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Thomas King
Thomas King, Esq.

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ion may be operating a deleterious effect on the mind of some one
for want of du ion on its nature and consequences, we
submit the fo eries: Is it not a high and boasted
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Independence, Liberty, and Glory!

WASHINGTON, LA FAYETTE, and JACKSON.

andycaine, York-Town, and New-Orleans.

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HEARTS OF OAK, TO THE POLLS:

SUPPORT

OLD HICKORY,

THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY.

AND THE

Man of the People.

THE PEOPLE'S TICKET.

IN SUPPORT OF

ANDREW JACKSON, for President, and

JOHN C. CALHOUN, for Vice-President.

PETER WILSON, of Bergen,
JAMES PARKER, of Middlesex,
DANIEL VLIET; of Sussex,
ISAAC G. FARLEE, of Hunterdon,
JOSEPH W. SCOTT, of Somerset,
JOHN BEATTY, Jun. of Burlington,
JOSEPH KILLE, of Salem, and
JOHN BUCK, of Cumberland.

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ADDRESS

Of the State Convention, held at Trenton, New-Jersey, on the nomination of Presidential Electors for this State.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

At a late Convention of Delegates from the several counties of our State, assembled for the purpose of giving concert to the exertions of the friends of JACKSON and CALHOUN, by the selection of a ticket of Electors of President and Vice-President, to be recommended to their support, the task was imposed upon us of addressing you on the claims of those distinguished men. In entering upon this duty, we feel a pleasure in the reflection, that while we address ourselves to Jersey men, we are sure of being heard with candour; and that while we speak of the acts of those illustrious men, we shall find a chord in unison in the bosom of every native of that soil which was so often wet with Revolutionary blood, and which in the great day of trial was so fruitful in valour and patriotism. While we celebrate deeds of glory and of virtuous devotion to country, we shall produce a responsive feeling in the breasts of the descendants of those brave and patriotic sons of Jersey, who, in the darkest days of our distress, were undiscouraged and unappalled—who fought, and bled, and suffered in the cause of freedom—whose enduring monument is the liberty of our country. We come as members of your own body, unswayed by passion, and unaffected by interest, deliberately to present to you the claims of him of whom you have all heard, and with whose name you are all in some degree familiar. In doing so, we censure not differing opinions—we slander not the characters of his respectable and distinguished rivals. The noble soul of Jackson would disdain to rise upon the ruins of reputation—he would not acknowledge as his friends those who for his sake would unjustly detract from the fame even of his enemies. He has come forth into the lists at the PEOPLE'S call, as an honourable combatant, and if the golden prize be gained, the chaplet of victory shall encircle his brow, in union with the laurels untarnished which he has already won. We, as his advocates, and as citizens of our common country, tender to his competitors, and to those who honestly prefer them, the homage of our respect, while we frankly assert our own opinions upon the merits of our favourite, and the interests of America.

We can hardly presume that there are those in New-Jersey, who sincerely believe that Mr. Crawford is raised above his opponents by the mere recommendation of the Caucus at Washington. We can hardly suppose that the enlightened citizens of this State, who are even friendly to his election, can really entertain the opinion that they are bound to surrender their most valuable privilege, the elective franchise, to this abor-

Gift

By John D. Wolcott

Jan 8, 1836

Thomas King
Thomas King's

...ive attempt at congressional nomination; but lest, perchance, the
impression may be operating a deleterious effect on the mind of some
individual, for want of due reflection on its nature and consequences,
I beg leave to submit the following inquiries: Is it not a high and
prerogative of the great body of American citizens, to elect their
rulers? Is it not important to the preservation of our liberties, that
prerogative should be exercised? Does it not constitute a
difference between our excellent system of government and the
enslaved nations of the old world? Is it becoming, then—is it safe, is it
consistent with our boasted independence, that any citizen should bow
his neck in quiet submission to the direction of a few interested and
aspiring individuals, not delegated by the People, but self-chosen dicta-
tors? Shall the representatives of three States, sent to the capital by
their constituents for objects widely different, be permitted to erect
themselves into a Council of Appointments, to impose upon the whole of
this great Union their favourites for its rulers? No! the pride of every
Jerseyman will rise in opposition to a doctrine so slavish, so subversive
of the radical principles upon which our government is based, so utterly
absurd and anti-republican, as that the majority is to be ruled by an insig-
nificant minority; so destructive of the checks and balances of our Con-
stitution, as that one branch of the legislature shall, in the first instance,
without special authority, and without responsibility, create the Execu-
tive. As you value your dearest liberties, then, citizens of New-Jersey,
strangle this infant Aristocracy in the cradle. Show to your country and
the world, that you know and prize your rights: show to the represen-
tatives of Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina, that they are not to
choose a President for you. If Mr. Crawford came before you as a
candidate, resting upon his own personal merits, none would be readier
than you to do them justice; but when introduced in so exceptionable
a shape, you cannot give him your support, without surrendering your
most valuable privilege, kneeling at the feet of usurpation, and sanction-
ing a precedent of most dangerous character.

Mr. Adams is also before the public as a candidate for his country's
highest distinction. Far be it from us to derogate from his high re-
putation for learning in the various branches of literature and science,
laboriously acquired by long years of patient industry. As a Secretary
of State and Minister at foreign courts, his knowledge as a diplomatist,
and his abilities as a writer, have been often exercised with honour to him-
self and benefit to his country. But do we not descry in this quarter,
also, signs of approaching danger to our invaluable system of govern-
ment? Is the President of the United States always to be taken from the
cabinet? If not, it is high time that he were chosen from among the
people. Already have three Secretaries of State succeeded as many
Presidents. Already has this custom taken so strong a hold upon the
popular mind, that this officer of the cabinet is even now considered by
many as somehow better entitled to the Chief Magistracy than any other
individual. Is the President always to continue thus to nominate his
own successor? We have reason to be alarmed. Not all the embattled
hosts of Europe are so dangerous to America, as these gradual infringements
of the constitution. The community has been asleep while an en-

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enemy has crept into the citadel. One of the principal outworks has been already gained. A breach is making in the wall of our liberties, which every good and patriotic member of the State is summoned, by all he holds dear, to assist instantly in closing. It is time, fellow citizens, that you should awake—the alarm is sounded—a warning voice speaks to you of your danger. A short time, and it will be too late. What is now but usage, ambition will soon claim as right. The beautiful symmetry of our system will be destroyed—its strength will be gone, and at the touch of some aspiring demagogue, it will tumble into pieces. Arise then in your strength, and break this cabinet succession. Take for your President a man from your own body, untainted by the corruption of a court, and uninitiated in cabinet secrets. So shall you restore the administration of our government to its primitive purity. So shall you destroy the worm which is gnawing the constitution in the bud, and producing premature decay. Citizens of New-Jersey, permit us to recommend to you such a person in Gen. ANDREW JACKSON. In doing so, we but recall to your notice a man whom you all know. But a few years since, and his renown was thundered through your country from Louisiana to Maine, out of the cannon's mouth, and re-echoed by the triumphant shouts of millions of citizens. His never-dying fame was the theme of every tongue; and in every family, even children were taught to lisp his praises. Your confidence in Jackson was then unbounded. Who but would then have rejoiced to see him at the head of the armies of the United States, clothed with a power which has always afforded the greatest temptation to ambition, and has been proved, by long experience, most dangerous to freedom? And could you repose in him implicit confidence, in times of internal distraction, and foreign invasion, when the minds of a large portion of our people were soured and discontented—when our safety was threatened and endangered from without and from within—with legions under his command, devoted to his person, and trained to obey his nod; and yet will you refuse him your confidence in a time of profound peace, when the wheels of government are rolling silently on in harmony and quietness—when the unanimity and contentedness of the country afford no hope to the lawless aspirant? Will you refuse him your confidence at the sober age of nearly threescore years, when all the prospects of ambition are so closely bounded by the darkness of the grave—now, too, that he is stripped of all that array of power, which, while he possessed it, he never abused, but only used for his country's good? Will you refuse to trust him in a situation where he must be guarded and restrained by checks on all sides, and where his actions will be daily watched by popular sentinels wisely provided by the constitution? Surrender not yourselves, citizens, to the delusion which is attempted to be thrown around you by the enemies of Jackson, when they urge you to believe that he is a military chieftain, without talents as a statesman. We pledge you our honour, that this is deception. We pledge you our honour that he has been pronounced by Mr. Adams himself to be a distinguished civilian. It is a deep and artful stratagem of his opponents, to blind your eyes by the glare of his military exploits, that you may not perceive those qualities which beam with milder lustre from his civil character. Jackson possesses, indeed, great military genius. So did Washington. But was *he* less valuable as a statesman? Did

the talents which qualify for war prove in him incompatible with those which are most useful in peace? Why then this objection to Jackson? The same rule which would exclude him and propose John Quincy Adams, would, if applied then, have passed Washington by and chosen John Adams, who, as a statesman, enjoyed at that time all the reputation for learning which his son possesses at the present day. Yet the enlightened patriots of that period gave the preference to Washington. It is needless to compare his administration of the government with that of his successor, who was permitted by a dissatisfied people, to linger out but half the usual term—the contrast is familiar to every mind. Beware then, fellow citizens, how you are led away by the sound of learning and cabinet experience as indispensably and only necessary to constitute the presidential character. The situation requires at all times soundness of judgment, firmness of purpose, high and established character, and popular confidence—but especially at the present important period, when all eyes are anxiously fixed upon a cloud of threatening blackness which skirts the eastern horizon, and already rolls its muttering thunder to our western shores, giving ominous indication of an approaching tempest; when a vast European confederacy is arraying itself openly against the principles of liberty, and uttering its denunciations against our country as its happy asylum, whence it is silently extending its quiet influence into the very dominions of slavery and despotism—it particularly behoves us that we exalt to the chief executive office that man in whose prudence, energy and firmness, the people will repose the most unreserved trust; who will administer our government in its purity and simplicity; who will concentrate around him all the talents of the Union, to meet the great emergency. And who is that man, but he who, by his promptness and decision, and by the wonderful resources of his energetic mind, has already immortalized himself, and saved and exalted his country; who stood deliberate and collected before the veteran hosts of Britain; who, through a long course of service, both in military and civil office, has become proverbial for his open dealing; his honesty and integrity; who will come, without solicitation of his own, from the bosom of the people, with no auxiliaries whom he is bound to elevate, or pledges of office which he can be called on to fulfil. Give him the reins of government, and tyrants will tremble; corruption will hide its head, and party and fanaticism will take its flight. Venerable remnant of revolutionary patriots! Jackson is one of you. At the age of fourteen, his tender arms shouldered a musket in his country's defence, and with you, he can expose his scars as a memorial of his participation in the eventful struggle. Children of the heroes of the revolution! his blood was mingled with that of your fathers, nobly shed, to purchase the liberties we now enjoy. When our frontiers were invaded, a few years since, by bands of ruthless savages, and whole families were butchered and scalped in cold blood—when children were torn from their mothers' breasts, and their brains dashed out in vindictive malice, or cruel sport—Jackson left the comforts of his peaceful retreat, and at the head of his brave volunteers, appeared like a guardian angel, and brought security to the distressed inhabitants. Days and weeks he marched the trackless desert, deprived of food and rest, and returned not till a series

of brilliant successes had dispersed, and nearly destroyed, the terocious foe. Need we remind you of the 8th of January, 1815—the most glorious day upon which an American sun has set since the close of the revolution? Need we say who was the presiding genius on that triumphant occasion, when Britain's choicest troops bowed before American valour, as grain before the sickle? Need we call to your recollection New-Orleans saved—an invading foe exterminated—the reputation of our country redeemed and exalted—and its hero covered with glory? Are these illustrious deeds forgotten? Is American gratitude extinct? No. The universal burst of heartfelt joy and thankfulness which has just welcomed the brave LA FAYETTE to our shores, and now attends his way, gives loud demonstration that we are not ungrateful. Let not the claims of JACKSON then lie unremembered. The feeling of the nation calls for him—he is emphatically the *People's Candidate*. Let New-Jersey not be backward—but let her unanimity on this occasion evince to the world, that she remembers with substantial gratitude the noble deeds of this hero of two wars, and that she will join her voice in favour of him, who, in his services, and in the high and commanding qualities of his mind, most resembles our great and beloved Washington.

