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CONCISE NARRATIVE

OF

General Jackson's

FIRST INVASION OF FLORIDA,

AND OF HIS IMMORTAL

DEFENCE OF NEW-ORLEANS:

WITH REMARKS.

—◆—
I speak of a great Man and a just Man.
—◆—

SECOND EDITION—WITH ADDITIONS.

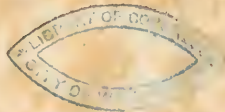
BY ARISTIDES.

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P R E F A C E.

Two candidates only being before the American People for their suffrages, at the next Presidential election, I propose to revive the recollection of those events, upon which the character and claims to public confidence, of one of them, are chiefly founded.

As a great portion of my fellow citizens have forgotten, or have never perused, a connected account of the occurrences of those important periods of our history, during which General Jackson contributed so essentially to the security and glory of his country, I shall revert to them as briefly as possible; and endeavor to show, that his conduct *in every instance*, both at New-Orleans and at Pensacola, was not only *blameless*, but that the lives and property of his fellow citizens, and the reputation of his country, could have been preserved *only* through the very means which he employed.

It is because the acts and motives of this distinguished citizen, during the progress of these events, have been misrepresented and his character traduced, that I deem this exposition necessary. The principal part of the transactions to which I shall refer, took place between twelve and thirteen years ago, and at a distance of nearly two thousand miles: hence the necessity, at the present moment, of producing such a connected narrative, as will enable the reader to form a correct judgment of the events themselves, and of the merits of him who fearlessly met, and successfully controlled them. Being of the utmost consequence to the nation at large, they swallowed up

in their magnitude, at the time, many of those minute particulars now set forth, which heighten the interest of great achievements, and increase the reputation, or diminish the importance attached to the agency of the chief actor in them.

My readers will, therefore, I hope, follow me with patience through these details: they will explain, fully, the necessity of those energetic, but salutary measures, which were adopted at the time. They may, perhaps, appear at first sight to be too voluminous; but it was not possible to condense them more, and do justice to the subject. Those who are candid and desirous of receiving information, will not regret the loss of half an hour in perusing a statement which has truth and justice for its object. If I shall establish the fact, and I think I shall do it most conclusively, that Gen. Jackson did those things *only* which could have saved the country, he must be acquitted of all blame. If he be exonerated from censure, then must he be applauded for his foresight, wisdom, and prudence; and these high qualities, added to his universally admitted virtues of patriotism and valour, entitle him,—in the opinion of the writer, to the first place in the hearts of his countrymen; and to that office, which is the greatest in their gift, and the highest in point of dignity, *when honourably acquired*, of any in the world!

NARRATIVE.

In the early part of the year 1814, Andrew Jackson, then a major general of militia in the state of Tennessee, having fought and conquered the Southern Indians in several severely contested battles, received, from the President of the United States, the appointment of major general in the regular service. Accompanying the commission were directions from the War Department, to take charge of and *defend* the Seventh Military District.

As the Indians, whom he had recently subdued, in the onset and throughout the continuance of hostilities, had outraged humanity by the most shocking and brutal murders, Jackson was directed to treat with them as a *conquered people*. Accordingly on the 9th of August, "he succeeded in procuring the execution of a treaty, in which the Indians pledged themselves, *"no more to listen to foreign emissaries ; to hold no communication with British or Spanish garrisons ; guaranteed to the United States the right of erecting posts in their country, and a free navigation of all their waters. They stipulated also that they would suffer no agent or trader to pass among them, or hold any kind of commerce with their nation, unless specially deriving his authority from the President of the United States."*

During the negotiation, Jackson endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the savages the necessity of preserving these stipulations, and of remaining at peace with our country. And although he did not apprehend any concerted action among them, yet he feared danger from those scattered fugitives who had fled to the Escambia and Pensacola ; and who, in all probability, would attach themselves to the *British* and pilot them through the country.

I wish the reader to bear in mind the conditions of this treaty, together with the predictions of the general ; and that he will also connect them with the facts disclosed in Mr. Adams's letter in vindication of his second invasion of Florida. He will then perceive that the occupation of that country in 1817, and

the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, grew out of a violation of this very treaty, at the instigation and through the agency of those monsters themselves, and their leader and associate Nichols.

It was long before this period that Gen. Jackson admonished the government of the dangers to be apprehended from the occupation of Pensacola by the British. Already 300 had landed and were fortifying themselves on the Apalachicola, and were endeavouring to excite the Indians to massacre and blood. The neutral Spaniard was the open ally of Britain and the savages. His country was the theatre of war against the U. States. Jackson knew the treacherous disposition of the Indians, and the faithless character of the Spaniards; and Hampton and Havre-de-Grace, the theatres of British glory, had left ample traces of the prowess and chivalry of their magnanimous allies. He therefore besought his government to authorize him to make a descent upon Pensacola,—although Spain was at peace and in amity with us,—as the only means of securing the southern border from the incursions and inroads of the Indians and British. But strange as it may appear, no answer to repeated solicitations to that effect, were ever received by him, until after the battle of New-Orleans.

On the 17th January, 1815, after the British army had been repulsed at New-Orleans, and the descent on Florida almost forgotten, Jackson received through the post office department, dated at Washington City, July 18, 1814, the following letter from general Armstrong, then secretary at war :—

“The case you put, is a very strong one; and if all the circumstances stated by you unite, the conclusion is irresistible, *it becomes our duty to carry our arms where we find our enemies.* It is believed, and I am so directed by the President to say, that there is a disposition on the part of the Spanish government, not to break with the United States, nor to encourage any conduct on the part of her subordinate agents, having a tendency to such a rupture. We must, therefore, in this case, be careful to ascertain facts, and even to distinguish what, on the part of the Spanish authorities, may be the effect of menace and compulsion, or of their choice and policy. The result of this inquiry must govern. *If they admit, feed, arm, and co-operate with the British and hostile Indians, we must strike—on the broad principle of self preservation. Under other and different circumstances we must forbear.*”

Here then was authority, but it was received by Jackson af-

ter he had assumed the responsibility of the measure, and driven the British to their ships. How came this letter to be delayed six months, and by whom was it delayed?

He,—remarked Jackson, speaking of this transaction some time after,—if this letter had been received in time, I could have captured the Barancas and all the British shipping in the bay—3 frigates and two sloops of war.

Having, at length, obtained the most positive information that the British were in possession of the Spanish forts Barancas and St. Rose, and were fortifying themselves in Pensacola; and that a large body of Indians and negroes between 4 and 500, with British uniforms and new muskets, were daily drilling in the town, under British officers, *he decided at once* to invade Florida and march to Pensacola.

Unwilling, however, precipitately to involve himself or his country, he first apprized the Governor of Pensacola of the information he had received, and inquired of him why it was that the enemies of his country were permitted to garrison their forts and fortify themselves in the town. He received an evasive answer; and when the appeal was repeated, *his flag was fired upon*, and the bearer compelled to return. Finding there was no alternative, that the enemy or himself must occupy this neutral country, he chose the latter, and marched to Pensacola. On his approach, the British retreated with their shipping, blew up the Forts Barancas and St. Rose, and their savage allies fled to the forest.

It is not deemed necessary here to insert the public law to show that Jackson was justifiable in what he did. It is a settled principle of that law, that the occupation of a neutral territory by one belligerent, whether with the connivance and permission of the neutral, or from his inability to prevent it, is a perfect justification for the forcible occupation of it by the other belligerent. Here was nothing ambiguous or equivocal. The British with their allies the Indians and Negroes, occupied the forts and garrisons of the Spanish King, who was at the time at peace and in amity with us. Pensacola was their rallying place, their rendezvous; where they deposited their plunder, recounted their murders and massacres, and consummated their plans for future movements. There could be no speculation or doubt about the matter. They were *there* when Jackson entered the town; blew up the forts *there* and fled *thence*. They encountered our army *there*, and were beaten by them on the neutral ground of Pensacola!

The British intended by occupying this station, to harass our forces and divert the attention of the general from the real object of attack, New-Orleans. Jackson saw it, and prevented it *on his own responsibility*.

