



S K E T C H

O F

THE LIFE

O F

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.


By Henry Sudrade.

1827.



TO THE PUBLIC.

It is not the object of the writer of this sketch to use the language of eulogy. Any one who expects to find in it any thing beyond an unembellished narration, will be disappointed. It is intended to make the prominent incidents in the life of Mr. ADAMS familiar to his fellow-citizens, and to let his opinions on the most important of all topics speak for themselves. Every harsh expression has been carefully avoided; for the cause this pamphlet is intended to support, seeks no allies but such as its own merits, calmly and dispassionately presented, procure for it. No misrepresentation or mistatement has been knowingly admitted. This mode of appeal to our fellow citizens has been adopted, for the very reason, that it rendered unnecessary any imitation of the bitter invectives and slanders which fill the newspapers of the day. Satisfied to abide by the judgment of the people, when the truth is fairly exhibited, our only object is, so to exhibit the truth. In 1828, let that judgment be declared.

 In availing ourselves of this mode of communicating with the people, we only follow the example of the friends of General JACKSON. A tract of ten pages now lies before the writer, circulated extensively by those who favor his cause.

S K E T C H .

To refute calumny, by a plain statement of facts, and to shew, to the American people, the just claims of the present Chief Magistrate to their continued confidence, the following account of him has been drawn up. The relation of occurrences in the early part of his life, is taken from a biographical notice of Mr. Adams which appeared in print in the year 1819. The residue is matter of notoriety to the PEOPLE OF AMERICA, to whom this sketch is respectfully submitted.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS is descended from a race of farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics. As early as 1630, his remote ancestor, Henry Adams, came over, with seven sons, and established himself in this country. Thus early rooted in the soil, a warm attachment to the cause and the rights of America has been, from generation to generation, the birthright of the family.

The first of this name, who emerged from private life, and rose to conspicuous public stations, were Samuel Adams, the proscribed patriot of the Revolution, and John Adams, who was pronounced by his venerable copatriot, Thomas Jefferson, "the Colossus of Independence." These two distinguished benefactors, of their country, were descendants of the same remote ancestors. Samuel Adams deceased without male issue; John Quincy Adams, is the son of his illustrious fellow laborer and relative.

He was born on the 11 July, 1767, and was named, for John Quincy, his great grandfather, who bore a distinguished part in the councils of the province, at the beginning of the last century.

The principles of American Independence and Freedom, were instilled into the mind of John Quincy Adams, in the very dawn of his existence. Both of his revered parents, had entered, with every power and faculty, into the cause of the country. When the father of Mr. Adams repaired to France, as joint commissioner, with Franklin and Lee, he was accompanied by his son, John Quincy, then in his eleventh year. In this country, he passed a year and a half, with his father, and enjoyed the enviable privilege of the daily intercourse and parental attentions of Benjamin Franklin; whose kind notice of the young, was a peculiar trait in his character; and whose primitive simplicity of manners, and methodical habits, left a lasting impression on the mind of his youthful countryman.

After a residence of about eighteen months in France, John Quincy Adams returned to America, with his venerable father, who came home to take part in the formation of the Constitution of his native state. After a sojourn of a few months at home, the voice of the country called on Mr. Adams's father again to repair to Europe, as a commissioner for negotiating a treaty of Peace and Commerce, with Great Britain, whenever she might be disposed to put an end to the war.

He took his son with him. They sailed in a French frigate, bound to Brest; but the vessel having sprung a dangerous leak, was obliged to put into the nearest port, which proved to be Ferrol, in Spain. From that place Mr. Adams travelled by land to Paris, where he arrived in January, 1780; and where his son, J. Q. Adams, was put to school. In the month of July, of the same year, Mr. Adams repaired to Holland, to negotiate a loan in that country.—His son accompanied him, and was placed first in the public school, of the city of Amsterdam, and afterwards in the University of Leyden.

In July, 1781, Mr. Francis Dana (afterwards Chief Justice of the state of Massachusetts) who had gone out, with Mr. Adams, as Secretary of Legation, received from the Continental Congress, the commission of Minister to the Empress of Russia, and John Q. Adams was selected by Mr. Dana, as private Secretary, on this mission. After spending 14 months with Mr. Dana, he left him, to return through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen, to Holland, where his father had been publicly received, as Minister from the United States, and had concluded the commercial treaty with the republic of the Netherlands. He performed this journey, during the winter of 1782-3, then 16 years of age, without a companion.—He reached the Hague in April, 1783; his father being at that time engaged at Paris, in the negotiations of peace. From April to July, his son remained at the Hague, under the care of Mr. Dumas, a native of Switzerland, a zealous friend of America, who then filled the office of an agent of the United States. The negotiations for peace being suspended in July, Mr. Adams's father repaired on business to Amsterdam, and on his return to Paris, he took his son with him. The definitive treaty of peace was signed in September, 1783, from which time till May, 1785, he was chiefly with his father in England, Holland, and France.