Jackson's life has been principally devoted to civil pursuits. The experience of years has been employed in fitting him for the station for which he is now a candidate. He early adopted the law as his profession, in which his eminence raised him to the high stations of Attorney General and Judge of the Supreme Court. His legal and political learning made him a very distinguished member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Tennessee. Once he has been in the House of Representatives, twice in the Senate of the United States, and lately Governor of Florida. The worthy Chief Magistrate who has long presided over our country with so much credit to himself, and satisfaction to the people, has expressed his opinion of the civil talents of Jackson, by offering him a place in the cabinet, and afterwards nominating him Minister to Mexico. Hundreds of the most judicious and enlightened statesmen of our country, have borne testimony to his abilities, by advocating him for the Presidency—men who would not deceive others, and who cannot themselves be deceived. The man who has thus passed with universal approbation through such a variety of civil offices, has devoted but four or five years of his life to military pursuits, and seldom during that time has he commanded a regular army. The brave militia and volunteers of the West have generally been the partners of his toils and dangers, and when their services were no longer needed, have gladly returned, like him, to their firesides and the bosom of their families. Yet he is rashly pronounced by his opponents to be exclusively a military man, without knowledge or experience as a statesman. Let the facts speak for themselves. Believe not that his disposition is rash or arbitrary:—Instances are numerous, where, in cases of extreme perplexity and vexation, he has persevered, his mind balanced and cool. He has shown promptness and decision equal to every emergency; but amidst all his overwhelming difficulties, whether repressing mutiny in his own army, or engaged in bloody contest with the enemy, he has always been self-poised and collected. His enemies may be defied to bring an in-

stance where passion has ever deprived him of his reason, or his overbearing temper has produced one imprudent act. He has been accused of trampling on the institutions of his country, when he declared martial law at New-Orleans. But this step was deliberately taken. The necessity of the case left no alternative. The city was composed of a motley and disaffected population, and was declared by the Governor himself to be filled with spies and traitors. Every hour information was conveyed to the enemy, of the situation of the town and of the army. The Legislature itself, instead of taking energetic measures for the defence of the city, was discussing the propriety of a capitulation. Martial law must be declared, or New-Orleans must be lost. The mighty vigour of the Commander's mind did not hesitate, the decisive edict was sent forth; to use his own language, constitutional *forms* were suspended for the preservation of constitutional *rights*—the city was saved, and its victorious defender was overwhelmed with the thanks and praises of the rescued inhabitants. The most conclusive answer to this accusation, is founded in the fact, that the very people who were on the spot, and could best judge of the necessity of the measure—the very people who by those living hundreds of miles distant from the theatre of action, are represented as having been cruelly oppressed by Jackson's suspension of the civil authority, have been ever since, and are now, his warmest advocates and friends. We only ask of you, citizens of New-Jersey, as unanimous support of this great man as he is now receiving in that very city over which his kind hearted enemies pour out their piteous lamentation, as the unhappy victims of his tyrannical dictation.

With respect to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, it is only necessary, for a complete vindication of the treatment which these men received at the hands of Jackson, to refer to the able letter of Mr. Adams, as Secretary of State, addressed to our minister at the Court of Spain; which incontestably proves, that having abandoned civilized society, and united themselves with savages for purposes of cruelty and plunder, they had forfeited all claim to protection from the usages of civilized warfare, and that by the laws of nations he would have been justified in executing them even without the formality of a trial. The heart sickens, and human nature revolts, at the bare recital of the shocking murders of which they were the instigators. The British government, whose subjects they were, uttered no complaint, nor asked any satisfaction for their death. Yet these are the acts, dictated and characterized as they were by humanity and prudence, through which hundreds of lives and thousands of property were made safe; these are the acts alleged to have been founded in rashness and tyranny. No: fellow citizens, the facts are perverted for your delusion. A correct knowledge of the circumstances only, is necessary to draw forth the strongest approbation of your reason, and the warmest sanction of your feelings. Jackson is prompt and resolute, but, at the same time, prudent and collected; he is brave and warlike, but generous and humane—his hospitality and benevolence, his frankness and candour, his plainness and affability of manners, his pious and exemplary deportment—have secured to him the love and esteem of the whole circle of his neighbours and acquaintance. As a politician, he is liberal in his sentiments, and friendly to the present administration of af-

airs—a zealous supporter of the National Constitution, and a cordial advocate of Manufactures and Internal Improvements. All his life unambitious and fond of retirement, he has been repeatedly invested with offices, unsought; has always discharged them with honesty and consummate ability, and, like Cincinnatus and Washington, has repeatedly resigned them to retreat to his rural occupations.

Entertaining a high estimation of the talents and integrity of JOHN C. CALHOUN, we beg leave to recommend him to your support for the Vice Presidency of the Union. The splendour of his abilities introduced him at a very early age to the public attention. The force and charms of his eloquence, displaying the resources of a mind highly gifted by nature, and stored with variety of knowledge, soon obtained for him, among the representatives of the nation, a high reputation and extensive influence. At the formation of Mr. Monroe's administration, he was raised to a seat in the cabinet, which he has filled with transcendent ability and the strictest honesty. Order and true economy have regulated his Department, while no necessary measures have been neglected from contracted views, or for popular favour. The quickness and accuracy of his conception, the penetration and strength of his understanding, the correctness and liberality of his policy, the candour and consistency of his character, have deservedly rendered him a favourite of the people. We know not whom we could recommend to you more capable or more worthy.

We have now, fellow citizens, discharged our duty—it remains for you to fulfil yours. We have appeared as the People's advocates in favour of their own Candidates. We believe we have spoken in accordance with the sentiments of a majority of the citizens of New-Jersey. If any doubt our statement, let him inquire; the characters of such men court investigation; their only danger springs from ignorance or misapprehension. The crisis is an important one. The growth and prosperity of our country; nay, the safety of our Constitution and liberties is at stake.—The question is, whether the PEOPLE shall govern in opposition to *caucus intrigue, cabinet influence, and hereditary succession*. Arise, then, and let the voice of New-Jersey be heard—let it be said, and universally known, that JACKSON and CALHOUN are *her* Candidates.

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT, of Bergen.

AARON OGDEN DAYTON, of Salem.

JOHN NEALE, of Burlington.

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,

TOGETHER WITH THE

LETTER OF MR. SECRETARY ADAMS,

IN VINDICATION OF THE EXECUTION OF

Arbutnot and Ambrister,

AND THE OTHER

PUBLIC ACTS

OF GEN. JACKSON, IN FLORIDA.

BRIDGETON, N. J.

PRINTED BY SIMEON SIEGFRIED.

1824.

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NOTE.

THE following sketches of General JACKSON, are published, that his origin, education, public life, and character, may be more generally known. The brilliancy of his military career, has, in a great measure, eclipsed his civil life; although in this capacity he has been greatly distinguished. General Jackson may with justice be styled the Cincinnatus of America; a man who has never solicited or refused an office, and who, after discharging the duties assigned him, has uniformly retired to private life, to enjoy the sweets of tranquillity.

In the person of such a man, we hope to recognize the successor of Mr. Monroe, in the first office of this free and great nation.

16 Feb 26

MEMOIRS

OF

Gen. Andrew Jackson.

THE father of general Jackson emigrated from Ireland in 1765, and settled his family at Waxsaw, now the district of Marion, in South Carolina; his son Andrew was born the 15th March, 1767; and at the close of that year the father died, leaving his wife and children, Hugh, Robert, and Andrew, in possession of a small estate.

The subject of these memoirs, being the youngest son, was early destined by the mother for the ministry; and at Waxsaw there was an academy, under the instruction of a well educated gentleman. At this school Andrew pursued classic and the other higher branches of education, until the age of fourteen, when the approach of the English army dispersed the Waxsaw school, and Andrew, with his brother Robert, entered the army of freedom. Hugh, the oldest brother, fell a victim at the battle of Stono, fighting for the same cause. A band of tories and English dragoons attacked those who had embodied themselves at Waxsaw, and Andrew and his brother were made prisoners. Here an incident occurred that developed the future character. A British officer directed Andrew to clean his boots. The boy refused, and said—"I am a prisoner of war, and demand treatment as such." The officer made a pass at him with his sabre, which was parried by Andrew's hand, which received a deep wound. Robert also received a deep wound in the head soon after he was made a prisoner. The two brothers were put in prison, confined in separate apartments, and their wounds suffered to remain undressed. They were soon after exchanged; but Robert quickly sunk under his wound. The mother, disconsolate and overcome with suffering, in a short time took her flight to join her departed family in eternity.

Two years thereafter young Jackson resumed his literary pursuits; which he continued until the age of eighteen, when he commenced the study of law in North-Carolina; and in 1786 he entered upon the practice of his profession in the twentieth year of his age.

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In the year 1787 he emigrated to the then south west territory of the United States, and now the state of Tennessee, where, from that time up to the year 1812, he held the various offices of Attorney General—member of the Convention that formed the constitution of that state—member of Congress—Senator of the U. States—Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and afterwards the office of Major General of the Militia of the state. This continued succession of offices which he filled, show the high character which he sustained in Tennessee, although his name was hardly known in the northern and eastern parts of the United States.

In June, 1812, the United States declared war against Britain, and in that year an act authorized the raising of fifty thousand volunteers to serve one year. Within two years, and from the date of this act, commenced the great military career of Gen. Jackson. He addressed the sons of Tennessee, and in a short time twenty-five hundred joined his standard. Their services were tendered to government in Nov. 1812; and, shortly after, they were ordered to descend the Ohio and Mississippi, to guard the lower states of our country; and, in January they encamped at Natchez, three hundred miles above New-Orleans. Here, strange to relate, Gen. Jackson received an order from Gen. Armstrong, then Secretary at War, to disband his troops, and deliver his commissary department to Gen. Wilkinson. These volunteers were five hundred miles from home, and they had to countermarch through a wilderness. Gen. Jackson disobeyed the government! for to have obeyed would have been to destroy his men. He dismissed his men, and directed them to take the commissary department along with them.

The English government, at the commencement of the late war, turned their attention to the Indians of Florida, and the neighboring tribes, who were soon excited to acts of hostility against the United States. These tribes were much more numerous than was generally supposed, and in time of war were capable of becoming powerful allies to a foreign foe. Such they were to the English at the commencement of hostilities. A simultaneous attack was planned by the Creeks and other tribes on the frontier settlements of Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi; and the bloody drama was commenced by butchering the garrison of Fort Mimms, at Tensaw, in the state of Mississippi, in which men, women and children, to the number of 400, were slaughtered. Here let it be remembered, that the war against the Indians was carried on by the states of Georgia and Tennessee, for self-defence, with but little aid from the general government. The troops employed were mi-

litia and volunteers ; and the scene of action embraced a country nearly as large as the whole of New-England. The commissary department of Jackson's army was miserably supplied, from the defect of arrangement on the part of government. The time of service of the volunteers had nearly expired. The Indians were embodied in different places, for the purpose of falling on the frontier inhabitants at every point. The army of Jackson was too small to be divided, and it had often to contend against superior strength. Thus situated, the army of the General, by forced marches and counter-marches fought the battles of Littafutches, Tallushatches, Talladega, Eccanacha, Emucklaw, Enotachopo, and Tohopeka.