Having chastised the Spaniards, and caused the British to retreat, the American commander preceeded forthwith to New-Orleans, upon which place, he felt confident, the British intended soon to make their descent. It was now the 22nd November, the season advanced, the weather inclement, his health delicate, and his mind agitated and depressed, from the conviction that a sudden and severe attack would be made at that point where we were most assailable, and least prepared to make a defence. So well informed and confident was he of the intentions of the enemy, that he despatched messengers to Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, for volunteers and militia, and urged them on with all possible expedition as the only means of saving the whole lower country. His own forebodings were increased and confirmed by despatches from Washington, in which the government apprized him of the approaching danger, and besought him to be vigilant and active.

Before he arrived in the city, Governor Claiborne had informed him of the unprepared state of the country, its destitute condition in arms and men, *and of the unsound state of its population*. And on his arrival, his own observation convinced him that the picture had not been exaggerated. The city was filled with the most discordant materials. A mixed population of Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Americans, disaffected towards our government, and impatient of restraint; ignorant of the use of fire-arms, and unwilling to submit to the discipline of the camp, composed but poor materials for the defence of a country thus exposed, and almost 1000 miles from our resources. Doubt and apprehension pervaded all classes; but instead of desponding himself or of disclosing his own forebodings, he assumed an air of confidence and security, and thus encouraged all classes to stand up and breast their difficulties. He pressed the Governor for succours; appealed to the legislature for aid; and urged the citizens to a defence of all that was dear to them on earth.

At length on the 13th and 14th December, the barges from the British shipping, after a gallant resistance on the part of the brave Jones and his crew, captured all our little fleet on the small lakes near New-Orleans. Thus disclosing their

intention of a speedy debarkation, but not indicating as yet, the precise point of landing. The crisis was approaching, the day of trial was near—the enemy was at hand, nor could it be believed that he would undertake an expedition of such magnitude without a force commensurate to the object : and as yet, General Jackson could not muster *over* 2000 troops of all descriptions to resist them. He immediately despatched messengers to the Kentucky and Tennessee troops, begging them to hasten on with all possible expedition, or all would be lost before their arrival. They heard and honoured the call, and hastened to the relief of their exposed countrymen.

These noble, these patriotic heroes,—for every man acting from such impulses, is a patriot and a hero,—had travelled voluntarily almost 1000 miles, through swamps and forests, through rain and frost, during the most inclement season of the year, for the purpose of assisting a sister state to repel a common foe : when too, from their insulated position, they themselves could never be reached by the British, unless through the tomahawk and scalping knife of their Indian allies.

Hear this ye craven, heartless band of the Hartford Convention ! Hear this, and sink with shame, ye who, though the British soiled your shores with their footsteps, had neither the courage nor the patriotism to drive them thence ! Now let Henry Clay and his worthy allies of the East, and his co-adjutors in corruption, boast of their victory over the subdued spirit of the WEST !—The Hartford Convention is triumphant ; its instigators and abettors now lord it over that country which twelve short years ago, they would have sold or betrayed to the enemy ; but, which Jackson and his brave companions in arms preserved and covered with glory.

But to return to my narrative. All now was gloom and terror ;—*the British were come*, and there was no force to repel them ;—the populace became frantic with fear, and how could they help it ? A brutal enemy was on their shores, ready to overwhelm them ; and there was no barrier between them and massacre, plunder, and lust, excepting about two thousand men, and that towering spirit, which, guided by its own capacious and unerring judgment, *had never been appalled, had never been subdued*. He told the affrighted people, that feeble as was his force, he was resolved to assail the enemy on his first landing, and *perish* sooner than suffer them to reach the city.

At this fearful moment, this period of consternation and dismay, foreseeing that the enemy would possess himself of supplies and information, through the thousand avenues which were open to the disaffected; that his plans and efforts would be frustrated by permitting every citizen or alien, in a town besieged, to enjoy his liberty, and become the judge of his own duty and his own acts,—General Jackson proposed to the legislative body, then in session, that the city should be placed under *martial law*. It was known and conceded that Congress alone had the power by the constitution; and then only in cases of insurrection or actual invasion. But what was to be done? *There was invasion; and disaffection did exist in the city*,—Congress was too distant; but the city, notwithstanding, must be saved. It was saved! The legislature debated and hesitated. They thought it necessary, but feared to do it; they deliberated whether they should save the city or give it to the flames; and came to no conclusion. Pressed by the surrounding dangers, there was no time for procrastination; Jackson assumed the responsibility of the measure, “and declared martial law, under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care, could by such a measure alone be saved from utter ruin. *He thought, he said, at such a moment, that constitutional forms should be suspended for the preservation of constitutional rights; and, that there could be no question whether it were better to depart for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them wrested from us for ever.*”

This measure was indeed to be justified only on the principle of necessity. Its necessity was obvious from the nature of the existing circumstances and is still more apparent from the following facts:—that the Legislature of Louisiana, at that very time, having no constitutional power to regulate or restrain commerce, passed an act laying an embargo—that the Executive sanctioned it, and from a conviction of its necessity, it was acquiesced in. *The same Legislature shut up the Courts of Justice to all Civil Suitors; the same Executive sanctioned that Law, and the Judiciary not only acquiesced, but solemnly approved it.* That the Governor undertook to inflict the punishment of exile, upon an inhabitant *without any form of law*, merely because he thought that an individual's presence might be dangerous to the public—and that Judge Hall acquiesced in it; and further, being impressed with the emergency of the moment and the necessity of employing

every means of defence, he, the Judge *consented to the discharge of men, committed and indicted for CAPITAL CRIMES without bail and without recognizance.* And finally, under the impression that the exercise of his judicial functions would be useless, and that there was more *personal safety* in retreat, absented himself from the place where his Court was to be holden, and postponed its session during a regular term.

Thus the conduct of the *Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches of the Government of Louisiana*, bore the fullest testimony of the necessity under which General Jackson acted when he proclaimed martial law.

Such was his act, and such were his reasons for it. To save the city, he took this measure of precaution ; its operation could be oppressive only to the disaffected and wicked. The good and the patriotic advised it ; The base and degenerate alone disliked it. It was not adopted to keep honest men in awe, but villains in check ; and it had the desired effect.

This then was the head and front of his offending ; the climax of his usurpation. His authority was now supreme. He had it in his power to prevent bad men from betraying his army and the city into the hands of the enemy. It went no farther ; it was not intended to go farther. But did he abuse his power ? Was any man oppressed by it ? No, *not one !* During the whole period that the enemy remained on the land, there was no complaint made of its rigours or injustice. It was *after* the enemy had *embarked*, and while it was uncertain at what point he would make his second attempt, that *mutiny was excited and disaffection created, by a member of the Legislature and a Judge of the Court.*

Say, ye brave and patriotic defenders of your native soil, was he right, or was he not ? I appeal to the brave men who fought with him ; who participated in all the dangers of the field and shared in the toils of the camp with him ; was he right or was he not ? Say, ye brave Kentuckians, ye noble Tennesseans, were your sympathies so much excited for these people, because they were compelled to submit to the same restrictions that you endured daily ? To prevent their throats from being cut, and their property from being plundered by the British, you had marched a thousand miles during the most inclement season of the year, enduring martial law on the march and while at New-Orleans ; and yet these men could not endure to be debarred the privilege of going to the enemy, at pleasure, and betraying you into his power. The

citizens of New-Orleans were no worse off after the declaration of martial law, than the citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee, who had volunteered to subject themselves to the rigours and dangers of a camp, in order that they might thereby the better defend them. But then, these volunteers and militiamen were soldiers, and could expect no better. Soldiers! and who were the soldiers? They were the farmers, the respectable patriotic yeomanry of the west,—neighbours, fathers, sons, and brothers. Good God! And did you complain at being placed in the same situation with those who came so far, and endured so much, to deliver you from bondage? Monstrous ingratitude! Base and degenerate must that heart have been that could complain.

I appeal to every patriotic and candid man in the union; to the noble population of the state of New-York; to her brave militia, who so gallantly co-operated with the people of Kentucky and the west, in their second contest for independence, to say whether he was right or not? But I will *not* appeal to the Hartford Convention men, nor to Henry Clay, *their friend*, nor to those cold-blooded causers, "*who considered it unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the success of our arms.*"

Note A. Appendix.