It was at this period, that he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Jefferson, then residing in France, as American Minister. The intercourse of Mr. Jefferson with his former congressional colleague, the father of Mr. Adams,

was of an intimate and confidential kind, and led to a friendship for his son, which, formed in early life, scarcely suffered an interruption from subsequent political dissensions, and revived, with original strength, during the last years of the life of this venerated statesman.—Mr. Adams, was at this period, about 18 years of age. Born in the crisis of his country's fortunes, he had led a life of wandering and vicissitude, unusual at any age. His education, in every thing but the school of liberty, had been interrupted and irregular. He had seen much of the world, much of men, and had enjoyed but little leisure for books. Anxious to complete his education, and still more anxious to return to his native America; when his father was, in 1785, appointed minister to the court of St. James, his son, at that period of life, when the splendor and pleasures of a city like London, are most calculated to fascinate and mislead, asked permission of his father to go back to his native shores. To this, his parent consented. On his return to America, he became a member of the ancient seat of learning at Cambridge, where as early as 1743, Samuel Adams, in taking his degrees, had maintained the proposition, "that the people have a just right of resistance when oppressed by their rulers." In July, 1787, Mr. Adams left college, and entered the office of Theophilus Parsons, afterwards Chief Justice of the state, as a student of law, at Newburyport. On the visit of General Washington to that town in 1789, Mr. Parsons, being chosen by his fellow citizens to be the medium of expressing their sentiments to the General, required of his pupils each to prepare an address; this call was obeyed by Mr. Adams, and his address was delivered by Mr. Parsons. After completing his law studies at Newburyport. Mr. Adams removed to the capital of Massachusetts, with a view of employing himself in the practice of his profession. The business of a young lawyer is generally of inconsiderable amount, and Mr. Adams employed the leisure, afforded him by this circumstance, and by his industrious habits, in speculations upon the great political questions of the day.

In April, 1793, on the first information that war between Great Britain and France had been declared, Mr. Adams published a short series of papers, the object of which was to prove, that the duty and interest of the United States required them to remain *neutral* in the contest. These papers were published before General Washington's proclamation of neutrality, and without any knowledge that such a proclamation would issue. The opinions they expressed were in opposition to the ideas generally prevailing, that the treaty of alliance of 1778, obliged us to take part in the wars of France. But the proclamation of neutrality by General Washington, sanctioned by all his cabinet, with Mr. Jefferson at its head, was shortly made public, and confirmed the justice of the views, which Mr. Adams had been (it is

believed) the first publicly to express on this new and difficult topic of public law.

In the winter of 1793 and 1794, the public mind of America was extensively agitated by the inflammatory appeals of the French minister Genet. It is known to all, with what power and skill this foreign emissary was resisted, in the official correspondence of the then Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Among those who co-operated in the public prints in the same patriotic cause, none was more conspicuous than Mr. Adams, whose essays, under the signature of Columbus, in support of the administration, were read and admired throughout the country. [Our readers may find them in the files of the Concord Herald for 1793.]

His reputation was now established, as an American statesman, patriot, and political writer, of the first order. Before his retirement from the department of state, Mr. Jefferson recommended him to General Washington, as a proper person to be introduced into the public service of the country. The acquaintance between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, which had been formed in France, had lately been renewed, on occasion of a visit of Mr. Adams to Philadelphia in 1792, and the promptitude and ability with which he had just seconded the efforts of the Secretary of State, in enforcing the principles of public law on the turbulent French Envoy, no doubt led Mr. Jefferson to recommend him to General Washington. General Washington's own notice had been drawn to the publications of Mr. Adams, above alluded to. He had in private expressed the highest opinion of them, and had made particular enquiries with respect to their author. Thus honorably identified, at the early age of 27, with the first great and decisive step in the foreign policy of the United States; and thus early attracting the notice, and enjoying the confidence of Washington and of Jefferson, Mr. Adams was, in 1794, appointed *Minister Resident* to the Netherlands, an office corresponding in rank and salary with that of a *charge d'affaires* at the present day.

The father of Mr. Adams, was at this time, Vice President of the United States; but it is unnecessary to say, to those acquainted with the character of these great men, that the appointment of his son, was made, by General Washington, unexpectedly to the Vice President, and without any previous intimation to him.

Mr. Adams remained at his post in Holland, till near the close of General Washington's administration. He was an attentive observer of the great events then occurring in Europe, and his official correspondence with the government was regarded by General Washington as of the highest importance. One of the last acts of General Washington's administration was the appointment of Mr. Adams as minister plenipotentiary to Portugal. On his way from the Hague to Lisbon, he received a new com-

mission, changing his destination to Berlin.— This last appointment, was made by Mr. Adams's father, then President of the United States, and in a manner highly honorable to the restraint of his parental feelings in the discharge of an act of public duty. Although Mr. Adams's appointment to Portugal was made by General Washington, and Mr. Adams's father did no more than propose his transfer to Berlin, yet his feelings of delicacy led him to hesitate before he took even this step. He consulted the beloved father of his country, then retired from office, and placed in a situation beyond the reach of any of the motives which can possibly prejudice the minds of men in power. The following letter from General Washington is the reply to President Adams's enquiry, and will ever remain an honorable testimony to the character of Mr. Adams.

“ Monday, Feb. 20th, 1797.

