount of about one month, — part of the time in battalion. But substitutes were admissible indefinitely; which must tend to defeat the design of forming the body of the citizens into soldiers. They were liable to be classed from eighteen to fifty years of age. Each man was armed and clothed, and, when assembled for exercise, fed and paid by the public; his pay was a shilling sterling a day.

“The militia of Switzerland was formerly reputed the best in the world. That of the great Canton of Berne was on the most perfect establishment. The men were uniformly armed and clothed. They were exercised every Sunday after divine service. They were divided into classes; but only of old and young, or married and unmarried. The latter were always to be in readiness to march wherever the defence of the State demanded their service. Besides that every citizen was armed as above mentioned, in every district (or bailiwick) was a second complete set of arms for all the militia of the district; and a third set was lodged in the

arsenal at Berne. These two sets were the property of the public.*

“In the United States the discipline of the militia should be everywhere the same. It is almost essential that they be uniformly armed. And it is greatly to be wished they might be uniformly clothed.

“As men advanced in life are averse from militia services, and discover great stiffness and awkwardness in all their motions; as, besides, the youth of these States are become numerous,—the former may be exempted from all ordinary musters.

“The general ignorance of militia officers, even of the first rudiments of discipline, would prevent any good effects from the most salutary regulations. Some remedy for this evil must therefore be provided.

“Few men are willing to spend as much time in military exercises as will give them a proper knowledge of discipline. Therefore, some encouragement to attention and high penalties for neglect will be requisite.

“Having made these observations, I will now mark the outlines of a militia establishment, which, while it is practicable, may be competent to our defence.

“Some officer, by the appointment of Congress, must frame a plan of military discipline, particularly adapted to the use of a militia. It must contain all the essential parts of discipline, and nothing more; and the whole must be concise, in language perfectly intelligible to men unskilled in the military art. The Baron Steuben’s regulations for the army may be the groundwork of the plan; and, on a revision, he would readily see what alterations would be necessary to adapt them to a militia.

“Such a plan being formed, let it be recommended by Congress to the governments of the several States, and, to facilitate its introduction, it may be advisable to print it at the expense of the United States, and to send to the executive of

* This account of the militia of England and Switzerland I give from memory; though I believe 'tis tolerably accurate. The acts of Parliament for regulating the former may be seen in Burn’s “Justice of the Peace,” digested with his usual precision.

each State such a number of copies as will furnish every General and field-officer, Captain and Adjutant, with one.

“With this plan of discipline, every militia officer should make himself acquainted within a limited time, or forfeit his commission. This requisition may be objected to ; but, as the ignorance of the officers is an invincible bar to the improvement of the men, if any government will not make and enforce a regulation of this kind, it may as well drop the idea of ever forming a disciplined militia.

“The plan being adopted, a sufficient time must be allotted for the instruction of the militia. To muster them only three or four days in a year is doing nothing. Twenty-five days in a year, if diligently improved, may suffice. If, during part of this time, the militia were to assemble in battalion, and part of the time in brigade, -- in the latter case, forming a camp, — their improvement in discipline would be greatly forwarded, and their ideas raised, as near as possible, to real service. The twenty-five days may be thus appropriated: fifteen days for training by squads, half-companies, and companies ; five days in battalion ; and five days in brigade.

“By the confederation, each State is bound ‘to have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of tents and camp equipage.’ These may be deposited in the hands of the Quartermasters of brigade, under the orders of each Brigadier, and drawn out for the purpose above mentioned. And being thus lodged, they will always enable the militia promptly to engage, and to *continue* for a time, in real service, whenever the defence of the country shall require it. That the militia may be uniformly armed and accoutred, both arms and accoutrements must be provided by the respective States, sufficient for all their youth from eighteen to twenty-four years of age, to be lodged with the Captains of companies, to be used only on days of exercise.

“To render militia duty as little burthensome as possible, and to encourage the men to diligence in learning the exercises, let their attendance be regulated by their improvement, and common militia services cease at twenty-four years of age. At present, the laws usually subject a man to be dragged into the training field from the time he is sixteen until he is fifty or sixty years of age.

“In the first instance, let all the youth from eighteen to twenty-one years of age be enrolled in the militia, and regularly trained the appointed days. At the close of every year, let there be an inspection of this militia. Such as shall then be found to be masters of the exercises prescribed in the plan of discipline should be exempted from all musters, except those in brigade. Such as manifest a certain other, but lower, degree of skill, should be excused from all musters, save those in battalion and brigade. The residue should attend all musters, but be kept at the drill.

“When the militia assemble in battalion and brigade, it is to be wished they might appear in uniforms. And, as these musters will be most convenient in the mild seasons of the year, a uniform may be provided by each State at very little expense. It may consist only of a hat, linen frock or coat, and linen overalls. These articles may be lodged with the regimental Quartermasters, and drawn out for use only at the regimental and brigade musters.

“So much of the time of every youth from eighteen to twenty-one being devoted to the public, their parents or masters will think (and not without reason) the tax too heavy. But cannot they be thus relieved?

“It is customary for every youth at twenty-one years of age to receive of his parent or master a suit of clothes, called his *freedom suit*. Now, instead of paying the militia in cash, let each man, at twenty-one, or, in the first instance, after three years' service, receive from the public a suit of clothes. This suit, I presume, may be purchased for a less sum than his pay would amount to in seventy-five days at a shilling sterling a day. But none should be entitled to this suit, save such as were admitted to exercise in battalion or brigade.

“From twenty-one to twenty-four years of age, these men would be exercised in battalion or brigade, or both, from fifteen to thirty days in the whole, the value of which, at a shilling sterling a day, would, upon an average, be equal to the purchase of uniform, arms, and accoutrements. At twenty-four, therefore, instead of paying each man in money, let the same arms and accoutrements with which he has been trained during the three preceding years become his property. In

this way, the whole body of the people will, at length, be uniformly armed ; and with much truth, it may be said, without any expense to the public.

“ But, although every man will be discharged from the trained band at the age of twenty-four years, yet, seeing, in a country so extended as the United States, this disciplined militia will be unequal to oppose a sudden and powerful attack, by reason of the dispersed situation of their places of abode, every man from twenty-four to forty years of age must be subject to military service upon an alarm, and should therefore keep himself constantly provided with arms and accoutrements, which should be inspected annually by the officers of the company to which he belongs. For, as these men will constitute the most numerous body of the militia, it will doubtless be expedient to form them into companies and regiments under officers of their own, who should make the inspection just mentioned, and command them in case of their being called into actual service.

“ Several advantages will result from requiring so many days' service of the militia under twenty-one years of age. To youth in general, military exercises are agreeable. The time so spent is no loss to them ; it is rather a relief to be called from their usual labors. Hence they may be expected to attend, not only without reluctance, but with pleasure. And parents and masters will have reason to be satisfied by being eased of the expense of *freedom suits* for their sons or servants, in proportion to the loss of their services.

“ The penalties for non-appearance at militia musters must be high enough to induce a general attendance, and substitutes be inadmissible. No Republican can think it a dishonor to serve in a militia formed and disciplined on the principles before mentioned.

“ A small troop of dragoons, and a small company of artilerists, may compose a part of every brigade.

“ I do not know how many men the terms of years before stated for militia services would comprehend : if so many that the expense of the clothing would be too burthensome to the States ; and, if it shall be found that any part of the time proposed for military exercises can be dispensed with, — then the

uniforms may comprehend fewer articles, so as to proportion the expense to the wages which it may be judged reasonable to allow the militia. Or, in other words, whatever sums it shall be thought right and necessary to allow the militia, to compensate for their expense of time in attending militia musters from the age of eighteen to twenty-one, let them receive in clothing. This will so far give uniformity to the appearance of the militia, and, at the same time, satisfy their parents or masters.

“ To preserve an exact adherence to the regulations in every part of discipline, and, where necessary, to communicate instructions to the officers, an Inspector-General will be highly useful, and perhaps indispensable. He must be appointed and paid by the United States. The Adjutant-Generals of militia and their deputies would act as his assistants.

“ Besides causing the militia to be armed in the manner above described, each State should form an arsenal, and furnish it with military stores and apparatus, adequate to the equipment of its whole trained band. The Continental arsenals should contain the like stores and apparatus, sufficient to equip the whole trained bands of the United States.

“ I will take the liberty to add a page or two on the subject of military academies, which have been mentioned as proper to be erected where the Continental arsenals shall be established. At the same places also it has been supposed that founderies and manufactories for all kinds of military stores may be established. But, if these plans are not *impracticable*, I am clear that, at present, they are *inexpedient*.

“ Whence are to come the students at these academies? We have not (and God forbid we ever should have) either a nobility or *noblesse*; and our laws of inheritance will save us from elder brothers to whom business will be unnecessary, as well as from younger sons bred in too much indolence or delicacy to acquire a living by their own industry. And, without a standing army, none will find an interest in studying the military art as a profession. The few (and in a country of husbandmen, merchants, and mechanics, they will be very few) whose genius shall prompt and whose fortunes shall enable them to pursue extensively the study of

the military art can travel, and find in Europe schools already established on the most perfect plans; where they may acquire, with the greatest facility, all that knowledge of the military art of which they are capable. All the arts and sciences which form the basis of, or are connected with, the military art, are already, or will be, taught in the American universities, as soon as the respective States shall be able properly to endow them.

“If any thing like a military academy in America be practicable at this time, it must be grounded on the permanent military establishment for our frontier posts and arsenals, and the wants of the States, separately, of officers to command the defences on their sea-coasts.

“On this principle it might be expedient to establish a military school or academy at West Point. And, that a competent number of young gentlemen might be induced to become students, it might be made a rule that vacancies in the standing regiment should be supplied from thence; those few instances excepted, where it would be just to promote a very meritorious Sergeant. For this end, the number which shall be judged requisite to supply vacancies in the standing regiment must be fixed; and the students who are admitted with an expectation of filling them limited accordingly. They might be allowed subsistence at the public expense. If any other youth desired to pursue the same studies at the military academy, they might be admitted, subsisting themselves.

“These students should be instructed in what is usually called military discipline, tactics, and the theory and practice of fortification and gunnery. The commandant, and one or two other officers of the standing regiment and the engineers, making West Point their general residence, would be the masters of the academy, and the Inspector-General superintend the whole.

“In regard to manufactures carried only by the *public*, this war has afforded too many expensive proofs of its inexpediency. The States, moreover, are not in a situation presently to bear the expense of the mere establishment; or, if they were, the amount would go far towards replenishing the

public arsenals with all the military stores necessary to be deposited during many years. And, as to cartridge-boxes and other leathern accoutrements, saddles, and other furniture of dragoons, and harness for artillery and wagon-horses, — all which are in their nature so perishable, — I would not provide an article of them until there was a prospect of a war. For harness for wagon-horses might at once be purchased with the teams and wagons; and all the other leathern apparatus, sufficient to equip an army of fifty thousand men, might easily be procured in less than six months. Or, if the inattention of the individual States, duly to arm and accoutre the militia, should determine Congress to provide and deposit in the arsenals any quantity of leathern apparatus, it might be done by contracts, at half the expense of the proposed public manufactories.

“ Thus, Sir, with freedom, as you requested, I have given my sentiments respecting a military establishment for the United States during peace. If they should throw any light on a subject so interesting to the future safety and happiness of this country, I shall think myself fortunate in the opportunity of communicating them. On reflection, I have found reason to depart materially, in many instances, from my first sketches on the subject. In like manner, on further deliberation and discussion, I should doubtless be induced to alter my opinions on divers propositions contained in this letter. Nevertheless, imperfect as they are, they may aid the general design by suggesting ideas which may lead to the formation of a system in the best manner adapted to our government, situation, and ability.

“ I have the honor, to be, with great respect, your Excellency’s most obedient servant,

“ T. PICKERING, *Q. M. G.*

“ HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.”

B.

“AN INQUIRY CONCERNING THE NORTHERN BOUNDARIES OF CANADA AND LOUISIANA.”

(Vol. IV., 87.)

(Communicated to PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.)

“By the tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht (in 1713), Great Britain and France agreed as follows:—

“France shall restore to Great Britain ‘the bay and straits of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places situate in the said bay and straits, and which belong thereunto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted which are at present possessed by the subjects of France.’

“‘But it is agreed, on both sides, to determine within a year, by commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French.’