I appeal to such as love their country, and who, when danger approaches, are ready and willing, without consulting stale authorities or contexts of faith, to defend their liberties at the hazard of their lives. I appeal to such to say, whether through pusillanimity, Jackson should have permitted the sack of the city and the pollution of its women; or have adopted that salutary restriction, for it amounted to no more, and saved them both? But our hearts and our heads tell us he did right; that he acted wisely and humanely. The people blessed him for it. They wept tears of joy at the return, the triumphant return of the hero, who had beaten the enemies of his country, and proved himself their saviour. His government honoured him for it, and the whole nation applauded the bold but salutary measure.

At length on the 23d December, the British having landed, General Jackson concentrated his forces to repel them, consisting of 700 regulars and 1300 militia and volunteers, all he could muster. At one o'clock in the afternoon, he left the city, at the head of his troops, for the scene of action. Towards night, the two armies encountered each other, and

after a sharp contest, the enemy were beaten and gave way. They retired about a mile, when owing to the darkness of the night, Jackson determined to halt until the morning, and then renew the conflict.

In the meanwhile he ascertained from his prisoners, that the British forces, actually engaged the night preceding, amounted to between 5 and 6000 men, whilst his own did not exceed 2000. This disparity was too great. Of the bravery of his men he never doubted ; they had proved it in the engagement just over ; but their numbers were small compared to that of the enemy, and they were badly armed. He therefore determined, at once, upon a *defensive* policy. Every hour he looked for the brave men from Kentucky and Tennessee, and the arms and munitions long since despatched from Pittsburgh for the use of the army. Prompt in deciding, he had no sooner formed his determination, than he set himself to work at his defences, "*and with such zeal and watchfulness, that until the night of the 27th, he never closed his eyes.*" On that night, his lines being completed, and his body worn down by fatigue, he retired to repose for the first time, *in five days and four nights !*

Do the enemies of the republic act thus ? Would the Hartford Convention men have done this ? Would Governor Strong, of Massachusetts, have done it, for the purpose of rescuing a sister state from invasion and blood ? Would the dark-souled Webster have done it ? or the *Hon. Josiah Quincy*, or any other of the *present distinguished friends of the Hon. Henry Clay*, have done it, or the Arch Sophist himself ? Would any of these have ventured and suffered what this patriot and gallant warrior did at the time, for his exposed and bleeding country ? No ; I answer ! And shall he be condemned for it, or forgotten for it ? No ! I repeat.

" Between the 23d and the attack of the 28th December, " major Butler, who still remained in the city, was applied " to by Fulwar Skipwith, at that time speaker of the senate, " to know what Jackson intended to do, provided he should " be compelled to retreat to the city. Would he, inquired " Skipwith, in that event, destroy it ? observing, at the same " time, that it was rumoured that that was the General's " intention. The legislature, he said, desired information on " the subject, that if such were his intentions, *they might, by* " *offering terms to the enemy*, avert so serious a calamity. And " while in the act of communicating an order to General

“Coffee, along his line, in the heat of the battle, General Jackson was accosted by one of his aids-de-camp, and informed that *the legislature were then secretly agitating the subject of terms to be offered to the enemy, with a proffer of a surrender*, and that Governor Claiborne awaited his orders on the subject. Doubtful as was the result, whether the city must fall or could be saved, yet such a scheme to be engendered, at such a moment, and almost consummated without his knowledge; without knowing the actual danger they were in, or consulting him who alone could determine it, and who had saved the city on the night of the 23d, was rather too much. The pernicious tendency of such a project, amongst an army composed of such discordant and fragile materials, and whilst the battle was raging too, incensed as well as embarrassed the General.—Availing himself of the first respite from the violence of the attack, he apprized Governor Claiborne of what he had heard, and ordered him to watch the conduct of the legislature closely, and at the moment the project of offering a capitulation to the enemy should be disclosed, *to place a guard at the door and confine them to their chamber*. The governor, in his zeal to execute the command, construed the order as imperative, when it was merely contingent. Mistaking the order, instead of shutting them *in doors*, he turned them *out*, contrary to the General’s wishes and expectations.”—*Eaton’s Life*.

“Previously to this, a committee of the legislature had called upon the General to know what his course would be provided he should be driven from his position. If, replied the veteran, I thought the hair of my head could divine what I should do, I would forthwith cut it off:—Say to your honourable body, if disaster should overtake me, and the fate of war does drive me to the city, *that they may expect to have a very warm session*.”—*Eaton’s Life*.

For this mistake of governor Claiborne, has general Jackson, among other things, been severely censured. Let us examine into the nature of his command, and the power of the legislature to capitulate.

By the commission which general Jackson held from the president of the United States, *he* represented the government in his individual person. On him rested all responsibility. and, on the subjects of resistance or capitulation, *his voice alone* could be heard. Neither the governor of a state nor the

legislature of a state has power, during war, to surrender the United States' forces, without the consent of their commanding officer. They can no more surrender on conditions, by capitulation, than they can declare war or make peace. To show the folly and utter absurdity of the thing, let us imagine for a moment, that the legislature in their patriotic wisdom had capitulated ;—what then ? Jackson would not have agreed to it—he commanded all the forces, the legislature *none*. The enemy then could not have passed his lines, and things must have remained as they were. But was this all ? Oh, no ! While these brave men were in actual conflict, in the field, exerting every nerve to save the city and repel the foe ; at this moment of carnage and strife, the heavens lighted by their fires and the earth quaking at every discharge of their cannon ; at this moment of dreadful uncertainty and consternation, the legislature, to secure their own safety, and reckless of every other consideration, were on the threshold of sacrificing the army and the country at a blow. The mere report amongst the militia of such an intention, would have been fatal—It was a lighted match on the eve of being applied to the magazine—Jackson saw it, seized it at the hazard of his life, and *extinguished it*. It was a ruse de guerre of the enemy, or the work of some hellish spirit, bent on stratagem and spoil. What an attempt to compel the commander, at such a moment, to surrender his country to shame and his name to infamy !—But he was honest, and honourable, and brave, and he could neither surrender to fear nor to force ; nor could he tamper with cowardice or treason.

Had Jackson been less prompt or energetic, the country would have been sacrificed that hour to the fears or machinations of those, who, from their rank and intelligence, should have been foremost in defending it, and in sustaining its reputation.

At length, on the 4th of January, the long-expected reinforcements from Kentucky and Tennessee arrived, amounting to 2,250 men, militia and volunteers. They were almost worn down by fatigue and forced marches, having literally waded through mud and rain for the last 3 or 400 miles. And behold ! after travelling 1,000 miles, to get to the field of glory, there were no arms for them to fight with ! The arms which had been despatched from Pittsburgh months gone by, had not yet arrived, nor were there any tidings of them. What to do Jackson knew not. " He was prepared for every

thing but despondency," It was in vain to seek relief—there was none.*

"No expedient, no alternative presented itself, *but to place these brave men, without arms, at his intrenchments in the rear, conceal their actual condition, and by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength.*" And was not this circumstance alone, of itself, sufficient to authorize the declaration of martial law? The city was besieged. The force of the enemy, including the reinforcements just arrived under Gen. Lambert, was ascertained to exceed 14,000. These were veteran troops, well armed, well fed, and well clothed, and led on by Generals as experienced as any in Europe, and accustomed to victory. They were daily furnished, *by the disaffected*, with every information relating to the condition of the city and the army, and of the General's plans and movements; whilst our forces of effective militia and volunteers, was not 4,000 on the east bank of the river.

On the night of the 6th, a soldier, from our lines, deserted and fled to the British. He unfolded to them the state of our encampment, the arrival of reinforcements, and the unarmed condition of a great part of the troops. He pointed out to them the position occupied by Carroll's Brigade, and recommended them to make their attack there, as the weakest part of the line.†

* About this period, another and apparently an insuperable difficulty presented itself. There was no money. The Quartermaster informed the General that his funds were exhausted, and that without means he could procure nothing for the subsistence of his men. What was to be done? The commander saw, that without arms and without money, no army could be victorious. Arms he expected hourly, but funds were no where provided that he knew of, and *government securities could not be negotiated.* In this extremity the noble, the patriotic Jackson, with his characteristic promptitude, and love of country, PLEDGED ALL HIS OWN ESTATES FOR RELIEF. He went into the banks, and borrowed to a large amount, on his own name and his own securities, to save that city which Judge Hall ran away from. *That city*, which, within a short month thereafter, was destined to witness the punishment of its Saviour, through the malice of a recreant.