This last battle decided the fate of the war ; and General Jackson, emaciated by long and continued fatigue, and unabated exertion, with his army at one time reduced to less than a battallion by the expiration of the period of service of the volunteers, thought of retiring to his own villa on the banks of the Cumberland, to regain his wonted health and vigor, when he received a commission, in June 1814, of Brigadier General in the army of the United States, and one of the Commissioners to conclude a treaty with the Creek Indians.

We now meet Gen. Jackson in a new capacity ; he had hitherto been the commander of the militia of his own State, and the volunteers who joined him. The achievements which he accomplished gained the confidence of the general government, and he was raised to the office of Brigadier General of the United States.

New duties then devolved upon Andrew Jackson, in the execution of which, he has elevated his name to the summit of fame, and his exploits will be enrolled in the pages of immortality.

At this period, the commander of Pensacola, Gov. Maunrequez, who had aided the English and Indians, in carrying on the war with the United States, was addressed by Gen. Jackson on the subject ; Monrequez attempted to evade the subject by the usual course of diplomacy and intrigue. The republican, the political, and the military character of Gen. Jackson, is fully exhibited in his last letter to Maunrequez, as follows :

“Were I clothed, says the general, with diplomatic powers, for the purpose of discussing the topics embraced in the wide range of injuries of which you complain, and which have long since been adjusted, I could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties ; steadfast in their friendships ; nor have ever claimed any thing

that was not warranted by justice. They have endured many insults from the governors and other officers of Spain, which, if sanctioned by their sovereign, amounted to acts of war, without any previous declaration on the subject. They have excited the savages to war, and afforded them the means of waging it. The property of our citizens has been captured at sea, and if compensation has not been refused, it has at least been withheld. But as no such powers have been delegated to me, I shall not assume them, but leave them to the representatives of our respective governments.

“I have the honor of being entrusted with the command of this district. Charged with its protection, and the safety of its citizens, I feel my ability to discharge the task, and trust your excellency will always find me ready and willing to go forward in the performance of that duty, whenever circumstances shall render it necessary. I agree with you, perfectly, that candour and polite language should, at all times, characterize the communications between the officers of friendly sovereignties; and I assert, without the fear of contradiction, that my former letters were couched in terms the most respectful and unexceptionable. I only *requested*, and did not *demand*, as you asserted, the ringleaders of the Creek confederacy, who had taken refuge in your town, and who had violated all laws, moral, civil, and divine. This I had a right to do, from the treaty which I sent you, and which I now again enclose, with a request that you will change your translation: believing, as I do, that your former one was wrong, and has deceived you.

“What kind of an answer you returned, a reference to your letter will explain. The whole of it breathed nothing but hostility, grounded upon assumed facts, and false charges, and entirely evading the inquiries that had been made.

“I can but express my astonishment at your protest against the cession on the Alabama lying within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States, and which has been ratified, in due form, by the principal chiefs and warriors of the nation. But my astonishment subsides, when, on comparing it, I find it upon a par with the rest of your letter and conduct; taken together, they afford a sufficient justification for any consequences that may ensue. My government will protect every inch of her territory, her citizens, and her property, from insult and depredation, regardless of the political revolutions of Europe: and although she has been at all times sedulous to preserve a good understanding with all the world, yet she has sacred rights, that cannot be trampled upon with impunity. Spain had better look to her own intestine commotions,

before she walks forth in that majesty of strength and power, which you threaten to draw down upon the United States. Your excellency has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done whilst you are pretending to be neutral.

“You cannot be surprised, then, but on the contrary will provide a fort in your town, for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it in my head to pay you a visit.

“In future, I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon.”

At this time, in the year 1814, Gen. Jackson was raised to the rank of Major General in the army of the United States, and commander of the 7th Military District. This district included the most Southern part of the United States. At this time the English rendezvoused at Pensacola, and were aided by the Spanish Governor—Jackson knew it; and the limits of this memoir will permit us only to say, that Jackson went to Pensacola, and drove the British away. This act protected Mobile and the surrounding country.

The defence of New-Orleans now attracted the attention of the nation. The English victories of Waterloo, turned their attention to the war in America; two large armies were formed to make a descent upon the country; the one at the north, and the other upon New-Orleans.

“At no period since the declaration of American Independence, in July, 1776, to December, 1814, had an American commander a duty of more importance and difficulty to discharge, than had General Jackson at this portentous period. At Mobile, with means apparently wholly insufficient, (to use his own language,) he had “a sickly climate, as well as an enemy to contend with.” At New-Orleans, he had to contend with the consternation of the citizens, the insolence of judicial power, and the timorous policy of the legislature of Louisiana; as well as against the most powerful land and naval force, that had, for forty years, menaced any one place in the Republic. He had also to contend with the prejudices, the favoritism, and the perfidiousness of foreigners, a vast number of whom had migrated to Louisiana before its cession to the Republic, by Mr. Monroe’s treaty.”

Gov. Claiborne, who then presided over the state of Louisiana, in addressing himself to Gen. Jackson, thus expresses himself:

“There is in this city a much greater spirit of disaffection, than I had anticipated; and among the faithful Louisianians, there is a despondency which palsies all my preparations; they see no strong regular force, around which they could rally with confidence, and they seem to think themselves not within the reach of seasonable assistance, from the western states. I am assured, Sir, you will make the most judicious dispositions of the forces under your command; but excuse me for suggesting, that the presence of the seventh regiment, at or near New-Orleans, will have the most salutary effect. The garrison here at present, is alarmingly weak, and is a cause of much regret: from the great mixture of persons, and characters, in this city, we have as much to apprehend from within as from without. In arresting the intercourse between New-Orleans and Pensacola you have done right. Pensacola, is in fact, an enemy’s post, and had our commercial intercourse with it continued, the supplies furnished to the enemy, would have so much exhausted our own stock of provisions, as to have occasioned the most serious inconvenience to ourselves.

“I was on the point of taking on myself the prohibition of the trade with Pensacola; I had prepared a proclamation to that effect, and would have issued it the very day I heard of your interposition. Enemies to the country, may blame you for your prompt and energetic measures; but, in the person of every patriot you will find a supporter. I am very confident of the very lax police of this city, and indeed, throughout the state, with respect to the visits of strangers. I think with you, that our country is filled with spies and traitors. I have written pressingly on the subject, to the city authorities and parish judges—I hope some efficient regulations will speedily be adopted by the first, and more vigilance exerted for the future, by the latter.”

In the third letter, the governor observes—“The only difficulty I have hitherto experienced, in meeting the requisition, has been in this city, and exclusively from some European Frenchmen, who, after giving their adhesion to Louis XVIII. have, through the medium of the French consul, claimed exemption from the drafts, as French subjects. The question of exemption, however, is now under discussion, before a special court of inquiry, and I am not without hopes, that these ungrateful men, may yet be brought to a discharge of their duties.

You have been informed of the contents of an intercepted letter, written by Col. Coliel, a Spanish officer, to Capt. Morales, of Pensacola. This letter was submitted for the opin-

on of the attorney general of the state, as to the measures to be pursued against the writer. The attorney general was of opinion, that the courts could take no cognizance of the same; but that the governor might order the writer to leave the state, and in case of refusal, to send him off by force. I accordingly, sir, ordered Col. Coliel to take his departure, in forty-eight hours, for Pensacola, and gave him the necessary passports. I hope this measure may meet your approbation. It is a just retaliation for the conduct lately observed by the governor of Pensacola, and may induce the Spaniards residing among us, to be less communicative upon those subjects which relate to our military movements."

In another letter, this patriotic chief-magistrate says to Gen. Jackson, "If Louisiana is invaded, I shall put myself at the head of such of my militia as will follow me to the field, and on receiving, shall obey your orders." It will be remembered, that the venerable Gov. Shelby, of Kentucky, served under Maj. Gen. Harrison, when he obtained his signal victory over Gen. Proctor. In addition to this explicit evidence, furnished by Gov. Claiborne, Charles K. Blanchard, Esq. writes to Gen. Jackson, thus—"Quarter-Master Peddie, of the British army, observed [to me,] that the commanding officers of the British forces, were daily in the receipt of every information from the city of New-Orleans, which they might require in aid of their operations, for the completion of the objects of the expedition;—that they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces, the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength, position, &c. He furthermore stated, that the above information was received from persons in the city of New-Orleans, from whom he could, *at any hour*, procure *every* information necessary to promote his majesty's interest!"

"We have been thus particular in describing the situation in which Gen. Jackson found the citizens of Louisiana, its legislature; and its capital, upon his arrival there, early in December, 1814, because it induced, and indeed, compelled him to resort to a measure which had never before been resorted to in the Republic, since the adoption of the Constitution:—THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW. This took place on the 16th of the month, twenty-three days before the splendid victory, which secured the city of New-Orleans and the states bordering upon the Mississippi, from the rapacity of an enemy, whose principles of warfare had been demonstrated, upon the western frontier, at Havre-de-Grace, at Hampton, and at Washington!"

The splendid events of the defence of New-Orleans, by General Jackson, are too fresh in the recollection of the present age, to require a minute recapitulation. The glory of the 8th of January will forever be remembered; and the tender feelings of Jackson, as evinced in his letters to the then Secretary at War, Mr. Monroe, show that he is something more than a military hero. He expresses himself, in effect, as follows:—“It is my business to defend—I have freemen for my soldiers, and their lives are too valuable to be thrown away for the mere acquisition of military fame.” That Gen. Jackson acted upon these principles is obvious, when we call to mind the fact, that in the various actions that took place before New-Orleans, from the 20th of December, 1814, up to the 8th of January, 1815, the English lost more than four thousand men, whilst the American loss did not exceed four hundred.

General Jackson's Address, after the final retreat of the English, speaks volumes, and is as follows:

ADDRESS,

Directed by Maj. Gen. Jackson, to be read at the head of each of the corps composing the line below New-Orleans, January 21, 1815.

Citizens, and fellow soldiers! The enemy has retreated, and your general has now leisure to proclaim to the world what he has noticed with admiration and pride—your undaunted courage, your patriotism, and patience, under hardships and fatigues. Natives of different states, acting together for the first time in this camp; differing in habits and in language, instead of viewing in these circumstances, the germ of distrust and division, you have made them the source of an honourable emulation, and from the seeds of discord itself, have reaped the fruits of an honourable union. This day completes the fourth week, since fifteen hundred of you attacked treble your number of men, who had boasted of their discipline and their services under a celebrated leader, in a long and eventful war—attacked them in their camp, the moment they had profaned the soil of freedom with their hostile tread, and inflicted a blow which was a prelude to the final result of their attempt to conquer, or their poor contrivances to divide us. A few hours was sufficient to unite the gallant band, though at the moment they received the welcome order to march, they were separated many leagues, in different directions from the city. The gay rapidity of the march, and the cheerful countenances of the officers and men, would have induced a belief that some festive entertainment, not the strife of battle, was the scene to which they hastened with so much eagerness and hilarity. In the conflict that ensued, the same

spirit was supported, and my communications, to the executive of the U. States, have testified the sense I entertained of the merits of the corps and officers that were engaged. Resting on the field of battle, they retired in perfect order on the next morning to these lines, destined to become the scene of future victories which they were to share with the rest of you, my brave companions in arms. Scarcely were your lines a protection against musket shot, when on the 28th, a disposition was made to attack them, with all the pomp and parade of military tactics, as improved by those veterans of the Spanish war.

