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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE LIFE OF

ANDREW JACKSON,

MAJOR-GENERAL

OF THE

ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,

THE HERO OF NEW-ORLEANS.

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"The good of his Country is the pride of his heart."

*Com. Decker.*

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

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No name, recorded in the military annals of the United States, possesses so much eclat as that of ANDREW JACKSON; one only excepted—that of the transcendant Washington. The story of Jackson's life is less known than we might suppose it to be, considering the circumstance just mentioned, and the real magnitude and variety of his public services. It is intended to enrich this magazine with a series of biographical sketches, drawn from the best sources of information; and the hero of New Orleans, naturally and properly attracts first the attention of the biographer. An additional interest results to his exploits and character, from the important relation in which he now stands to the American people, as a candidate for the splendid office of their Chief Magistrate. Down to the termination of the siege of New Orleans, the most brilliant era of his career—we have abundant materials for a correct notice of him, in a volume entitled, the Life of Andrew Jackson, and published in 1817, by an officer, who enjoyed the advantage of being near his person during his campaigns. Authentic documents extant in newspapers and journals, enable us to continue the outline to the

present time ; and with regard to personal qualities and manners, he is so well and widely known in social circles, that a faithful representation is almost inevitable. We shall confine ourselves to a plain recital, not more circumstantial than may be necessary for our principal design.

ANDY WOOD  
CLARK  
HARRIS

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH  
OF  
GENERAL JACKSON.

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ANDREW JACKSON is of Irish parentage. His father and mother emigrated to South Carolina, in the year 1765, with two sons, both young, and purchased a tract of land, on which they settled, in what was then called the Waxaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden. Here was born, on the 15th March, in the year 1767, Andrew, the subject of the present sketch. His father died soon after, leaving the three children to be provided for by the mother, a woman who would seem to have possessed excellent feelings and considerable strength of mind. The scantiness of their patrimony allowed only one of them to be liberally educated; and this was Andrew, whom she destined for the sacred ministry. He was sent to a flourishing academy in the settlement, where he remained, occupied with the dead languages, until the revolutionary war brought an enemy into his neighbourhood, whose approach left no alternative but the choice of the British or American banners. The intrepid and ardent boy, encouraged by his patriotic mother, hastened, at the

age of fourteen, in company with one of his brothers, to the American camp, and enlisted in the service of his country. The eldest of the three, had already lost his life in the same service, at the battle of Stono. The survivors, Andrew and Robert, having been suffered to attend the county drill and general musters, were not unacquainted with the manual exercise and field evolutions.

After retiring into North Carolina, before the British army, with their corps, they returned to Waxaw settlement, and found themselves suddenly engaged with a superior British force, who surprised a gallant band of forty patriots, to which they belonged, routed it and took eleven prisoners. Andrew Jackson and his brother escaped from the field, after fighting bravely; but having entered a house, next day, in order to procure food, they fell into the hands of a corps of British dragoons, and a party of Tories, that were marauding together. Andrew, when under guard, was ordered by a British officer, in a haughty manner, to clean his boots; the youth peremptorily refused to do so, claiming, with firmness, the treatment due to a prisoner of war. The officer aimed a blow at his head with a sabre, which would have proved fatal, had he not parried it with his left hand, on which he received a severe wound. His brother, at the same time, and for a similar offence, received a gash on the head, which afterwards occasioned his death. Thus, did his only relatives, two of this estimable family, perish in the



spring of life, martyrs to their patriotic and courageous spirit. Andrew and his companion were consigned to jail, in separate apartments, and treated with the utmost harshness ; until, through the exertions of their fond mother, they were exchanged, a few days after the battle. This worthy woman, worn down by grief, and the fatigues she had undergone in seeking clothes and other comforts for all the prisoners who had been taken from her neighbourhood, expired in the course of the following month, in the vicinity of Charleston. At the period of this melancholy loss, Andrew was languishing under sickness, the consequence of his sufferings in prison and his exposure to inclement weather on his return home. The small pox supervened, and nearly terminated his sorrows and his life. But a constitution originally good, and a vigorous tone of mind, enabled him to survive this complication of ills. He recovered, and entered upon the enjoyment of his patrimony, which, though it might have been sufficient for the completion of his education with judicious management, soon dwindled to very little in hands unused to such a charge. He returned to his classical studies, as a means of future subsistence, with increased industry ; and at the age of eighteen, in the winter of 1784, repaired to Salisbury, in North Carolina, to a lawyer's office, in which he prepared himself for the bar. In the winter of 1786, he obtained a license to practice, but finding this theatre unfavourable for advancement,

he emigrated to Nashville in 1788, and there fixed his residence. Success attended his industry and talents; he acquired a lucrative business in the courts, and ere long was appointed attorney-general for the district; in which capacity he continued to act for several years.

Tennessee being at that time exposed, even in the heart of the settlements, to the incursions of the Indians, he became like all around him, a *soldier*, and one whose activity and resolution soon made him as conspicuous as he was useful. The progress which he made in public estimation by his abilities and services, is marked by his election, in 1796, to the Convention assembled to frame a constitution for the state. In this body he acquired additional distinction, which placed him the same year, in Congress, in the House of Representatives, and the following year, in the Senate of the United States. He acted invariably with the Republican party in the National Legislature, but grew tired of an unavailing struggle in a small minority, and of a scene of discussion and intrigue for which he did not deem himself as well fitted as the successor, for whose sake, no less than for his own gratification, he resigned his post in 1799. We have heard some gentlemen who were members of Congress during the time he remained in it, remark that he was generally esteemed for the soundness of his understanding, and the moderation of his demeanour. Though steadfast and earnest as a party politician, he mani-

feasted neither violence nor illiberality. While a senator, he was chosen by the field-officers of the Tennessee militia, without consultation with him, major-general of their division, and so remained until 1814, when he took the same rank in the service of the United States. On his resignation as senator, he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of Tennessee. He accepted this appointment with reluctance, and withdrew from the bench as soon as possible, with the determination to spend the rest of his life in tranquillity and seclusion, on a beautiful farm belonging to him, and lying on the Cumberland river about ten miles from Nashville. In this retreat he passed several years, happy in the indulgence of his fondness for rural occupations, and in the society of an affectionate wife and a number of honest friends. His quiet felicity was, however, broken up by the occurrence of the war with Great Britain. It roused his martial and patriotic temper; and when the acts of Congress (of the 6th February, and July 1812) which authorized the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, were promulgated, Jackson published an energetic address to the militia of his division, drew two thousand five hundred of them to his standard, and tendered them without delay to the federal government. In November, he received orders to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then thought to be in danger. In January, in a very in-

clement season, he conducted his troops as far as Natchez, where he was instructed to remain until otherwise directed. Here he employed himself indefatigably, in training and preparing them for service. But, the danger which was meant to be repelled, having ceased to exist, in the opinion of the secretary of war, he received instructions from the latter, to dismiss, at once, from service, those under his command. The number of sick in his camp was great, and they were destitute of the means of defraying the expenses of their return home: The rest of his troops, from the same dearth of resources, must have enlisted in the regular army, under General Wilkinson. Jackson felt himself responsible for the restoration of them to their families and friends, and, therefore, resolved to disobey the orders of the department of war, whose head could not be acquainted with the circumstances of the case. He retained as much of the public property in his possession as was necessary to his purpose of marching them back. Wilkinson remonstrated and admonished in vain. Jackson replied that he would bear all the responsibility—he refused to allow Wilkinson's officer's when commissioned to recruit from his army; seized upon the waggons required for the transportation of his sick, and set out with the whole of his force. He gave up his own horses to the infirm, and shared in all the hardships of the soldiers in a long and arduous march. It was at a time of the

year when the roads and the swamps, to be trodden, were in the worst condition. His example silenced all complaint, and endeared him the more to his companions. On his arrival at Nashville he communicated to the President of the United States what he had done, and the reasons by which he had been guided. His conduct was approved of at Washington, and the expenses, which he had incurred, directed to be paid. We have mentioned this affair particularly, because it is the most remarkable among the first instances in his history, of that lofty independence in judgment and action, and that disdain of consequences in the discharge of a paramount duty, which have since signalized his career both military and civil.