† The British being suspicious of the integrity of the deserter, took him with them on the morning of the 8th. He pointed to the spot where they would meet with the least resistance, but alas! for the poor deserter; Jackson, suspecting his design, had immediately changed his front, as soon as he learnt the defection of the man. At this point the enemy suffered most. Exasperated at what they imagined to be a deception in the deserter, they hung him on the first eminence, in spite of his protestations and entreaties.

The 8th of January at length arrived. The enemy's signals for the attack were made. Their batteries now opened, and a shower of bombs and balls were poured upon our lines, while the air was in a blaze from their Congreve rockets. The two divisions, under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham, in person, and supported by Generals Kean and Gibbs, pressed forward, the right against the centre of Carroll's command, (that point which the American deserter had represented as being defended by militia alone,) and the left against our redoubt on the levee. They advanced with a firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of 60 or 70 deep. Our troops, who were in readiness, waiting their approach, gave three cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with the blaze of their fire. A burst of artillery and small arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. In our musketry there was not a moment's intermission; as one party discharged their pieces, another succeeded, alternately loading and appearing—no pause could be perceived. It was one continued volley; the columns saw with horror the danger, the certain destruction that awaited them. They wavered, and began to recede from the conflict. At this moment, Sir Edward Pakenham hastened to the front, and endeavoured to reanimate and inspirit them. But he soon fell, mortally wounded. Generals Kean and Gibbs also fell, dangerously wounded, and were borne from the field. Instantly the reserve, under General Lambert, came up and met the retreating columns. His efforts to stop them were unavailing; they continued their flight, until they reached a ditch, at the distance of about 400 yards, where they halted, and were rallied.

The field before them was strewed with the dead and dying. Urged on, however, by their officers, who feared their own disgrace in the failure, they moved again to the charge. They had advanced near enough to deploy, and were about to do so, when they were met by the same unremitted and destructive aim. The fires of our batteries never ceased, and the enemy's columns were cut down as fast as they were formed. Satisfied, at length, that nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited any further attempts, they forsook the contest in disorder, leaving the field literally covered with the dead and wounded. Panic-struck and horror-struck, they fled to their encampment and their ships, never again to return, to pollute the soil of freedom with their hostile tread.

The enemy's loss this day must have been over 3,000. They admitted 2,700, whilst ours was only 13, killed and wounded. Wonderful disparity ! Wonderful interposition of Providence !

Whether to pursue them, and endeavour to capture the entire force, or suffer them to retire quietly to their ships, was a question now to be determined. Our army, flushed with victory, were impatient of pursuit. They had, although barely militia-men, beaten the enemy and defended their lines, in a manner to excite universal admiration and astonishment. With only *three thousand seven hundred* effective men on the east side of the river, the point where General Jackson commanded in person, they had encountered and repulsed upward of *ten thousand* British veterans, under Packenham, one of their greatest generals. The panic-struck foe awaited in sullen silence the movements of the American commander. A moment's reflection determined the course he meant to pursue. His men were not all armed, and not one half had muskets and bayonets ; they were, therefore, not prepared for a field-fight. He consequently decided not to risk a battle on the open plain.

The city was safe. By continuing on the defensive, there could be no further danger ; whereas, by risking an engagement in the plain, with his half-armed militia, against treble their numbers of veteran regulars, who, although just defeated, were exasperated to madness at their discomfiture, might cost him all his honours, and the city beside. *He considered, too, that the lives of his men, fathers, husbands, and sons, as they were, of the respectable yeomenry of the country, on every one of whom, perhaps, a family depended for its subsistence, were too precious to be adventured for the bare honours of the field.* He determined, therefore, to hold on to the advantages which he had already obtained, rather than risk their loss by an attempt to gain fresh laurels.

Had the arms which were despatched from Pittsburgh been received before the battle of the 8th, greater havoc would have been produced among the British in the onset, and the whole of their force in all probability captured ; but these supplies never reached head-quarters until after the British had departed, and peace was proclaimed.*

* Orders had been forwarded to Pittsburgh, from the War Department, at an early period, for a large supply of muskets and other arms, to be sent to New-Orleans. The agent, through stupidity, or from a parsimonious dis-

Thus terminated an invasion, as glorious to our country and the immortal actors in it, as it was disastrous and unexpected to the British. In every encounter, from the all-important onset of the 23d December till the unparalleled repulse of the 8th of January, our gallant militia maintained the advantage; in heroic valour, and patient endurance of toil; in watchfulness and anxious solicitude for the honour and glory of the country; and in chivalric sympathy for the defenceless women and children—who awaited in silent dread the approach of *fourteen thousand ruffians*, maddened to desperation under a pledge from their commander that the city should be given up to **SACK** and the **WOMEN TO THE SOLDIERY**! * they have never been surpassed by any equal number of human beings. O, thou gallant band! with what pride and satisfaction shall thy countrymen *for ever* dwell upon the glories of this day! with what eagerness shall the young and valiant hereafter drink up the story of thy wonderful achievements; and, in their ardent aspirations, ejaculate as they read, *would to God I had been there*—would that I could have beheld, that I might have honoured the immortal Jackson!

On the 20th January, the enemy having embarked his men and left the shore, Jackson, with his remaining forces, commenced his march to New-Orleans. “The general glow excited at beholding his entrance into the city at the head of a long-suffering and victorious army, was manifested by all those feelings which patriotism and sympathy inspire. The streets and windows were crowded to view the man whose vigilance, decision, and energy had preserved the country. It was a scene calculated to excite the tenderest and most lively emotions. But a few days since and every bosom throbbed for deliverance and safety. Fathers, sons, and

position, or through corruption, had put them on board of a floating ark, instead of sending them by a steam-boat, which was there at the time, and the proprietor of which offered to take them at a trifling freight more than was given on board the scow. To heighten the value of the service performed, the captain of the ark stopped to trade at every village on the river, and arrived at the place of destination early in the following spring.

* *Booty and Beauty* was the watch word of Sir Edward Pakenham's army in the battle of the 8th. “The history of Europe,” says Eaton, “is challenged to afford an instance of such gross depravity. English writers may deny it, but the information was obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by the books of two of their orderly sergeants taken in battle, which contained *record proof of the fact.*”

“husbands, were toiling in the ranks, in defence of their property, their homes; of their wives and children. A ferocious enemy, numerous and skilled in the art of war, and to whom every indulgence had been promised, were determined to glut their hellish propensities, by first sacrificing these fathers, sons, and husbands.—It was only through their *heart's blood* that they could expect to reach the objects of their lust. Every cannon that echoed from the line, was, perhaps, the signal of approach, and of the commencement of indescribable horrors. But, O God! those feelings had subsided—those painful anticipations were gone. The tender female, relieved from the anguish of danger and suspense, no longer trembled for her safety and her honour. Joy sparkled in every countenance, while scarcely a widow or an orphan was seen to cloud the general transport. The approach of the troops was hailed with acclamations; all greeted their return, and Jackson as their deliverer.”—*Eaton's Life of Jackson*.

But, amidst the warm expression of their thanks, and the honours and congratulations heaped upon him, he was not unmindful that to an energy superior to his own, and a wisdom which controls the destinies of nations, he was indebted for the glorious triumph of our arms. Respite from the arduous duties of the field, his first concern was to draw the minds of all in thankfulness and adoration to that Sovereign Mercy without whose aid and inspiring counsel, vain would be all earthly efforts. The 23d was appointed a day of prayer and thanksgiving for the happy deliverance effected by our arms, and Jackson repaired to the cathedral. The church and altar were splendidly decorated, and more than could obtain admission had crowded to witness the ceremony. A grateful recollection of his exertions to save the country was cherished by all: nor did the solemnity of the occasion, even here, restrain a manifestation of regard, or induce them to withhold an expression of the sense they entertained of the honours he merited. Children, robed in white, and representing the different states, were employed in strewing the way with flowers, while, as he passed, a flattering ode, produced for the occasion, saluted his ears.