Their batteries of heavy cannon kept up an incessant fire; their rockets illuminated the air; and under their cover, two strong columns threatened our flanks. The foe insolently thought that this spectacle was too imposing to be resisted, and in the intoxication of his pride, he already saw our lines abandoned without a contest—how were these menacing appearances met? By shouts of defiance, by a manly countenance, not to be shaken by the roar of his cannon, or by the glare of his firework rockets; by an artillery served with superior skill, and with deadly effect. Never, my brave friends, can your general forget the testimonials of attachment to our glorious cause, of indignant hatred to our foe, of affectionate confidence in your chief, that resounded from every rank, as he passed along your line. This animating scene damped the courage of the enemy; he dropped his scaling ladders and fascines, and the threatened attack dwindled into a *demonstration*, which served only to shew the emptiness of his parade, and to inspire you with a just confidence in yourselves.

The new year was ushered in with the most tremendous fire his whole artillery could produce: a few hours only, however, were necessary for the brave and skilful men, who directed our own; to dismount his cannon, destroy his batteries, and effectually silence his fire. Hitherto, my brave friends, in the contest on our lines, your courage had been passive only; you stood with calmness, a fire that would have tried the firmness of a veteran, and you anticipated a nearer contest, with an eagerness which was soon to be gratified.

On the 8th of January the final effort was made. At the dawn of day the batteries opened, and the columns advanced. Knowing that the volunteers from Tennessee, and the militia from Kentucky, were stationed on your left, it was there that they directed their chief attack.

Reasoning always from false principles, they expected little opposition from men, whose officers even were not in uniform, who were ignorant of the rules of dress, and who had never

been *caned into discipline*. Fatal mistake! a fire incessantly kept up, directed with a calmness and unerring aim, strewed the field with the bravest officers and men, of the column which slowly advanced, according to the most approved rules of European tactics, and was cut down by the untutored courage of American militia. Unable to sustain this galling and unceasing fire, some hundreds nearest the entrenchments called for quarter, which was granted—the rest retreating, were rallied at some distance, but only to make them a surer mark for the grape and cannister shot of our artillery, which, without exaggeration, mowed down whole ranks at every discharge; and at length they precipitately retired from the field.

Our right had only a short contest to sustain with a few rash men, who fatally for themselves, forced their entrance into the unfinished redoubt on the river. They were quickly dispossessed, and this glorious day terminated with the loss to the enemy, of their commander-in-chief and one major-general killed, another major-general wounded, the most experienced and bravest of their officers, and more than three thousand men killed, wounded and missing; while our ranks, my friends, were thinned only by the loss of seven of our brave companions killed and six disabled by wounds.—Wonderful interposition of heaven! unexampled even in the history of war!

Let us be grateful to the God of battles, who has directed the arrows of indignation against our invaders, while he covered with his protecting shield the brave defenders of their country.

After this unsuccessful and disastrous attempt, their spirits were broken, their force was destroyed, and their whole attention was employed in providing the means of escape.—This they have effected; leaving their heavy artillery in our power, and many of their wounded to our clemency. The consequences of this short but decisive campaign, are incalculably important. The pride of our arrogant enemy humbled, his forces broken, his leaders killed, his insolent hopes of our disunion frustrated—his expectation of rioting in our spoils and wasting our country, changed into ignominious defeat, shameful flight, and a reluctant acknowledgement of the humanity and kindness of those, whom he had doomed to all the horrors and humiliation of a conquered state.

“On the other side, unanimity established, disaffection crushed, confidence restored, your country saved from conquest. Your property from pillage, your wives and daughters from insult and violation—the union preserved from dismember-

ment, and perhaps, a period put by this decisive stroke, to a bloody and savage war. These, my brave friends, are the consequences of the efforts you have made, and the success with which they have been crowned by heaven.

“These important results have been effected by the united courage and perseverance of the army; but which the different corps, as well as the individuals that compose it, have vied with each other in their exertions to produce. The gratitude, the admiration of their country, offers a fairer reward, than that which any praises of the general can bestow, and the best is that of which they can never be deprived, the consciousness of having done their duty, and of meriting the applause they will receive.”

Gen. Jackson was not unmindful of his duty as a religious man, for, on the 23d of January, he ordered a general thanksgiving to the God of Heaven, for the success of the army of freedom. On this occasion, the Rev. Dr. Dubourgh, the apostolic administrator of Louisiana, addressed him as follows:

“GENERAL—

“While the state of Louisiana, in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer, and the asserter of her menaced liberties—while grateful America, so lately wrapped up in anxious suspense, on the fate of this important city, is re-echoing from shore to shore, your splendid achievements, and preparing to inscribe your name on her immortal rolls, among those of her Washingtons—while history, poetry, and the monumental arts, will vie in consigning to the admiration of the latest posterity, a triumph perhaps unparalleled in their records—while thus raised by universal acclamation to the very pinnacle of fame, how easy had it been for you, General, to forget the PRIME MOVER of your wonderful successes, and to assume to yourself a praise, which must essentially return to that exalted source whence every merit is derived. But, better acquainted with the nature of true glory, and justly placing the summit of your ambition in approving yourself the worthy instrument of heaven’s merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was, to acknowledge the interposition of Providence—your first step a solemn display of your humble sense of His favors. Still agitated at the remembrance of those dreadful agonies, from which we have been so miraculously rescued, it is our pride to acknowledge, that the Almighty has truly had the principal hand in our deliverance, and to follow you, General, in attributing to His infinite goodness, the homage of our unfeigned gratitude. Let the infatuated votary of a blind chance, deride our credulous simplici-

ty; let the cold-hearted atheist look for the explanation of important events to the mere concatenation of human causes; to us the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the hearts of men in his hands, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences.

To Him, therefore, our most fervent thanks are due, for our late unexpected rescue. It is Him we intend to praise, when considering you, General, as the man of his right hand, whom he has taken pains to fit out for the important commission of our defence. We extol that fecundity of genius, by which, under the most discouraging distress, you created unforeseen resources, raised, as it were from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors, and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defence. To Him we trace that instinctive superiority of your mind, which at once rallied around you universal confidence; impressed one irresistible movement to all the jarring elements of which this political machine is composed: aroused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank the noble ardor which glowed in your bosom. To Him, in fine we address our acknowledgments for that consummate prudence, which defeated all the combinations of a sagacious enemy, entangled him in the very snares which he had spread for us, and succeeded in effecting his utter destruction, without exposing the lives of our citizens. Immortal thanks be to his Supreme Majesty, for sending us such an instrument of His bountiful designs! A gift of that value is the best token of the continuance of his protection—the most solid encouragement to sue for new favors. The first which it emboldens us humbly to supplicate, as nearest our throbbing hearts, is that you may long enjoy the honor of your grateful country; of which you will permit us to present you a pledge in this *WREATH OF LAUREL*, the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality. The next is a speedy and honorable termination of the bloody contest, in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously labored as you, General, for the acceleration of that blissful period; may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories.”

To this the General replied—

“*Reverend Sir*—I receive, with gratitude and pleasure, the symbol crown which piety has prepared. I receive it in the name of the brave men who so effectually seconded my exertions—they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country, is the greatest blessing that heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few

tears should cloud the smiles of our triumph, and not a cypress leaf be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite pleasure. I thank you, Reverend Sir, most sincerely, for the prayers which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates for our beloved country, be first heard: and may mine, for your individual prosperity, as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favorably received—the prosperity, wealth and happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants.

Thus gloriously ended the campaign; and on the 13th of February the news of peace reached New-Orleans.* And in

* As a misunderstanding exists with respect to the conduct of Gen. Jackson, on the receipt of the news of peace at New-Orleans, it is proper to state, that immediately on the receipt of the news, by the Government at Washington, of the Convention entered into at Ghent, a messenger was despatched, by the Secretary of State or War, to carry the intelligence to Gen. Jackson at New-Orleans. The messenger, however, by accident mislaid the despatch, and took an old letter to Gen. Jackson, written some months before, and containing a requisition for militia. After an expeditious and toilsome journey of 80 or 90 miles a day, the messenger arrived at head-quarters with this antiquated order. The consternation of all parties may be imagined, when, instead of the news of peace, so much desired and so anxiously expected, the messenger brought nothing that could be credited by the commander-in-chief. The inhabitants, however, became impatient, and the disaffected clamoured, that Jackson would not instantly withdraw all restrictive measures and proclaim peace. The General, however, explained the transaction in a note to the editor of the public paper; but the citizens could not perceive, that because he had received no official despatch, the news was to be distrusted. Jackson remained firm and immovable. He stated that the messenger, Mr. Bell, might have come from the city of Washington, or he might have come from the British fleet. That he knew his duty, and *would* perform it. About this time Mr. Edward Livingston was sent on board the British fleet, to effect an exchange of prisoners. On his return he brought a *verbal* confirmation of the intelligence brought by the messenger, Mr. Bell. Now, therefore, Jackson could have no reason to continue the restrictions. The news was confirmed. He could no longer, the people said, continue those measure under pretence of a want of authentic information. But Jackson was still incorrigible. He would not rely upon the assurance of the captain of a British ship of war neither, and continued the war measures until the government actually sent such a despatch as justified him in restoring the soldiers to their homes, and the city of New-Orleans to its civil government. And now, let me ask, what could he have done under the circumstances, other than ~~he~~ did? Let every real friend to his country do credit to the skill and conduct of this consummate and patriotic commander.

closing the events of the war, Gen. Jackson, in ordering his troops to return home, says—

“The major-general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task, of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of the Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part, in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on, the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required of Maj. Gens. Carroll and Thomas, and Brig. Gen. Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops out of the Mississippi Territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

“The major-general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the President of the United States, to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed in flattering terms, through the honorable the Secretary of War. In parting with these brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labors and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought.—In what terms can he bestow suitable praise on merit so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude and exultation exclaim—these are the saviours of their country—these the patriot soldiers who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors of Europe!

“With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valor did you display in the day of battle! you have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish. Possessing those dispositions, which equally adorn the citizen, and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes, which render life so dear—full of honor, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When participating, in the bosoms of your families, the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight? Who, that never experienced your sufferings will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watch-

fulness, and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country, which you have so eminently contributed to save. Continue, fellow soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment which have so ennobled your character.

“While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings, towards those brave companions, who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardor and patriotism, have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions; and the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title or the splendor of wealth, can bestow.

“What happiness it is to the commanding general that while danger was before him, he was on no occasion, compelled to use towards his companions in arms, either severity or rebuke. If after the enemy had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow-soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist, blended, alas! with regret that disease and war should have ravished from us, so many worthy companions. But the memory of the *cause* in which they perished, and of the *virtues* which animated them while living, must occupy the place where *sorrow would claim to dwell*.

“Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general’s thanks is feeble, but the gratitude of a country of free-men is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.”

We have now to review the character of Gen. Jackson, from the conclusion of peace to the present time.

As we approach the present day of that living great man, General Jackson, we shall be more brief, although his biography since the peace is fraught with noble incidents.