“‘The same commissaries shall also have orders to describe and settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts.’

“The only information we have of the proceedings under this article, in respect to boundaries, is that of Mr. Hutchins, late Geographer to the United States, in his ‘Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida,’ printed at Philadelphia in 1784. Mentioning the grant of Louisiana by Louis XIV. to Crosat, he says, (page 7):—

“‘In this grant the bounds are fixed by the Illinois River and the lake of that name on the north, by Carolina on the east, the gulf of Mexico on the south, and New Mexico on the west. As to Canada, New France, the French Court would scarcely admit it had any other northern boundary than the Pole. The avidity of Great Britain was equal; but France having been unfortunate in the war of 1710, the northern boundary of Canada was fixed by the Treaty of

Utrecht in 1713. It assigns New Britain and Hudson's Bay, on the north of Canada, to Great Britain; and commissioners afterwards, on both sides, ascertained the limits by an imaginary line, running from a cape or promontory in New Britain, on the Atlantic Ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, thence south-west to the lake Misgosink or Mistasim, from thence farther south-west directly to the latitude of 49 degrees; all the lands to the north of the imaginary line being assigned to Great Britain, and all southward of that line, *as far as the river St. Lawrence*, to the French. These were at that time the true limits of Louisiana and Canada, Crozat's grant not subsisting long after the death of Louis XIV.'

"In reading this paragraph from Hutchins, the idea which first presented was, that the imaginary line from the Atlantic coast, running south-west to the lake Mistasim, and thence in the same course to the forty-ninth degree of latitude, was to be continued on this parallel west, until it should strike the dominions of Spain, and thus constitute the northern boundary of Louisiana; but a further examination has manifested that idea to be erroneous.

"The four first lines of the paragraph, declaring how the boundaries of Louisiana were fixed, refer exclusively to the grant by Louis XIV. to Crozat, and have no relation to the adjustment of boundaries by the commissaries, pursuant to the tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht. The words of Hutchins are,—'the northern boundary of *Canada* was fixed by the Treaty of Utrecht.' Then, tracing the imaginary line before mentioned, he says: 'all the lands to the north of the imaginary line were assigned to Great Britain, and all southward of that line, *as far as the river St. Lawrence*, to the French.' These last words evidently exclude Louisiana, the river St. Lawrence being absolutely confined to *Canada*, and lying wholly to the eastward of Louisiana. When, therefore, at the close of the paragraph, Hutchins says, 'these were at that time (1713) the true limits of Louisiana and Canada,' he plainly means that *such* were the bounds of Louisiana by the grant to Crozat, and *such* the *northern boundary of Canada* as settled by the British and French commissaries, *pursuant*

to the tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht. Indeed, it was impossible that the imaginary line afore-mentioned, if extended westward and along the forty-ninth degree of latitude, should be the northern line of Louisiana; for the province of Canada intervened between that line and all the portion of Louisiana which, according to Crozat's grant (and until 1763), lay on the east side of the Mississippi.

"But if it were to be insisted on, contrary to the plain statement of Hutchins (and the claim rests wholly on his statement), that, pursuant to the Treaty of Utrecht, the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of latitude north, extended westward to New Mexico, must be deemed the north boundary of Louisiana, it is perfectly clear that both parties abandoned it, by the subsequent treaty of 1763, when they fixed the source of the Mississippi as the north point of the boundary line which, following the Mississippi downwards, should thenceforward separate the British territories on the east from those of France on the west.

"We have, then, yet to seek for the northern boundary of Louisiana at some period subsequent to the Treaty of Utrecht. And the fourth and seventh articles of the treaty of 1763 appear to have decided the point.

"By the fourth article, France cedes to Great Britain, 'in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies.' And by the seventh article it is declared, that 'to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, to the river Iberville; and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea.'

"Now, it is presumed to be incontrovertible that, at this time, Great Britain and France supposed the source of the Mississippi to lie far north of the forty-ninth degree of latitude. Mitchell's map so extends it; and the American Ministers and those of Great Britain, in fixing the boundaries of the

United States in the treaty of 1783, it is well known, went on that ground.

Now, from the above declaration of limits, in the treaty of 1763, the inference appears to be irresistible, that Louisiana (the only territory then remaining to France on the continent of North America) extended *as far north as that parallel of latitude which should strike the source of the Mississippi*; and the presumption is violent *that it extends no farther north*, and, consequently, that that parallel is its true northern boundary. It is plain that the French, being at that source, could not step one foot eastward without treading on British ground; Canada coming up precisely to that point, and there closing with the British Hudson's Bay territory. But what could forbid the British, being at the *same source* of the Mississippi, from advancing due west? The *source* of the Mississippi being (as before mentioned) mutually fixed on as the northern point from which the common boundary of the territories of the two nations should run southward in the course of that river, and Great Britain being incontestably the proprietor of the Hudson's Bay territory lying westward of the meridian of the source of the Mississippi and northward of Louisiana, may not the parallel of latitude which strikes that source be fairly assumed as the proper boundary line of the Hudson's Bay territory on one side, and of Louisiana on the other? If France had any right to extend Louisiana farther north, would not the two powers, *when forming a treaty for the express purpose of removing for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of their territories*, have explicitly declared and described that extent? The answer is inevitable: they would.

"Taking, then, for granted, what now appears to be clearly proved, that the true north boundary of Louisiana is the parallel of latitude which strikes the source of the Mississippi, it remains to consider the important result.

"The United States, under the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of April, 1803, claim Louisiana, as it was then held by France under her treaty with Great Britain in 1763, and can set up no higher pretensions.

"Now, as on one hand, if the source of the Mississippi were

far *above* the forty-ninth degree, the United States, as proprietors of Louisiana, would be gainers in territory ; so the alternative is inevitable that, if the source be at any point *below* that degree, the United States must acquiesce, whatever loss of territory may ensue.

“ The next object, then, is to find the source of the Mississippi. The discoveries in that region, since the treaties of 1763 and 1783, appear to have satisfied every one, that the source of the Mississippi falls far short of its formerly supposed northern extent. Mackenzie [“ General History of the Fur Trade ”] states ‘ the northernmost branch of the source of the Mississippi to be in latitude 47 degrees 38 minutes north, and longitude 95 degrees 6 minutes west, ascertained by Mr. Thompson, Astronomer to the North-West Company, who was sent expressly for that purpose in the spring of 1798. He, in the same year, determined the northern bend of the Missouri to be in latitude 47 degrees 32 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees 25 minutes west ; and ‘ the north-west part of the Lake of the Woods to be in latitude 49 degrees 37 minutes north, and longitude 94 degrees 31 minutes west.’

“ The waters of the Lake of the Woods run northerly into Hudson’s Bay. Between those waters, therefore, and the streams which run into Lake Superior, there must be some high grounds dividing the one from the other. Accordingly, by inspecting Mackenzie’s map, there will be seen marked a mountainous ridge running from the north-east between those two lakes ; but, after passing a little farther west than the Lake of the Woods, the ridge bends much more southward, and so continues down to the parallel of 46 degrees, and perhaps lower. Now, in the same map, the most *northern source* of the Mississippi appears to be in that mountainous ridge to the eastward of its great southern bend, and is, doubtless, the one whose latitude was ascertained by Mr. Thompson. It also appears to be the *nearest source* to the ‘ most north-western point ’ of the Lake of the Woods ; and, consequently, a straight line from this *point* to that *source* will be the shortest which can be run ; and thus exactly comport with the fifth article of the convention with Great Britain for settling boundaries with the United States.

“ With regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, to which, by the treaties of 1763 and 1783, Great Britain is entitled, it is to be observed that this stipulation, in relation to the northern part of the river, was made on the supposition that it ran far north of the Lake of the Woods ; so that the British might, on their own territory, enter upon its navigable waters. But the source of the river being south of the north-western corner of the United States, the British are, of course, excluded from touching it on the north, except at that source ; unless the stipulation in the treaties, giving them expressly a right to the free navigation of the river, gives them also necessarily a right to travel over the territories of the United States, or of Louisiana, to get to its navigable waters. However this may be, it will manifestly be for the interest of the United States to give them a passage to the Mississippi, if that will induce them to bring thither their furs and peltries ; and they have nothing else to bring. For that object, instead of *excluding*, the United States should *open a road for them*. All the furs and peltries brought by that route would be sold to the American merchants in upper Louisiana, or Indiana, or in New Orleans, and furnish an important article in our commerce, which, without that accommodation, would be sent to the British merchants in Canada, whence, indeed, they may find their way to the United States by another route. It will be remembered that the most northern furs are the most valuable ; and these are procured from the British territories north of Louisiana. From thence come the fine beaver and other skins so productive in the market of China, and other furs and skins so necessary in our own manufactures. The United States will have them. And the only question here will be, whether the Western States by opening a passage will receive them by the Mississippi, or let the Northern States receive them all by the route of the Lakes. If the European goods necessary for the British Indian trade can pass by the Mississippi, or the river Hudson, more conveniently than by the St. Lawrence, an additional benefit will accrue to the United States by the revenue to be paid on them at New Orleans or New York.

“ If the fifth article of the convention should be expunged,

or, if the ratification should be clogged with any condition whatever, Great Britain may refuse to ratify any part of it; and thus a material injury result to Massachusetts, and, eventually, to the United States, by leaving unsettled their north-eastern boundaries, where, on both sides, grants and settlements are extending, and will unavoidably interfere. If Great Britain should not now be disposed to make any difficulty about the north-western boundary, yet her situation may probably prevent her attending to a new negotiation on the subject for some time to come; and, from the facts and reasons above stated, the result would probably be less favorable to the United States than the terms of the present convention.

“If the convention be not ratified, then the United States will be held, by the fourth article of the treaty of amity and commerce, to survey, in conjunction with Great Britain, the river Mississippi from one degree of latitude below the Falls of St. Anthony to its principal source or sources, and also the parts adjacent; and, if they do not (as they will not) find that it would be intersected by a line due west from the Lake of the Woods, why, then, after all the labors, delay, and expense, ‘the two parties are to proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter.’ Great Britain may, if the question be not terminated by the ratification of the present convention, prefer the course stipulated in this fourth article of the treaty of amity and commerce, in the hope of finding the principal stream of the Mississippi stretching westerly, and terminating in a source two or three degrees of latitude farther south than the one above described as the nearest to the Lake of the Woods. *She* will hazard nothing by such a survey. The United States may lose one, two, or three degrees of latitude in breadth, and in longitude from the Mississippi to New Mexico, or to the Pacific Ocean; and, at the same time, give her access to the navigable waters of the Mississippi, the fear of losing which, under the fifth article of the convention, seems to have been the only objection with the British government to concluding it in its present form. For, doubtless, they considered an adoption of the *nearest source* of the Mississippi (which, as before mentioned, is probably the *northernmost*), as in the fifth article, made it, in fact, the *substitute* for

the *real*, that is, the *most remote*, but a *more southern*, source of that river.

“ One fact, stated by Hutchins, I have omitted to notice in its proper place. He says (page 8) that, ‘ before the treaty of peace of 1763, Louisiana, on the west side of the Mississippi, extended, in the French maps, only to near 45 degrees of north latitude,’ — a limit within which the French would not have confined their claims, had any treaty or adjustment of boundaries furnished them with even a pretence for carrying them farther north to the forty-ninth degree.’

[ADDITIONAL NOTE, SENT SEPARATELY TO THE
PRESIDENT.]

No. 8.

“ Mr. Pickering presents his respects to the President, and returns the copy of Crozat’s grant from Louis XIV.; with his thanks. The grant is not, what Mr. P. supposed, of the province of Louisiana, but a monopoly of its commerce for fifteen years, with some specific property therein, the value of which, and its tenure, were to depend on his labor and expense in cultivation and improvement. But, in relation to boundaries, the description of the province is not sufficiently definite; appearing, on the western side of the Mississippi, to be applicable no further northward than to the lands watered by the Missouri and, on the eastern side, no farther than the Illinois; the country north of the Illinois being a part of Canada, or New France. But its utmost extent northward can be only to embrace the country watered by the Mississippi above the Missouri. And Mr. Pickering conceives that nothing could be gained by assuming for the northern boundary of Louisiana the highlands which divide the waters of the Mississippi from those which run into Hudson’s Bay. There seems but little room to doubt but that a parallel of latitude striking the northern source of the Mississippi which is nearest to the Lake of the Woods would leave all its other sources to the south, and comprehend a considerable range of country to the north of them.