We have now reached what may be called the second principal era of his life.

The British and the celebrated *Tecumseh* had stirred up the Creek nation of Indians, parties of whom made irruptions into the states of Tennessee, committing the most barbarous outrages upon defenceless and insulated families. Having obtained a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards, at Pensacola, a band of six or seven hundred warriors assaulted *Fort Mimms*, situated in the Tensaw settlement, in the Mississippi Territory, succeeded in carrying it, and butchered nearly all its inmates; three hundred persons, including women and children. Only seventeen of the whole number escaped to spread intelligence of the dreadful catastro-

phe. The news produced the strongest sensation in Tennessee ; and all eyes were, at once, turned to Jackson as the leader of the force which must be sent forth to overtake and punish the miscreants. He was, at this time, confined to his chamber with a fractured arm and a wound in the breast, injuries received in a private rencontre. It was resolved by the legislature to call into service thirty-five hundred of the militia, to be marched into the heart of the Creek nation, conformably to the advice of Jackson, who notwithstanding the bodily ills under which he laboured, readily undertook the chief command in the expedition. He issued an eloquent and nervous address to the troops, on the day of the rendezvous, in which he told them, among other things—" We must and will be victorious—we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance ; and, who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity." On the 7th October, 1813, he reached the encampment, although his health was far from being restored. It would require too much space to follow him in all the movements of a campaign, in which he appears as a most skilful commander, vigilant disciplinarian, and dauntless soldier. He had to contend not only with a formidable enemy, but with raw and mutinous followers and the severest personal hardships. The fatiguing and prolonged marches over mountains and through morasses ; the frequent and almost total want of food of any kind ; the failure of contractors ;

the inefficiency or defection of higher officers, and a protracted and perilous absence from home, extenuate the occasional despondency and disobedience of the privates of his division. Under the worst circumstances, he displayed the utmost resolution and fortitude, and by his inflexible spirit and tone of perseverance, he brought the enterprise to the most satisfactory issue.

The first battle which he fought, in person, on this occasion, was that of *Talladega*, a fort of the friendly Cherokee Indians, distant about thirty miles below Fort Strother, on the north bank of the river Coosa. The Creeks were posted within a quarter of a mile of Fort Talladega, in considerable force. At seven o'clock in the morning, Jackson's columns were displayed in order of battle. At about eight, his advance having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, received a heavy fire, which they instantly returned, and the engagement soon became general. In fifteen minutes the Creeks were seen flying in every direction, and were pursued until they reached the mountains, at the distance of three miles. Their numbers amounted to one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground. Their whole loss, in the engagement and retreat, as since stated by themselves, was not less than six hundred. On the side of the Americans, fifteen were killed and eighty wounded; and several of the latter soon died. The fort was full of friendly Indians, who had been besieged for



several days, and would have been all massacred, but for the arrival and victory of General Jackson. Want of provisions compelled him to hasten back, after collecting his dead and wounded, to Fort Strother. He particularly lamented the necessity of this step, as it gave the enemy time to recover from their consternation and recruit their strength.

At Fort Strother, no stores were found by the famished army on their return, owing to the delinquency of the contractors. Jackson distributed all his own supplies to the suffering soldiers—tripes constituted his sole food for several days. Scarcity engendered discontent and revolt in the camp. The officers and soldiers of the militia determined to abandon the service. On the morning when they were to carry their intention into effect, General Jackson drew up the volunteer companies in front of them, with a mandate to prevent their progress—they had not courage to advance. They returned to their quarters, but, on the next day, the very volunteers who had been so employed, mutinied in their turn and designed to move off in a body. Their surprise was not slight, when, on attempting this, they found the same men whom they had intercepted the day before, occupying the very position which they had done, for a similar purpose. The militia were glad to retaliate, and the result was the same. Jackson was obliged however, to withdraw with the troops from Fort Strother, towards Fort Deposit, upon the condition, that if they met



supplies, which were expected, they would return and prosecute the campaign. They had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles before they met one hundred and fifty beeves ; but their faces being once turned homewards, they resisted his order to march back to the encampment. The scene which ensued is characteristic as to his firmness and decision. A whole brigade had put itself in an attitude for moving off forcibly. Jackson was still without the use of his left arm ; seizing a musket, and resting it with his right on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. Major Reid, his aid-de-camp, and General Coffee placed themselves by his side. For several minutes the column preserved a menacing attitude, yet hesitated to proceed. In the mean time, those who remained faithful to their duty, amounting to about two companies, were collected, and formed at a short distance in advance of the troops, with positive directions to imitate the example of the general, if the mutineers persisted. These, when no individual appeared bold enough to press onward, at length wavered, and then soon turned quietly round and agreed to submit. It was a critical instant ; but for the firmness of Jackson, the campaign would have been broken up, and there was no likelihood of its being resumed.

A third considerable mutiny which happened not long after, was suppressed by personal efforts of

the same kind. The appeals which he made to his troops at these periods, are elevated and glowing compositions. The governor of Tennessee transmitted to him advice to desist from the further prosecution of the campaign, on account of his manifold embarrassments and inadequate means. Jackson replied to him, repelling his suggestion, and urging him to lend assistance to sustain the honour of Tennessee, and protect the frontiers from thousands of exasperated savages. This wise and urgent remonstrance finally procured for him reinforcements; or rather, substitutes for the companies, which he deemed it advisable to dismiss in consequence of their disaffection.

Once more, in the middle of January, 1814, he was on his march, bending his course to a part of the Tallapoosa river, near the mouth of a creek called Emuckfaw. On the 21st, he discovered that he was in the neighbourhood of the enemy. About midnight his spies came in and reported that they had discovered a large encampment of Indians, at about three miles distance, who, from their whooping, and dancing, were, no doubt, apprised of his arrival upon the eminences of Emuckfaw. At the dawn of the day the alarm guns of the sentinels, and the shrieks and savage yells of the enemy announced an assault. The action raged for an half hour, when the Indians were put to the rout. General Coffee, with four hundred men, was detached to destroy the enemy's encampment. He found it

too strong to be assailed with that force, and had scarcely returned, when the savages renewed their attack with increased numbers and the greatest impetuosity. The whole day was spent in severe fighting, attended by the destruction of a multitude of the assailants. They were quiet during the night ; but, Jackson perceiving that his provisions were growing scarce and that his wounded required immediate care, determined on the next day to retrace his steps. The retreat began at ten o'clock, and was continued, without interruption, until night, when the army was encamped a quarter of a mile on the south side of *Enotichopco* creek, in the direction, of the ford by which they had already passed. The next day, after the front guard and part of the columns had crossed, the enemy, who had been in pursuit, rushed from coverts upon the rear and threw the guard into confusion. Jackson was just passing the stream when the firing and yelling commenced. He repaired instantaneously to the place of action ; formed the columns anew, and put them in motion, in the midst of showers of balls. The savages, being warmly pressed in turn, broke and fled ; and, in a chase of two miles, were entirely dispersed. At one moment, the destruction of the whole Tennessee band appeared almost inevitable.

The total loss on the American side in the several engagements which we have just mentioned, was only twenty killed and seventy-five wounded. The lifeless bodies of one hundred and ninety-nine of the

enemy's warriors were found: the number of their wounded could not be conjectured. On the night of the 26th, Jackson encamped within three miles of Fort Strother; having accomplished the several objects of this perilous expedition; which were, a diversion in favour of General Floyd, who was advancing with the army from Georgia; the prevention of a meditated attack upon Fort Armstrong by the savage bands, a considerable part of whom he either destroyed or dispersed; and the counteraction of discontent in his ranks, for which activity and battle were the best remedies.

In February, he discharged the volunteers and his artillery company, receiving in their stead fresh militia drafted for the occasion. One private of these he caused to be executed for mutiny, before the end of the month—an example of severity which had the happiest effect in regard to general subordination. He suffered again, in an extreme degree, from the scarcity of provisions; but having at last, by constant exertions, removed this obstacle to his plan of penetrating further into the enemy's country, he set out on the 16th of March from Strother, and halted on the 21st at the mouth of Cedar Creek. Here, learning that the savages were still embodied, and very strongly posted not far from New Youcka on the Tallapoosa, he resolved to march upon them, as soon as the proper arrangements could be made for preserving his rear in safety.