When the general reached the church, Dubourgh, the reverend administrator of the diocese, met him at the door, and addressed him in a strain of pious eloquence; to which the general made a suitable reply. He was then conducted to a

seat near the altar, when the organ and other church ceremonies commenced, and inspired every mind with a solemn reverence for the occasion."—*Eaton's Life of Jackson*.

Note B. Appendix.

The Legislature had recommenced their session. Their first act was, to pass in review the incidents of the last month. They tendered a vote of thanks to all those who had acted in the defence of the state, *excepting* Jackson. Not a word was said in praise of him who had saved the country. But he cared not for this omission. The people thanked him for it; and the gallant and just men all over the union would appreciate his sacrifices and his sufferings, and "extend honour to him to whom it was due."

About this time disaffection began to show itself in the American camp. The enemy was gone, he was not to be seen on the shore, and hence the inconsiderate apprehended no danger. But the designing availed themselves of the circumstance to excite mutiny in the ranks, and disaffection amongst the citizens. Pretexts were sought among the former to escape from the drudgery of the camp, and the latter became impatient of restraint. The unfortunate report of peace which just then had got into circulation, increased these disaffections. A report that a flag had arrived at head quarters, announcing the conclusion of peace, was indiscreetly published in the Gazette; and although officially contradicted, yet it had a tendency to produce lassitude and discontent.

The British, although on board of their ships, were still hovering on the coast, and meditated, for aught the General knew, an attack at some more fortunate point. Might not this then, thought he, be a device of theirs to produce relaxation in his system of operations, and discontent among his troops? He saw all these dangers lurking beneath it, and "*whether true or false, it was foreign to his duty to be influenced by any thing, unless officially communicated by his government.*" He addressed his troops and warned them of the danger and the disgrace of being imposed upon; and issued a general order, forbidding the publication, in any newspaper in the city, of communications relating to the army, or in any manner affecting it, without first obtaining permission from head quarters.

Notwithstanding this prohibition, formally and officially promulgated, an anonymous publication soon made its appearance in the Louisiana Gazette, reflecting upon the army, exciting

the troops to discontent, and affording intelligence to the enemy of their situation.

Jackson sent for the editor, and on his stating that the author was M. Louaillier, a member of the legislature, the printer was discharged; Louaillier was arrested and detained for trial.

This afforded civilians a fair opportunity of testing the power of the military over the civil authority. Application was made to Judge Hall for a writ of habeas corpus, which was immediately issued and disobeyed. The prisoner Louaillier was still detained, and the Judge sent beyond the limits of the camp, "there to remain, agreeably to the orders of the general, until the ratification of peace."

This high-handed measure, as it has been termed, was adopted to give effect to his measures. To convince the refractory and designing, that judicial interference should not mar his plans by its indiscreet interposition. When martial law was declared, neither Judge Hall nor the legislative body objected to it; and, after its authority had been established, for a long while, *without opposition or complaint or even inconvenience* to the citizens, and its benefits admitted by every body, what folly in the Judge, to contest the point with the general, for the vain satisfaction of humbling the conqueror, in the midst of his triumphs, and destroying all authority in the camp.

On the 13th, two days after the departure of the Judge from the city, despatches were received from the War Department, announcing the conclusion of peace; and, on the 19th, military operations ceased between the two armies—the brave militia were discharged—martial law abolished, and joy and tranquillity reigned throughout.

Note C. Appendix.

Judge Hall, being again at liberty, became in turn the arbiter of his own wrongs. Accordingly on the 21st February, he granted a rule of court for General Jackson to show cause why an attachment for contempt should not be awarded in consequence of his refusal to obey the writ issued to him.

Jackson's counsel, Mr. Edward Livingston, Major Reid, and Mr. Duncan, entered his appearance for the 24th, together with his answer. The Judge refused to hear it read, unless within the rules laid down by himself, *in which rules he objected to hear any reasons of justification or necessity.* Take from the accused the liberty of justifying himself, and you must of necessity deprive him of the power of making any

defence whatever. Did not the Judge know that there is a legal and moral justification for homicide? It was the imperious necessity of the case which induced the general to take a step, which he knew at the time, and has always admitted, was against the constitution. God of nature! shall not the child rescue his parent from death, though he commit a breach of the peace in the attempt? It is the first law of nature; but the Judge would hear nothing in extenuation or in explanation. The rule was rendered absolute, and the attachment sued out, returnable in eight days, when the General made his appearance in court to receive judgment.

Divesting himself of military attire, for the purpose of avoiding observation,—in the plain garb of a citizen, and unattended, he entered the hall of justice to receive *punishment* for having saved his country from bondage, the city from flames, the judgment sent from destruction, the sacred temples from sacrilege, and the women and children from violation and death. The brave old soldier had advanced almost to the bar unobserved, when the multitude perceiving him sent forth their acclamations until the heavens echoed back the sound. Terrified at this burst of grateful feeling, the Judge became alarmed for his personal safety, remarking that it was dangerous to proceed at a moment of so much excitement. The marshal was directed to adjourn the court.

“Jackson immediately interfered, and rising, requested that it might not be done. ‘There is no danger here,’ said he, ‘and shall be none; the same arm that protected this city from outrage against the invaders of the country, *will shield and protect this court, or perish in the attempt.*’”

The Judge became tranquillized, and proceeded to the discharge of what he considered to be his duty, and fined the General one thousand dollars.

No sooner was this judgment pronounced, than the multitude sent forth their shouts of praise, and the hero was seized and forcibly carried into the streets. A lady, riding in her carriage, was met and detained, when politely taking her from it, the general, in spite of entreaty, was made to occupy her place; the horses were removed and the populace drew him in triumph, to a coffee-house, huzzaing for the general and menacing the Judge. Jackson addressed them, and besought them to be tranquil. He explained why he had declared martial law, and the benefits derived from it; that he resorted to it for the purpose of saving the city and the lives of its citi-

zens; that it had performed all that he had ever expected from it. "I risked every thing," said he, "to obtain these objects. I did not hesitate; I could not. I ran the hazzard of all consequences, and you have seen me meet the penalty of my aggression; *I bow with submission to the sentence of the law.* Had the penalty imposed, reached the utmost extent of my ability to meet it, I should not have murmured; nor would I forbear a similar course were the same necessity to recur again. If the offence with which I am now charged had not been committed, *the laws by which I am punished would not now exist!* Sincerely do I rejoice in the maintenance of their safety, although the first vindication of their violated supremacy has been evinced in the punishment of myself." He closed his address to the people by exhorting them to be tranquil, and to offer no disrespect to the laws, or their ministers.

But so convinced were the people that the course pursued by the commanding general was correct and praiseworthy, that they determined to ward off the effect of the intended injury and discharge the fine themselves. But Jackson, learning what was in agitation, despatched his aid-de-camp to seek the marshal and thereby avoid the necessity of refusing the intended favour. But his admiring and grateful fellow citizens had already raised the sum; and, in order that each person might share in this contribution of gratitude, no one was permitted to subscribe over a trifling amount. This delicate and genuine sympathy excited the liveliest emotions in the breast of the hero, but he could not accept it. *He* had violated the law and the penalty was *his*. He solicited, however, that the amount so raised might be applied to the relief of those whose relations had fallen in battle, during the siege. This request was acceded to, and the widow and the fatherless received this pledge of a grateful people.

Matchless hero! Incomparable man! Brave and skilful in war, generous and benevolent in peace. The records of chivalry, the pages of history do not furnish a more exalted character than thine!