“ Considering all the Hudson’s Bay territory north of Canada as indisputably assigned to Great Britain under the

treaty of Utrecht, and all the country to which France had any pretensions *east of the Mississippi* (except the island of New Orleans), by the treaty of Paris of 1763, the only question remaining (if, indeed, any remained) between Great Britain and France would respect the boundary between Louisiana and that part of the Hudson's Bay territory which adjoins it on the north. And, notwithstanding the long detail yesterday submitted to the President, Mr. Pickering wishes, by way of illustration, to present the subject in one more point of view.

“Let France be still considered as the proprietor of Louisiana, and, consequently, pursuant to the treaty of 1763, that the Mississippi, from its source downward, is the common boundary of that province on the west, and of the British territory on its east side, and the limits of the Hudson's Bay territory, where it joins the north side of Louisiana, undefined. Let each of those two powers stand at the source of the Mississippi, and contend about their common boundary line from thence westward. Let France attempt to incline it north of west, and Great Britain make an equal effort to incline it south of west. Their rights, and, consequently, their moral powers, being equal, what would be the result? They must necessarily concur in moving precisely on a middle line; and that is the parallel of latitude which touches the source of the Mississippi. Like two equal powers in mechanics applied to move one body, — each drawing it towards itself, but each exactly counteracted by the other, — the body moves on precisely in a middle line between them.

“CITY OF WASHINGTON, January 18th, 1804.”

C.

TIMOTHY PICKERING'S VINDICATION FROM LIBEL IN
"BALTIMORE WHIG."

(Vol. IV., 132.)

"TO JACOB WAGNER, ESQ., EDITOR OF THE 'NORTH AMERICAN.'

"WENHAM, July 25th, 1809.

"DEAR SIR,

"Being at Salem on the 22d inst. a Baltimore paper called the 'Whig,' of the 14th, was put into my hands; and yesterday I received your paper of the 15th, noticing a publication in the 'Whig,' in which it is suggested that through my nephew, Samuel Williams, in London, I had been concerting with the British Minister, Mr. Canning, a separation of the Eastern States from the Union, by the aid and under the protection of Great Britain.

"This slander (you say) was hinted at in the 'Whig' some days before; and being now formally repeated by a correspondent of that paper, with *names* and *circumstances*, you express a hope that I shall look upon it as meriting my serious attention.

"On my own account I beg you to believe I would not give this tale, which is stamped with imposture on the face of it, one moment's attention. I have now lived sixty-four years, and during the greater part of forty of them have been engaged in public affairs. My life and conversation, known to multitudes, are a shield against the attacks, alike false and malicious, of men who are not less the enemies of my country than of me. If any crime or vice could have been fastened upon me in my whole life, *private* or *public*, in my *youth* or even in my *childhood*, there are not wanting malignant enemies to do it, and to announce the same to the world; and I have no desire to impose any restraint upon their researches.

“ You know, my good Sir, the cause and the object of the publication in the ‘ Whig,’ and of all the aspersions on my character in that and other common vehicles of lies throughout the United States. The exposure of the maladministration of Mr. Jefferson, by an exhibition of incontrovertible facts relating to France and the embargo, has excited the rancorous hatred of all his unprincipled partisans. My first offence in this case was the letter of February 16th, 1808, to Governor Sullivan. This your late *excellent* Governor Wright, and his *learned* Chancellor Kilty, and other *great men* assembled last winter at Annapolis, were pleased to pronounce an ‘ infamous letter,’ without attempting to point out a single error in the facts or reasonings it contains. It was easier and more in character for them to call names than to reason. Even my conjectures and suspicions, subsequent disclosures have served to confirm. My second offence consisted in the statement exhibited in my speech in the Senate last November on Mr. Hillhouse’s resolution for repealing the embargo. These two publications I have the heart-felt satisfaction to know, from the improving information of friends and the angry declarations of foes, have produced very happy effects. They have thrown some necessary light on the conduct and character of the late President’s administration. This light has contributed to dissipate the mists of ignorance and error which concealed him from the view of many of my fellow-citizens. These at length saw that their implicit confidence in him had been misplaced. They saw that the embargo, which they had believed to be a *wise* and *necessary* measure, because *he had recommended it*, was worse than *foolish*; that it was *important* towards *foreign nations*, and *ruinous* only to *our own*. A change, an essential change, in the public sentiment ensued; and Democracy, which had identified itself with the embargo, trembled for its ill-gotten power. It foamed and raged against all who had lent their hands to strip the veil of deception from their chief and his measures. But these unprincipled partisans have especially pointed their venomous shafts at me. And why? Have not others advanced and supported the same facts and opinions? Have not others, in colors at least equally strong, exhibited the

duplicity of the man and the pernicious character of his measures? Yes: but towards me *old enemies* are revived, and aggravate present resentments. These enmities, indeed, were not less malicious than those recently manifested, and as destitute of just foundation; unless to speak freely the truth of men and measures must be so considered. I have also been held responsible for things in which I had no participation. For instance, just at the close of the late session of Congress, Mr. Giles, speaking of the answers given by the late President Adams (now the *professed* favorite of all good Democrats) to the numerous addresses presented to him in 1798 and '99 during our naval hostilities with France, said that the most violent (and of course to him and his party the most offensive) of the President's answers *were then ascribed to me as the writer*; and that he (Mr. Giles) had made *good use of them* accordingly. I told *him* as I now tell *you* and the *world*, that I did not write one of those answers. I presume they are all Mr. Adams's own.

“ But whatever may be the cause of the *peculiar* malignity of Democrats towards me, the leading object of all their present revilings is, by attempting to ruin my reputation, to destroy the force of the *public statements* which have been exhibited under the sanction of my name. If they could induce a general belief that I was deficient in truth, or engaged in any plot or conspiracy against the Union or the interests of my country, their purposes would be accomplished. At the present moment, they deem this particularly important in the State of Maryland, where the electioneering campaign, for the choice of delegates to your next House of Representatives (though not to take place until October), is already opened. It is this consideration especially which induces me to take the trouble of writing this letter, and thus to preface the remarks I shall make on the publication in the ‘ Whig.’

“ That publication signed ‘ Z. Z.’ is one of the most impudent fabrications that I have ever seen. The object of the writer is, to have it believed that I authorized my nephew, Samuel Williams, Esq., late Consul of the United States, and still residing in London, ‘ to represent to Mr. Canning that it was the wish of the Eastern States to separate from the

Union ; that they wished to be informed how far they might calculate on the aid and protection of Great Britain to enable them to effect an object so hazardous and so very important : ' than which nothing can be more unfounded and false. I never wrote to my nephew (nor any other person) any sentiments of that kind. And it is impossible that he should have written them to Mr. Preble as the ' Whig ' represents ; for Mr. Williams is a man of spotless integrity.

" General Smith (whose re-election into the Senate of the United States these and other lies are intended eventually to promote) can hardly fail to know, as a merchant, the reputation of my nephew. Besides, an observation of his in the Senate, near the close of the last winter session, led me to state, in a few words, how Mr. Williams was brought into public life. I think it material on this occasion to state it to the public.

" John Parish, Esq., an eminent merchant at Hamburg, had been appointed, I believe, the first Consul of the United States at that port. In the progress of the French Revolution, the Directory were pleased to entertain suspicions that he was not only unfriendly to it, but that in his consular capacity he facilitated the passing of Englishmen, in the character of Americans, into France. They complained to Mr. Monroe, then our Minister in France ; and he communicated their complaints to his own government : these were repeated ; Mr. Monroe at the same time expressed his opinion that they were unfounded. Nevertheless, to avoid further teasing, and thinking it more important to satisfy the French government than to continue Mr. Parish in office, the President (General Washington) concluded to substitute another person to be our Consul at Hamburg. I then remarked to the President, that, independently of the very respectable character of Mr. Parish, the United States were under great obligations to him for liberal and important benefits rendered by him at an early period of our Revolution ; and that it would be very desirable to make an appointment which should least hazard the wounding of his sensibility ; and this would be by avoiding the appointment of any foreigner to succeed him in that office. To this the President readily assented. I then spoke to Mr.

Fitzsimmons in Philadelphia; and wrote to Mr. King in New York, and to Mr. George Cabot in Boston, requesting them severally to make inquiry, and to inform me of some suitable person, *a native citizen*, who might be appointed Consul of the United States at Hamburg. After some time, Mr. Fitzsimmons told me that his inquiries were fruitless; and Mr. King wrote me to the same effect from New York. At length Mr. Cabot informed me that the merchants in Boston whom he had consulted, agreed in recommending Mr. Williams in preference to any other person. Mr. Williams was then in Europe, and received the appointment. How correctly he discharged its duties, the American merchants trading to Hamburg, and others who had occasion to call upon him there, can testify.

“After some time, the consulate at London becoming vacant, by the retiring of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Williams (at the request of Mr. King, then Minister of the United States in London, and of Mr. Gore, one of our Commissioners there for liquidating and adjusting American claims for British spoliations), was transferred from the Hamburg to the London consulate. In this office he was actively employed in the statement and prosecution of those claims, and the ability, diligence, and fidelity, with which he conducted them is well known to the great numbers of our fellow-citizens who were claimants.

“At length Mr. Jefferson’s reign commenced; and then Mr. Williams, with many other men alike incorruptible, was turned out of office.

“Such is the manner of receiving his appointments, and such the character of Samuel Williams, whom I am proud to call my nephew; but to whom the editor of the ‘Whig,’ or his infamous correspondent, has ascribed the execution of the nefarious project above mentioned.

“Here I might stop. But it may be useful to examine the publication in question, to show to the most inattentive reader that it is in itself as unworthy of belief as it is abominable in its design.

“First, it is said, that ‘the “Whig,” some days before, had touched on a subject highly important to the United States,

to wit, an intrigue carried on between a Mr. S. W. and Mr. Canning, for the purpose of effecting a separation of the United States.' Then the libeller 'Z. Z.' assuming the appearance of a new hand, and pretending to know more of the subject than the editor of the 'Whig,' and also to be acquainted with the gentlemen the initials of whose names the 'Whig' had given, undertakes to detail the whole progress of the plot.

"'S. W. (he says) is Samuel Williams, a nephew of Colonel Pickering, formerly Consul in London, displaced by Mr. Jefferson, and a most implacable enemy to the present administration.'

"My nephew is not of a nature to be implacable towards any of the human race, except the incorrigibly wicked and abandoned. Mr. Monroe was intimately acquainted with Mr. Williams in London; and to Mr. Monroe I must take leave to refer all doubting Democrats for testimony of the purity of Mr. Williams's character. There will be few, if any, of these; and of Federalists not one. The statement goes on:—

"The P. [*who it seems is Mr. Preble*] to whom the letter was written by Mr. Williams is also of Massachusetts, had been Consul at Cadiz, and was displaced by Mr. Jefferson [a strong *prima facie* evidence that Mr. Preble was an honest man]. He (Mr. Preble) was at Paris when he received the letter alluded to, to wit, in June or July, 1808. Mr. Preble is not a man of talents, but Williams is.

"Now mark the folly of the libeller. He represents Mr. Williams, a man of *talents* in *London*, as communicating (and without any conceivable motive), to a *weak* man in *Paris*, the particulars of an intrigue which he is carrying on in *London* with the *British* Minister!—an intrigue, too, which Mr. Williams himself is represented as considering to be alike '*hazardous* and important!!!' The libeller proceeds:—

"The other Mr. P. to whom you allude is a Mr. Parker, also of Boston, — a man of talents and fortune, who loves his country; and, although his connections are of the Essex Junto, he was struck with horror, and considered himself compelled, by the love he bore his native land, to give a detailed statement of the contents of the letter to the Consul-General, who communicated the information to General Armstrong, then in Switzerland.'

“ The Mr. Parker here named is, I suppose, Daniel Parker, formerly of Massachusetts, whom I once knew. He is undoubtedly a man of sense, and one of the most capital speculators in the world. For the operations of such a genius, the French Revolution presented an inviting scene. Mr. Parker has been absent, I believe, full twenty years; not charged by his country with any public office, but seeking merely his own emolument. If he loved his ‘ native land ’ better than he loves France, he would probably return and enjoy his ‘ fortune ’ here. As to his connections, if he has any in the United States, I know not to what party they belong. The libel goes on :—

“ ‘ The General [Armstrong], on his return to Paris, ascertained the contents of the letter by the testimony of Mr. Parker, and one or two other gentlemen who were present when Mr. Preble read the letter.’