On the 24th he proceeded with his whole force, which was less than three thousand effective men, and in the morning of the 27th, after a march of fifty three miles, reached the village of Tohopeka. The enemy having gained intelligence of his approach, collected in considerable numbers with a view to give him battle. Their position was admirably calculated for defence. Surrounded almost entirely by the river, it was accessible only by a narrow neck of land, of 350 yards in width, which they had taken much pains to secure and defend by placing large timbers and trunks of trees horizontally on each other, leaving but a single place of entrance. From a double row of port holes formed in it, they were enabled to direct their fire with a sure aim, while they appeared to be secure behind.

We need not follow out the details of this brilliant affair, so well known by the name of the battle of the *Tohopeka* or *Horse shoe*. The contest was obstinate and bloody. Jackson's troops finally scaled the ramparts of the Savages, who, disdaining to surrender, leaped down the banks of the river, when they could no longer defend themselves from behind the timber and brush. The carnage continued until night separated the combatants. The general result was, the destruction of the bravest of the Indian warriors and the ruin of their cause. Five hundred and fifty-seven of them were left dead on the peninsula. A multitude perished in the river. Three hundred women and children were taken prisoners,

and treated with humanity. The loss of the victors, including the friendly Indians, was fifty-five killed and one hundred and forty-six wounded: among the former were some gallant officers.

Having thus struck a decisive blow, Jackson returned with his wounded, to Fort Williams. On the 2d of April, he published an address to his army, in which he complimented their courage and conduct, but told them, that more remained to be done. Understanding that the enemy was yet strong at Horthlewalee, a town situated not far from the Hickory ground, or that part of the Creek country lying in the forks near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, he was anxious to resume operations as soon as possible, and unite with the North Carolina and Georgia troops, who were announced to be at no great distance, somewhere south of the Tallapoosa. On the 9th of April, he was on his march, with all his disposable force, but did not reach Horthlewalee until the 13th, owing to heavy rains which had swollen the streams that were to be crossed. The delay afforded an opportunity to the Savages to escape by flight from their pursuer, who soon afterwards effected his junction with the Georgia detachment. At the Hickory ground, the principal chiefs of the hostile tribes sued for peace—those who rejected this measure, had sought refuge along the coast and in Pensacola. Jackson prescribed to those who were disposed to renew their friendly relations with the United States, that they

should retire and occupy the country about Fort Williams and to the east of the Coosa ; a condition which was readily accepted, and which put it out of their power to renew hostilities with advantage at any time. Strong parties of militia were sent out to range the country and receive the submission of the natives. Much of the property plundered by them at Fort Mimms and along the frontiers was brought in and delivered up. All resistance being at an end, and there being no longer any necessity for maintaining an army in the field, orders were issued on the 21st of April, for the Tennessee troops to be marched home and discharged.

Such is the mere outline of the famous Creek war, in which Jackson, by the celerity of his movements, the inflexibility of his will, and the confidence with which his genius and demeanor inspired his associates, accomplished as much within a few months as could be thought possible, consistently with the nature and number of his army.

The complete and final discomfiture of so formidable a foe as this confederacy of Indians, drew the attention of the general government to the Tennessee commander, and produced a speedy manifestation of the respect entertained for his services and character, in his appointment as brigadier and brevet Major-general in the regular army. A commission of Major-general was forwarded to him in May, 1814. The government deemed it advisable to enter into a treaty with the vanquished Indians,



for the purpose chiefly, of restricting their limits so as to cut off their communication with the British and Spanish agents. General Jackson was deputed with Colonel Hawkins as commissioner to negotiate with the Creeks; and on the 10th of July, he reached Alabama on this errand, and by the 10th of August, accomplished an agreement, under which the Indians bound themselves to hold no communication with British or Spanish garrisons, or foreign emissaries, and, conceded to the United States, the right of erecting military posts in their country. The contraction and definition of their territorial limits were attended with considerable difficulty, but Jackson peremptorily and successfully insisted upon what he deemed necessary for the future security and permanent benefit of the United States.

During this transaction, his mind was struck with the importance of depriving the fugitive and refractory savages, of the aid and incitement which were administered to them in East Florida, and he at once urged on the President the propriety of *attacking and dismantling Pensacola*. He studied particularly, to obtain information of the designs which the British might have formed against the southern parts of the union. *He already anticipated the attack on New Orleans*: He addressed, of his own accord, complaints to the Governor of Pensacola, and summoned him to deliver up the chiefs of the hostile Indians, who were harboured in the fortress. The Governor refused and recriminated. The American



officer whom Jackson despatched to Pensacola with his expostulations, reported, on his return, that he saw there nearly two hundred British officers and soldiers, and about five hundred Indians under the training of those officers, armed with new muskets, and dressed in the English uniform. Jackson repeated his instances with the government, to be allowed "to plant the American Eagle" on the Spanish walls. He addressed the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana and the Mississippi territory, soliciting them to be vigilant and energetic, "for dark and heavy clouds hovered over the seventh military district." He sent his adjutant-general, Colonel Butler, to Tennessee, to raise volunteers, and himself repaired to Mobile to put that region in a state of defence.

Towards the end of August, the noted colonel Nichols, with a small squadron of British ships, arrived at Pensacola, and at the expiration of a fortnight made an attack upon *Fort Bowyer*, situated at the extremity of a narrow neck of land, about eighteen miles below the head of Mobile Bay and commanding its entrance. Nichols was repulsed with the loss of his best ship, and two hundred and thirty men killed and wounded. This position had been wholly neglected before Jackson's arrival, who perceived at once its great importance, and lost no time in strengthening it to the utmost. The British assailants retired to Pensacola, to refit and prepare to make a descent on some less guarded point.

Jackson became more and more persuaded, that unless Pensacola should be reduced, it would be in vain to think of defending his district. He was confirmed in the plan which he had for some time revolved, of advancing against the Spanish town and throwing a force into the Barrancas, *on his own responsibility*. In the last week of October, General Coffee arrived near Fort Stephens, with two thousand able bodied and well armed men from Tennessee. Jackson hastened to his camp, took up the line of march with the American army, consisting of Coffee's brigade, the regulars and some Indians; in all about three thousand, and reached Pensacola on the 6th of November. The forts were garrisoned by the British and Spaniards, and prepared for resistance: batteries were formed in the principal streets; and the British vessels were moored within the bay, and so disposed as to command the principal entrance to the town. Jackson required that the different forts, Barrancas, St. Rose and St. Michael, should be forthwith surrendered, to be garrisoned and held by the United States, until Spain should furnish a force sufficient to protect her neutrality from the British. On the refusal of the governor to accede to these terms, Jackson pushed his troops at once into the heart of the town, having adroitly taken a different direction from that in which he was expected to appear. The Spanish batteries in the streets were charged and mastered; the Spaniards driven from their positions behind

the houses and fences from which they were firing volleys of musketry; and, after some carnage, the governor and his advisers reduced to submission. Fort Barrancas was blown up by the British.

Two days after entering the town, Jackson abandoned it, and returned to Fort Montgomery, being satisfied with having driven away the British, forced the hostile Creeks to fly to the forests, and produced a salutary impression on the minds of the Spaniards. In this expedition, none of the Americans were killed, and about fifteen or twenty of them only were wounded. Soon after they had retired, the Spaniards began to rebuild Forts Barrancas and Rose; and the British officers, anxious to regain that confidence which they had forfeited by the destruction of them, offered to assist in their reconstruction. The governor declined the offer, and answered further, that when assistance was in fact needed, he would apply to his friend *General Jackson*.