“ DEAR SIR:—I thank you for giving me the perusal of the enclosed. The sentiments do honor to the head and heart of the writer; and if my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a strong hope that you will not withhold merited promotion from John Quincy Adams, because he is your son: for, without intending to compliment the father or the mother, or to censure any others, I give it as my decided opinion, that *Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad*. And that there remains no doubt on my mind that he will prove himself to be the ablest of all our diplomatic corps. If he was now to be brought into that line, or into any other public walk, I could not, upon the principle which has regulated my own conduct, disapprove of the caution which is hinted at in the letter. But he is already entered; the public more and more, as he is known, are appreciating his talents and worth, and his country would sustain a loss if these were to be checked by an over delicacy on your part.

“ With sincere esteem and affectionate regard, I am ever yours.

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

The letter alluded to by General Washington was from Mr. Adams at Lisbon, earnestly requesting his father not to confer on him any office, during his presidential term.

The principal object of Mr. Adams's mission to Berlin was effected by the conclusion of a treaty of commerce, with Prussia. He remained in that country till the spring of 1801, when he was recalled by his father, and returned to America. During the last year of his residence in Germany, Mr. Adams made an excursion into the province of Siberia, which he has described in a series of letters, that have been collected and published in a volume, and have been translated into French and German, and extensively circulated in Europe.

Mr. Adams's residence on the continent of Europe from 1794 to 1801, was of great importance in its influence upon his political character and feelings. He contemplated, with every advantage for understanding their secret

springs, the great movements in the political world. His early education in France, and his connexion with the continental courts, prevented his forming those attachments for the English policy, which almost universally prevailed among such of the citizens of America, as opposed the principles of the French revolution. The union of these circumstances, enabled him to hold an impartial and truly American course between the violent extremes, to which public opinion in America ran on the great question of our foreign relations.

It was also fortunate that he was absent from the country during the period when domestic parties were organized and arrayed against each other. We have already seen that his manly and patriotic course had gained him the approbation of Mr. Jefferson, before he retired from office. The great schism in the American family had not yet taken place. General Washington labored to prevent its occurrence and distributed his appointments among all the able and patriotic citizens, without regard to the party distinctions which were forming.— Mr. Adams came into the Presidency in 1797, with the intention, had the strong current of events permitted him, to pursue the same course. The first step taken by him after his Inauguration, was a friendly and confidential interview with Mr. Jefferson, in which he proposed to him, if it should be thought proper on consideration, to embark for France, as the American Minister, in the hope that he, if any one, would be able to adjust our difficulties with that country. That Mr. Jefferson, on his side, had not suffered the political contests, into which they had been drawn, to alienate his feelings from his old revolutionary copatriot, is apparent from the following letter of Mr. Jefferson to Governor Langdon, which was written after the election of Mr. Adams as President, and Mr. Jefferson, as Vice President, was ascertained.

“ Monticello, Jan. 22, 1797.

“ DEAR SIR:—Your friendly letter of the 2d inst. never came to hand till yesterday, and I feel indebted for the solicitude you therein express, for my undertaking the office, to which you inform me I am now called. I know not from what source an idea has spread itself, which I have found to be generally spread, that I would accept the office of President of the United States, but not that of Vice President. When I retired from the office I last held, no man in the Union less expected than I did, ever to have come forward again, and whatever has been insinuated to the contrary, to no man in the Union was the share, which my name bore in the late contest, more unexpected, than it was to me. If I had contemplated the thing before hand, and suffered my will to enter into action at all upon it, it would have been in a direction exactly the reverse of what has been imputed to me. But I have no right to a will on the subject, much less to control that of the people of the United States, in arranging us according to our capacities; least

of all could I have any feelings, which would revolt at taking a station secondary to Mr. Adams. I have been secondary to him in every situation in which we ever acted together in public life, for twenty years past. A contrary position would have been novelty, and his the right of revolting at it. Be assured then, my dear sir, that if I had a fibre in my composition still looking after public office, it would have been gratified, *precisely* by the very call you are pleased to give me, and no other. But in truth I wish for neither honor nor offices. I am happier at home than I can be elsewhere. Since, however, I am called out, an object of great anxiety to me is, that those, with whom I am to act, shutting their minds, to the unfounded abuse, of which I have been the subject, will view me, with the same candor, with which I shall certainly act. An acquaintance of many long years ensures to me your just support, as it does to you, the sentiments of respect and attachment, with which, I am, dear sir, your friend and servant,

TH: JEFFERSON.

HON. JOHN LANGDON.

The same sentiments of respect towards Mr. Adams, were still more publicly expressed by Mr. Jefferson, on taking the chair of the Senate, as Vice President of the United States, in the following terms: "I might here proceed, and with the greatest truth, to declare my zealous attachment to the Constitution of the United States; that I consider the union of these states as the first of blessings; and as the first of duties the preservation of that constitution which secures it; but I suppose these declarations not pertinent to the occasion, of entering into an office, whose primary business is merely to preside over the forms of this house, and no one more sincerely prays that no accident may call me to the higher and more important functions, which the constitution eventually devolves on this office. These have been justly confided to the eminent character who preceded me here, *whose talents and integrity have been known and revered by me through a long course of years, have been the foundation of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship between us, and I devoutly pray he may be long preserved for the government, the happiness, and the prosperity of our common country.*"

Such were the feelings entertained toward each other, by these venerable fellow laborers, in the cause of American Independence, who closed at length in happy coincidence of death, the lives, which they had passed, in a union scarcely interrupted, in the service of their country. But the extraordinary nature of our foreign relations, in their influence on domestic politics, proved too strong for the control of the wise, the candid, and the patriotic. The country was rent into contending parties. The President of the United States, regarded as the head of the federal party, was compelled, besides the natural resistance of the party opposed to his administration, to encounter the odium of the strong and violent measures brought

forward by the friends of General Hamilton, particularly of the alien and sedition laws, neither of which was recommended nor desired by Mr. Adams, nor proposed by his advice. In consequence of his refusal to plunge the country into a war with France, Mr. Adams lost the support of General Hamilton and his friends, whose opposition defeated his re-election, and thus frustrated the devout prayer of Mr. Jefferson, "that he might long be preserved for the government of the country."