“ Mark again the folly of this libeller. He states that Mr. Preble received the letter from Mr. Williams, in Paris, in June or July, 1808, and that General Armstrong ascertained its contents as above mentioned. At least a year, then, has elapsed since this traitorous ‘ intrigue ’ was disclosed to him, and since he had taken evidence of its existence. And yet in all that time he has never communicated that evidence to the department of state ! Or, if communicated, why was not I arrested when at Washington ? Or, if the proper penalty for this offence was expulsion from the Senate, why was it not inflicted in their last session ? It is but four weeks since I left Washington ; and surely the preceding eleven months had afforded General Armstrong ample time to have made a communication of so important a fact. If he has neglected it, the neglect is certainly very criminal. If Robert Smith, the Secretary of State, and brother to General Smith, had received the communication, he too must have been strangely and criminally negligent in not laying it before the President ; and the President, it must be presumed, would not have omitted to do his duty. Or will it be said that such a communication from Armstrong has been received since the adjournment of Congress ? Why then, I say, the administration

have had time enough to have taken their measures, and to have ordered the proper process to secure my person to answer for the offence.

“ But I must beg pardon for descending to such minuteness. I do it that the least informed may have every doubt removed. For I learn that some men who pretend to a degree of understanding affect a mysterious air about this matter, and shaking their wise heads would make by-standers imagine there was something in it.

“ As I said above, the obvious design of this publication in the ‘ Whig ’ is to subserve General Smith’s eventual re-election to the Senate ; and, although I would not undertake to say what sacrifices the General would make to ensure his success, yet I am not disposed to ascribe the origin of this libel to him ; nevertheless, he and other *patriots* in your city and neighborhood will patronize and support the paper in which such lies are eagerly received and circulated.

“ The fact is, the whole statement is a string of lies. Neither Preble, nor Parker, nor the Consul-General, nor General Armstrong, could ever have heard one word on the subject. For it is impossible that they should have any knowledge of an intrigue which never had existence. The Consul-General, moreover, Mr. Skipwith, is now in the United States ; and, if no inquiry were made, yet, if he had ever heard of this terrible plot, he would not have failed himself to have given direct information of it to the government.

“ Perhaps I have spent too much time in exposing the *folly* as well as the *falsehood* of the consummately base and malignant ‘ Whig ’ libeller : yet I will add one more observation ; and *that* possibly you may think might have superseded all the preceding remarks. It is this : That if the plot so circumstantially detailed had any existence, it must (as I have already shown) have come to the knowledge of our own government ; and no *genuine Democrat* will be willing to believe me to be such a *favorite* with the administration that any member of it would be disposed to conceal that knowledge from the people of the United States. Now an *official publication of such a conspiracy* would have flashed conviction on

all their *followers* throughout the United States, and might have *raised doubts* among my *Federal* fellow-citizens and friends. This plain and easy course, too, would abridge the labors of Democratic editors and their correspondents, who are daily employed in forging slanders and lies to destroy my reputation ; and thus, also, save some wear and tear of conscience.

“ I must subjoin one word respecting yourself, and I entreat you not to omit it in your publication of this letter. You, like other active friends of truth and your country, are assailed by slander abroad as well as at home.”

“ As to yourself, the editor of a newspaper whose object, in its moral and political departments, is to support the cause of truth and the best interests of the United States, it is expedient, it is right, that the citizens of the United States, and especially of Maryland, should know the opinion expressed of your worth by Mr. Madison, now President of the United States. Federalists will not require his testimony : other citizens are bound by their professions to respect it. I confess it was particularly gratifying to me, who had introduced you to the place of Chief Clerk in the department of state. I had also been always pleased that Mr. Madison, practically abjuring the intolerant spirit and conduct of Mr. Jefferson, retained you and other Federal clerks whom he found in his office. He knew you were a Federalist, and believed you to be an incorruptible and unchangeable one. This inviolable stability was to him a pledge of your fidelity ; and he accordingly retained you for years, as long as you were willing to remain in the department.

“ I think it was about a year before you resigned your clerkship, that Mr. Hillhouse and I having dined with Mr. Madison, and remaining after the rest of the company had withdrawn, he conversed with an engaging sociability. ' In the course of the evening, he introduced your name, and, in the handsomest terms of approbation and praise, described to us your character and efficiency in his office ; concluding his eulogy in these remarkable words : ' In short, he is fit for Secretary of State.' ”

“I again entreat you not to omit this testimony of Mr. Madison in your favor. It is solely on *public account* that I make the request.

“I remain, dear Sir, with sincere affection and respect,
your friend,

“TIMOTHY PICKERING.”

D.

" COLONEL PICKERING'S OBSERVATIONS

INTRODUCTORY TO READING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AT SALEM,
JULY 4, 1823.

(Vol. IV. 335.)

" It has been so common a practice among nations to indulge in anniversary festivities, to celebrate great national events, that it must be viewed as a natural impulse of the human heart. By divine authority the feast of the Passover was instituted, to be observed annually by the Israelites, in commemoration of the protection of their first-born in the dreadful night when all the first-born of their Egyptian oppressors were slain, and when their deliverance from Egyptian bondage commenced. This was a religious festival, at which the recollection of the divine interposition would call forth the feelings and the expression of gratitude and praise to their great Deliverer. There is, in like manner, an evident propriety in uniting the solemnities of religion with the festivities of the present anniversary. Reflecting minds have acknowledged, in many occurrences in our Revolutionary struggle and in its happy result, the favor of that divine providence, on whose protection the special actors in the Declaration of Independence expressly placed their firm reliance.

" Having been unexpectedly requested to read, to my fellow-citizens who should assemble here this day, that great act of the people of the Thirteen United Colonies, by which their Representatives in Congress declared them to be free and independent States, — I assented to the request, on the ground of its presenting a convenient opportunity to give a concise history of that transaction, with a few remarks on the character of the Declaration itself, and on the spirit and temper which should ever accompany its public repetition.

" Our ancestors who migrated from England, and here com-

menced their settlements on 'bare creation,' left not their best inheritance behind: they brought with them the rights of Englishmen, and the knowledge to understand them. In the maintenance and enjoyment of those rights, they flourished, increased, and multiplied; until, as Colonists, becoming a great people, they excited the jealousy and cupidity of the parent state, whose government observed their rapid growth, yet wished to keep them for an indefinite period, and in a degraded condition, as dependencies of her empire. For this purpose it was attempted to subject them to laws, especially those imposing taxes, enacted by her authority, without the consent of the Colonists, whom, by one sweeping declaration, that government claimed a right to bind, by laws of its enacting, in all cases whatsoever. In this enormous claim, it was impossible for freemen, enlightened as were the Colonists, quietly to acquiesce. In various ways the execution of the acts of Parliament for raising a revenue in the Colonies was resisted. The people of thirteen Colonies exhibited their claims, founded on their birthrights, for exemption from such taxation, and the laws enacted to enforce it. They petitioned and remonstrated; they repeated these peaceable modes of obtaining redress, while any hope of redress remained. But all these modes of application, and the collateral means adopted to render them effectual, though wise and salutary in their influence on the minds of the Colonists, made little or no impression on the government which oppressed them.

"Driven at length to the necessity of taking up arms in defence of their violated rights, — yet scantily furnished with the weapons and munitions of war, without revenues, and destitute of native citizens instructed in military science, or practised in the art of war, — the leaders in the conflict immediately resorted to the means of obtaining essential supplies, wherever there was a prospect of procuring them. They also early perceived the prudence, if not the absolute necessity, of seeking foreign assistance in support of the great enterprise in which they were engaged. But such assistance was not to be expected so long as we remained in a colonial state. No foreign nation would, by furnishing important aids, hazard a war with Great Britain, but with the view, and in

the well founded hope, of essentially diminishing her power by separating from her so large a portion of her dominions as was comprised in the Thirteen United Colonies. While, therefore, a reconciliation and reunion with the parent state were practicable, — as they would have been by a repeal of the obnoxious laws and a renunciation of the claim on which they were enacted, — it was manifest that no foreign nation would openly and efficiently assist us in the war. Such, however, was the state of the public mind in some large portions of the Union, that the boldest leaders in the Revolution found it necessary patiently to wait the progress of events, and for such a change in public sentiment as would render admissible the proposition for declaring the Thirteen United Colonies to be free and independent States. The time at length arrived when the measure appeared feasible. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, 1776, ‘certain resolutions respecting independency were moved and seconded’ in Congress, by what members the journals do not mention. Dr. Ramsay, however, in his History of the American Revolution, tells us that ‘the motion for declaring the Colonies free and independent, was first made in Congress by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia.’ The Doctor adds, that ‘he was warranted in making this motion by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the States.’ The name of the delegate who seconded the motion is not given; but the magnitude of the Colony, and other circumstances, render it probable that it was a citizen of Massachusetts, then the second of the Colonies in population, as Virginia was the first. But, however this may be, it was an eminent citizen of the former, who, in the subsequent discussion, stood forward as the prominent champion for the great act of declaring the Colonies independent. I refer to the still living and venerable John Adams. Without minds like his, discerning, bold, and fearless, to take the lead, no revolution, however salutary, and however necessary to preserve or recover the liberties of a people, would ever be accomplished.

“On the 10th of June, Congress, in a committee of the whole, agreed to a resolution, that the United States were,

and of right ought to be, free and independent States; but postponed the consideration thereof to the first day of July. In the mean while, that no time might be lost, they agreed to appoint a committee to prepare a declaration to the effect of that resolution. And on the next day they chose a committee of five. The members chosen were Mr. Jefferson, Mr. John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Robert R. Livingston. On the 28th of June, this committee brought in a draught of a declaration. On the 1st, 2d, and 3d of July, the draught was examined, discussed, and amended; and, on the fourth, being further considered, was agreed to; and, on the same day, publicly proclaimed in Philadelphia, where Congress then held its sessions.

“It is about a year since it occurred to me that the accuracy of common report, and even a minute detail of facts, respecting the Declaration of Independence, so far as at this late period attainable, ought to be ascertained and given in the most authentic form. With this view, on the 2d of August, in the last year, I addressed a letter to President Adams, in which I remarked that, ‘as no act of the Congress of the Thirteen United Colonies was so distinguished as that by which their independence of Great Britain was declared, the most particular history of that transaction would probably be sought for, not merely as an interesting curiosity, but to do substantial justice to the abilities and energy of the leaders in that great measure.’ And, after reciting such information on the subject as had come to my knowledge, I added, ‘I have thought it desirable that the facts in this case should be ascertained. You alone can give a full statement of them, to be communicated to whom you think proper.’

“On the 6th of August, Mr. Adams most obligingly favored me with an answer, giving various interesting details. And, after alluding to the policy of that period, which gave to the Ancient Dominion (the name by which Virginia was often designated) the lead in great public acts (to which policy I had ascribed the placing of Mr. Jefferson — much the youngest person — at the head of that distinguished committee), Mr. Adams says, ‘Mr. Jefferson came into Congress in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, sci-

ence, and a happy talent at composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees — not even Samuel Adams was more so — that he seized on my heart; and upon this occasion I gave him my vote, and did all in my power to procure the votes of others. I think he had one vote more than any other, and that placed him at the head of the committee. I had the next highest number, and that placed me the second. The committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to make the draught.' Mr. Adams then mentions the meeting of the sub-committee, and their amicable contention which of the two should draught the Declaration, — each urging the task on the other; Mr. Adams insisting on Mr. Jefferson's doing it, and the latter yielding his assent.