After the general had sent off a detachment of one thousand men in pursuit of the Indian warriors who had assembled on the Appalachicola, with orders to destroy the depots of supplies, and their villages on the rout, and when he had reason to believe that Mobile and the inhabitants on its borders, were rendered comparatively secure by his operations and arrangements, his chief desire was to depart for New Orleans, where he had foreseen the vital danger to be, and where he knew his presence to be

most material. As soon as General Winchester, who had been ordered to join him, reached the Alabama, he left Mobile. On the first of December, he was in *New Orleans*, and there established his head-quarters. General Coffee and Colonel Hinds were ordered to march with their commands, and take a position as convenient to New Orleans as should be compatible with the object of procuring forage for the horses of the dragoons.

Louisiana was ill supplied with arms : Its motley population, French and Spaniards, were not yet sufficiently fond of the American government to fight very desperately in its defence. New Orleans was unprepared to withstand an enemy, and contained but too many traitors, or malcontents. Jackson was nearly disabled in body, by sickness and fatigue—he expected a large and perfectly appointed British force—his only means of resistance were the few regulars about him, the Tennessee volunteers, and such troops as the state of Louisiana might itself raise. He maintained, however, a confident aspect, and a confident tone. He summoned, at once, the governor and the citizens to exert themselves—he set them the example of unremitted activity and stern resolution. Volunteer companies were raised ; batteries were repaired or constructed, and gun-boats stationed on the most eligible points on the river. He roused the Legislature, who before had done little or nothing, to lend him their concurrence. His language to them was, “ with energy and expe-

dition, all is safe—delay further, and all is lost.” Commodore Patterson, who commanded the naval forces, executed every order with alacrity and vigour. Certain information was soon received that an English fleet was off Cat and Ship Island, within a short distance of the American lines. On the 14th December, forty-three British boats, mounting as many cannon, with twelve hundred chosen men, well armed, attacked the American flotilla of five boats on Lake Borgne, and captured it, but not without a severe contest and heavy loss of men. This disaster afflicted, but did not dismay General Jackson. On the 16th he reviewed the militia, and harangued them with a contagious ardour of patriotism.

Resistance on the lakes being at an end, the enemy was expected to advance without much further delay. Expresses were sent off in quest of General Coffee, to whom his commander wrote, “You must not sleep until you arrive within striking distance. Innumerable defiles present themselves where your riflemen will be all important.” On the night of the 19th December Coffee encamped, with eight hundred men, within fifteen miles of New Orleans ; having marched eighty miles the last day. In four days, Colonel Hinds, with the Mississippi dragoons, was at his post ; having effected a march of two hundred and thirty miles in that period.

Jackson was not long in discovering the truth of what had been communicated to him by the gov

ernor of Louisiana, that "the country was filled with British spies and stipendiaries." He suggested to the legislature the propriety and necessity of suspending the privilege of *habeas corpus*. While that assembly were deliberating slowly upon their power to adopt the measure, he proclaimed the city of New Orleans and its environs to be under *martial law*, and established a most rigid military police. The crisis did not admit of any other system, consistantly with the public safety ; and happy it was that the commander did not want either sagacity or decision. When a judge of the United States' court determined to try the question of supremacy between the civil and military power, he arrested the judge and ordered him to leave the city. "I must be brief, there is treason." On the 21st December, General Carroll reached General Coffee's encampment four miles above the city, from Nashville, with two thousand Tennessee yeomanry.

On the 22nd, the British were accidentally discovered emerging from the swamp and woods about seven miles below the town. In spite of all the precautions taken to guard the most dangerous avenues, treachery found out for the enemy a narrow pass, *Bayou Bienvenu*, through which they reached the banks of the Mississippi. On the 23d, at one o'clock in the afternoon, positive information of their landing was brought to Jackson. He resolved to meet them *that night*. Generals Coffee

and Carroll were ordered to join him, and arrived, in two hours, with their forces. As he was marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams of a multitude of females, who dreaded the worst consequences from the approach of the enemy. "Say to them," exclaimed he to a gentleman near him, "not to be alarmed; *the enemy shall never reach the city.*"

The number of the British was at first three thousand, and it was considerably increased during the night. The onset was made by the Americans about dusk. The battle, complicated and fierce, continued for some time, until both parties were thrown into confusion, owing to the darkness of the night and the nature of the ground. The enemy yielded the field for nearly a mile. The American general, finding that they were constantly receiving reinforcements, resolved to draw off and renew the attack at dawn of day, after he had called for General Carroll and his division, who had been left behind. Carroll soon arrived, but as the numbers of the enemy were discovered to be augmented to six thousand, Jackson deemed it expedient to forbear all offensive efforts, until the troops daily expected from Kentucky should reach their destination. Accordingly, he fell back and formed his line behind a deep ditch that ran at right angles from the river. This position was recommended by two circumstances: the swamp, which skirted the river at various distances, ap-



proached here within four hundred yards of it, and hence from the narrowness of the pass, it was more easily to be defended : there was, too, a deep canal, and the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already constituted a tolerable breast-work. Behind this the American troops were formed with a determination to resist there to the last extremity. The portion of them who were actually engaged in the battle on the 23d, did not amount to two thousand men. Their loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners : the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the enemy were not less than four hundred. This action, for boldness of conception, and by the wisdom of the policy, and the importance of the result, does infinite credit to the American leader. The British had believed, that once landed, they should move forward to the easiest of conquests over raw militia and untried regulars. They were arrested and disconcerted, and Jackson improved the interval of their hesitation and cautious preparation, to strengthen his works and organize the state militia who were arriving every day. The canal fronting the line was deepened and widened ; a strong wall of earth built, the levee cut almost a hundred yards below, embrasures pierced, &c. Having made these and various other important and judicious arrangements, and possessing, as he remarked, “ a rampart of high minded and brave men,” he felt and expressed a degree of confidence



which animated even the recruits who were strangers to him and to every kind of military service.

The enemy were abundantly active on their side, though at first ignorant of his situation and designs. They brought up in the direction of their encampment, their artillery, bombs and ammunition. By means of a battery which they erected in the night of the 27th, they destroyed the American armed schooner *Caroline*, lying under the opposite shore. Gathering hardihood from this circumstance, which in fact, deprived Jackson of a material aid, they left their encampment and moved towards the American lines. Their numbers had been increased, and *Sir Edward Pakenham*, their commander-in-chief, led them in person on the 28th December, to storm the works. Their heavy artillery discharged showers of bombs, balls, and rockets. These it was thought would ensure success; and they were moving forward with all the pride and pomp of war, when the American batteries opened and caused their advance to halt. The conflict continued in several quarters until the assailants, being too roughly handled, abandoned for the time, the general attack which they had meditated. One hundred and twenty of them were killed and wounded; the loss of the Americans did not exceed nine killed, and eight or ten wounded.

While Jackson and his comrades were thus bravely repelling the foe, a panic seized the legis-

lature at New-Orleans. Apprized that it was secretly agitated to offer terms of capitulation, he directed the Governor to arrest the members, and hold them subject to his further orders, the moment the project of surrendering should be fully disclosed. The Governor at once placed an armed force at the door of the capitol, prevented the members from covening, and thus stifled whatever schemes might have been proposed. Various and shrewd devices were practised by Jackson to conceal from the enemy the comparative paucity of his force, and the miserable dearth of arms in his camp. From the general government no supply of arms and ordinance had been received, except one boat-load brought down the Mississippi by General Carroll.

Skirmishes alone, by advanced parties, occurred for several days after the attack of the 28th of December. The British were encamped 2 miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. In the interval between the period just mentioned and the 1st of January, they were busy in preparing for another assault on an enlarged scale. An impenetrable fog prevailed during the night of the 31st, and until nine o'clock the following morning. When that was dispelled, there stood disclosed to the Americans, several heavy batteries, at the distance of six hundred yards, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades. These were immediately opened by the British, and a

tremendous discharge of artillery, accompanied by Congreve rockets, was maintained until near noon. A vast number of balls were directed against the building in which Jackson was believed to be. It was battered into a heap of ruins, but the general, according to his custom, had repaired to the line as soon as he heard the sound of the enemy's cannon. The rear of the American guns proved that there would be a vigorous defence; and with such effect were they managed, that the British batteries were disabled, and the assailants compelled to retire, by three o'clock, despairing of a breach in the line, and astonished at the precision with which the "Yankees" threw their shot. An advance was made upon General Coffee's brigade, in order to turn the left, but with no better success. To be prepared against all contingencies, Jackson had established another line of defence, about two miles in the rear, and where his unarmed troops (no inconsiderable number) were stationed, as a show of strength.