We have before stated, that Gen. Jackson resorted to martial law, in order to master the defence of New-Orleans. It is useless to write about tories and traitors at the present day: and it suffices us to say, that whoever looks over the history of the late war, will be convinced that there were more persons unfriendly to what they believed to be the real interests of freedom, at that time, in Louisiana, in proportion to its population, than in any other section of our country. It is

enough to state, that a majority of the Senate and House of Representatives of that time, did oppose every necessary requisition that was made for the defence of New-Orleans, and that mortified and splenetic feelings induced the jaundiced mind of Judge Hall to summon Gen. Jackson before him, for arresting a Bourbon Frenchman, by the name of Louaillier, who happened to be a member of the State Legislature, and who had written in favour of the enemy. General Jackson's defence, after the peace, when summoned to appear before the Judge, is enough.

"A disciplined and powerful army was on our coast, commanded by officers of tried valour, and consummate skill: their fleet had already destroyed the feeble defence, on which, alone, we could rely, to prevent their landing on our shores.

"Their point of attack was uncertain—a hundred inlets were to be guarded, by a force not sufficient in number for one; we had no lines of defence; treason lurked amongst us, and only waited the moment of expected defeat, to show itself openly.

"Our men were few, and of those few, not all were armed; our utter ruin, if we failed, at hand, and inevitable: every thing depended on the prompt and energetic use of the means we possessed, in calling the whole force of the community into action; it was a contest for the very existence of the state, and every nerve was to be strained in its defence. The physical force of every individual, his moral faculties, his property, and the energy of his example, were to be called into action, and *instant* action. No delay—no hesitation—no inquiry about rights, or all was lost; and every thing dear to man, his property, life, the honour of his family, his country, its constitution and laws, were swept away by the avowed principles, the open practice of the enemy, with whom we had to contend. Fortifications were to be erected, supplies procured, arms sought for, requisitions made, the emissaries of the enemy watched, lurking treason overawed, insubordination punished, and the contagion of cowardly example to be stopped.

"In this crisis, and under a firm persuasion that none of those objects could be effected by the exercise of the *ordinary* powers confided to him—under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care, could be saved by that measure only, from utter ruin—under a religious belief, that he was performing the most important and sacred duty, the respondent PROCLAIMED MARTIAL LAW. He intended, by that measure, to supersede such civil powers, as in their operation interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought, in

such a moment, constitutional forms must be suspended, for the permanent preservation of constitutional rights, and that there could be no question whether it were best to depart, for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them wrested from us forever.—He knew, that if the civil magistrate were permitted to exercise his usual functions, none of the measures necessary to avert the awful fate that threatened us, could be expected. Personal liberty cannot exist, at a time when every man is required to become a soldier. Private property cannot be secured, when its use is indispensable to the public safety.

“Unlimited liberty of speech is incompatible with the discipline of a camp: and that of the press, more dangerous still, when made the vehicle of conveying intelligence to the enemy, or exciting mutiny among the troops. To have suffered the uncontrolled enjoyment of any of those rights, during the time of the late invasion, would have been to abandon the defence of the country. The civil magistrate is the guardian of those rights; but no further.”

After Gen. Jackson had retired from New-Orleans to Tennessee, he received an order to repair to the seat of Government, to assist in arranging the peace establishment of the army. The events which have taken place in the life of Gen. Jackson, since that time, are too familiar in the minds of every American, to be repeated here; and we shall close this memoir in the words of that patriarch of liberty, Thomas Jefferson, who joined in a public dinner given at Lynchburg, in Virginia, to general Jackson, as he passed through that place on his way to Washington. The sentiment was:—“HONOR and gratitude to the MAN who has FILLED the measure of his COUNTRY’S HONOR!”

Note from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Minister.

“Sir.—In the department confided to me, disagreeable accounts continue to be received concerning the nature and circumstances of the late events in Florida, and the hostile proceedings of the American General Jackson, and the troops under his command, in the territory of those provinces which belong to his Majesty. Besides the facts to which I invited the attention of your excellency in my notes of the 26th July, and of the 6th and 11th of this month, I have now before me the

copy of a capitulation, which, it appears, followed the hostilities committed by that General against the fortress of Pensacola, and in consequence of which the Spanish garrison has been conveyed to the Havana. In my preceding notes, I had the honor to inform your excellency, that notwithstanding the particular character of violence which seemed to mark the actions and operations of general Jackson, since his first entrance into Florida—His Majesty, although willing to consider these proceedings as the arbitrary acts of the said General, was convinced that the government of the United States would no longer delay to disapprove them as soon as they come to its knowledge, and that proper orders would immediately be given, not only for the evacuation of the territory invaded, but also for the reparation of the damage occasioned, and for the restoration of the property taken, which belonged as well to his Majesty, and Spanish subjects, as also to strangers who lived there under the protection of his Majesty's government.

“It could not be presumed, without offence to the integrity of the American government, that there would be any delay in giving satisfaction to a friendly power, and to all civilized nations this testimony of respect for those principles on which the maintenance of social order depends. It was with profound affliction that his Majesty learnt from the subsequent report of his Minister at Washington, that as the first excesses of General Jackson had not been disapproved, he had not hesitated to continue his acts of violence, and desolated with fire and sword every thing upon the Spanish territory, when he met with a resistance which a sense of honor prescribed to some small garrisons which were attacked in the midst of peace by a numerous body of troops. In general the territory of his Majesty was attacked in the most revolting manner, the fortresses and depots of arms have been taken by force, the garrisons made prisoners, and then sent out of the provinces where his majesty had ordered them to serve. Nay, subjects of powers in friendship with his Majesty have been executed upon Spanish ground, and this act of barbarity cloaked with judicial forms, which, in that situation, and in these circumstances, can only be considered a refinement of cruelty. It cannot be doubted but these excesses are known to the government of Washington; and it does not appear that orders have been given to put an end to them, or give to the Spanish government the only satisfaction they admit of. In this situation his Majesty considers it to be due to his own dignity, and that of the people whom he governs, to order me, at the same time that I most solemnly protest against all that has been done by General Jackson, from the day that he set his foot on the ter-

ritory of Florida, to add further that your excellency will be pleased to inform your government that the King is of opinion, that from the nature of the said injuries, and really hostile proceedings, the course of the negotiations pending between the two powers is, and must remain, interrupted and broken off, till the government of the United States has marked the conduct of General Jackson in a manner suitable to its honor, and which, it seems, can be no other than to disapprove of the excesses committed; to give orders to have things placed on the same footing as they were in before the invasion; and to inflict an appropriate punishment on the author of so many disorders.

“ It is extremely disagreeable to his Majesty to be compelled to this declaration, which is a more necessary consequence of the nature of the affair, than an act of his royal will, whose wishes and endeavors have always been directed to making an equitable arrangement of the matters in debate between the two governments; but the whole impartial world will equally recognize in the present state of things the impropriety that must ensue, if negotiations, which suppose a state of *perfect political friendship*, were to be continued at a time when such great insults have been offered without provocation. The occupation of the larger and better part of Florida in 1810, by the United States, who deprived his Majesty, during his captivity, of a country in which he was in peaceable possession, under pretences, which, if they had been even well founded, ought never to have been enforced by violence; and the late improper attack on Amelia Island, were facts of the same nature and tendency, equally unjust in their principle, and equally protested against on the part of Spain; but as they were less offensive in their kind, and under these circumstances his Majesty believed at the same time he gave proofs of his moderation, that he might wait for satisfaction on these points till the definitive arrangement of the points in dispute, which it was expected would soon take place. The same is not the case in the present instance. The Americans have no claim, either founded or unfounded, to the territory which General Jackson has attacked—no real or pretended revolution of the inhabitants could serve as a pretext—no previous attack by robbers, which was alleged as a reason for the unjust seizure of Amelia-Island; the Spanish flag was flying on the fortresses of San Marcos and Pensacola, when they were attacked; and, to complete the measure of insults, that has been taken by violence, which his Majesty had offered in the pending negotiations to cede to the United States in an honorable manner, so that it seems to have been preferred to seize it by vio-

lence, rather than to acquire it from the generous friendship of the King. These extraordinary circumstances has induced his Majesty to take the resolution, that it is incompatible with his exalted character to continue negociations, till an affair has been settled and terminated in a suitable manner, which takes the precedence of all other points in dispute between the two Governments, and which, from its importance, is calculated essentially to change, in their whole extent, the political relations between the two countries.

“At the same time, to give a proof of the peaceable and moderate sentiments which characterized the conduct of the Spanish government, I must acquaint your excellency, that his Majesty, in charging me to communicate to his minister at Washington the declared rupture of the negociations, has likewise commanded me to inform him, that if the government of the United States had given or should give the only satisfaction which the circumstance admits of, and which his Majesty may expect from the justice and probity of that government, he may in this case continue the negociations begun, without applying to his Majesty for new orders to authorize him to continue them.

“In making to your Excellency this communication, I cannot omit to state to you how painful it has been to me, that this unexpected obstacle should occur just at the time when I flattered myself with the hope of seeing the political relations, and the most perfect harmony between the two governments re-established upon solid and durable foundations. I renew to your excellency the assurance of my distinguished respect, and pray God to preserve your excellency many years.

“Your excellency’s most devoted servant,

“JOSEPH PIZARRO.

“Madrid, Aug. 29, 1818.”

Reply of Mr. Secretary Adams.

Department of State,
Washington, 28th Nov. 1818.

Sir.—Your despatches, to No. 92, inclusive, with their enclosures, have been received at this department. Among these enclosures, are the several notes addressed to you by Mr. Pizarro, in relation to the transactions during the campaign of general Jackson, against the Seminole Indians, and the banditti of Negroes combined with them, and particularly to his proceedings in Florida, without the boundaries of the United States.

In the fourth and last of these notes of Mr. Pizarro, he has given formal notice that the king his master, has issued orders for the suspension of the negotiation between the United States and Spain, until satisfaction shall have been made by the American government to him for these proceedings of Gen. Jackson, which he considers as acts of unequivocal hostility against him, and as outrages upon his honor and dignity; the only acceptable atonement for which, is stated to consist in a disavowal of the acts of the American general, thus complained of—the infliction upon him of a suitable punishment for his supposed misconduct, and the restitution of the posts and territories taken by him from the Spanish authorities, with indemnity for all the property taken, and all damages and injuries, public or private, sustained in consequence of it.

Within a very few days after this notification, Mr Pizarro must have received, with copies of the correspondence between Mr. Onis and this department, the determination which had been taken by the President, to restore the place of Pensacola, with the fort of Barancas, to any person properly authorized on the part of Spain, to receive them, and the fort of St. Marks to any Spanish force adequate to its protection against the Indians, by whom its forcible occupation had been threatened, for purposes of hostility against the United States. The officer commanding at the post, has been directed to consider 250 men as that adequate force; and in case of their appearance, with proper authority, to deliver it up to their commander accordingly.

From the last mentioned correspondence, the Spanish government must likewise have been satisfied that the occupation of these places in Spanish Florida, by the commander of the American forces, was not by virtue of any order received by him from this government to that effect, nor with any view of wresting the province from the possession of Spain, nor in any spirit of hostility to the Spanish government; that it arose from incidents which arose in the prosecution of the war against the Indians—from the imminent danger in which the fort of St. Marks was of being seized by the Indians themselves, and from the manifestations of hostility to the United States, by the commandant of St. Marks and the governor of Pensacola, the proofs of which were made known to general Jackson, and impelled him, from the necessities of self-defence, to the step of which the Spanish government complains.

It might be sufficient to leave the vindication of these measures upon those grounds, and to furnish, in the enclosed copies of gen. Jackson's letters, and the vouchers by which they are supported, the evidence of that hostile spirit on the part

of the Spanish commanders, but for the terms in which Mr. Pizarro speaks of the execution of two subjects of Great Britain, taken, one at the fort of St. Marks, and the other at Swaney, and in the intimation that these transactions may lead to a change in the relations between the two nations, which is doubtless to be understood as a menace of war.