“The draught being made, the sub-committee met ‘and conned the paper over. I was delighted’ (continues Mr. Adams) ‘with its high tone, and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery, which, though I knew his Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly never would oppose. There were other expressions which I would not have inserted if I had drawn it up, — particularly that which called the King a tyrant. I thought it too personal, for I never believed George to be a tyrant in disposition and in nature. I always believed him to be deceived by his courtiers on both sides the Atlantic; and, in his official capacity only, cruel. I thought the expression too passionate, and too much like scolding, for so grave and solemn a document; but, as Franklin and Sherman were to inspect it afterwards, I thought it would not become me to strike it out. I consented to report it, and do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration. We reported it to the committee of five. It was read, and I do not remember that Franklin or Sherman criticised any thing. We were all in haste; Congress was impatient; and the instrument was reported, as I believe, in Jefferson's handwriting, as he first drew it. Congress cut off about a quarter part of it, as I expected they would; but they

obliterated some of the best of it, and left all that was exceptional, if any thing in it was.' Then, referring to a remark of mine on the Declaration, 'that it did not contain many new ideas,' Mr. Adams says, 'As you justly observe, there is not an idea in it, but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the Declaration of Rights and the violation of those rights, in the journals of Congress, in 1774. Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet, voted and printed by the town of Boston, before the first Congress met, composed by James Otis, as I suppose, in one of his lucid intervals, and pruned and polished by Samuel Adams.'

"Thus it appears that this celebrated paper was (as in its nature it must in substance have been) a compilation of facts and sentiments stated and expressed, in some preceding years, by those who wrote and vindicated the rights of the Colonies. A compilation, however, may have great merit by its lucid and forcible arrangement of the matter. But a great national act particularly demanded *precision*, which should exclude every minor idea and comparatively feeble expression. Whether this, among other considerations in Congress, caused a reduction of the reported draught to three-fourths of its original size, cannot now be known. In my humble opinion (having had an opportunity of examining and comparing), by the parts expunged, and by the few passages introduced and others altered in Congress, the instrument was manifestly improved. The Declaration, in the form in which it was finally adopted and proclaimed, has ever been received, not only as a most important, but a dignified, State Paper.

"These details, my fellow-citizens, having occupied so much more time than I had contemplated, I have room to offer but very few additional remarks on the character of the Declaration of Independence, and on the use to be made of its public repetition.

"The 'high tone' of the Declaration, then so pleasing to Mr. Adams, was in unison with the warm feelings of the time, when ardent patriots were engaged in resisting oppression. The inspiring language of Liberty is congenial to the heart of man. But, on that great occasion, public

policy doubtless united with a strong sense of real injuries in describing these in the most forcible and glowing style of excitement, to animate the citizens to a zealous and invincible perseverance in the cause. The effect was such as was desired and expected. The Declaration of Independence was received in all the States with demonstrations of joy; and all good citizens considered themselves bound by the solemn pledge which their representatives in Congress had mutually given to maintain it.

“Having succeeded in the great and arduous enterprise, every heart bounded with joy at the annunciation of peace, after suffering the privations and calamities of eight years of war. In the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, the contending parties acknowledge the hand of Divine Providence in disposing the hearts of both ‘to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore; and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.’ The solemn profession here recited regards our best interests as well as our moral obligations; and is in exact correspondence with the fine sentiment happily expressed by Mr. Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, concerning our then British brethren, ‘to hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.’ This sentiment you will hear near the close of the Declaration, which, as an eminent historical document, I am now to read, — a sentiment which should never be forgotten; and the duties it enjoins should especially be borne in mind on every celebration of this anniversary, — duties of which our national interests, our character as an enlightened people, and our moral and religious obligations, alike require the observance.”

E.

"THE SUFFERING GREEKS.

(Vol. IV. 349.)

" TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

" All persons who in the last seven years have been readers of newspapers, or who have conversed with such readers, have received information of a war—a cruel and desolating war—between the Turks and Greeks. To persons conversant in geography and history, the situation of the countries inhabited by the Greeks, and their ancient fame, need no description: to others the following brief sketch thereof, and of the Turkish conquests, may be acceptable.

" The Turks,—the ignorant and bigoted believers in that gross impostor Mahomet,—a fierce and powerful nation, rushing in successive swarms from the interior of Asia, overran and conquered the countries bordering on the greater part of the Mediterranean Sea; and there, to this day, they remain the oppressive masters. The piratical states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, to whose corsairs American vessels have formerly been a prey, and by whom their crews were reduced to slavery, are a portion of the Turkish conquests. Egypt is another, and a powerful province of the Turkish empire. Thence passing round the whole eastern end of the Mediterranean, the country is in the hands of the Turks. In those parts lay the territory of the ancient Jews, and the many rich and populous provinces which first employed the apostles and other preachers of Christianity. There was the city of Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul; of Antioch, where the converts were first called Christians; there were the celebrated seven churches of Asia, mentioned by St. John; and there were the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians, to whom St. Paul addressed some of his epistles.

" From Asia, the Turks passed into Europe, near four

hundred years ago; conquering Greece and the adjacent territories of Thessaly and Macedonia, — countries in which were the Corinthians, the Philipians, and the Thessalonians, to whom St. Paul addressed others of his epistles. These countries also remain in the hands of the Turks. The sea between Europe and Asia is strewed with numerous islands, which, with the larger islands of Crete and Cyprus, and parts of the coast of Asia, were inhabited by Greeks; and, until lately laid waste by the Turks, abounded in Grecian population.

“After enduring, for so many hundred years, the oppressions of the Turkish government, the Greeks, about seven years ago, rose in arms, to recover their long-lost liberty and independence. Their cause excited the sympathy and good wishes of all the real friends of liberty and humanity in the whole civilized world. America, far-distant America, partook of the general feeling; and some of her sons sailed to Greece, to lend their aid in delivering that interesting country from Turkish-Mahometan tyranny. A country most interesting, because from thence the light of learning shone on benighted Europe; and because in its language, then more generally known than any other, the scriptures of the New Testament were originally written.

“From some of our intelligent fellow-citizens, we now obtain authentic information of the commencement, the progress, and the horrible devastations of this Turkish war; and of the unexampled sufferings of the most helpless portions of the Grecian population, — the old men, the women, and the children.

“To the intolerable oppression of the Greeks, were added *insults*, in language and manner too galling to be borne. The common name given to Christians, by the Turks, is that of ‘Christian dogs.’

“Among the Americans who have visited Greece, since the war commenced, are Dr. Howe, of Boston, Mr. J. P. Miller, of Vermont, and Dr. Russ. Of the characters of these three gentlemen, the committee have received the most satisfactory information. ‘Dr. Howe is a young gentleman of excellent character, of great modesty, and apparently without the least disposition to exaggerate any thing, or to make a display

beyond what truth and the calls of humanity demand of him.' He has passed about three years in Greece. Mr. Miller and Dr. Russ are in like manner certified 'to be men of excellent character, and entitled to implicit confidence.' From these authentic sources the committee proceed to describe the actual condition of Greece.

"Dr. Howe states, that he left America, in November, 1824, for Greece, filled with strong enthusiasm for her cause. On his arrival in that part of Greece anciently called the Peloponnesus, and now the Morea, he found every thing as the friends of Greece could wish. It was then tranquil, every part was cultivated, and the villages began to swarm with happy peasantry, that most numerous class in all societies who are employed in agriculture. The like, he says, was the condition of other parts of Greece. The Turkish soldiers, ill-disciplined, were beaten by the Greeks. But an army of twenty-two thousand men arrived from Egypt, under the command of Ibrahim, a Pacha, and son of the Pacha (or Bashaw) of Egypt; and landed in the Morea. These troops, Arabians, subjects of the Turkish empire, had been disciplined by European officers in the manner of the regular troops of Europe. The Greeks, but slightly instructed in the military art, were unable to resist the disciplined numbers of Ibrahim's army. In consequence, the Morea was laid waste, cities and villages were burnt, vast numbers of the men were slaughtered, and many women and children put to death, or sold for slaves. The many thousand survivors, from the ruined cities and villages, fled before the murdering Arabs. The roads were thronged with men, women, and children, old and young,—all who could walk. The feeble sunk down and died; the very old and feeble, and the sick, were left behind. Thousands and tens of thousands were taken prisoners; and their fate was horrible indeed. At first, Ibrahim, to induce the inhabitants to submit, treated his prisoners with some mercy; but, finding this ineffectual, he gave loose to his own fury and to the brutality of his soldiers. It might be thought incredible, that in the nineteenth century such depravity existed. The men have the best fate, as they are generally massacred on the spot, though often with torments. Many

have had sharp stakes driven through the whole length of their body, and so left to writhe and die. Those kept for slaves have their noses and ears cut off, and sometimes their tongues cut out. The women are put to death: or, if beautiful, are sold to some rich Turk; and, when their beauty fades, they are put to the most menial occupation of slaves; and, if sick, are cast out to die.

“Such has been the fate of thousands who have fallen into the hands of the Turks. And of the rest, half of the inhabitants of the Morea and of other parts of Greece have taken refuge in the mountains, or in the islands, or on the sea-shore about strong towns: some with money enough to eke out a scanty subsistence; the others, without houses, or other clothes than those on their backs, have, for three years, just kept themselves alive. But the situation of these refugees, principally women and children, is indeed deplorable, and not to be conceived of by comparison with any misery as seen in the United States. Some idea may be formed of their general wretchedness, from a description of it in one place.

“Around Napoli di Romana, besides its own numerous poor, are collected about six thousand miserable refugees, who fled from their devastated villages, and live upon the sea-shore in small huts or wigwams, built of bushes or mud, or in holes dug in the earth. In one of these huts will be found a widow and three or four children, without table, chair, or bed; sallow from long exposure, pale from famine, and with hardly sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness. Many young women keep out of sight all day, because their ragged clothes will not hide their limbs. Thus they have lived, partly on charity, and partly by selling, one after another, the little articles of value saved from their houses, and buying a little bread to eat with the roots they pick up. If it be asked how, under such circumstances, they can live, the answer is, that American women so situated could not live; but, to a Greek, two pounds of bread and a dozen of olives will give subsistence for a week. But they cannot always get so much, and hence many die, die from hunger and exposure. Some have no other shelter than the shade of an olive-tree. Emaciated, half-famished orphans go round to pick up

the most offensive substances for food. Many sustain life by eating grass and roots and snails, which they find in the mountains and rough places, where their enemies cannot subsist.

“On these unexampled sufferings of the Greeks, their fellow-men and fellow-Christians, the whole Christian world have for seven years been tamely looking, without one *national* effort to give relief. They saw the unprovoked butchery of the Patriarch (the ecclesiastical head of the Greek Church) and of all the bishops of Constantinople (the seat of the Turkish empire), and the wide-spreading massacres at the islands of Scio, Ipsara, Candia (the ancient Crete), and Cyprus, where more than fifty thousand were put to death in cold blood. And what was their offence? After near four hundred years of grievous oppression, aggravated by every sort of insult and contempt, the Greeks, calling to mind the condition of their enlightened, heroic, and republican ancestors (for, with a single exception, ancient Greece consisted of numerous small republics), the present generation rose in arms to deliver themselves from the Turkish yoke; hoping to be countenanced and assisted by Christian and enlightened Europe,—by Europe, enlightened by the philosophers, orators, historians, and statesmen of ancient Greece; men who lived upwards of two thousand years ago, and whose writings have to this time been preserved.

“Such were the ancestors of the Greeks, and such have been the sufferings of their descendants, victims of ferocious Turks. And why have they been left to struggle alone in the unequal contest for the recovery of their long-lost liberty? By conquest, they had been brought into subjection to the Turks; as subjects, their rising, in the view of *monarchs*, was *rebellion*, and monarchs dreaded lest, animated by the example, their own subjects should attempt to obtain a restoration of their own impaired rights. Hence some of the Christian governments viewed the sanguinary contest with what was worse than indifference. Austrian vessels brought the powerful Arabian army from Egypt to the Morea, and have served as transports to bring their provisions. Austrian ships of war, far from observing the duties of their professed

neutrality, have convoyed Turkish vessels, and protected them from capture by the armed vessels of Greece.

“ To enable the Greeks to sustain the war, large contributions have been made in Europe by the generous lovers of liberty, although their *governments* gave no national assistance. In the United States, provisions and clothing, the bounty of sympathizing individuals, have been collected, and a few vessels laden with them have been sent to Greece from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Those articles have, with great care and pains, been distributed by Dr. Howe, Mr. Miller, and Dr. Russ, with the aid of some other Americans, among the most distressed of the multitudes who resorted to them for relief. Those gentlemen, well known for their tender humanity and disinterested zeal, have been indefatigable in executing the trust committed to them. They visited various parts of the country, wherever the miserable sufferers were collected in larger or smaller bodies, to distribute the American bounties, — necessarily in small quantities to individuals, because of the limited supply, and the multitudes to be relieved. But, small as were the individual portions, they were received with gratitude and joy, and with moving exclamations of ‘ God bless the Americans!’ So intense were the sufferings of many, that they travelled ten, twenty, and even thirty miles, to obtain a few pounds of flour, not having tasted bread for two months.