On the 4th of January, arrived the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to two thousand two hundred and fifty men, of whom about five hundred had muskets, and the rest guns, from which little or no service could be anticipated. New-Orleans had been previously searched for weapons, and stripped of whatever were discovered. The British were at the same time reinforced in a much more satisfactory way for them. Now

approached the great and last struggle. General Jackson, unmoved by appearance, anxiously desired it—he seldom slept—he was always at his post, that there might be no relaxation of vigilance on any side.

On the memorable 8th of January, the signals intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements, were descried at dawn. They were prepared to storm the line, and the charge was made with so much celerity that the American soldiers at the outposts had scarcely time to fly in. Showers of bombs and balls were poured from new batteries. The two British divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham, in person, pressed forward. A thick fog enabled them to approach within a short distance of the intrenchments before they were discovered : but this circumstance insured them defeat and destruction. The American artillery and small arms, discharged in a continued volley, mowed down their works and arrested their progress. The fatal aim of the western marksmen was never so terribly exemplified. Sir Edward Packenham, seeing that his troops wavered and receded, hastened to the front, but quickly fell, mortally wounded, in the arms of his aid-de-camp. Generals Gibbs and Keene were also dangerously hurt, and borne from the field, which by this time was strewed with dead and dying. The British columns, often broken and driven back, were repeatedly formed and urged forward anew.

Convinced at last that nothing could be accomplished, they abandoned the contest, and a general and disorderly retreat ensued. One American redoubt was carried by superior numbers, but quickly evacuated under the fire of the riflemen at the line. So great was the carnage of the British; so perilous the disorder into which they were thrown, that had arms been possessed by that large portion of the American militia who had remained inactive and useless for the want of them, the whole British force must have surrendered. But under the peculiar circumstances of the case, Jackson was unable to attempt, without extreme rashness, a pursuit of the vanquished. He adopted the safe alternative of continuing in his position.

According to General Lambert's official report of the affair of the 8th, the British loss, in the main attack on the left bank of the river, amounted to upwards of two thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. It may be estimated at nearly three thousand, while that of the Americans was but thirteen. The effective force of the latter at the line on the left bank, was three thousand seven hundred—that of the enemy at least nine thousand. The whole force landed from the British ships in Louisiana is believed to have been about fourteen thousand. The British commander-in-chief, and Major-General Gibbs died of their wounds, besides many of the most valued and distinguished British officers. On the ninth, the ene-

my requested and obtained an armistice of some hours to bury their dead.

After the action of the 8th, the American batteries were continually throwing balls and bombs into the British camp. Harassed, dismayed, and enfeebled, that once powerful army which was to arrive at New-Orleans by a primrose path, and hold in subjection all the lower region of the Mississippi, took a final and furtive leave in the night of the 18th of January, and embarked in their shipping for the West-Indies. Thus ended the mighty invasion, in twenty-six days after the foreign standard had been exultingly planted on the bank of the Mississippi. Thus triumphed GENERAL JACKSON by a wonderful combination of boldness and prudence; energy and adroitness; desperate fortitude and anxious patriotism.

Though the enemy had withdrawn from New-Orleans in the manner which has been stated, Jackson could not be sure that they would not return. Against this contingency, he prepared himself by cautious arrangements in the distribution of his force and the construction of new defences at assailable points, before he returned to New-Orleans. In that city he was received as a deliverer—every mind was kindled to enthusiasm from the consideration of the evils which he had averted, as well as of the victories which he had gained. The most solemn and lively demonstrations of public respect and gratitude succeeded each other

daily, until the period of his departure for Nashville soon after the annunciation of the peace concluded at Ghent, between Great-Britain and the United States. Though honoured and cherished by the larger part of the citizens, he was not, however without occasion to display the energy and decision of his character in a way that favoured the ends of jealousy and detraction. Anonymous articles calculated to excite mutiny among the troops, and afford the enemy dangerous intelligence, having appeared in one of the newspapers of New Orleans, he caused the author of them to be revealed to him by the editor of the paper. He found that the offender was a member of the Legislature, but this circumstance did not prevent him from ordering his arrest and detention for trial. Application was made to one of the judges for a writ of *habeas corpus* and it was immediately issued. We have already mentioned that Jackson arrested the judge also and sent him from the city. We now advert again to this incident, in order to relate the sequel. The General had not yet raised the edict of martial law, there being no certain intelligence of peace or of the departure of the enemy from the coast. Within a few days the cessation of hostilities was officially announced. The judge was restored to his post and the exercise of his functions. Without loss of time a rule of court was granted for General Jackson to appear and show cause why an attachment for contempt



should not issue, on the ground that he had refused to obey a writ, and imprisoned the organ of the law. He did not hesitate to appear and submit a full and very able answer, justifying his proceedings. After argument before the court, the rule was made absolute; an attachment sued out, and Jackson brought up to answer interrogatories. He declined answering them, but asked for the sentence, which the judge then proceeded to pass. — It was *a fine of one thousand dollars*. The spectators who crowded the hall, betrayed the strongest indignation. As soon as he entered his carriage, it was seized by the people, and drawn by them to the coffee-house, amid the acclamations of a large concourse. When he arrived at his quarters, he put the amount of his fine into the hands of his aid-de-camp, and caused it to be discharged without delay. He was scarcely beforehand with the citizens, who in a short time raised the sum among themselves by contribution, and were anxious to be permitted to testify at once their gratitude and shame. What was thus collected was appropriated at his request to a charitable institution. He enjoyed the consciousness that the powers which the exigency of the times forced him to assume, had been exercised exclusively for the public good, and that they had saved the country. In 1821, the corporation of New Orleans voted *fifty thousand dollars* for erecting a marble statue appropriate to his military services. The same body



gave also one thousand dollars for a portrait of him painted by Mr. Earle, of Nashville. Thus the miserable fine may be said to have been obliterated.

On his return to Nashville, (a journey of eight hundred miles) he saw on every side marks of exultation and delight. It must be within the memory of most of our readers, what was the sensation produced throughout the union by the tidings from New Orleans, and what the popular enthusiasm concerning the merits of "Old Hickory."

For two years afterwards he remained on his farm, retaining his rank in the army; but chiefly occupied with rural pleasures and labours. In this interval, the portion of the Seminoles who were driven into Florida, combining with fugitive negroes from the adjoining states, and instigated by British adventurers, whose objects were blood and rapine, became formidable in numbers and hardihood, and began to execute schemes of robbery and vengeance against the Americans of the frontiers. It having been represented to the American government that murders had been committed on our defenceless citizens, General Gaines, the acting commander in the southern district, was ordered, in the summer of 1817, with a considerable force, to take a station near the borders for their protection. He was at first directed to keep within the territorial limits of the United States, and abstain from every attempt to cross the Flori-

da line ; but to demand of the Indians, the perpetrators of the crimes thus committed, without involving the innocent, and without a general rupture with the deluded savages. Such murders having been ascertained to have been committed, attended with aggravating circumstances of rapine and cruelty General Gaines, in conformity with his orders, made the demand. The savages, through the deceptive representations of foreign incendiaries, were led to believe that the strength of the United States was not sufficient to subdue them ; or, if their own forces were incompetent to sustain the conflict, they would receive assistance from the British. The promises, made by unauthorised agents, were founded upon a pretence, that the United States had bound themselves, by the treaty of Ghent, to restore the lands which the Indians had ceded at Fort Jackson, previously to that treaty ; and that the British government would enforce its observance. Under this influence they not only refused to deliver the murderers, but repeated their massacres whenever opportunity offered ; and, to evade the arm of justice, took refuge across the line, in Florida. In this state of affairs in Nov. 1817, Lieutenant Scott, of the United States army, under Gen. Gaines, with forty-seven persons, men, women, and children, in a boat, on the Appalachicola river, about a mile below the junction of the Flint and Cohatahoochie, was surprised by an ambuscade of Indians, fired

upon, and the whole detachment, killed and taken by the Indians, except six men, who escaped by flight. Those who were taken alive, were wantonly murdered by the ferocious savages, who seized the little children, and dashed out their brains against the side of the boat, and butchered all the helpless females except one, who was afterwards retaken. General Gaines was not yet authorised to cross into Florida, to enforce a compliance with his demand for the delivery of the murders, while the Indians were collecting in large numbers upon the line, which they seemed to think a perfect safeguard, and from which they continued their predatory excursions. A letter from the Secretary of War, of the 9th December, 1817, authorised General Gaines, in case this state of things should continue, and it should become impossible by any other means to prevent their depredations, to exercise a sound discretion as to crossing the Florida line, in order to break up their establishments; and on the 16th of the same month, the Secretary of War, by letter, directed to General Gaines, fully authorised him to cross the line, and attack the Indians within the Spanish territory, should they still refuse to make reparation for depredations already committed.