It may be, therefore, proper to remind the government of his Catholic Majesty of the incidents in which the Seminole war originated, as well as of the circumstances connected with it, in the relations between Spain and her ally, whom she supposes to have been injured by the proceedings of general Jackson, and to give to the Spanish cabinet some precise information of the nature of the business, peculiarly interesting to Spain, in which these subjects of her allies, in whose favour she takes this interest, were engaged, when their projects of every kind were terminated, in consequence of their falling into the hands of general Jackson.

In the month of August, 1814, while a war existed between the United States and Great Britain, to which Spain had formerly declared herself neutral, a British force, not in the fresh pursuit of a defeated and flying enemy—not overstepping an imaginary and equivocal boundary between their own territory, and those belonging, in some sort, as much to their enemy as to Spain, but approaching by sea, and by a broad and open *invasion* of the Spanish province, a thousand miles, or an ocean's distance from any British territory, landed in Florida, took possession of Pensacola and the fort of Barancas, and invited, by public proclamations, all the runaway negroes—all the savage Indians—all the pirates, and all the traitors to their country, whom they knew or imagined to exist within the reach of their summons, to join their standard, and wage an exterminating war against that portion of the United States immediately bordering upon this neutral, and thus violated territory of Spain. The late commander of this British force, was a certain Col. Nichols, who, driven from Pensacola by the approach of Gen. Jackson, actually left, to be blown up, the Spanish fort of Barancas, when he found it could not afford him any protection, and, at another, established himself on the Apalachicola river, and there erected a fort, from which to sally forth with his motly tribe of black, white and red combatants, against the defenceless borders of the United States, in that vicinity. A part of this force consisted of a corps of colonial marines, levied in the British colonies, in which George Woodbine was a captain, and Robert Christie Ambrister was a lieutenant.

As between the United States and Great Britain, we would be willing to bury this transaction in the same grave of oblivion with other transactions of that war, had the hostilities of col. Nichols terminated with the war. But he did not consider the peace which ensued between the United States and Great Britain, as having put an end either to his military occupations or his negotiations with the Indians, against the United States. Several months after the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, he retained his post and his party colored forces, in military array.

By the 9th article of that treaty, the United States had stipulated to put an end immediately after its ratification, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they might be at war at the time of the ratification, and to restore to them all the possessions which they had in the year 1811. This article had application to the Creek nation with whom the United States had already made peace by a treaty concluded on the 9th day of August, 1814, more than four months before the treaty of Ghent was signed. Yet, col. Nicholls not only affected to consider it as applying to the Seminoles of Florida, and the outlawed Redsticks whom he had induced to join him there, but actually persuaded them that *they* were entitled, by virtue of the treaty of Ghent, to all the lands which had belonged to the Creek nation, within the United States, in the year 1811, and that the government of Great Britain would support them in that pretension. He asserted also this doctrine in a correspondence with Col. Hawkins, then the agent of the United States with the Creeks, and gave him notice, in their name, with a mockery of solemnity, that they had concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and a treaty of navigation and commerce with Great Britain of which more was to be heard after it should be ratified in England. Col. Nicholls then evacuated his fort, which, in some of the enclosed papers, is called the fort at Prospect Bluff, but which he had denominated the British post on the Apalachicola; took with him the white portion of his force, and embarked for England, with several of the wretched savages whom he was thus deluding to their fate—among whom was the Prophet Francis, or Hillis Hadjo—and left the fort, amply supplied with military stores and ammunition, to the negro department of his allies. It afterwards was known by the name of the Negro fort. Col. Hawkins immediately communicated to this government, the correspondence between him and Nicholls, here referred to, upon which Mr. Monroe, then secretary of state, addressed a letter to Mr. Baker, the British charge d'affairs, at Washington, complaining of Nich-

olls' conduct, and shewing his pretence that the 9th article of the treaty of Ghent, could have any application to his Indians, was utterly destitute of foundation. Copies of the same correspondence were transmitted to the minister of the U. States, then in England, with instructions to remonstrate with the British government against the proceedings of Nicholls, and to show how incompatible they were with the peace which had been concluded between the two nations. These remonstrances were accordingly made, first in personal interview with earl Bathurst and Lord Castlereagh, and afterwards in written notes, addressed successively to them.—Lord Bathurst, in the most unequivocal manner, confirmed the facts, and disavowed the misconduct of Nicholls; declared his disapprobation of the pretended treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which he had made; assured the American minister that the British Government had refused to ratify that treaty, and would send back the Indians whom Nicholls had brought out, with him, with advice to make their peace on such terms as they could obtain. Lord Castlereagh confirmed the assurance that the treaty would not be ratified; and if, at the same time that these assurances were given, certain distinctions of public notoriety, were shown to the Prophet Hillis Hadjo, and he was actually honored with a commission as a British officer, it is to be presumed that these favors were granted to him as a reward for past services, and not as encouragement to expect any support from Great Britain, in a continuance of savage hostilities against the United States, all intention of giving any such support having been repeatedly and earnestly disavowed.

The Negro fort, however abandoned by col. Nicholls, remained on the Spanish territory, occupied by the banditti to whom he had left it, and held by them as a post, from whence to commit depredations, outrages, and murders, and as a receptacle for fugitive slaves and malefactors, to the great annoyance both of the United States and of Spanish Florida. In April, 1816, Gen. Jackson wrote a letter to the governor of Pensacola, calling upon him to put down this common nuisance to the peaceable inhabitants of both countries. That letter (XV.) together with the answer of the governor of Pensacola, have already been communicated to the Spanish minister here, and by him doubtless to his government. Copies of them are nevertheless, (XXIII.) now again enclosed; particularly as the letter from the governor explicitly admits—that this fort, constructed by Nicholls, in violation both of the territory and neutrality of Spain, was still no less obnoxious to his government than to the United States; but that he had neither

sufficient force, nor an authority, without orders from the governor general of the Havanna, to destroy it. It was afterwards, on the 27th July, 1816, destroyed by a cannon shot from a gun vessel of the United States, which, in its passage up the river, was fired upon from it. It was blown up, with an English flag still flying as its standard, and immediately after the barbarous murder of a boat's crew, belonging to the navy of the United States, by the banditti left in it by Nicholls.

In the year 1817, Alexander Arbuthnot, of the Island of New Providence, a British subject, first appeared, as an Indian trader, in Spanish Florida, and as the successor of colonel Nicholls, in the employment of instigating the Seminole and outlawed Red Stick Indians to hostilities against the United States, by reviving the pretence that they were entitled to all the lands which had been ceded by the Creek nation to the United States, in August, 1814. As a mere Indian trader, the intrusion of this man, into a Spanish province, was contrary to the policy observed by all the European powers in this hemisphere, and by none more rigorously than Spain, of excluding all foreigners from intercourse with the Indians, within their territories. It must be known to the Spanish government whether Arbuthnot had a Spanish license for trading with the Indians in Spanish Florida or not; but they also know that Spain was bound by treaty, to restrain by force all hostilities on the part of those Indians, against the citizens of the United States; and it is for them to explain how, consistently with those engagements, Spain could, contrary to all the maxims of her ordinary policy, grant such a license to a foreign incendiary, whose principal, if not his only object, appears to have been to stimulate those hostilities which Spain had expressly stipulated by force to restrain. In this infernal instigation he was but too successful. No sooner did he make his appearance among the Indians, accompanied by the Prophet Hillis Hadjo, returned from his expedition to England, than the peaceful inhabitants on the borders of the United States were visited with all the horrors of savage war; the robbery of their property, and the barbarous and indiscriminate murder of women, infancy, and age.

After the repeated expostulations, warnings, and offers of peace, through the summer and autumn of 1817, on the part of the United States, had been answered only by renewed outrages, and after a detachment of forty men, under lieut. Scott, accompanied by seven women, had been way-laid and murdered by the Indians, orders were given to general Jackson, and an adequate force was placed at his disposal, to terminate the

war. It was ascertained that the Spanish force in Florida was inadequate for the protection even of the Spanish territory itself, against this mingled horde of lawless Indians and negroes; and, although their devastations were committed within the United States, they immediately sought refuge within the Florida line, and there only were to be overtaken. The necessity of crossing the line was indispensable; for it was from beyond the line that the Indians made their murderous incursions within that of the United States. It was there that they had their abode, and the territory belonged in fact to them, although within the borders of the Spanish jurisdiction. There it was that the American commander met the principal resistance from them; there it was, that were found the still bleeding scalps of our citizens, freshly butchered by them; there it was that he released the only *woman*, who had been suffered to survive the massacre of the party under lieut. Scott. But it was not anticipated by this government that the commanding officers of Spain, in Florida, whose special duty it was, in conformity to the solemn engagements contracted by their nation, to restrain by force, those Indians from hostilities against the United States, would be found encouraging, aiding and abetting them, and furnishing them with supplies for carrying on such hostilities. The officer in command, immediately before general Jackson, was, therefore, specially instructed to respect, as far as possible, the Spanish authority, wherever it was maintained, and copies of those orders were also furnished to gen. Jackson, upon his taking the command. In the course of his pursuit, as he approached St. Marks, he was informed, direct from the governor of Pensacola, that a party of the hostile Indians had threatened to seize that fort, and that he apprehended the Spanish garrison there was not in strength sufficient to defend it against them. This information was confirmed from other sources, and by the evidence produced upon the trial of Ambrister, it proved to have been exactly true. By all the laws of neutrality and war, as well as of prudence and of humanity, he was warranted in anticipating his enemy, by the amicable, and that being refused, by the forcible occupation of the fort. There will need no citations from printed treatises on international law, to prove the correctness of this principle. It is engraved in adamant on the common sense of mankind; no writer upon the laws of nations ever pretended to contradict it; none of any reputation or authority ever omitted to insert it.

At Fort St. Marks, Alexander Arbuthnot, the British Indian trader from beyond the seas, the fire-brand, by whose

torch the Negro-Indian war against our borders had been re-kindled, was found an inmate of the commandant's family ; and it was also found that, by the commandant himself, councils of war had been permitted to be held within it, by the savage chiefs and warriors ; that the Spanish store-houses had been appropriated to their use ; that it was an open market for cattle, known to have been robbed by them from citizens of the United States, and which had been contracted for and purchase by the officers of the garrison. That information had been afforded from this fort by Arbuthnot, to the enemy, of the strength and movements of the American army ; that the date of the departure of express had been noted by the Spanish commissary, and ammunition, munitions of war, and all necessary supplies furnished to the Indians.

The conduct of the governor of Pensacola was not less marked by a disposition of enmity to the United States, and by an utter disregard to the obligations of the treaty, by which he was bound to restrain by force, the Indians from hostilities against them. When called upon to vindicate the territorial rights and authority of Spain, by the destruction of the negro fort, his predecessor had declared it to be not less annoying and pernicious to the Spanish subjects in Florida, than to the United States, but had pleaded his inability to subdue it. He himself had expressed his apprehensions that Fort St. Marks would be forcibly taken by the savages, from its Spanish garrison ; yet at the same time, he had refused the passage up the Escambia river, unless upon the payment of excessive duties, to provisions destined as supplies for the American army, which by the detention of them, was subjected to the most distressing privations. He had permitted free ingress and egress at Pensacola to the avowed savage enemies of the United States. Supplies of ammunition, munitions of war, and provisions, had been received by them from thence. They had been received and sheltered there, from the pursuit of the American forces, and suffered again to sally thence, to enter upon the American territory and commit new murders. Finally, on the approach of general Jackson to Pensacola, the governor sent him a letter, denouncing his entry upon the territory of Florida, as a violent outrage upon the rights of Spain, commanding him to depart and withdraw from the same, and threatening, in case of his non-compliance, to employ force to expel him.