Behold this gallant warrior, in the hour of invasion and distraction; surrounded by a despairing population,—a desponding, I had almost said a criminal, legislature,—in the midst of disaffection,—his hastily collected forces composed of militia and volunteers, unaccustomed to the restraints or the hardships of a camp,—without arms and undisciplined,—and des-

tūte of experienced commanders, save and accepting only that immortal genius which guided them :—Behold him, I say, in this dreary hour of doubt and peril, giving confidence to the populace,—controlling legislative imbecility and criminality, checking disaffection,—disciplining his army, and leading them into battle, against thrice their numerical force, and beating them too with a disparity of loss almost as *three hundred to one man!* Then contemplate this same “military chieftain,” *after* the enemy had been driven to the ocean, the city saved and his country covered with glory; behold him, I say, leaving his brave companions in arms, in citizen’s attire, to receive and submit to punishment, **FOR THESE ACTS**, at the hands of a *recreant judge*, who during the siege, coward-like had fled and never returned until the enemy were beaten and gone!—Here closed his toils and his responsibilities. This was the last act, the concluding scene of the great drama in which he had borne so conspicuous a part. He had conquered for his country, security and renown. In doing it, however, he had offended against the civil power; he had atoned for that transgression too. His brave companions in glory, were discharged and gone to their homes, carrying with them the blessings of a grateful people. And now, he too, who had filled the measure of his country’s honour, began to think of retirement and repose, Leaving General Gaines in charge of the regular forces and public stores, after receiving the benedictions of his fellow citizens, he took his departure for Tennessee. Wherever he went, wherever he appeared, he was met by the most flattering tokens of regard; the loudest salutations of praise. There was but one expression of sentiment throughout an extent of 800 miles. All ranks, all ages and sexes, and all parties, save and excepting always Henry Clay and his friends of the Hartford convention, admitted and extolled his pre-eminent and all glorious services. Even John Quincy Adams became his eulogist, and defended him against the base assaults of his present pseudo-friend. The people throughout the union, who were so immoral and irreligious as to rejoice at the success of our arms, strove to surpass each other, in demonstrations of homage and respect. And why is his name treated with disrespect now by Mr. Clay and his retainers?

. Because he stood in the way of that gentlemen at the last election, *and will at the next*. Jackson had been nominated for the presidency, unsolicited by himself, and received a

large majority of votes over each of his competitors, and *that* offended Mr. Clay. It displeased that gentleman that the *people* should *dare* to prefer Andrew Jackson, the "military chieftain," to him, Henry Clay, the *civil chieftain*. He, therefore, sought to be revenged, and he betrayed his constituents and disappointed his country. Jackson was too honest for him, and stood in his way. In *his* way, "who had never risked himself for his country," *but always for himself!* Who had never openly in the field, unsheathed his *sword* in defence of that country, into whose bosom he had secretly and in the dark, plunged his *stiletto*. He stood in the way of him, who, in his strained efforts to obtain that prize himself, which his obtuse vision had pictured to his imagination as being within his grasp, reached too high, and *fell without the pale of honour—never to rise again—nor be called HONEST!* He stood in the way of that lost, that fallen man, who, like the foolish Ephesian, despairing of a fame commensurate with his high ambition, sought it beyond the conflagration of a temple, and aimed at immortality by striking at the **HEART** of the constitution of his country! But the people saw the attempt, and will strike down the parricide to the earth.

From the preceding details, I come to the following conclusions, and thus redeem the pledge given at the commencement of these pages:—

That the Spanish government in Florida, whilst they were at peace and in amity with us, having permitted the British, (with whom we were at war,) to occupy their forts and garrison their towns, *violated their neutrality*; and, that necessity and the public law, both, authorized the forcible occupation of it by our troops. Jackson, therefore, did no wrong when he marched to Pensacola. See Mr. Adams' vindication of his second invasion of Florida, addressed to the American Minister in Madrid, in 1819. See also Armstrong's letter to him. Page 6.

That the declaration of martial law, at New-Orleans, was an act of *necessity*, of so imperious a nature, that unless it had been adopted, the whole lower country must have fallen; the town must have been plundered and destroyed, and the women abandoned to the brutality of the soldiery.

That the habeas corpus was suspended while our army occupied the city and its environs, as their camp; and, at a time when every citizen or alien might go daily to the enemy, *and could not be prevented* without the authority conferred by

this very act,—thus demonstrating its absolute necessity ; for without it, all the precautionary measures else of the commander, could not have prevented the hourly transmission to the foe, of that information which must have resulted in the complete overthrow of all our forces.

That when martial law was recommended to the legislature by General Jackson, these dangers were laid before them ; and, it was distinctly stated to them, that the British were constantly advised, through the agency of the *disaffected* in the city, of every movement made in his camp ; of the numerical weakness of his forces and of their want of arms ; of his want of funds, and the destitute condition of his quarter-master's department ; and of the disaffection which then existed, In God's name, what could he do ? Either he *must control* the evil disposed, or the army and the country would be betrayed into the power of the British. He is not entitled to more credit for the skill and bravery displayed during the siege, than for the wisdom and masterly policy of this act.

That after the declaration of martial law, and during its continuance, (while the British remained on the land,) there was no complaint, *nor is there any evidence* of its inconvenience or oppression.

That a state of perfect freedom, a freedom from restraint, at such a period, is an absurdity ; it is incompatible with public safety or the existence of an army. That the civil and military authority cannot nor ought not to exist together at the same time in a camp. New-Orleans was besieged, and environed by our soldiers—the city and country around was the camp.

That the military had in charge the *defence* of the country. These are the *very words* of the war department. Did this order mean to give the general authority *in his camp, over his men within the chain of his sentinels* ? Or did it mean that he should have and exercise plenary powers, and *defend the country* ? By the rules and articles of war the camp was his domain ; he was lord over it in time of war or peace. What then did this order mean to give ? *That authority which he exercised, if in his discretion he deemed it necessary.* His government so construed it, and so did Congress.

That *after* the British had fled to their ships, M. Louaillier, a member of the legislature, and Judge Hall, first denounced the measure, and brought up the question of authority. That by the incendiary doctrines of the former, countenanced and

encouraged by the latter, the weak and wicked were arrayed against the power of the army, and the fostering, fatherly care of its commander. This base attempt had a tendency,—the British being still on our seaboard, and smarting under the pain of their recent discomfiture,—to encourage them to hope for that success through treachery and seduction, which they had not the good fortune to obtain through their prowess and daring.

That the halls of legislation were closed and the members refused permission to deliberate, *because* they were debating the propriety of a *surrender*, without consulting him who was the only authority competent to decide and *while too the two armies were in actual conflict in the field*. The disclosure of such an intention even must have been fatal, by creating dissatisfaction and despondency in our army, and confidence in that of the enemy.

That Jackson's submission to the civil authority the moment the danger was over, was prompt and uncomplaining—orderly and magnanimous.

That the Judge's refusal to hear reasons of justification, after having cited him *to show cause*, was a mockery of law and justice; Jackson's language at the time being, "*I have taken this step TO SAVE THE COUNTRY, although I know it to be against the constitution.*" His reasons, for aught the Judge knew, might have satisfied him and the country at large, of the necessity which existed at the time, for the measure. To show cause was to give reasons—but the Judge would hear none.

That when brought into Court to receive sentence and punishment for having saved the city, his conduct was noble in the extreme, and worthy of the proudest days of Greece and Rome. His solemn pledge to protect the Court in its sentence of *himself, or perish in the effort*, stands without a parallel in greatness. It is one of the most heroic and sublime impulses of magnanimity to be found in the whole range of history. An illustrious example of chivalric virtue. Who would not give a life of toil to be the master of such a moment?

What a contrast is exhibited at the crisis of their trials.—At the approach of that dreadful storm which threatened to overwhelm them in one common ruin, Hall fled like a slave, leaving Jackson and his brave militia to defend *his city and his country* against the assaults of a powerful and daring foe. When in turn the Judge was personally and alone in danger, as he imagin-

ed, quailing at the thunders of the multitude, shouting in praise of their deliverer; his crushed soul was relieved of its terrors, at the sound of HIS voice, whom he had before abandoned in his extremity, and now sought to degrade.—But the triumph was Jackson's. It was a civic victory, surpassing in beauty, if not in grandeur, his greatest achievement in war.

That in addition to the exposures of life in the field, and reputation by this act of suspension, he also risked his fortunes. In order to raise funds to clothe and feed the militia, (*when government securities could not be negotiated,*) he pledged all his estates to the Banks—thus affording the highest proof of patriotism, and the only one on record, of having literally and emphatically fulfilled the language of the Immortal Declaration of Independence. HE PLEDGED HIS LIFE, HIS FORTUNES, AND HIS SACRED HONOUR, in the holy cause of his country.