Intelligence being received by the War department of the massacre of Lieutenant Scott and his companions, General Jackson was directed, by letter of the 26th December, 1817, to repair to

Fort Scott, and take command of the forces in that quarter, with authority, in case he should deem it necessary, to call upon the executives of the adjacent states for additional force. He was referred to the previous orders given to General Gaines, and directed to concentrate his forces, and adopt "measures necessary to terminate a conflict which had been avoided from considerations of humanity, but which had now become indispensable from the settled hostility of the savage enemy." In January following, the Secretary of War, in a letter to General Gaines, said, "The honour of the United States requires that the war with the Seminoles should be terminated speedily, and with exemplary punishment for hostilities so unprovoked." Under these orders, and in this critical state of affairs, General Jackson, having first collected Tennessee volunteers, with that zeal and promptness which have ever marked his career, repaired to the post assigned, and assumed the command. The necessity of crossing the line into Florida was no longer a subject of doubt. A large force of Indians and negroes had made that territory their refuge, and the Spanish authority was either too weak or too indifferent to restrain them; and to comply with orders given him from the department of war, he penetrated immediately into the Seminole towns, driving the enemy before him, and reduced them to ashes. In the council-house of the king of the Mickasukians, more than fifty fresh scalps,

and in an adjacent house, upwards of three hundred scalps, of all ages and sexes, were found; and in the centre of the public square a red pole was erected, crowned with scalps, known by the hair to have belonged to the companions of Lieutenant Scott.

To inflict merited punishment upon these barbarians, and to prevent a repetition of these massacres, by bringing the war to a speedy and successful termination, he pursued his march to St. Marks: there he found, conformably to previous information that the Indians and Negroes had demanded the surrender of the post to them; and that the Spanish garrison, according to the commandant's own acknowledgment, was too weak to support it. He ascertained also that the enemy had been supplied with the means of carrying on the war, from the commandant of the post; that foreign incendiaries, instigating the savages, had free communication with the fort; councils of war were permitted by the commandant to be held by the chiefs and warriors within his own quarters—the Spanish store-houses were appropriated to the use of the hostile party, and actually filled with goods belonging to them, and property known to have been plundered from American citizens, was purchased from them by the commandant, while he professed friendship to the United States. Gen. Jackson, therefore, had no hesitation to demand of the commandant of St. Marks, the surrender of

that post, that it might be garrisoned with an American force, and, when the Spanish officer hesitated to deliver it, he entered the fort by force, though without bloodshed, the enemy having fled, and the garrison being too weak to make opposition. Convinced of the necessity of rapid movements, in regard to the ultimate success of the expedition, he immediately marched his forces to Suwany, seized upon the stores of the enemy, and burnt their villages.

A variety of circumstances convinced General Jackson that the savages had commenced their war, and persisted in their barbarities; under the influence of some foreign incendiaries more criminal than the uncivilized natives. Alexander Arbuthnot, who avowed himself a British subject, and resided among the savages as an Indian trader, was taken at St. Marks, to which place he had withdrawn, as danger approached, and was living as an inmate in the family of the commandant. It appearing that he had been a zealous advocate for the pretended rights of the savages, and in this respect the successor of the notorious Col. Nichols, of the British Colonial Marines; that he had repeatedly written in their behalf to the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine, the Governor of Bahamas, the British minister in the United States, and to Colonel Nichols, endeavouring to procure aid from both those governors, against the United States; that he had repeatedly advised the Indians not to

comply with the treaty of Fort Jackson, assuring them that the lands ceded to the United States by them in 1814, were to be restored by virtue of the treaty of peace with Great-Britain. Gen. Jackson ordered him to be tried by a Court of Enquiry, consisting of thirteen respectable officers, with Major General Gaines, as president. Upon satisfactory testimony, he was convicted of inciting and stirring up the hostile Creeks to war against the United States and her citizens; and of aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, supplying them with the means of war; and by the court was sentenced *to be hung*.—Robert C. Ambrister, late a Lieutenant of the British Marine corps, and with the hostile Indians and fugitive negroes, the successor of Woodbine, of notorious memory, was taken near the mouth of Suwaney river. It being well known that he had been a leader and commander of the hostile Indians and fugitive slaves, General Jackson ordered him to be tried by the same Court-Martial. Upon abundant evidence he also was convicted of having aided and comforted the enemy, supplying them with the means of war, by giving them intelligence of the movements and operations of the army of the United States, and by sending the Indians and Negroes to meet and fight against them: and upon his own confession, as well as the clearest proof of his having led and commanded the lower Creeks in carrying on the war against the United States, he was by the court



sentenced to be shot. One of the members, however, requesting a reconsideration of the sentence, it was agreed to ; and on a revision, the court sentenced him to receive fifty stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain to hard labour for twelve calendar months. Gen. Jackson approved the sentence in the case of Arbuthnot ; and, in the case of Ambrister, he disapproved the reconsideration, and confirmed the first sentence. They were both executed accordingly.

Having thus far effected his objects, Gen. Jackson considered the war at an end. St. Marks being garrisoned by an American force ; the Indian towns of Mickasuky and Sawaney destroyed ; the two Indian chiefs who had been the prime movers and leaders of the savages, one of whom had commanded the party that murdered Lieutenant Scott and his companions, and the two principal foreign instigators, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, having been taken and executed, the American commander ordered the Georgia militia, who had joined him, to be discharged, and was about to return himself to Tennessee. But he soon learned that the Indians and Negroes were collecting in bands west of the Appalachicola, which would render it necessary for him to send a detachment to scour the country in that quarter. While preparing for this object, he was informed that the Indians were admitted freely by the Governor of Pensacola ; that they were collecting in large numbers, five hundred bo-



ing in Pensacola on the 15th of April, many of whom were known to be hostile, and had just escaped from the pursuit of our troops; that the enemy was furnished with ammunition and supplies, and received intelligence of the movements of our forces, from that place; that a number of them had sallied out and murdered eighteen of our citizens, settlers upon the Alabama, and were immediately received by the Governor, and by him transported across the bay, that they might elude pursuit.

These facts being ascertained by Gen. Jackson from unquestionable authority, he immediately took up his line of march towards Pensacola, at the head of a detachment of about twelve hundred men, for the purpose of counteracting the views of the enemy. On the eighteenth of May, he crossed the Appalachicola at the Ocheese village, with the view of scouring the country west of that river. and, on the twenty-third of the same month, he received a communication from the Governor of West Florida, protesting against his entrance into that province, commanding him to retire from it, and declaring that he would repel force by force, if he should not obey. This communication, together with other indications of hostility in the Governor, who had been well advised of the object of Gen. Jackson's operations, determined the measures to be pursued. He marched directly to Pensacola, and took possession of that place the following day, the Governor having fled to Fort Carlos de Bar-

rancas; which post, after a feeble resistance, was also surrendered on the 28th. By these events, the Indians and fugive negroes were effectually deprived of all possible means of continuing their depredations, or screening themselves from the arm of justice. They were so scattered and reduced as to be no longer a formidable enemy; but as there were still many small marauding parties supposed to be concealed in the swamps, who might make sudden and murderous inroads upon the American frontier settlers, Jackson called into service two companies of volunteer rangers, with instructions to scour the country between the Mobile and Appalichicola rivers. Thus ended the campaign and the Seminole war. The severest hardships were undergone by the troops and their General with the utmost fortitude. They did not encounter any considerable bands of the foe, though the latter had been embodied to the number of two thousand; but the kind of warfare which they were compelled to wage was on that account the more exhausting and arduous.