During this critical period of our foreign and domestic politics, Mr. John Q. Adams was abroad. He was at a distance from the scene of warfare. His situation released him from the necessity of taking part in those political contentions, in which he must either have been placed in the painful position of acting with the party opposed to his father, or he would have been obliged to encounter the natural imputation, of being biassed in support of him by filial attachment. From this painful alternative, Mr. Adams was spared, by his residence abroad during the whole period in which our domestic parties were acquiring their organization, and he returned to his native land, as every American of ingenuous mind unfailingly returns after a long absence, a stranger to local parties, and a friend to his country. There was not a citizen, to whom with greater justice than to Mr. Adams, might have applied the magnanimous remark of Mr. Jefferson, in his inaugural address, "we are all republicans, we are all federalists." In 1802, Mr. Adams was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts from the district of Suffolk, and signalized that fearless independence which has ever characterized his political course, by his strong, though ineffectual opposition to a powerful combination of banking interests, of which the centre was placed among his immediate constituents. In 1803, he was elected a senator of the United States, for six years from the 4 March, 1803, in opposition to the Hon. Timothy Pickering. No person could come into that body in a situation better to enable him to act the honorable part of an independent, upright, and patriotic senator. He had successively received testimonials of the respect and confidence of all those who had administered the government, including Mr. Jefferson, then President. In the political controversies of the day he had not shared. He was pledged, neither in opposition nor support to any men or measures other than those, which his sense of duty should dictate to him to support or oppose. His conduct in the senate, was such as was to have been justly expected from his situation. From indiscriminate opposition or blind support he was restrained by his principles. He gave a cheering voice to the government, on every measure which his judgment approved. Especially in the new aspect which the political world was assuming, in consequence of the infraction of our neutral rights, and the violation of the sovereignty of our flag by Great Britain, Mr. Adams was the prompt and undeviating supporter of the honor

of his country, and of the measures adopted by the administration for its defence. In pursuing this independent course, Mr. Adams incurred the disapprobation of the legislature of Massachusetts, which in May, 1808, by a small majority of federal votes, elected another person as senator, from the period of the expiration of Mr. Adams's term, and passed resolutions of the nature of instructions to their senators, containing principles which Mr. Adams disapproved. Choosing neither to act in conformity with these resolutions, nor to represent constituents, who had lost their confidence in him, Mr. Adams resigned his place in the senate of the United States.

It is almost superfluous to remark, that the decided support of a man like Mr. Adams was peculiarly acceptable to the Administration, at this moment. It was a support, given in the dark days of Mr. Jefferson's administration, when England was acting against the country the part which France had acted ten years before, and when the operation of the restrictive system, (the only measure of resistance, which, in the opinion of the administration, the country could then, in prudence, adopt,) had paralyzed the energies of the country, and excited wide spread discontent. It was a support given by an independent statesman, who had borne the name of the opposite party, at a moment, when, in addition to all the strength of the federalists, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were called to encounter, within the bosom of their own party and their own state, the unexpected and perilous defection of men, who had once led the ranks of the republican party in the House of Representatives; but who now "quarrelled" with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and threw themselves into a course of unsparing and unrelenting hostility. At this moment of trial, when beside the honest conflict of opposite parties, Mr. Jefferson was thus pressed by the whole weight of the British empire, and by a tremendous assault from the ranks of his late friends, aiming to embarrass him and supplant Mr. Madison, Mr. Adams came out boldly and manfully in his support.

The retirement of Mr. Adams from the Senate of the United States, although varying the direction, did not abate the activity of his uncommon powers, for serving his fellow men.—A life of unremitting public occupation had, by virtue of strict method, untiring diligence, and temperate habits, left him leisure to acquire as a relaxation, a mass of useful learning, which would, in most cases, have been deemed the fruit of a life of literary seclusion. Distinguished as a writer, among the best which the country has produced, and as a public speaker for a force, impressiveness, and senatorial eloquence not less rare, Mr. Adams, in 1793, was called to the chair of Rhetoric and Oratory, in the seminary where he received his education; and in that office he delivered a course of lectures on the *art of speaking well*; the most important art to the youth of a free country.