It became, therefore, in the opinion of gen. Jackson, indispensably necessary to take from the governor of Pensacola the means of carrying his threat into execution. Before the forces under his command, the savage enemies of his country

had disappeared. But he knew that the moment those forces should be disbanded, if sheltered by Spanish fortresses, if furnished with ammunition and supplies by Spanish officers, and if aided and supported by the instigation of Spanish encouragement, as he had every reason to expect they would be, they would re-appear, and fired, in addition to their ordinary ferociousness, with revenge for the chastisement they had so recently received, would again rush with the war hatchet and scalping knife, into the borders of the United States, and mark every foot-step with the blood of their defenceless citizens. So far as all the native resources of the savages extended, the war was at an end, and gen. Jackson was about to restore to their families and homes, the brave volunteers who had followed his standard, and who had constituted the principal part of his force. This could be done with safety, leaving the regular portion of his troops to garrison his line of forts, and two small detachments of his volunteer cavalry, to scour the country round Pensacola, and sweep off the lurking remnant of savages, who had been scattered and dispersed before him. This was sufficient to keep in check the remnant of the banditti, against whom he had marched, so long as they should be destitute of other aid and support. It was in his judgment, not sufficient, if they should be suffered to rally their numbers under the protection of Spanish forts, and to derive new strength from the impotence or the ill will against the United States of the Spanish authorities.

He took possession, therefore, of Pensacola and of the fort of Barrancas, as he had done of St. Marks, not in a spirit of hostility to Spain, but as a necessary measure of self defence; giving notice that they should be restored whenever Spain should place commanders and a force there, able and willing to fulfil the engagements of Spain towards the United States, of restraining, by force, the Florida Indians from hostilities against their citizens. The president of the United States, to give a signal manifestation of his confidence in the disposition of the king of Spain, to perform with good faith this indispensable engagement, and to demonstrate to the world that neither the desire of conquest nor hostility to Spain, had any interest in the councils of the United States, has directed the unconditional restoration to any Spanish officer, duly authorised to receive them, of Pensacola and Barrancas, and that of St. Marks to any Spanish force adequate for its defence against the attack of the savages. But the president will neither inflict punishment, nor pass a censure upon general Jackson for that conduct, the motives for which were founded in the purest patriotism, of the necessity for which he had the most imme-

mediate and effectual means of forming a judgment, and the vindication of which is written in every page of the law of nations, as well as in the first law of nature, self-defence. He thinks it, on the contrary, due to the justice which the United States have a right to claim from Spain, and you are accordingly instructed to demand of the Spanish government, that enquiry shall be instituted into the conduct of Don José Masot, governor of Pensacola, and of Don Francisco C. Luengo, commandant at St. Marks, and a suitable punishment inflicted upon them for having, in defiance and violation of the engagements of Spain with the United States, aided and assisted these hordes of savages in those very hostilities against the United States, which it was their official duty to restrain. This inquiry is due to the character of those officers themselves, and to the honour of the Spanish government. The obligation of Spain to restrain, by force, the Indians of Florida from hostilities against the United States and their citizens, is explicit, is positive, is unqualified. The fact, that for a series of years they have received shelter, assistance, supplies and protection, in the practice of such hostilities from the Spanish commanders in Florida, is clear and unequivocal. If, as the commanders, both at Pensacola and St. Marks have alleged, this has been the result of their weakness, rather than their will, if they have assisted the Indians against the United States to avert their hostilities from the province, which they had not sufficient force to defend against them, it may serve, in some measure, to exculpate, individually, those officers, but it must carry demonstration irresistible to the Spanish government, that the right of the United States can as little compound with impotence as with perfidy, and that Spain must immediately make her election, either to place a force in Florida adequate to the protection of her engagements, or cede to the United States a province, of which she retains nothing but the nominal possession; but which is, in fact, a direlict open to the occupancy of every enemy civilized or savage, of the United States, and serving no other earthly purpose than as a post of annoyance to them.

That the purposes, as well of the Negro-Indian banditti, with whom we have been contending, as of the British invaders of Florida, who first assembled and employed them, and of the British intruding and pretending traders, since the peace, who have instigated and betrayed them to destruction, have been not less hostile to Spain than to the United States, the proofs contained in the documents herewith enclosed, are conclusive. Mr. Pizarro's note of the 29th August, speaks of his Catholic Majesty's profound indignation at the "sanguin-

nary executions on the Spanish soil, of the subjects of powers in amity with the king"—meaning Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Let Mr. Pizarro's successor take the trouble of reading the enclosed documents, and he will discover who Arbuthnot and Ambrister were, and what were their purposes: That Arbuthnot was only the successor of Nicholls; and Ambrister the agent of Woodbine, and the subaltern of McGregor. Mr. Pizarro qualifies general Jackson's necessary pursuit of a savage enemy beyond the Spanish Florida line, as a *shameful invasion to his majesty's territory*—yet, that territory was the territory also of the savage enemy, and Spain was bound to restrain them, by force, from hostilities against the United States—and it was the failure of Spain to fulfil this engagement, which has made it necessary for gen. Jackson to pursue the savages across the line.—What then was the character of Nicholl's invasion of his majesty's territory; and where was his majesty's profound indignation at that? Mr. Pizarro says, his majesty's places and forts have been violently seized on, nay, had not the principal of his forts been blown up by Nicholls, and a British fort on the same Spanish territory been erected during the war, and left standing as a Negro fort, in defiance of Spanish authority, after the peace? Where has his majesty suspended formally all negotiation with the sovereign of colonel Nicholls, for the shameful invasion of his territory without color of provocation, without pretence of necessity, without the shadow or even avowal of a pretext? Has his majesty given solemn warning to the British government, that these were incidents "of transcendent moment capable of producing an essential and thorough change in the political relations of the two countries?" Nicholls and Woodbine, in their invitations and promises to the slaves to run away from their masters and join them, did not confine themselves to the slaves of the United States—they received with as hearty a welcome, and employed with equal readiness, the fugitives from their masters, in Florida, as those from Georgia. Against this special injury the governor of Pensacola did earnestly remonstrate with the British admiral Cockburn, but against the *shameful invasion* of the territory—against the violent seizure of the forts and places—against the blowing up of the Barrancas, and the erection and maintenance under British banners, of the Negro fort on Spanish soil—against the negotiation by a British officer in the midst of peace, of pretended treaties, offensive and defensive, and of navigation and commerce, upon Spanish territory, between Great Britain and Spanish Indians, whom Spain was bound to control and restrain—if a whisper of expostulation was ever

wasted from Madrid to London, it was not loud enough to be heard across the Atlantic, nor energetic enough to transpire beyond the walls of the palaces from which it issued, and to which it was borne.

The connection between Arbuthnot and Nicholls, and between Ambrister, Woodbine and McGregor, is established beyond all question, by the evidence produced at the trials before the court martial. I have already remarked to you on the very extraordinary circumstance, that a British trader from beyond the seas, should be permitted by the Spanish authorities, to trade with the Indians of Florida. From his letter to Hambly, dated 3d May, 1817, it appears that his trading was but a pretence; and that his principal purpose was to act as the agent of the Indians in Florida, and outlaws from the Creeks, to obtain the aid of the British government, in their hostilities against the United States. He expressly tells Hambly there, that the chief of those outlaws was the principal cause of his, Arbuthnot's, being in the country; and that he had come with an answer from earl Bathurst, delivered to him by governor Cameron, of New-Providence, to certain Indian talks, in which this aid of the British government had been left by Nicholls, as the agent between the Indians and the British government; but having found that Nicholls had failed in his attempt to prevail upon the British government to pursue this clandestine war, in the midst of peace; and that they were not prepared to support his pretence, that half a dozen outlawed fugitives from the Creeks were the Creek nation;—when Arbuthnot, the incendiary, came and was instigating them, by promises of support from Great Britain, to commence their murderous incursions into the United States, Hambly, at the request of the Creeks themselves, wrote to him, warning him to withdraw from among that band of outlaws, and giving him a solemn foreboding of the doom that awaited him, from the hand of justice, if he persevered in the course that he pursued. Arbuthnot, nevertheless, persisted; and while he was deluding the wretched Indians with the promise of support from England, he was writing letters for them to the British minister in the United States, to governor Cameron, of New-Providence, to colonel Nicholls, to be laid before the British government: and even to the Spanish governor of St. Augustine, and the governor-general of the Havanna, soliciting in all quarters, aid and support, arms and ammunition, for the Indians, against the United States; bewailing the destruction of the Negro fort, and charging the British government with having drawn the Indians into war with the United States, and deserting them after the peace.

You will remark among the papers produced on his trial, a power of attorney, dated 17th June, 1817, given him by twelve Indians, partly of Florida, and partly of the fugitive outlaws from the United States. He states that this power, and his instructions, were, to memorialize the British government, and the governor-general of the Havanna.—These papers are not only substantially proved as his hand writing, on the trial, but in the daily newspapers of London, of the 24th and 25th of August last, his letter to Nicholls is published, (somewhat garbled) with a copy of Hambly's above mentioned letter to him, and a reference to this Indian power of attorney to him, *approved by the commandant of St. Marks, F. C. Luengo.* Another of the papers is a letter, written in the name of the same chiefs, by Arbutnot, to the governor-general of the Havanna, asking of him permission for Arbutnot to establish a warehouse on the Appalachicola; bitterly and falsely complaining that the Americans had made settlements on their lands, within the Spanish lines, and calling upon the governor general to give orders to displace them, and send them back to their own country. In this letter they assign, as a reason for asking this license for Arbutnot, the want of a person to put in writing for them their talks of grievances against the Americans. And they add, "the commander of the fort of St. Marks has heard all of our talks and complaints. He approves of what we have done, and what we are doing; and it is by his recommendation we have thus presumed to address your excellency." You will find these papers in the printed newspaper enclosed, and in the proceedings of the court martial, and will point them out to the Spanish government, not only as decisive proofs of the unexampled compliances of the Spanish officers in Florida, to foreign intrusive agents and instigators of Indian hostilities against the United States, but as placing, beyond a doubt, that participation of this hostile spirit in the commandant of St. Marks, which general Jackson so justly complains of; and of which we have so well founded a right to demand the punishment. Here is the commandant of a Spanish fort, bound by the sacred engagement of a treaty to restrain, by force, the Indians within his command, from committing hostilities against the United States, conspiring with those same Indians, and deliberately giving his written approbation to their appointment of a foreigner, a British subject, as their agent, to solicit assistance and supplies from the governor-general of Havanna, and from the British government, for carrying on these same hostilities.