Jackson returned to Nashville in June, 1818, to the beloved retirement of his farm. New acknowledgments and new marks of admiration were bestowed upon him in every part of the Union. If the general government deemed it expedient to restore St. Marks and Pensacola to the Spanish authorities, it yet applauded and defended what he had done. The British cabinet, after full inquiry,

resolved to abstain from all complaint respecting the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. They declared that these culprits had leagued with the Indians, and actuated at their own peril. The conduct of the Tennessee warrior was, however, destined to be most vehemently arraigned and rigidly scrutinized in another quarter. Parties were formed in different parts of the country respecting the propriety of the occupation of the Spanish fortresses, and the execution of the British incendiaries. In the month of January, 1818, in the House of Representatives of the United States, a Committee reported a resolution disapproving the latter of those acts; and a member moved another resolution, condemning the former of them. These resolutions gave rise to a most earnest and elaborate debate, which was protracted through many weeks, and in which Jackson and the Executive Department were attacked and defended with the utmost zeal and signal ability. Every proposition to condemn either was finally rejected by a considerable majority of the House, and reprobated by a much larger majority of the people. The most eloquent of the orators who supported the resolutions, proclaimed that "he most cheerfully and confidently repelled the General of any intention to violate the laws of his country, or the obligations of humanity." Whoever studies Jackson's ample and argumentative despatches, and the speeches delivered in his behalf, must be convinc-

ed that he did neither, and that in making an example of the two instigators and confederates of the savages, and seizing upon fortresses which were only used for hostile purposes, he avenged and served the cause of humanity, and the highest national interests.

His desire of explaining his transactions in person, to the government, and defending himself on every side, carried him to Washington at this period. Thence he came to Philadelphia, and proceeded to New-York. Wherever he appeared, crowds attended with unceasing plaudits. In each of these cities public dinners and balls were given in his honour ; military escorts provided ; addresses delivered by deputations ; and to these his answers were uniformly pertinent and dignified. At New-York, on the 19th of February, he received the freedom of the city in a gold box ; and there, as well as in Baltimore, the municipal councils requested and obtained his portrait, to be placed in their halls. While he was on this excursion, a report, connected with the history of the Seminole war, and extremely hostile to his character, was made from a Committee of the Senate of the United States. It had not the concurrence of the ablest members of the Committee, and it was brought forward at too late a period of the session of Congress to be discussed. Nothing more was supposed to be meant by its author than to cast an indictment before the public. It was repelled tri-

amphantly, in a defence which was published in the National Intelligencer, on the 5th of March, and which has been ascribed to General Jackson. He felt deeply imputations which he knew to be not only false, but utterly irreconcilable with his nature. The issue of all the reports and harangues was such as might give additional comfort to his domestic hours on his return to his farm, where he enjoyed again a period of repose.

When the treaty with Spain, ceding the Floridas was finally ratified, Congress passed a law empowering the President to vest in such person or persons as he might select, all the military, civil, and judicial authority exercised by the officers of the Spanish government. The President, under this law, appointed General Jackson, to act in the first place as commissioner for receiving the Provinces, and then to assume the government of them. It was intended and expressed that the American Governor should exercise all the functions belonging to the Spanish Governors, Captain-General and Intendants, until Congress should provide a system of administration as in the instances of the other territories.

The selection of Jackson was not a mere mark of honour or testimonial of public gratitude. His intimate acquaintance with the country, and the energy of his nature, recommended him specially for the post of Governor. Florida was overrun with desperadoes of every description; it was the

resort of a motly horde of speculators, smugglers of negroes, and adventurers of all nations; it had become the theatre of complicated intrigue and misrule. His personal reputation was calculated to overawe corruption and violence; his inflexibility and activity in repressing all disorder and spoil were sure grounds of reliance for the President. It was not without reluctance that he accepted this new and almost absolute civil command, involving an arduous task and a delicate responsibility. But, having acceded, from a sense of duty, to the nomination, he repaired to his station with his usual promptitude. On the first of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-one, he issued at Pensacola, his proclamation announcing that possession had been taken of the territory, and the authority of the United States established in it under his commission. He adopted at once rigorous measures for the introduction of a regular and efficacious administration of affairs. Courts were organized; a police was instituted, and such a scheme of territorial division adopted as was required for the convenience of the inhabitants and the speedy execution of the laws. An occasion arising out of the previous and prescriptive laxity of principle and perversion of right in the provinces, soon presented itself for the exertion of his official powers and generous sympathies.

The treaty with Spain prescribed that all documents relating to property or sovereignty should

be left in possession of the American authorities. On the 22d of August, a petition was submitted to the Governor, in his capacity of the highest judicial magistrate from the American alcade, or keeper of the archives, that certain public documents or records, required by individuals to enable them to prosecute their claims to property, were unlawfully detained in the hands of a person of the name of *Sousa*. The governor issued his commission to three officers, to wait on *Sousa*, and request him to exhibit and deliver up all such documents in his possession. *Sousa* exhibited two open boxes of papers which he affirmed had been intrusted to him for safe-keeping by the late Spanish Governor, Colonel Callava. The boxes, when examined, were found to contain the documents wanted, and other records of suits for property between individuals. All these were demanded by the officers, but refused by *Sousa*, who promised, however to consult Colonel Callava. These facts being reported to General Jackson, he issued a summons to *Sousa* to appear before him, in case he persisted in retaining the papers. The answer given was, that the papers had been sent to Colonel Callava, and were in the latter's house. Two of the official family of the American Governor were then directed by him to repair with the alcade to Callava's dwelling, to demand the papers, and if they were refused, to require both Callava and his steward, who had received them from *Sou-*



sa, to appear before the Governor. The Spaniard insisted at first upon retaining the papers, and after promising to surrender them, when a list was furnished, and failing to do so, and obstinately refusing to obey the summons in any manner, he was finally conducted under guard to the office of the Governor. When there, he was informed of the nature and propriety of the demand made upon him, and apprized that the further withholding of the papers would be regarded as a contempt of the Governor's judicial authority, and subject him to imprisonment. He would do nothing but dictate protests, when the patience of Jackson being exhausted, he, his steward, and Sousa were committed to prison, until the papers should be obtained.

The next morning, the box in which the papers had been seen, was seized and opened by officers specially commissioned. It had been carefully sealed by Callava, and was found to contain what was sought. Callava and his companions were then released from jail. The records thus recovered related to the estate of a person who died at Pensacola, about the year 1807, having made his will, and bequeathed his property to several orphan females, who had never received any portion of it, owing to the dishonesty of the individuals who were at the same time its depositaries and debtors. Callava himself had made decrees in favour of the heirs, which were discovered in the box and had been



suppressed under corrupt influence. It was his object to carry off all the evidence necessary for redress. He afterwards published in the American papers an exposition of the treatment which he had experienced, and was convicted in due time of various misrepresentations by the counter statements of the respectable gentlemen who were employed in the affair by the governor. He claimed for himself the immunities of an ambassador, having acted as the deputy of the Captain General of Cuba, in surrendering the Floridas. But as his quality of Commissioner had ceased when the surrender was completed, Jackson could view him only in the light of a private individual charged with violating both public and private rights, and determined to set the supreme judicatory at defiance. To have allowed the wrong which was designed to be committed, would have been utterly inconsistent with what was due to the dignity and power of the United States, and the claims of oppressed individuals whose sex and situation particularly entitled them to protection and sympathy. The just language of Jackson, narrating and justifying his proceedings to the President, was—"When men of high standing attempt to trample upon the rights of the weak, they are the fittest objects for example or punishment. In general the great can protect themselves; but the poor and humble require the arm and shield of the law." Among the civil officers sent to Florida, by the President, was a former Senator of the United

States, Elegius Fromentin, who went in the capacity of a Judge, with a jurisdiction limited to cases that might arise under the Revenue Laws, and the acts of Congress prohibiting the introduction of slaves. This gentleman consented rashly, at the instigation of some of the friends of Callava, to issue the writ of *habeas corpus* to extricate the Spaniard from confinement. The general Judiciary Act for the United States, under which alone the Judge could claim the right of thus interfering, had not been extended to the Floridas. Jackson displayed his characteristic decision and intelligence in this case—he cited the Judge to appear before him and answer to the charge of a contempt of the superior court and a serious misdemeanor. The prisoner was released, the papers having been obtained, before Mr. Fromentin was able to present himself pursuant to the summons. The General was then content with defining to him the limits of his competency as Judge, and uttering a severe rebuke of his precipitation. Very bitter complaints were afterwards made by both parties to the executive department at Washington.