“ At length, three of the great powers of Europe have stepped forth to rescue the Greeks from renewed slavery or annihilation. Russia from religious sympathy, — the Christian faith of the Russians and Greeks being the same, — and from the hostile feelings kept alive by long and often repeated wars. To Britain, with the exception of the United States the freest country of the world, — to Britain, on whose soil if a slave set his foot, he is that moment free, — it was natural to look up for efficient interference, to save the Greeks. France, liberated from the shackles of her ancient monarchy, and now enjoying a representative government, has united with Britain and Russia to preserve the Greeks, and to procure for them the right of self-government, if not of an entire independence of the Turks. This interference, —

with the fortunate destruction of the Turkish naval force, last October, at Navarino, by the brave and united efforts of the squadrons of the three great powers, — appears to have produced a general suspension of hostilities; and hopes are entertained that this interference may eventually be crowned with success. If, however, peace shall not be soon restored between the Greeks and Turks; and the latter, bidding defiance to the three allied powers, shall enter into a war with them, — we trust the emancipation of the Greeks, and perhaps the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, will be the great result.

“ But the misery of the Grecian women and children, and of men enfeebled by age, remains. Their relief is the object of this statement. Eloquence is not necessary to persuade: the facts speak to the heart, and it is confidently believed that they will not speak in vain.

“ TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Chairman,

“ JOHN HOWARD,

“ D. A. WHITE,

“ PHILIP CHASE,

“ FREDERICK HOWES,

“ HENRY WHIPPLE,

“ A. L. PEIRSON,

“ MICHAEL SHEPARD,

“ J. A. PEABODY.

“ SALEM, April 4th, 1828.”

F.

(Vol. IV. 341.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOHN RANDOLPH.—PRECISION OF LANGUAGE.

OF all men whom I have heard speak in public, Mr. Randolph is the most remarkable for the precision of his language. If he utters a word, and there is another with a shade of difference, yet more exactly expressing his meaning, he will correct himself, substituting the last for the former. He is also distinguished for his nice articulation and accurate pronunciation of words, and without a servile conformity to the modern fashionable sound of some words. For instance, he always pronounces "wound" *wound*, not *woond*. In "heard" he is not uniform; sometimes pronouncing it *herd*, and sometimes *heerd*, as "heard" was always pronounced till within a few years past. I first noticed it in the late Judge Wilson, in the Pennsylvania Convention, in 1790; he sounded it *hurd*.

Mr. Randolph is also remarkable for his grammatical accuracy. Yet he now and then errs. For instance, in the house, during the present session of Congress [1817; January], he said, "which *us* or some of our posterity are destined to see."

"Sinecurists," a new word uttered by Mr. Randolph in one of his public speeches.

 COGNOMINATION.—FEBRUARY 14TH, 1817.

MR.—DICKENS, a worthy representative from North Carolina, and a fellow-lodger, mentioned to the mess a very singular instance of cognomination. Gentlemen were speaking of my letter to Governor Sullivan on the embargo [its date

was February 16th, 1808], and its great effect on the minds of many of our citizens. Mr. Dickens said that Mr. Benjamin Bullock, then of Orange County (now Granville County) in that State, was so much pleased with it, that having a child born at that time (it was his first child), and although it was a daughter, he named her *Timothy Pickering*.

AMERICANISMS. — MARCH 2D, 1817.

MR. JOHN RANDOLPH has for some days been confined at his lodgings. I called to see him. We bid each other a last farewell. He thanked me for the visit; was very cheerful; spoke of my son's vocabulary; and desired me to note down the following words as New England improprieties; viz., "to pry," instead of "to prize," or raise with a lever. "To pry," he observed, is to look narrowly into any thing. [But I have looked into a small dictionary, — the only one at hand, — and can find neither *prize* nor *prise* — which he remarked was the French word — in the sense of raising up, as with a lever.]

The other impropriety was, — "a *run* of stones" (speaking of a mill), instead of "a *pair* of stones."

I told him my son was very desirous of having his vocabulary, or collections of Americanisms. He said he would send it to him if he could think of it. He had promised it to me at the preceding session of Congress.

JOHN RANDOLPH.

IN a debate on the North Carolina amendment of the Constitution (for districting the respective States for choosing their representatives and electors of President), Mr. Randolph said of our government, "it is a masked monarchy;" "it is not a popular government;" "it never was a popular government."

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

TRIED BY A GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL, IN RELATION TO HIS COMMAND
AT AND RETREAT FROM TICONDEROGA, ON JULY 6TH, 1777.

THE Court met August 25th, 1778, and continued the examination of witnesses until September 29th, on which day General St. Clair made his defence, — very able and complete. The sentence of the Court is in the following words: “The Court having duly considered the charges against Major General St. Clair, and the evidence, are unanimously of opinion that he is not guilty of either of the charges against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the highest honor.” General Lincoln was President of the Court. The charges were, —

Neglect of duty, cowardice, treachery, incapacity as a General, and shamefully abandoning the posts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence.

Never, perhaps, were any charges more unfounded. He justly remarked in his defence, that *incapacity* was a novel *crime*; and that if it existed, not *he*, who had not asked for any office he ever held under Congress, but [by inference] those who appointed him [that is, Congress], should be censured. He was a Briton (I suppose a Scotchman) of handsome talents, of liberal education, an elegant writer, a gentleman in the best sense of the word. He says, in his defence, that it was a sense of duty which induced him to quit his honorable and profitable employment he held under the Crown, and to accept the command of a regiment to which he was appointed by Congress, though of not half the yearly value of the other: that he had acquired military knowledge by study, and by service in the whole of the last war; *i.e.*, the French, or Seven Years' War, which was terminated by the peace of 1763; during which, he says, “he was in almost every siege and every action of consequence,” — meaning, I presume, in America; and I suppose it was that service which led him, like Gates, to remain here. He resided in one of the western counties of Pennsylvania.

GENERAL GATES.

WILLIAM WIRT, in his "Life of Patrick Henry," p. 227, notices General Gates's disastrous defeat at Camden, South Carolina, "where (says Wirt) he had most wofully fulfilled General Lee's prediction." And in a note at the bottom of the page, says: "When General Charles Lee heard of General Gates's appointment to the command of the Southern army, he foretold "that his *Northern laurels* would be turned into *Southern willows*." Greene succeeded Gates in the Southern command. The latter, returning northward, arrived at Richmond when the legislature of Virginia was in session. The assembly, on the motion of Henry, passed a generous resolution, which must have been a delightfully soothing balm to Gates's wounded spirit. He made most grateful acknowledgments. The resolve and his answer are in pages 227, 228. Gates, an English officer in Braddock's defeat, settled in Virginia afterwards, and was an inhabitant of that State when appointed Adjutant-General to the American army in 1775.

PATRICK HENRY.

EXTRACT from Wirt's life of this extraordinary man, p. 251:—

"Mr. Henry was inferior to Mr. Lee [Richard Henry Lee] in the gracefulness of his action, and perhaps also the chasteness of his language; yet his language was seldom incorrect, and his address always striking. He had a fine blue eye, and an earnest manner which made it impossible not to attend to him. His speaking was unequal, and he always rose with the subject and the exigency. In this respect he differed entirely from Mr. Lee, who was always equal, and therefore less interesting. At some times, Mr. Henry would seem to hobble (especially at the beginning of his speeches), and at others his tones would be almost disagreeable; yet it was by means of his tones, and the happy modulation of his voice, that his speaking had perhaps its greatest effect. He had a happy

articulation, — a clear, bold, strong voice, — and every syllable was distinctly uttered.”

This character of Mr. Henry's oratory was communicated to Mr. Wirt by a gentleman who, in two years, attended as a delegate the sessions of the Virginia Assembly, and witnessed the speaking of Henry and Lee. Mr. Jefferson once told me that Patrick Henry's powers of speech surpassed those of any man he had ever heard.

“EDINBURGH REVIEW,” JULY, 1821; No. LXX.

OF Bishop Tomline's “Life of William Pitt,” the reviewers say, page 450: —

“It is a very common thing in discussing the merits of statesmen to make a distinction between their public and private character; but, in an enlarged sense, no real difference of this kind can be admitted. He who can do an unworthy act for the sake of power would do the same for pelf, if he happened to feel the want of it; and that he reserves the practice of base arts for the gratification of his ambition alone, proves his estimate of the object to vary rather than his scrupulousness about the means.”

IN the same Review is an account of Baron Jomini's “Art of War.” He was one of Bonaparte's officers; and this work is pronounced by the reviewers as profound, and far excelling all preceding ones on the same subject. The reviewers (page 386) say, “The second branch (according to Jomini), or what is commonly called *strategy*, and depends on the manœuvring line of operations, now claims our attention. This is by far the most important and difficult part of a General's duty. Here it is that the great qualities with which he may be endowed will have ample room to display themselves: *fine perception, unerring judgment, rapid decision, and unwearied activity both of body and mind*, are here all requisite; and success will be in exact proportion to the exertion of these and the other qualities indispensable in the character of a

great Captain." Again, in page 400: "To fight a successful battle *upon just principles* will entitle a commander to high praise for his talents; and the qualities of his mind must be various and rare." "In the midst of havoc and confusion, his view must be rapid, and his decision and execution instantaneous; calmness must be his, when all around is turbulence and horror, and the greatest impetuosity must be united with the most consummate prudence."

MADAME ROLAND.

THE description this extraordinary woman gives of herself, in her memoirs, compels us to believe her to have been a beautiful and most interesting woman. Arthur Young in his travels in France, in 1789 (Vol. I. page 545, Dublin edition), says that at Lyons he was introduced to Mons. Roland la Platière, inspector of the Lyons fabrics; and adds: "This gentleman, somewhat advanced in life, has a young and beautiful wife,—the lady to whom he addressed his letters, written in Italy, and which have been published in five or six volumes."

ANECDOTE.—JEFFERSON THE *FRIEND* OF HAMILTON!

THOMAS M. BAYLY, of Accomac County, Virginia, whom I met accidentally in Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 14th day of July, 1827, and whom I visited this morning, July 15th (renewing our former acquaintance when members of Congress in the last years of Mr. Madison's presidency), gave me the following information:—

That about two years ago, having been chosen a delegate to a Convention called for the purpose of amending the Constitution of Virginia, or making a new one; and, his route to the place where the Convention was to be held being by Monticello, he called to see Mr. Jefferson. The latter having, just then, some avocation, desired Mr. Bayly to look at what curiosities he might find in another room to amuse him. Conducted by Mr. Jefferson's daughter, Mrs. Thomas M. Randolph, he

went into the hall. On his return, he told Mr. Jefferson of his astonishment at one thing he had seen there : it was the BUST of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. This was placed on the right hand side of the door, and Mr. Jefferson's own bust on the left. " Why (said Mr. Jefferson), you would not have been astonished if you had known that I was a real friend to Mr. Hamilton ; and he was a friend to me : our friendship was, in fact, reciprocal ; and, if he (Hamilton) had lived a few years longer, the reality of our mutual friendship would have become known."

[Having committed the anecdote to writing, I showed it to Mr. Bayly, who said it was correct. The above is an exact copy from the original paper.]

DOCTOR JAMES WALLACE, OF VIRGINIA, FEBRUARY, 9TH, 1822.

AT this Saturday evening party (called the *Wistar* Party, because originating with the late Dr. Wistar, and assembling always at his house ; but, since his death, at the houses of the several members in rotation), I was introduced to Doctor Wallace by one of his medical brethren of Philadelphia. It was the 9th of February. After some time, I observed him sitting alone ; and no one going to speak to him, I, from pure civility to a stranger (for, during my four months' stay in the city, I had become familiar with the members of the party), went and took a chair beside him. We had never seen each other until introduced, as above mentioned, when he first entered the room. He had looked steadily at me (as I thought) which I ascribed to his curiosity about a person whose name had been so bandied as mine ; for, through " evil report and good report," it was everywhere heard of. I fancied that he was a Democrat ; and, upon getting into a free conversation, I found he had been a *flaming one*. Of me he had entertained the worst possible opinion, and I was an object of hatred. " But," said he, " I derived all my information from the 'Aurora ;' believing its lies and misrepresentations. I was earnestly engaged in the politics of the times ; my mind

was ever on the fret; and I was miserable. At length I sent and paid the 'Aurora' editor his bill, and charged him not to send me another paper. And from that time I have abstained from reading any newspaper whatever; and so have since enjoyed a tranquil mind." He had thought I had been dead many years ago; asked questions concerning the early years of my life, manifesting no little curiosity to know my history; appeared gratified by my answers and pleased with the opportunity of knowing personally the man of whom he had heard so much, and thought so ill, and thus of correcting his erroneous opinions. We were thus engaged a full hour, or more, talking on various subjects, as they arose, one after another.