Let us come to the case of Ambrister.—He was taken in arms, leading and commanding the Indians, in the war against

the American troops; and to that charge, upon his trial, pleading guilty. But the primary object of his coming there, was still more hostile to Spain, than to the United States. You find that he told three of the witnesses, who testified at his trial, that he had come to this country upon Mr. Woodbine's business at Tampa Bay—to see the negroes righted; and one of them, that *he had a commission in the Patriot army, under McGregor*; and that he had expected a captaincy. And what was the intended business of McGregor and Woodbine, at Tampa Bay? It was the conquest of Florida from Spain, by the use of those very Indians and Negroes, whom the commandant of St. Marks was so ready to aid and support in the war against the United States. The chain of proof that establishes this fact, is contained in the documents communicated by the president to congress at their last session, relating to the occupation of Amelia Island by McGregor. From these documents you will find, that while McGregor was there, Woodbine went from New Providence, in a schooner of his own, to join him: That he arrived at Amelia Island, just as McGregor abandoned the companions of his achievement there, was leaving it: That McGregor, quitting the vessel in which he had embarked at Amelia, went on board that of Woodbine, and returned with him to New Providence: That Woodbine had persuaded him they could yet accomplish the conquest of Florida, with soldiers to be recruited at Nassau, from the corps of colonial marines, which had served under Nicholls during the late war with the United States, which corps had been lately disbanded; and with the negroes to be found at Tampa Bay, and 1500 Indians, already then engaged to Woodbine, who pretended that they had made a grant of all their lands there to him. Among the papers, the originals of which are in our possession, in McGregor's own hand writing, instructions for sailing into Tampa Bay, with the assertion that he calculated to be there by the last of April or first of May, of the present year; a letter dated 27th December last, to one of his acquaintance in this country, disclosing the same intention; and the extract of a proclamation which was to have been issued at Tampa Bay, to the inhabitants of Florida, by the person charged with making the settlement there, before his arrival, announcing his approach, for the purpose of liberating them from the despotism of Spain, and of enabling them to form a government for themselves. He has persuaded those who would listen to him here, that his ultimate object was to sell the Floridas to the United States. There is some reason to suppose that he has made indirect overtures, of a similar nature, to the British government. This was Ambria-

ter's business in Florida.—He arrived there in March, the precursor of McGregor and Woodbine, and, immediately upon his arrival, he is found seizing upon Arbuthnot's goods, and distributing them among the negroes and Indians; seizing upon his vessel, and compelling its master to pilot him, with a body of armed negroes, towards the fort of St. Marks, with the declared purpose of taking it by surprise, in the night.—Writing letters to governor Cameron, of New Providence, urgently calling for supplies of munitions of war, and of cannon for the war against the Americans; and letters to colonel Nicholls, renewing the same demands of supplies; informing him, that he is with 300 negroes, 'a few of our Bluff people,' who had *stuck to the cause*, and were relying upon the faith of Nicholls' promises. Our Bluff people were the people of the Negro fort, collected by Nicholls' and Woodbine's proclamations, during the American and English war; and the *cause* to which they *stuck*, was the savage, servile, exterminating war against the United States.

Among the agents and actors of such virtuous enterprises as are here unveiled, it was hardly expected that there would be found remarkable evidences of their respect, confidence and good faith towards one another. Accordingly, besides the violent seizure and distribution, by Ambrister, of Arbuthnot's property, his letters to governor Cameron, and to Nicholls, are filled with the distrust and suspicions of the Indians, that they were deceived and betrayed by Arbuthnot; while in Arbuthnot's letters to the same Nicholls, he accuses Woodbine of having taken charge of poor Francis, the Prophet, or Hillis Hadjo, upon his return from England to New Providence, and under pretence of taking care of him and his affairs—of having defrauded him of a large portion of the presents which had been delivered out from the king's stores to him, for Francis's use. This is one of the passages of Arbuthnot's letter to Nicholls *omitted* in the publication of it last August in the London newspapers.

In this narrative of dark and complicated depravity, this creeping and insidious war, both against Spain and the United States; this mockery of patriotism; these political philters to fugitive slaves and Indian outlaws; the perfidies and treacheries of villains incapable of keeping their faith, even to each other, all in the name of South American liberty, of the rights of runaway negroes, and the wrongs of savage murderers—all combined and projected to plunder Spain of her provinces, and to spread massacre and devastation along the borders of the United States? Is all this sufficient to cool the sympathies of his Catholic majesty's government, excited by the ex-

ecution of these two "subjects of a power in amity with the king?" The Spanish government is not at this day to be informed that, cruel as war, in its mildest forms, must be, it is, and necessarily must be doubly cruel, when waged with savages; that savages make no prisoners, but to torture them; that they give no quarter; that they put to death without discrimination of age or sex; that these ordinary characteristics of Indian warfare have been applicable, in their most heart-sickening horrors, to that war, left us by Nicholls, as his legacy, re-instigated by Woodbine, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and stimulated by the approbation, encouragement, and the aid of the Spanish commandant at St. Marks. Is proof required? Intreat the Spanish minister of state, for a moment, to overcome the feelings which details like these must excite, and to reflect if possible, with composure, upon the facts stated in the following extracts from the documents enclosed:

Letter from sailing master Jarius Loomis, to commodore Daniel T. Patterson, 13th August, 1816, reporting the destruction of the negro fort.

"On examining the prisoners; they stated that Edward Daniels, O. S. who was made prisoner in the boat, on the 17th July, *was tarred and burnt alive.*"

Letter from Archibald Clarke to general Gaines, 26th Feb. 1817.

"On the 24th inst. the house of Mr. Garrett, residing in the upper part of this county, near the boundary of Wayne county, (Georgia) was attacked, during his absence, near the middle of the day, by this party, (of Indians) consisting of about fifteen, who shot Mrs. Garrett in two places, and then despatched her by stabbing and scalping. Her two children, one about three years, and the other two months old, were also murdered, and the eldest scalped; the house was then plundered of every article of value, and set on fire."

Letter from Peter B. Cook (Arbuthnot's clerk) to Eliz. A. Carney, at Nassau, dated Suwahneo, 19th Jan. 1818, giving an account of their operations with the Indians, against the Americans, and their massacre of lieut. Scott and his party.

"There was a boat that was taken by the Indians, and had in it thirty men, seven women, four small children. There were six of the men got clear, and one woman saved, and all the rest of them got killed. The children were took by the leg, and their brains dashed out against the boat."

If the bare recital of scenes like these cannot be perused without shuddering, what must be the agonized feelings of those whose wives and children are, from day to day, and from night to night, exposed to be the victims of the same barbarity?

Has mercy a voice to plead for the perpetrators and instigators of deeds like these? Should enquiry hereafter be made, why, within three months after this event, the savage Hamathli Micco, upon being taken by the American troops, was, by order of their commander, immediately hung, let it be told, that that savage was the commander of the party by which those women were butchered, and those helpless infants were thus dashed against the boat. Contending with such enemies, although humanity revolts at entire retaliation upon them, and spares the lives of the feeble and defenceless women and children, yet mercy herself surrenders to retributive justice the lives of their leading warriors taken in arms—and still more the lives of the foreign, white incendiaries, who disowned by their own governments, and disowning their own natures, degrade themselves beneath the savage character, by voluntarily descending to its level. Is not this the dictate of common sense? Is it not the usage of legitimate warfare? Is it not consonant to the soundest authorities of national law? “When at war (says Vattel) with a ferocious nation, which observes no rules and grants no quarter, they may be chastised in the persons of those of them who may be taken; they are of the number of the guilty; and by this rigor the attempt may be made of bringing them to a sense of the laws of humanity.” And again: “As a general has the right of sacrificing the lives of his enemies to his own safety or that of his people, if he has to contend with an inhuman enemy, often guilty of some excesses, he may take the lives of some of his prisoners, and treat them as his own people have been treated.” The justification of these principles is found in their salutary efficacy, for terror and for example.—It is thus only that the barbarities of Indians can be successfully encountered. It is thus only that the worse than Indian barbarities of European impostors, pretending authority from their governments, but always disavowed, can be punished and arrested. Great Britain yet engages the alliance and co-operation of savages in war. But her government has invariably disclaimed all countenance or authorization to her subjects to instigate them against us in time of peace. Yet so it has happened, that from the period of our established independence to this day, *all* the Indian wars with which we have been afflicted, have been distinctly traceable to the instigation of English traders or agents, always disavowed, yet always felt, more than once detected, but never before punished. Two of them, offenders of the deepest dye, after solemn warning to their government, and individually to one of them, have fallen, *flagrante delicto*, into the hands of an American general; and the punishment

inflicted upon them has fixed them on high as an example, awful in its exhibition, but, we trust, auspicious in its results, of that which awaits unauthorised pretenders of European agency, to stimulate, and interpose in wars between the United States and Indians, within their control.

This exposition of the origin, the causes, and the character of the war with the Seminole Indians and part of the Creeks, combined with McGregor's mock patriots and Nicholl's negroes, which necessarily led our troops into Florida, and gave rise to all those incidents of which Mr. Pizarro so vehemently complains, will, it is hoped, enable you to present other and sounder views of the subject to his Catholic majesty's government. It will enable you to show that the occupation of Pensacola and St. Marks was occasioned neither by a spirit of hostility to Spain, nor with a view to extort prematurely, the province from her possession; that it was rendered necessary by the neglect of Spain to perform her engagements of restraining the Indians from hostilities against the United States, and by the culpable countenance, encouragement and assistance given to those Indians in their hostilities, by the Spanish governor and commandant at those places: That the United States have a right to demand, as the president does demand, of Spain the punishment of those officers for this misconduct; and he further demands of Spain a just and reasonable indemnity to the United States for the heavy and necessary expenses which then have been compelled to incur, by the failure of Spain to perform her engagement, to restrain the Indians, aggravated by this demonstrated complicity of her commanding officers with them in their hostilities against the United States: That the two Englishmen executed by the order of general Jackson were not only identified with the savages, with whom they were carrying on the war against the United States, but that one of them was the mover and fomentor of the war, which, without his interference and false promises to the Indians of support from the British government, never would have happened—that the other was the instrument of war against Spain as well as the United States, commissioned by McGregor, and expedited by Woodbine, upon their project of conquering Florida with these Indians and negroes: That, as accomplices of the savages, and, sinning against their better knowledge, worse than savages, general Jackson, possessed of their persons and of the proofs of their guilt, might, by the lawful and ordinary usages of war, have hung them both without the formality of a trial: That, to allow them every possible opportunity of refuting the proofs or of showing any circumstance in extenuation of



their crimes, he gave them the best and most highly respectable officers: That the evidence against him, ed, solely and exclusively, of technical cavils at the nature of part of the evidence against him, and the other confessed his guilt. Finally, that, in restoring Pensacola and St. Marks to Spain, the president gives the most signal proofs of his confidence, that hereafter her engagement to restrain, by force, the Indians of Florida from all hostilities against the United States, will be effectually fulfilled; that there will be no more murders, no more robberies within our borders, by savages prowling along the Spanish line, and seeking shelter within it, to display in their villages the scalps of our women and children, their victims, and to sell, with shameless effrontery, the plunder from our citizens in Spanish forts and cities; that we will hear no more apologies from Spanish governors and commandants, of their inability to perform the duties of their office and the solemn contracts of their country—no more excuses for compliances to the savage enemies of the United States, from the dread of their attacks upon themselves—no more harboring of foreign impostors, upon compulsion; that a strength sufficient will be kept in the province to restrain the Indians by force, and officers empowered and instructed to employ it effectually to maintain the good faith of the nation, by the effective fulfilment of the treaty. The duty of this government to protect the persons and property of our fellow citizens, on the borders of the United States, is imperative—it *must* be discharged—and if, after all the warnings that Spain has had—if, after the prostration of all her territorial rights and neutral obligations, by Nicholls and his banditti, during the war, and of all her treaty stipulations, by Arbuthnot and Ambrister, abetted by her own commanding officers, during the peace, to the cruel annoyance of the United States—if the necessities of self defence should again compel the United States to take possession of the Spanish forts and places in Florida, declare, with the candor and frankness that becomes us, that another unconditional restoration of them must not be expected; that even the president's confidence in the good faith and ultimate justice of the Spanish government will yield to the painful experience of continual disappointment; and that, after unnumbered and almost unnumbered appeals to them, for the performance of their stipulated duties, in vain, the United States will be reluctantly compelled to rely, for the protection of their borders, upon themselves alone.

I have the honor, &c.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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