This even, was not the end of the Callava case, as it has been called. Several Spanish officers who had remained with the expedition in the province ventured to publish in the *Argos* an article, with their signatures, in which they accused the General of violence and injustice. It was stipulated in the treaty of cession, that all the Spanish officers

should be withdrawn from the territories ceded, within six months after ratification of the treaty. More than this term had elapsed. Jackson issued his proclamation without delay, commanding them, as trespassers and disturbers of the public peace, to depart in the course of a week. They had not the folly to remain. About the same period, important documents and archives, which the Spaniards had no right to retain, were attempted to be withheld by the ex-governor of East Florida. Jackson, on hearing of this attempt, transmitted, by mail, his orders to take forcible possession of them ; which was done accordingly. The ex-governor protested ; but upon insufficient grounds, and with personal disgrace.

These occurrences produced much discussion in the newspapers, and vehement remonstrances from the Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain in this country. Jackson's interpretation of his own powers, and those of Judge Fromentin, and his measures to prevent the abduction of the papers, were ratified and fully vindicated by the American government. The undue interest which the Spanish officers contrived to raise in their favour, with the assistance of the General's personal enemies, soon subsided after the facts and respective rights became better known. On the 7th of October, Jackson delegated his powers to two gentlemen, the secretaries of his government, and set out on his return to Nashville. In his dignified and argumentative valedictory ad-

dress to the citizens of Florida, <sup>1</sup>informed them that he had completed the temporary organization of the two provinces. He stated, and justified, his motives for acting as he had done in the case of Callava. "With the exception of this instance," he added, "I feel the utmost confidence in saying, that nothing has occurred, notwithstanding the numerous case in which I have been called upon to interpose my authority, either in a judicial or executive capacity, to occasion any thing like distrust or discontent."

The injury which his health had suffered from the personal hardships, inevitable in his campaigns, forbade him to protract his residence in Florida. Before his departure he received from the citizens, spontaneous public manifestations of esteem and gratitude. Attempts were made at the ensuing session of Congress, to obtain a condemnation of his conduct towards Callava, but they utterly failed, both with the Legislature and the people. On the 4th of July, 1822, the Governor of Tennessee, by order of the Legislature, presented him with a sword as a testimonial "of the high respect" entertained by the state for his public services. And, on the 20th, of August, of the same year, the members of the General Assembly of Tennessee recommended him to the Union for the office of President—a recommendation which has been repeated by the Legislature of Alabama, and various assemblages of private citizens in other parts of the country. In the autumn of

1823, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, in which body he has taken his seat. Social honours are heaped upon him at Washington, and fresh evidence is daily transmitted thither, of the high estimation in which he is held at a distance. In the south-western, and some of the southern states, and in Pennsylvania, he is eminently popular. Before his election to the Senate, he was appointed by the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, Minister Plenipotentiary to the government of Mexico : but he declined the station from a repugnance to the monarchical system which then prevailed in Mexico, and to the means by which the supreme power had been usurped.

In person, General Jackson is tall, and remarkably erect and thin. His weight bears no proportion to his height, and his frame, in general, does not appear fitted for trials such as it has borne. His features are large ; his eyes dark blue, with a keen and strong glance ; his eye-brows arched and prominent—his complexion is that of the war-worn soldier. His demeanor is easy and gentle : in every station he has been found open and accessible to all. The irritability of his temper, which is not denied by his friends, produces contrasts in his manner and countenance, leading to very different conceptions and representations as to both : but that natural infirmity has decreased, and those who have lived and acted with him, bear unanimous testimony to the general mildness of his carriage and the kind-

ness of his disposition. It is certain that he has inspired his soldiers, his military household, his domestic circle, and his neighbours, with the most affectionate sentiments. The impetuosity of his nature, his impatience of wrong and encroachment, his contempt for meanness, and his tenaciousness of just authority, have involved him in bitter altercations and sanguinary quarrels:—his resentments have been fiercely executed, and his censures rashly uttered: yet he cannot be accused of wanton or malicious violence; the sallies which may be deemed intemperate can be traced to strong provocation, operating, in most instances, upon his patriotic zeal and the very generosity and loftiness of his spirit. He sacrificed the enemies of his country, where he deemed that signal examples of rigor were necessary for the public welfare and the lasting suppression of murder and rapine—he was never found wanting in clemency and humanity towards those whom essential justice and paramount duty allowed him to spare and relieve. Thus, after the battle of the *Horse shoe*, in the Creek war, every Indian warrior was spared who surrendered himself—several of his men lost their lives in endeavouring, by his orders, to save some obstinate individuals who refused to surrender; although his own troops were suffering with hunger, he forbade the corn of the Indians to be taken from them, and caused the wounded among the latter to be dressed and nursed as his own men. At the battle of Tohopeka, an

infant was found alive on the breast of its lifeless Indian mother: Jackson directed it to be brought to him, and not being able to prevail upon any one of the Indian women to undertake the care of it, adopted it into his family, and has ever since proved a kind protector to the orphan.

In the various critical situations in which he was placed by emergencies and the unlimited discretion cast upon him, he appears to have been governed by general and solid principles which he knew how to apply satisfactorily in explaining his measures. The very salutary energy and decision with which he pursued the course, that he had deliberately concluded to be right and necessary, subjected him to the belief or charge of having acted merely from a vehement, overbearing, or arbitrary disposition. If his feelings were strongly roused and displayed against the timid or the traitorous portion of the inhabitants of New Orleans who would have given the enemy an easy and fatal triumph—against the Spanish authorities in Florida who served the British and supplied the Seminoles—against Arbuthnot and Ambrister, the unwearied instigators and insidious confederates of the Savages thirsting for American blood—against the imposter prophets, who had directed the butchery of white women and children, and whose occupation it was to incite depredation and murder--against a Spanish Governor who would have violated a treaty and despoiled orphan females



of their inheritance—we may say that both the warmth of those feelings, and the rigour with which they were manifested, will be not only excused but even admired by generous minds.

The copious despatches which General Jackson had occasion to write to the government, detailing his campaigns and official proceedings ; his numerous addresses to his troops, and the statements and arguments, which the charges preferred against his official conduct compelled him to publish for his justification, would altogether, form a sizeable volume. They are marked by great fluency and energy of expression ; cogent reasoning ; apt reference to general principles, and the utmost earnestness and apparent rectitude of intention. He writes nervously and perspicuously ; he speaks with facility and force. Grace and refinement he has not studied, either in composition or delivery. Those qualities are not to be expected in one whose life has been chiefly passed in such scenes as we have sketched. He is artificial in nothing. His reading cannot be supposed to be extensive, nor his application to books very frequent. In regard to *business* he has been always found indefatigable and sagacious. He possesses a competent estate, and lives hospitably in the manner of a substantial farmer. He is without children. His amusements have consisted in the management of his domestic concerns, the sports of the turf and social inter-



course. He is temperate in his diet, and in all respects enjoys a good private reputation. His public character is to be known from the history of his public career, which we have regularly, though very imperfectly traced









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