That the triumphant defence of New-Orleans was hailed with acclamations throughout the country. Cities and towns were illuminated on the occasion; the people every where awarding to Jackson the merit of having saved that country; the Legislatures of many of the states, and the Congress of the union, voted him their thanks. The latter ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him in commemoration of the event. And this too, after the means which he had employed had been submitted to the public and sanctioned by a nation's approval. "The people in meetings from every quarter of the country, forwarded to him addresses of praise and congratulation, expressive of their personal regard, and proclaiming him the deliverer and second saviour of his country."

And THIS IS THE MAN whom Mr. Clay's *conscience* admonished him it was dangerous for the people to entrust with executive authority.

This is the "Military Chieftain," for whom this *pure patriot* could not vote *after* that Military Chieftain had refused to make an arrangement with him, whereby he might be placed "in the line of safe precedents."

This is the man who, when the offer was made to place him in the executive chair, *on conditions*, repelled the base proposition with this memorable declaration: "Tell Mr. Clay," "that sooner than accept the Presidential dignity upon terms of bargain or barter, I would see the earth open, and him and his corrupt crew swallowed in it, and FOLLOW MYSELF."

Andrew Jackson was born in South Carolina on the 15th of

March, 1767. At the tender age of fourteen, while fighting in the ranks of his country, in the holy cause of freedom, he was taken prisoner by the British ; and, while under confinement, received a sabre cut on his arm, the marks of which he carries to this day, because he refused to do the menial duty of a servant and clean the boots of an officer. His bother, a few years older than himself, and also a prisoner, taken at the same time, for refusing to perform the same office, was so brutally cut and maimed, that he *died a few weeks after of his wounds.*

The poor widowed mother survived this shock but a few months, when she too died, leaving this orphan to God and his country.

Left alone in the world, with a small patrimonial estate, barely sufficient to support him while he should obtain the first elements of an academic education, he began life without a guide or an adviser. Fortunately for him he directed his attention to the study of the law, and in the year 1786 received his license as an attorney. The country affording but little prospect of present business, he left his native place for Tennessee, and settled in Nashville. His intelligence and enterprise soon became known, when some time between the years 1790 and 1793, he was appointed by General Washington, United States Attorney for that district ; and in 1796 he was chosen a member of the convention which formed the constitution of his state. His reputation for probity and abilities still increasing, he was in 1797 sent to the senate of the union. Here he remained but a short time before he resigned, —long enough however, to leave his name on its journals against the policy and acts of the elder Adams, and in favour of the *repeal* of the alien and stamp acts. Thus recording his opposition at that early day, to tyranny and usurpation, and in favour of the people and the republican principles of the country.

After his resignation in the Senate, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee which office he held with great credit to himself for six years, when he resigned it, and accepted shortly after of a Major General's commission in the militia.

He continued to hold this situation to the great advantage of the state, until 1814, when his services were transferred to the union, and with what benefit to the country at large, we have already seen.

During the administration of Mr. Monroe, whilst Mr.

Adams was acting as his Secretary of State, and consequently one of his Cabinet advisers, General Jackson was appointed Governor of Florida, and, by his energy and decision preserved the archives of the territory and the records of private property. This act of firmness and foresight was justified by his Government and defended with zeal by Mr. Adams, and like every other public act of his life, *was not designed for his own benefit or advancement*, but for the preservation of the rights and interests of others. After this, the office of Secretary of War was offered to him, but declined; not however for the same reasons which governed Mr. Clay in his refusal to accept the same situation, viz, "that he could not occupy a place in the same Cabinet with Mr. Adams the *apostate Federalist*, who had always been opposed to the interests of the west, and who endeavoured at Ghent to sacrifice her rights for a paltry interest in the fisheries." Subsequently to this period and a short time previous to the close of his administration, Mr. Monroe, unknown to the General, sent his name to the Senate as Minister to Mexico.

These instances of confidence are inserted as evidences of the estimation in which the executive and his ministers then held the *capacity, acquirements and integrity* of General Jackson. In every public station which he has filled, whether in a military or civil capacity, his administration of it has been characterized by zeal and ability and the strictest integrity; and with such perfect disinterestedness that he has, in every instance, resigned his place the moment the object for which he was appointed had been attained. It is objected to him that he is not a learned man. It was never contended, by his friends, that he was distinguished for rhetoric or poetry. He is a profound thinker, a close reasoner and a *great actor*, and although he is known to excel in the latter most valuable qualification, yet in all his written productions, whether relating to his military command or the civil polity of the union, like his great prototype, the Father of his country, he is clear and sound; all his writings being characterized by a just and comprehensive judgement, forcible reasoning and a sententious brevity. His mind, like his soul, discards every thing puerile and disengenuous. Hence his rejection, as unworthy of him, of all extrinsic ornament in composition, all fancies and embellishments of style. He despises the knavery which is frequently attempted through political subtilty and rhetorical imposition. He does not aspire to the distinction of being

called learned at the expense of his integrity. Truth being his aim, his style is simple but nervous; serving as the medium of his thoughts, not as the basis of his reputation. In a word, in all his conclusions he relies more upon *truth* and *fairness*, and his own resources, than upon the feeble analogies or laboured affinities of others.

In person, General Jackson is tall and slender, but erect and commanding.—In his deportment he is uncommonly dignified; in his address courteous and conciliating; and, in his manners, mild and prepossessing. No man's manners and character have been more misrepresented or less understood. In place of a rough exterior and discourteous air, which have been attributed to him, strangers, when introduced, find themselves in the presence of one of the most accomplished and commanding men of the age; surpassing almost all men, in the dignity of his external appearance and in the liberal greatness of his soul,

See Appendix D.

Although a man of most immoveable firmness, yet his disposition is one of great benevolence and kindness. It is recorded and avouched of him, that none ever approach him in distress that he does not relieve them. That no one, however humble, ever seeks his advice, that he does not patiently hear him and frankly impart it.

He is just in all his actions; honourable in all his engagements; temperate in his habits, and benevolent in his sympathies.

HE LOVES HIS COUNTRY MORE THAN HE DOES HIS LIFE!

And in the great cause of that country, he never yielded where he should contend; never petitioned where he should resent; never supplicated where he should impose. With justice on his side, he never sued for right; with vengeance in his hands, never implored for mercy.

In politics he has always acted with the democratic party. In war defending, and in peace upholding, the republican institutions of his country.

He is a believer in the purity and stability of the government so long, only, as the agents derive their authority *directly* from the PEOPLE. Adopting this as his standard maxim, that every public servant, however exalted his rank or character, is, and ought to be, amenable to that high source of power.

Such a man is ANDREW JACKSON, the MILITARY CHIEFTAIN,

May his country appreciate and reward his merits.

ARISTIDES.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.



Note A.—Page 12.

When the gallant and ever to be lamented Perry achieved his immortal victory on Lake Erie, the first ever won over a fleet by an American commander; and, in point of chivalric daring and obstinate valour, not surpassed by any in the annals of naval warfare,—the whole country resounded with acclamations. Honours and distinctions showered upon him from every quarter—Legislatures, corporate bodies, and public meetings of his fellow citizens, evinced the deep and heartfelt interest excited amongst all classes at an event so important to the nation and so glorious to the brave actors in it. Sympathising with his fellow citizens in the happy event, some gentleman, more patriotic than the rest, in the legislature of Massachusetts, ventured to propose a vote of thanks, also, to Perry and his brave crew.—Upon which the *Honourable* Josiah Quincy, of Boston, at present their *respected* and *elected* mayor, rose in his place and proposed its rejection—“because it was *unbecoming a moral and religious people to REJOICE at the success of our arms*”—And to the everlasting disgrace of the state, it received a majority of the votes present. A more base and detestable proposition was never before submitted to the consideration of any legislative body. It has since been expunged from the Legislative Journals.

Here was no suspension of the Habeas Corpus to justify cavil: no invasion of a neutral territory, to authorize “conscientious scruples:” no execution of outlaws and incendiaries to excite the sympathetic tears of “a religious and moral community.” What motive then could have governed the mover and his associates? My readers can judge.

And are such the men whom Mr. Clay has chosen for his present and future political associates? Henry Clay! One of the champions in congress of that war, which Josiah Quincy, and the Otises, and the Cabbots, and the Websters opposed.—Is this the same Henry Clay, who upon that same floor of congress lashed this Josiah Quincy naked through the land for his aspersions upon Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and the war? There was a time when Mr. Clay *boasted* of his connection with the republican party of the country.—But where is he now?