But his country had higher claims upon his

services. In June, 1809, he was appointed by Mr. Madison Minister to Russia. He had the good fortune here, to acquire the confidence of the Emperor Alexander, who was delighted with the contrast of the republican simplicity of the American minister, with the splendor of the foreign Envoys. He admitted Mr. Adams to a degree of intimacy rarely enjoyed with despotic monarchs, even by their own ministers. This circumstance laid the foundation of that good will toward America, on the part of the Emperor, of which this country has enjoyed, on many occasions, the important fruit. But its first fruit was the most important of all; for it was unquestionably owing to the confidential relation between Mr. Adams and the Emperor, that the mediation of Russia was tendered between England and the United States; a mediation, which, though it was declined by England, produced an offer from that country to treat directly, and thus led to peace. It was for this reason, that he was placed, by Mr. Madison at the head of the commission of five, by which the treaty of peace was negotiated, and which consisted, with a single exception, of some of the ablest men in the country. It is unnecessary to speak of the skill with which that negotiation was conducted. Mr. Adams bore a full part in its counsels and labors; and a corresponding share of the credit is due to him for that cogency and skill, which drew from the Marquis Wellesley, in the British House of Lords, the declaration that, "in his opinion, the American commissioners had shown the most astonishing superiority over the British, during the whole of the correspondence."

This tribute is the more honorable to Mr. Adams and his colleagues, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Clay, and their departed associate Mr. Bayard, from the circumstance, that, on every important point, the British commissioners received special instructions from the ministry at London, directing the terms in which the American Envoys were to be answered.

Having borne this part in bringing the war to a close by an honorable peace, Mr. Adams was employed, in conjunction with Messrs. Clay and Gallatin, in negotiating a convention of commerce with Great Britain, on the basis of which, our commercial intercourse with that country, has been ever since advantageously conducted.

Having been appointed minister at London, by Mr. Madison, Mr. Adams remained in that place till the accession of Mr. Monroe to the chair of state. On this occasion, Mr. Monroe in the formation of his cabinet, took deliberate counsel with several leading citizens of the country. Among others, the opinion of General Jackson was freely imparted to him. The counsel of this distinguished citizen was expressed in the following terms: "Every thing depends on the selection of your minist-

try. In every selection, party and party feelings should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate that MONSTER, called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without any regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely eradicate those feelings, which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government; and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people, heretofore politically divided. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings."

To this counsel, Mr. Monroe, felt himself unable to accede; he replied that "the association of any of the federal party in the administration would wound the feelings of its friends, to the injury of the republican cause." He made known, however, to General Jackson his design of distributing, as far as possible, the places in the cabinet, throughout the country. "I shall," said he, in his letter of March 1, 1817, to General Jackson, "take a person for the department of state, from the eastward; and Mr. Adams's long service in our diplomatic concerns appearing to entitle him to the preference, supported by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate." In reply to this intimation, General Jackson, in his letter of March 18th, observes, "*I have no hesitation in saying, you have made the best selection to fill the department of state that could be made.* Mr. Adams, IN THE HOUR OF DIFFICULTY, WILL BE AN ABLE HELPMATE, and *I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction.*"

It was with something of prophetic feeling, that General Jackson declared in 1817, "that Mr. Adams, in the hour of difficulty, would be an able helpmate." It was not a long time, before the conduct of General Jackson himself was the subject of solemn investigation before the grand inquest of the nation. The letters of Mr. Adams to the Spanish minister, justifying the conduct of General Jackson against the complaints of Spain, came seasonably to the support of this distinguished citizen, and effected the vindication of him against every charge of a violation of her rights.

In pursuance of the intimation of Mr. Monroe, cited above, Mr. Adams was called home from England and became secretary of state. On this arduous office he entered, as General Jackson had foretold he would, "to the general approbation of the country." He retained the confidence of Mr. Monroe and acquired that of his new colleagues, particularly of the distinguished citizen, who now fills the second office in the government. In reference to all questions on the foreign relations of the country, Mr. Adams was the influential member of the cabinet, and is consequently, more than any other individual composing it, entitled to

the credit of the measures, which, during Mr. Monroe's administration, were adopted, in reference to our foreign policy. It is not necessary that these should here be specified. One only is too important to be forgotten. The recognition of the new republics of the south. The credit of effectually urging that measure, in the House of Representatives, is due to Mr. Clay; that of choosing the propitious moment when it could be proposed, with the unanimous consent of Congress and the nation, belongs, in the first degree, to Mr. Adams. Nor is he entitled to less credit for the successful termination of our difficulties with Spain. A controversy of thirty years standing, which had resisted the skill of every preceding administration of government, was brought to an honorable close. Indemnity was procured for our merchants, and east and west Florida added to our republic. Next to the purchase of Louisiana, the history of our country presents no measure of equal importance with that of the acquisition of this territory. On every important occasion and question, that arose during Mr. Monroe's administration, the voice of Mr. Adams was for his country, for mild councils, and Union. In the agitations of the Missouri question, his influence was exerted for conciliation. He believed, that by the treaty of cession of 1803, Congress was barred from adopting the proposed restrictions on the admission of Missouri. Of internal improvements by roads and canals, he was ever the friend; and moved, in the Senate of the United States, the first project of their systematic construction. To the protection of American manufactures by a judicious revision of the tariff, he was in the same manner, friendly.—To the cause of religion and learning he afforded all the aid, in the power of an individual, not merely by the uniform countenance of every effort for their advancement, but by the most liberal pecuniary assistance to the college founded by the communion of Baptists, in the district of Columbia.