Saturday, February 16th. This evening we met again; it was at Chief Justice Tilghman's, by invitation given at the close of the former evening; and again we conversed with great freedom. The Doctor has some singularities of character; but is too frank and open-hearted not to be an honest man. Some opinions seem to be peculiarly his own. He said, for instance, that General Washington ought to have been impeached for his proclamation of neutrality in 1793. He thought the matter should have been referred to Congress; and that the President had stepped beyond his constitutional powers. He confessed he stood alone in this opinion; and it is evidently erroneous. The United States, in 1793, were at peace with all the world: Congress alone could change their condition from peace to war. But the great body of American citizens — warm in favor of the French, who had given us material aid in our Revolution, and still alive to the injuries we had received from Britain — were eager to engage on the side of France, just then entered on a war with Britain. In this disposition, they were ready to justify every act of the French towards their British enemies; to allow them to arm vessels in our ports for cruising against the British, and to bring in, condemn, and sell their prizes in our ports. American citizens also openly engaged with the French in depredations on the British commerce; influenced by more than one passion: the *desire* of *plunder* combined with *hatred* of the *English* and *love* for the *French* in carrying on such hostilities. Such pro-

ceedings not only tended to produce a war with Britain, but were in fact hostile acts, which, if not disavowed and checked by our government, would have justified retaliation and war on the part of Britain . . . The Doctor insisted that our Revolution war was *rebellion*: for so he considered (and this was his explanation) resistance in arms of a province or other portion of a nation to the supreme or governing power of the nation. "President Jefferson," he said, "ought to have been impeached for sending a naval force into the Mediterranean, to make *actual* war on one of the Barbary powers, by capturing their armed vessels, without any authority from Congress."

President Madison he considered so wanting in energy, as, with all his talents, learning, and information, to be unfit for the Presidency. "He ought, also," he said, "to have been impeached for not timely and effectually providing for the defence of the capital of the United States; for want of which the public buildings and property fell a prey to the fires lighted by the enemy."

Dr. Wallace, judging from his face, I should take to be at least fifty-five years of age. He has always entertained a high opinion of the Philadelphia medical school, where he received or finished his medical education. And this, I heard it said, was the thirteenth time he had attended its course of lectures. He is a practising physician in Virginia, in the healthy hill country; and lives about twenty-five miles from Mr. Madison's.

PERICLES.

"THE philosophy of Pericles taught him not to be vain-glorious, but to rest his fame upon essentially great and good, rather than upon brilliant, actions. It is observed by Plutarch that, as often as he commanded the Athenian forces, he never was defeated; yet, though he won many trophies, he never gained a splendid victory. A battle, according to a great modern authority" [Marshal Saxe, in his memoirs], "is the resource of ignorant Generals; when they know not what to do, they

fight a battle. It was almost universally the resource of the age of Pericles : little conception was entertained of military operations beyond ravage and a battle. His genius led him to a superior system, which the wealth of his country enabled him to carry into practice. His favorite maxim was to spare the lives of his soldiers ; and scarcely any General ever gained so many important advantages with so little bloodshed." — Mitford's " History of Greece," Vol II. p. 392.

Governor Brooks, a few years ago, was on the Niagara River, where he met with a gentleman of talents [I am uncertain of his name, although I have an impression that it was Trimble], who was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army commanded by Major-General Brown when he fought a battle in that region [I believe the battle of Bridgewater], and who showed Brooks the scene of action, and the circumstances of the occurrence. And in mentioning the matter to me, Governor Brooks pronounced it a useless waste of blood, — an unnecessary action, without any valuable object.

PETER STEPHEN DUPONCEAU.

A MAN eminent for his intelligence, integrity, and truth ; highly distinguished as a lawyer and civilian, for his extensive acquisitions in general literature, and as a philologist, — and in these combined qualities probably surpassing any citizen of the United States, — M. Duponceau, at the age of seventeen, came to America from France in the same vessel with the Baron de Steuben, and landed at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire (as Duponceau himself informed me), in the month of December, 1777. They went to Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, where Congress then held their sessions; the British army occupying Philadelphia. Congress appointed the Baron Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General, and going to the army under Washington's immediate command, at Valley Forge ; Duponceau (a Frenchman), who understood and spoke the English language with facility, accompanying him as interpreter and secretary. Duponceau continued in the army, I believe, from one to two years. He was afterwards employed in the office of foreign

affairs, Robert R. Livingston (I think) being the Secretary of that department. He was elected to that office by Congress, August 10th, 1781, and accepted it by his letter of September 17th, 1781.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

CHATEAUBRIAND mentions his interview with Washington at Philadelphia in his Presidency, presenting his letter of introduction from Colonel Armand. [Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouainie, had served in command of a small corps (chiefly foreigners, I believe) in the main army. I perfectly remember that, after the battle of Short Hills, in New Jersey, in 1777, between a detachment under the command of Major-General Lord Sterling and a body of British troops, in which the Americans were defeated, Colonel Armand came to headquarters (the army then lying at the Cross-Roads, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, twenty miles from Philadelphia, and, I think, in the month of August), and in General Washington's room, where I was present, he (Armand) earnestly requested to be attached to some other command than that of Lord Sterling, exclaiming in these words, "Lord Sterling is a very brave man; but he is no General," the tears trickling down his cheeks.] Washington opened the letter, and, glancing his eye at the signature, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Colonel Armand." "We took seats," says Chateaubriand, "and I explained to him as well as I could the motive of my voyage. He answered in French or English monosyllables, and listened to me with a sort of astonishment. Perceiving this, I said to him, with some degree of vivacity, 'But it is less difficult to discover the north-west passage than to create, as you have done, a people.' 'Well, well, young man,' he replied, and extending towards me his hand. At my departure, he gave me an invitation to dine with him on the following day." "I was faithful to the rendezvous. In a short time, five or six guests were assembled. The French Revolution was almost the only topic of conversation," &c. "I left the table of my host at six o'clock in the evening." "Such was my meeting with the man who had enfranchised an entire world."

Chateaubriand then mentions his having seen Bonaparte, and contrasts the two characters of Washington and Bonaparte. "Search the unknown woods where glittered the sword of Washington, and what will you find? — tombs? No! a world! Washington has left the United States as the glorious trophy of his field of battle."

WASHINGTON, &c.

WASHINGTON, with the purest intentions, aimed to administer the government in the most perfect conformity to the Constitution, and so as to promote the best interests of the nation. And, having no *favorites* to provide for, he selected for the various offices those citizens who, from his personal knowledge, or the best attainable information, appeared to him suitably qualified to fill them. The exalted talents of Alexander Hamilton were well known. During four years of our Revolution war, he had been his principal Aide-de-Camp, and, at the same time, performed the duties of principal Military Secretary, co-operating with Robert Hanson Harrison, a lawyer, a man of sense, and a good and ready writer, possessing the post of Military Secretary. These two able, diligent, and faithful persons lived all that time in the military family of the Commander-in-Chief; and I have reason, not merely to *believe*, but to *know*, that they wrote nearly all the official letters bearing his signature during that period. Both of them quitted the army early in 1781, — Harrison to resume his profession in the law; Hamilton to commence the study of it. Harrison had a family to provide for, and, returning to Maryland, was appointed its Chief-Justice. Hamilton had married a daughter of General Schuyler; and it behooved him, his talents being his only fortune, to prepare for their exercise and display in that wide field where, in America as in England, the greatest would find employment. In the short time of six years (from 1783 to 1789), Hamilton had shone with unequalled abilities at the New York bar. From this profession, and a lucrative practice, he was drawn by Washington to take the most

arduous, the most laborious, and, then certainly, by far the most important office in the recently arranged order of the government, — that of its *finances*; and he was appointed Secretary for the treasury department. Harrison, appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, reluctantly accepted the office, being in ill-health; and he died soon after without taking his place on the bench. At the close of the Revolution war, General Lincoln having resigned, General Henry Knox, who had served acceptably at the head of the artillery from the commencement to the conclusion of that war, was appointed by the Old Congress Secretary for the department of war. In this station, Washington found him when the government was to be organized; and in it he was very properly continued by a reappointment under the new order of things. Hamilton had been a member of the Grand Convention which framed the Constitution, and was its ablest advocate on that floor, and, afterwards, by his numerous essays, entitled “The Federalist,” before the whole people of the United States. He was also a member of the New York Convention, in which the exertion of his powerful talents were necessary to induce that rapidly rising and most important State to adopt the Constitution, against her strongly persuasive pecuniary interests. From the imports of her great commercial city, not her own citizens only, but those of Connecticut, of all East New Jersey, of many in Berkshire, — the western county of Massachusetts, — and of Rhode Island, and the western part of Vermont, received their chief supplies of foreign goods; and, these being charged with import duties for her own treasury exclusively, all those of her neighbors here mentioned became her *tributaries*; and she wished to retain them in that dependent state, “subject to tribute.”

Thomas Jefferson had distinguished himself in the early scenes of our Revolutionary proceedings, as an able and enlightened citizen, well acquainted with the rights of his country, of which he was a zealous and determined advocate. In 1775, elected a member of Congress, though not a speaker, he was, on committees, a prompt and decided actor; and his previous writings in the common cause, which were familiar to his colleagues, were made known to others. These were

proofs that he held an able and eloquent pen. Possessed of such qualities, he soon seized on the heart of John Adams, who, when the committee for preparing a Declaration of Independence was to be appointed by ballot, exerted himself to secure the election of Mr. Jefferson, and successfully ; for he had one more vote than any other candidate. This placed him, although the youngest man, in the chair of the committee. Mr. Adams received the next highest number of votes. Its other members were Doctor Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. After the committee had discussed the subject, — imparting their respective views, — Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams were designated as a sub-committee to draught the Declaration. Each pressed the other to perform the task : but Adams insisted that Jefferson should undertake it ; and by Jefferson the draught was made. About one-fourth part of it was expunged in Congress ; some other parts were pruned, and a few amendments introduced. It was thus manifestly improved. Nevertheless, the changes so made were not extensive ; and the Declaration, as finally settled and passed, is justly considered as Mr. Jefferson's draught. It was a statement of the *causes* which compelled the actors of that day to separate themselves from Great Britain, and to declare the Thirteen Colonies free and independent States. Those causes were principally stated, clearly and forcibly, by the Congress which sat in Philadelphia in September and October, 1774 ; and, as grievances, had been for a long time the topics discussed by American writers in newspapers and pamphlets. And Mr. Adams (in his letter to me) said there was not an idea in it which had not been previously *hackneyed* in Congress. The merit, then, of the Declaration, as drawn by Jefferson, consisted in the *composition*, in the *language*, and *orderly arrangement*.

PROVIDENTIAL EVENTS.