There were distinguished and influential citizens, Federalists and Democrats, who conscientiously opposed the declaration of war, but who afterwards joined the standard of their country, and by lending their lives and fortunes to its defence, identified themselves with its good or ill success. Their conduct endeared them to the people, because they yielded their prejudices to patriotism which every man of honour and honesty will do when his country is in danger. But what shall be said of those men who made use of their standing and influence to embarrass the Government and dispirit the people? What shall be said of such men as Otis, Cabbots,

Governor Strong of Massachusetts, the dark and calculating Webster and the jaundiced, bitter and vituperative Quincey, the supporters of Mr. Adams, and present associates of Mr. Clay? These were men of high standing and paramount consideration in the East. The people trusted them with power and conferred honors upon them; And what return did they make for so much confidence? They arrayed themselves against their own country and in favour of its enemies. They joyed in her misfortunes and exulted in the massacre of her brave defenders. They pronounced the war *wicked* and *unjust*, and denounced its supporters as enemies of the republic. And now that the struggle is over and the victory won, shall we exalt those who strove to debase us? Or, shall we honour those who conquered the foe, sustained the credit of the Government, and *finally, by their immortal achievements, affixed the seal, the impress of eternity upon the duration of the Republic?*

The enemies of freedom were powerful and audacious in both wars for Independence, but the second terminated as gloriously as the first. And if the last was pronounced *premature, unjust and wicked*, so also was the war of the revolution pronounced by the enemies of our emancipation, and yet, notwithstanding the heartless denunciations and the brutalities of their oppressors, *three millions of poor and oppressed, but brave men*, 50 years ago, arrayed themselves against a Tyrant King and his corrupt ministers, and the power and resources of the greatest nation then on earth. The contest for life and liberty was protracted and dreadful. But after seven years of carnage and blood, during which our forefathers suffered every vicissitude and hardship of war with patience and fortitude they emerged from a state of bondage and oppression to that of freedom and happiness. And, shall *twelve millions of freemen*, their descendants, at this day, themselves enlightened and powerful, shrink from the duty of correcting the abuses and corruptions of the present administration? Shall we tamely acquiesce in the open barter and sale of the executive chair? Are our noble institutions, our glorious laws, our precious privileges and free religion, and all our brilliant prospects of happiness, knowledge and wealth to be blasted at once by the intrigues of jugglers and hypocrites? Our Fathers had the courage to resist the Tyrant in '76, and their Sons had the bravery to repel his second attempt at colonization in 1812. Be resolute, then, fellow citizens, and put down those now who would have rejoiced in your enslavement in '76, and who triumphed in your misfortunes in 1812. *Who distrusted your prowess in both wars, as they deny your intelligence and virtue now—who triumphed in the triumphs of your enemies and against your own people—who branded your arms with cowardice and your councils with weakness—who refused their gold to Government and their sympathies to your tortured, murdered citizens—a crew who in the hour of your greatest peril and despondency, audaciously planned, at Hartford, the overthrow of your liberties and the dismemberment of the union.*

These are the men who slander and object to General Jackson, because he fought in defence of his country in both wars. And who, in order to excite the fears and apprehensions of the people, have branded him with the Epithet of "*Military Chieftain*"—and so was your own Washington branded in '76, by the tories and the enemies of freedom, *a rebel and a military adventurer*. And it was then, as it is now, predicted that the "*Military Chieftain*" would be defeated, his armies dispersed, and the Congress hanged for their audacious attempt to destroy the corruptions and impositions of *that day*. It was then said that the Immortal Father of his Country, possessed *neither military talents nor civil qualifications*. That because he had not been bred in the Courts, nor trained in the Camps of

Europe, he and his rebel associates would be annihilated at once by the accomplished Cut-throats of the British King. But their predictions failed then, as I trust they will now. The God-like Washington, sustained by the people, persevered and conducted his suffering, famished countrymen, through seven years of toil and blood with ability and fortitude, crowning his glories with a civic wreath as rich and imperishable as that which adorns his martial brow. For seven years he presided over and conducted her armies to victory ; and for eight, administered her laws with wisdom and fidelity, although a " Military Chieftain," honoured by the world and beloved by his fellow citizens, " first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

And so is General Jackson honoured and beloved by the people, nor are his claims to be overlooked, nor is he to be put down, because like the immortal Washington he derives his honours from his Country's greatness.

General Washington and General Jackson have contributed more than any other men to render the country independent and her glories imperishable. At an early age each became distinguished for dauntless courage and consummate wisdom, and subsequently each terminated a war by his own matchless deeds. Both were distinguished more for judgement and integrity than acquired talents ; neither was educated at an university ; neither ever filled a subordinate station in the administration : neither was ever a foreign minister, or resided at the COURT of a KING : nor is it recorded that either was ever honoured by permission to kiss the hand of a Prince. Their deeds of fame were of a higher grade and will endure for ages, long beyond the date assigned to lettered vice or gilded folly !!!

Note B.—Page 21.

Address delivered to Major General Andrew Jackson, by the Reverend W. Dubourgh, Administrator apostolic of the diocese of Louisiana.

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 appearing yourself the worthy instrument of Heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was to acknowledge the signal interposition of Providence ; your first step a solemn display of your humble sense of His favours.

To him, therefore, our 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 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 us 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 ardour which glowed in your own 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 favours. The first wish which it emboldens us to supplicate, *as nearest our throbbing hearts*, is, that you may long enjoy the honour 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 termination of the bloody contest in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously laboured as you, General, for the acceleration of that blissful period ; may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories."

General Jackson's reply.

REVEREND SIR—I receive with gratitude and pleasure, the symbolical crown which piety has prepared. *I receive it in the name of the brave men who have 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 bestow. 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 favourably received ; the prosperity, wealth and happiness of this city will then be commensurate with the courage and other high qualities of its inhabitants.

Note C.—Page 22.

Address to the troops at New-Orleans, after the annunciation of peace.

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 major generals Carrol and Thomas, and brigadier general Coffee, to march their commands, without delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

In parting with those brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labours 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 valour 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 honors, 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 ever experienced your sufferings, will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, 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 dangers, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardour and patriotism have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions to provide the means of victory. The recollection of their exertions, and of the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title or the splendour 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 freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.

(Signed)

ANDREW JACKSON,
Major General commanding.

Note D.—Page 32.

During that period of intense anxiety which preceded the consummation of the "bargain and sale," at Washington, two years ago, the friends of Mr. Crawford and of General Jackson were anxious that those two distinguished citizens should meet and become reconciled. Political differences of years' standing, and which had been increased by the *kind indiscretions*

of their friends, had hitherto kept them asunder. Mr. Crawford, owing to a deplorable and protracted indisposition, was confined to his house; and this circumstance was a sufficient excuse for his not calling first on the general, as he no doubt otherwise would have done, agreeably to the established usages of etiquette.

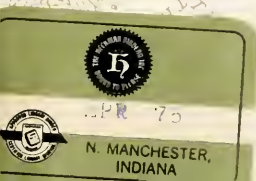
In this state of affairs the ladies of the respective families paid their visits of form. These preliminaries having taken place, efforts were made to prevail on Jackson, as his competitor was an invalid, to waive ceremony, and make the advance. But he declined. That was not the moment to reconcile differences. He expressed his respect for Mr. Crawford, and sincerely sympathized in his sufferings—but he could go no further. The times were perilous, and it was his duty to guard his character, not endanger it even by an act of grace.

Thus matters remained until after the House of Representatives had disappointed the nation, and declared the great diplomatist President of the United States for *four* years.

A day or two following that on which this outrage was committed, Jackson said to a friend, (of whom I received the anecdote,) “as no suspicions can now attach to such a movement, I am willing and ready to waive all ceremony, and visit Mr. Crawford. Will you accompany me?” They met; and the interview was one of the most impressive ever witnessed. The intrepid warrior advanced with a firm step and gracious air into the presence of the once towering and commanding, but now broken-down, Crawford—for God in his dispensations riveth the proudest oak!—and they exchanged salutations. Never before, said my informant, did I witness so interesting a scene. The intenseness of the moment was embarrassing; but it was soon relieved by the kindest inquiries, and the most cordial interchange of friendly sentiments.







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