Such were his claims to the last and highest gift, which the people can bestow on a long tried faithful servant. Various circumstances conspired to strengthen them, in the late Presidential canvass. Of nine presidential elections, one only had given a President to any but a southern state. Of nine presidential elections, one only had given a President to a non-slave holding state. Of the several candidates, presented to the people, at the last election, Mr. Adams was the only one, who represented the non-slave holding interest.—Our brethren of the slave holding interest are sacredly entitled to protection, in their rights and feelings on this subject; but they ought not, either in prudence or justice, to demand a monopoly in the government of the country. Of nine elections, one only resulted in the choice of a representative of the commercial,

navigating, and manufacturing interests. Had the choice been presented to the people between Mr. Adams, and any other candidate singly, Mr. Adams would have been chosen, he having been, it is believed, in almost every state, either the first or second choice. But in consequence of the number of candidates, no choice by the people took place; and no candidate approached nearer than within 32 votes of a majority. Under those circumstances, the selection from the three highest candidates was made by the House of Representatives, and the claims of Mr. Adams, who had eight years before been pronounced by General Jackson, the best person to fill the department of State that could be found, were recognized by the House, on the first ballot, in fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution.

Of the measures, recommended by the President, such as have been adopted have been sanctioned by the people; and others which have been lost, in consequence of the unfortunate opposition, organized in the Senate of the United States, against the will of a majority of the people, have been loudly called for. Among the former, the mission to the friendly republics of the south,—which was required, in conformity with the uniform policy of the country toward them, has been warmly sanctioned by the country. The acquisition of nearly five millions of acres of land, for the benefit of Georgia, by friendly treaty, in preference of a war of extermination, has also been sanctioned by the people. The successful adjustment of the claims of our citizens, for property carried off, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, has procured a full indemnity for the losses thereby sustained. The great national road has been extended. Roads in Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, and Florida have been opened: the project of a great national road from Washington to New-Orleans pursued; the aid asked for the canals in Illinois, and Indiana granted; and numerous surveys effected in other parts of the United States, in accordance with the liberal sentiments of the President, on the great question of internal improvements.

Nor is it merely the individual policy of Mr. Adams, which has exhibited itself so decisively in favor of these all important national interests. They have received the support of the great mass of his political friends. Our fellow citizens, particularly of the northern and eastern states, have sustained the administration in all the measures, which have been adopted in promotion of the great American policy of internal improvement and domestic industry. While the bill for the Illinois canal was lost in the Senate, in 1826, by the casting vote of Mr. Calhoun, we behold the same bill successfully advocated, by Mr. Webster, in the House of Representatives, at the next session. The same gentleman is also entitled to the credit of having first effectually called the attention of the House of Representatives, to the construction of the Florida canal, a work which bids fair to take the first place as a great national improvement. In addition to what has been done during the administration of Mr. Adams, for the advancement of the best interests of the country, could the wishes of the President and the exertions of the friends of the administration have prevailed, three new judges would have been called to the bench of the Supreme Court in the west; the rights and interests of the country would have been upheld against the arrogant pre-

tensions of a foreign power, to regard the trade with her colonies, "as a boon granted by his majesty;" and some solace extended to the surviving remnants of the revolutionary war. These measures, however, as well as that for the protection of the woollen manufacturers, and wool growers of the country; for a naval school; for a saving of \$150,000 by an exchange of six per cent. stock for five; and various other measures recommended by the President, or brought forward by the friends of the administration and passed by the representatives of the people, have been lost, in consequence of a "combination of the senators," (as it is called by their own friends) to put down the administration "although (in the language of another of the same party) its members should be as pure as the angels in heaven."

In the composition of his cabinet, Mr. Adams has pursued a course, which entitles him to the confidence of the nation. He has called into the highest offices those, whom the people have long delighted to honor. In pursuance of General Jackson's counsel to Mr. Monroe he has not made former party names a ground of proscription. He appointed, to one important mission, Rufus King, whom a republican legislature in New-York, on the recommendation of Mr. Van Buren, re-elected to the Senate of the United States. But at the head of his cabinet, he has placed Henry Clay, the favourite champion and leader of the republican party; and associated him with colleagues, whose principles and characters are not less stamped with the sanction of public approbation.

Whether this administration which, though not so pure as the angels, is confidently believed to be as pure as was ever composed of mortal men, shall thus be put down, is the issue soon to be tried by the people. The friends of Mr. Adams do not intend, in asserting his claims, and defending his character, to vilify that of other candidates. They leave this course to those who hold the profligate maxim, that "all is fair in politics." It is sufficient to say, in this connexion, that Mr. Adams is not less distinguished for the virtues of private life, than for the talents and attainments of a statesman. It is believed that this sketch cannot be better closed, than with the following extracts from letters to his oldest son, written from Russia, during his mission to that country, and subsequently printed, without his knowledge or consent. We are willing that the event of the next election, should be decided by the parents of America, when they rise from the perusal of the following pages. We quote them, with the introductory remark, from a paper published in one of the northern states, during the last presidential canvass.

From the Salem Register.