THE encroachments of the French on the territories of the British North American Colonies produced what has been called " The Seven Years' War," which, proclaimed in 1756,

was terminated by the peace of 1763. But hostilities took place in 1754, when the French having taken post at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegany (or Allegheny) Rivers, and commenced fortifying it, Colonel George Washington was sent with a militia force, raised in Virginia, to dislodge them. He was met by a superior force of French and Indians from Fort Duquesne (afterwards called Fort Pitt, and which is now Pittsburgh), when an action took place, and Washington and his corps were made prisoners, after a brave defence of their hastily built fort, called Fort Necessity. The next year (1755) a regular force of about two thousand men was sent from Great Britain, under the command of General Braddock, a brave man, but without any knowledge of the mode of fighting in a wilderness with Indians and Canadians, with some French regulars; and too self-sufficient and arrogant to ask or receive information from the Colonists — Virginians — experienced in Indian warfare. Braddock was suddenly attacked by an enemy lying in ambush, and invisible. His regulars were panic-struck; and, when he had received his mortal wound, they fled in disorder. The Indians and French irregulars, lured by the plunder left in Braddock's camp, did not pursue the fugitives, who, consequently, made good their retreat. The same year, a large French force, regulars and Indians, came from Canada, through Lake Champlain and Lake George: their commander was Baron Dieskau. Sir William Johnson, commanding a body of Provincials, near the southern end of Lake George, had time to fell trees, and thus form a breastwork, behind which his troops were sheltered. Dieskau advanced, attacked, was defeated, and himself mortally wounded; and his troops and Indians fled. In 1756, England and France severally declared war. The military operations on the part of the Colonies, both in that year and the next, were attended with uniform disasters. In the latter year the celebrated William Pitt was made Prime Minister of Britain; and, under his able and vigorous administration, as uniform success attended his military plans in North America. In 1758, a competent naval and land force, — the latter commanded by General Amherst, with Wolfe second in com-

mand, — took Louisburg and the Island of Cape Breton, of which it was the port strongly fortified. In 1759, a plan was formed for the entire conquest of Canada. Amherst commanded the army destined to enter Canada, by the way of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Lake Champlain. But Wolfe, a *hero*, possessing *genius*, as well as military skill and courage, was appointed to the command of the army destined for the conquest of Quebec, — the more difficult enterprise. He succeeded, but fell mortally wounded, in the moment of victory. Wolfe was only thirty-five years old at his death. His fall was deeply felt and bewailed as a national calamity, and by no part of the nation more sensibly than by the northern Colonists. But doubtless the event was a real blessing to them. At the commencement of our Revolutionary war, in 1775, had Wolfe survived, he would have been only fifty-one years old; an age admitting of the most active service, with a well-matured judgment. *He*, probably, would have been employed to subdue the Colonies and fix their subjection to the mother country, instead of Sir William Howe (who commanded Wolfe's light infantry at the capture of Quebec) and the other mere routine officers employed in that service. And if even the talents and energy of Wolfe would not have been crowned with ultimate success, the struggle on our part would doubtless have been more severe and destructive. In the progress of the Seven Years' War, Great Britain, commanding the seas with her superior fleets, conquered Martinico, Guadaloupe, and all the French islands in the West Indies, excepting Hispaniola, of which the conquest would also have been easy; and the admirable port of Havana, with the western portion of the great island of Cuba, was conquered from Spain; and the rest of that island (large enough for a kingdom) would easily have been subjected. Porto Rico, near it, would have fallen, of course, under the dominion of England. A naval force at Havana (the harbor of which, perfectly secure from storms, was capable of holding a thousand ships) would always command the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico, and of the possessions of Spain on the Atlantic side of America; as, in conveying their productions to Europe, they must pass between Cuba

and Cape Florida. Florida, also belonging to Spain, was very thinly settled, and would have submitted to a very small British force. But, fortunately, the Tory ministry, which succeeded Mr. Pitt, made an inglorious peace, surrendering to France the important islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia; and to Spain, Havana and its dependencies in Cuba, in exchange for the barren sands and the three or four insignificant Spanish villages of Florida. Britain, had the able and vigorous powers of Pitt continued to command her resources, would probably have become master of all the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies; of Florida; and of all Louisiana, on the west as well as on the eastern side of the Mississippi. And, thus having it in her power, she would have monopolized their commerce; and the Thirteen United Colonies, if they had acquired independence, would have been deprived of their West India commerce, except just so far as Great Britain, for her own convenience and interest, would permit. But Lord Bute's peace of Paris, by restoring Cuba and the French islands, and stopping the conquest of Hispaniola; and the latter, in consequence of the Revolution there, under the wild government of the Revolutionists in France, are open to the commerce of the United States; and the productions of the Western American States, centering at New Orleans, constitute a large portion of the commerce of the United States. Canada, divided into two provinces, and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, constitute the British Continental possessions bordering on the United States. They are advancing rapidly in population and internal improvements. Eventually, they must become independent of Britain, whose future government will be too wise to repeat with those provinces the experiment unfortunately made with the old thirteen more southern Colonies. And in a state of independence, requiring, for a very long period, the manufactures of Great Britain, they will prove more beneficial to her than if continued in a dependent condition.

THE UNITED STATES: THEIR INDEPENDENCE — THEIR
REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS.

IN a History of the American Revolution, its *influence* on the civilized world — that is, on the states of Europe and their American Colonies — will be a most important topic of discussion. The French Revolution, if not the *consequence*, was at least *hastened* by that of the United States, rising from Colonial Dependence, to National Independence. And their republican governments have certainly been the models of the several republics into which the Spanish American Colonies have been converted from a condition of a most abject degradation under the tyranny of their mother country. The latter, gradually sinking in the lapse of two centuries, had, at the period of the French Revolution, become comparatively imbecile, and, after joining with the other monarchies of Europe, in the design of crushing the French Revolutionists, was itself crushed by the latter; and, though retaining the form of its monarchical government, and the appearance of an independent state, it was, in effect, a dependence of the French Republic; and, in whatever affected the interest of the latter, subject to its control, and compelled to submit to its dictations. At that time, Spain was so far under duress that she could not be equitably responsible for any of her acts connected with that control. Spain, however, after the restoration of the Bourbons to the French monarchy, and the new arrangements of states by the allied powers, — Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, — with the concurrence of the restored French government, might have risen again to the condition of an important European state, but for the weakness of the King (Ferdinand VII.), the ignorance and miserable superstition of himself and a large portion of his subjects, under the dominion of a numerous, an ambitious, and unprincipled ecclesiastical body, from the Archbishops down to the lowest order of priests and lazy monks. The Cortes had reformed important ecclesiastic abuses, and laid the foundation of a free representative government, retaining a monarchical form. But, on the restoration of Ferdinand, the powerful influence of the clergy, over ignorance and superstition, enabled

the King and nobility to set aside the Constitution formed by the Cortes, and to re-establish the monarch in his absolute power. There were patriots who rose to resist; but the armies of France, directed by the restored Bourbons, marched into Spain, and in one year put down all opposition in arms. Spain, during its subjection to the French Republic, and afterwards to Napoleon Bonaparte, incurred the destruction of its whole navy, and such a reduction of its military forces, together with its revenue, that she was unable to send to her American Colonies, ships and troops sufficient to repress their attempts to throw off the dominion of the parent state; and at length, after the struggles of several years with the few troops sent from Spain, and their internal enemies who were interested in the continuance of colonial abuses, all the Continental Spanish American Colonies have declared themselves independent; and have formed or are forming republican governments. These have been first acknowledged by the United States in due form, — sending and receiving diplomatic Ministers and Consuls. Great Britain has, first of the European states, followed the example of the United States, by sending to the American Spanish Republican states diplomatic agents and Consuls. The King of the Netherlands is doing the same; and France will not long forego the opportunity of sharing in the benefits of commerce with those new republics. The islands of Cuba and Porto Rico are the only remains of the immense American regions once subject to Spain. Cuba is of an extent sufficient, under a good government, to become and maintain the power of an independent state; and by the aid of the Spanish Republics, it will probably, ere long, become one. France having lost Hispaniola, and acknowledged the independence of the whole island of San Domingo, under the dominion of the negro and colored population, cannot feel any solicitude for the continued subjection of the still larger island of Cuba to Spain, with its great and increasing commercial products. The Brazilians have preposterously submitted themselves to the government of Don Pedro, son of the King of Portugal, as their *Emperor*; but should they, instead of dethroning Don Pedro, and establishing a republic, continue a monarchical government, it seems highly probable

that it will be on condition that the people shall be represented in a parliament. But the greater probability is, that all the rest of the American Continent being composed of free, representative republics, Brazil will, before the lapse of many years, be revolutionized, and formed into a republic.

MEMOIRS OF MY OWN TIMES.

IF I should write of the interesting occurrences of my own times, I should touch, though in the slightest manner, on the Stamp Act, the subsequent acts of Parliament taxing the Colonies, altering the Charter of Massachusetts, the sending of troops to Boston, the act shutting up the port, and the result of the whole; the commencement of hostilities; and some events of the war. The Congress which met at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775, took the requisite measures for carrying on the war with the mother country, already begun in Massachusetts. On the 15th of June, the Congress "Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the Continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty." "The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." And the next day he accepted the appointment, at the same time saying: "I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with." (See printed journals of Congress, June 15th and 16th, 1775). After this statement from the journals, and introducing the entire declaration of Washington, on accepting the office of Commander-in-Chief, evidencing his disinterested patriotism and devotion to the cause of his country, I would recite the motives which must have induced Congress to fix their choice on Washington, observing, —

1. There was not a single native American of *name* who had been bred to arms; that a number who had seen any military service were those who, in the Seven Years' War, begun in America in 1755, and declared against France in

1756, and terminated by the peace of 1763, had gone forth, with the militia of their respective Colonies, for the protection of their frontiers against the incursions of the French and Indians; for the purpose of expelling the former from the territories of the Colonies; and, finally, for the conquest of Canada: being, in the two latter cases, reinforcements to the British regular troops. That George Washington was one of the officers employed in those services, until the expulsion of the French from Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburgh) and other waters of the Ohio, and the consequent peace with the Indians in those parts. This object being accomplished by the close of the year 1758, Colonel Washington resigned his commission, retired to his Mount Vernon estate, and married the widow Martha Custis, who survived this, her second husband, two or three years. She had one or two children by her first husband, Mr. Custis, but none by Washington. (See Marshall's Biography of Washington.)

2. Colonel Washington's military services, as the commanding officer of a regiment raised by Virginia in 1774, for the protection of her own frontier against hostile Indians; and the continuance of like services until the close of 1758: in all which his conduct appears to have been well approved; the established integrity and stability of his character; the possession of a very large estate, which, while it gave him weight and influence, was a pledge of his fidelity, — all these considerations recommended Washington for the chief command.

3. The last argument for the selection of Washington was that he was a *Virginian*. At that time Virginia, for its extent of territory and its population, was the most commanding of the Thirteen United Colonies. It believed in its superiority, and was proud of it. This pride (the "Ancient Dominion," a title it assumed by way of eminence, was one mark thereof) it was expedient to indulge; and it was in this instance gratified, in the unanimous choice of the popular George Washington to be Commander-in-Chief of all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty. But there was at the same time, in America, Charles Lee, a British regular officer of distinguished

talents and much experience in war, having served during the Seven Years' War. He appears always to have entertained lofty views of liberty, and especially of the constitutional rights of British subjects, which, in the case of the British Colonists, were manifestly violated; and, being arrayed in opposition to the existing administration, he resigned his commission (I believe of Lieutenant-Colonel) in the British army, and tendered his services to the United Colonies. He was now also, if I mistake not, the owner of a plantation, and a resident in Virginia. Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, had been appointed the chief commander of the militia army, first assembled at Cambridge, by the acting power, — the provincial Congress of that State. He was appointed by Congress the first Major-General of the Continental army, and Charles Lee the second Major-General. The latter accompanied Washington from Philadelphia to Cambridge. I entertain no doubt, that a large portion of the members of Congress, particularly those from New England, and especially the delegates from Massachusetts, who concurred in giving Washington a unanimous vote, placed great reliance on the aid he would receive, from the very able and experienced Major-General Charles Lee, in every military operation. For the opinion entertained of Lee, and the confidence reposed in his superior talents, both by officers and soldiers of our own army; and even for the *respect*, and consequent *caution* of the British, where they knew that Lee was serving, — see a letter from Colonel Joseph Reed, Adjutant-General, and actually a member of General Washington's military family, to General Lee, dated November 21st, 1776 (five days after the fall of Fort Washington), in Langworthy's "Life of Lee," of which two editions were published in New York, in 1792 and 1813.

[During the last years of his life, Colonel Pickering was engaged in collecting materials and making preliminary draughts of particular topics for a work of the character of Political Memoirs of his own Times, and of another on the Life and Services of Alexander Hamilton. He never en-

tered upon the final composition of either. The title-page designed for the former, found among his manuscripts, is as follows: —]

SKETCHES
HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL,
RELATING TO THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
BY WHICH
THIRTEEN BRITISH COLONIES
BECAME
INDEPENDENT STATES;
ALSO TO THE
CONSTITUTION
OF
THE UNITED STATES,
AND THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THEIR
GOVERNMENT
UNDER THE
FOUR FIRST PRESIDENTS.

By TIMOTHY PICKERING.

"Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the TRUTH?"



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