When Mr. Adams went to Russia, he left his children in Quincy. A series of letters written by him from St. Petersburg to his son, is expressly devoted to his remarks on the Christian religion, and the book which contains its history and principles. If the public could possess this little volume, they would never question the measures, temper, and christian principles of Mr. Adams.—But to a request made within a few months, by a christian society, for permission to publish these letters, Mr. Adams has given a refusal. When they can be published, without any suspicions of the motives for publication, we have no doubt they will be given to the world; and will add another

Illustrious testimony of greatness to the truth of our religion. Although these letters have never been printed, many manuscript copies of them have got abroad, and hundreds have read them, and they have been introduced into some private schools. And we trust when the purpose for which we quote them, to defend Mr. Adams against a most cruel attack, is considered, we shall not be charged with piracy in making a few extracts from them. Our extracts will be confined to two points, Mr. Adams's opinion of the Bible and the religion it inculcates, and his opinion of the operation and government of the passions.

Extract of a letter from John Quincy Adams to his son. "In your letter of 10th January to your mother, you mention that you read to your Aunt a chapter in the Bible, or a section from Dr. Doddridge, every day. This information gave me great pleasure; for so strong is my veneration for the Bible, so strong is my belief, that when daily read and meditated upon, it is of all books in the world, that which contributes most to make men good, wise and happy; that the earlier my children begin to read it, and the more steadily they pursue the practice of reading it throughout their lives, the more lively and confident will be my hopes, that they will prove useful citizens to their country, respectable members of society, and a real blessing to their parents."

"I advise you, my dear son, in whatsoever you read, and most of all in reading the Bible, to remember that it is for the purpose of making you wiser and more virtuous. I have myself, for many years made it a practice to read through the Bible, once every year. I have always endeavored to read it with the same spirit and mind that I now recommend to you: that is, with the intention and desire that it might contribute to my advancement in wisdom and virtue. My desire, indeed, is very imperfectly successful, for like you and the Apostle Paul, I find a law in my members, warring against the law of my mind. But as I know it is my nature to be imperfect; so I know it is my duty to aim at perfection; and feeling and deploring my own frailties, I can only pray Almighty God for the aid of his Spirit, to strengthen my good desires, and subdue my propensities to evil, for it is from him that every good and perfect gift descendeth. My custom is to read four or five chapters in the Bible, every morning immediately after rising from bed, it employs about an hour of my time, and seems the most suitable manner of beginning the day. Every time I read the Bible, I understand some passage which I never understood before."

"It is essential, my son, in order that you may go through this life with comfort to yourself, and usefulness to your fellow creatures, that you should form and adopt certain principles for the government of your conduct and temper; unless there be such rules and principles, there will be numberless occasions, on which you will have no guide for your government but your passions. It is in the Bible you must learn these rules and principles."

Speaking of those parts of scripture that appear mysterious, he says, "all this is undoubtedly marvellous and above our comprehension. Much of it is clearly figurative and allegorical, nor is it easy to distinguish what part of it is to be understood in a literal, and what in a symbolical sense; but that which it imports us to understand is plain. The great and essential principles, on which our duties

and enjoyments depend, are involved in no obscurity."

"When one of the personages in one of Terence's comedies the first time uttered in the Theatre the line "*Homo sum et humana me nil alienum puto,*" (I am a man, and whatever concerns man, concerns me,) an universal shout of applause burst from the whole audience, and we are told that in so great a multitude of Romans, and of deputies from the nations, their subjects and allies, there was not one individual but felt, in his heart, the power of this noble sentiment. Yet how feeble and defective is it, in comparison with the christian command of charity, as unfolded in the discourses of CHRIST, and enlarged upon in the writings of the apostles. The heart of man will always respond with rapture to the sentiment, when there is no selfish, unsocial passion at work to oppose it. But the command to lay it down as the great fundamental conduct of human life, and to subdue and sacrifice all the tyrannical and selfish passions to preserve it,—this is the peculiar and unfading glory of christianity.—this is a conquest over ourselves which, without the aid of a merciful GOD, none of us can achieve, and which it was worthy of his special interposition to enable us to accomplish."

"In my last, I showed you from the very words of our SAVIOUR, that he commanded his disciples to aim at perfection; and that this perfection consisted in self-subjugation and brotherly love, in the complete conquest of the passions, and in the practice of benevolence to our fellow creatures, including among them our most inveterate enemies."—"You will there find proved the duty of totally subduing the passions. It is sometimes objected that this theory is not adapted to the infirmities of human nature, that it is not made for a human being so constituted as man, that an earthen vessel is not formed to dash against a rock; that in yielding to the impulse of his passions, man only follows the dictates of his nature, and that to subdue them entirely is an effort beyond his power. The weakness and frailty of man, it is not possible to deny, it is too stoutly attested by all human experience, as well as by the whole tenor of the scriptures; but the degree of weakness is to be limited by the effort to overcome it, and not by indulgence to it.—Once admit weakness as an argument to forbear exertion, and it results in absolute impotence. It is also very inconclusive reasoning to infer, that because perfection is not absolutely to be obtained, it is therefore not to be sought. Human excellence consists in the approximation to perfection, and the only means of approaching to any term, is by endeavouring to obtain the term itself. With these convictions on the mind, and a sincere, honest effort to practice upon them, and with the aid of a divine blessing which is promised to it, the approaches to perfection may at least be so great, as nearly to answer all the ends that absolute perfection itself could attain."

"In order to preserve the dominion of our own passions, it behoves us to be constantly and strictly on our guard, against the influence and infection of the passions of others. This caution is all necessary in Youth. I deem it the more indispensable to enjoin it upon you, because as kindness and benevolence comprise the whole system of christian duties, there may be, and often is, great danger of falling into error and vice, merely by want of energy, to resist the example and enticement of others.

On this point, the true character of Christian morality appears to have been misunderstood, by some of its ablest and warmest defenders. In Paley's "view of the evidences of christianity," there is a chapter upon the morality of the gospel, in which there is the following passage:—

"The truth is, there are two opposite descriptions of characters, under which mankind may generally be classed. The one possesses vigor, firmness, resolution; is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame, eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purposes, violent in its resentments. The other, meek, yielding, complying, forgiving, not prompt to act, but willing to suffer, silent and gentle under rudeness and insult, suing for reconciliation when others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of impudence, conceding and indulgent to the prejudices and the intractability of those it has to deal with. The former of these characters is and ever hath been, the favorite of the world. It is the character of *great men*.—There is a dignity in it which universally commands respect. The latter is poor-spirited, tame and abject. Yet so it happened with the founder of christianity, the latter is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example;—and that the former is no part of its composition."

"Dr. Paley is, in this place, adopting the opinions of Soame Jennings, whose *Essay upon the internal Evidence of Christianity* he very strongly recommends; but I cannot consider it as an accurate and discerning delineation of character, or as exhibiting a correct representation of Christian principles. The founder of Christianity did, indeed, pronounce distinct and positive blessings upon the poor in spirit (which is by no means synonymous with the poor-spirited) and the meek; but in what part of the Gospel did Dr. Paley find him countenancing by commendation, precept, or example the tame and abject? The character which Christ assumed upon the Earth was that of Lord and Master. It was in this character that his disciples received and acknowledged him. The obedience that he required was unbounded, infinitely beyond what was ever claimed, by the most absolute sovereign, over his subjects. Never, for one moment, did he recede from the authoritative system. He preserved it in washing the feet of his disciples; he preserved it in his answer to the high priest; he preserved it in the very agony of his exclamation on the cross; "Father forgive them, they know not what they do." He expressly declared himself to be the prince of this world and the Son of God. He spoke as one having authority, not only to his disciples, but to his mother and Judges; to Pilate the Roman governor, to John the Baptist, his precursor. And there is not in the four gospels, one act nor one word recorded of him, (excepting in his communication with GOD,) that was not a direct or implied assertion of authority. He said to his disciples (Matt. xi. 29,) 'learn of me for I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest to your souls.' But where did he ever say learn of me, for I am tame and abject. There is certainly nothing more strongly marked in the precept and example of Christ than the principles of stubborn and inflexible resistance of the impulses of others to evil. He taught his disciples to renounce every thing, that is counted enjoyment on earth; to take up their cross and suffer all ill treatment, persecution and death for his sake. What else is the book of the Acts,

than a record of the faithfulness with which these chosen ministers of the gospel carried these injunctions of the gospel into execution? In the conduct and speeches of Stephen and Peter, of John or of Paul, is there any thing indicating a resemblance to the second class of characters into which Dr. Paley divides all mankind? If there is a character upon historical record, distinguished by a bold, intrepid, tenacious, and inflexible spirit, it is that of St. Paul. It was to such characters, only, that the commission of teaching could be entrusted with any certainty of success. Observe the expression of CHRIST to Peter (Matt. xvi. 18) 'and I say unto thee that thou art Peter (a rock) and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Dr. Paley's christian is one of those drivellers, who, to use a vulgar adage, can never say *No* to any body. The true christian is the '*justum et tenacem propositi virum*' (the man who is just and constant to his purpose.) The combination of those qualities, so essential to the heroic character, with those of meekness, lowliness of heart, and brotherly love, is what constitutes that moral perfection, of which CHRIST gave an example in his own life, and to which he commanded his disciples to aspire. Endeavour, my dear son, to discipline your own heart and to govern your conduct, by these principles so combined.—Be meek, be gentle, be kindly affectionate to all mankind, not excepting your enemies. But never be tame nor abject; never give way 'to the pushes of impudence', or show yourself yielding or complying to prejudices, wrong-headedness, or intractability, which would lead or draw you astray from the dictates of your own conscience, or sense of right. 'Till you die, let not your integrity depart from you.' Build your house upon a rock, and then let the rains descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon that house; it shall not fall, it shall be founded on a *rock*. So promises your blessed LORD and SAVIOUR, and so prays your affectionate father."

"The principles and rules of composition derived from the Greek and Roman schools, and the examples of their principal writers, have been so generally adopted in modern literature, that the style of the scriptures, differing so essentially from them, could not be imitated without great affectation.—But for pathos of narrative; for selection of incidents which go directly to the heart; for the picturesque of character and manners; the selection of circumstances that mark the individuality of persons; for copiousness, grandeur, and sublimity of imagery; for unanswerable cogency and closeness of reasoning; for irresistible force of persuasion; no book in the world deserves to be so unceasingly studied and so profoundly meditated upon, as the BIBLE."

"Be careful not to let your reading make you a pedant or a bigot; nor to puff you up, with a conceited opinion of your own knowledge; nor make you intolerant of the opinions, which others draw from the same source, however different from your own. And may the merciful Creator, who gave the scriptures for our instruction, bless your study of them, and make them fruitful to you of good works."

The foregoing are extracted from eleven long letters, filling more than seventy pages in manuscript.