

of condemnation by the people of the United States, of the course which had in this respect been pursued by the late administration.—Agreeably to the first principle of our system, the influence of this decision might have been expected to be acknowledged by all branches of the government. It did not however produce the desired effect upon the legislation of Congress. On the contrary it only served to make the more manifest the corrupting influence of this species of appropriations,—the facility with which Congress may, by the management of skilful leaders and by artificial combinations of local interests, be brought to act counter to the general will,—and the utter inefficiency of public opinion, unaided by the Executive, to arrest a system of legislative measures which can be made so extensively subservient to personal ambition as to private interests. In the very Congress which was then elected, a series of bills for Internal Improvements were passed, and others were rapidly progressing to maturity, which, setting at naught even those limitations that had before been respected, boldly extended the long growing usurpation over the entire U. S. They involved the assertion of an unlimited power of appropriation to objects of the most purely local character and which, once established in practice, would render an eternal drain of the treasury altogether inevitable.

At this critical juncture, the eyes of all sincere and enlightened friends to our political system who were sanguine enough still to nourish hope that it might yet be restored to its original purity and simplicity, were turned to the exercise of the President's power as their last safeguard against the unconstitutional, corrupting and ruinous system, with the confirmed establishment of which they were threatened. They hoped for another signal manifestation of that inflexible devotion to duty, that indifference to personal consequences, and that moral integrity of which his life had afforded so many proofs. This hope was not disappointed. He coincided with those who saw in this species of appropriations not only gross infractions of the spirit of the true limitations of power between the Federal and State Governments, but the seeds of an inextinguishable national debt—the unavoidable and thence corruption of the legislation of Congress and of the people also by means of largesses bestowed alternately upon one portion and another of the country, thro' the instrumentality of ambitious & designing men, thus in effect bribing the people with their own money. For these evils there could be no compensation in the benefits of any improvements to which the system could possibly give rise; even supposing (which was not the case) that those benefits could not be attained in any other way. He did not hesitate, therefore, to throw himself into the breach. His enemies for a moment exulted in, as they fancied, the madness of the attempt by any man, to sustain himself against the torrent of private and local interests which he encountered by his Maysville Message.—They counted with confidence upon the total destruction of his popularity. But they were deceived. The boldness and firmness and marked integrity of the act arrested universal attention. The grounds upon which he had proceeded were stated with frankness, and considered by the people with the liberality and justice due to a public servant whose devotion to the public weal had been oft-attested and never found wanting. The result has been in no sense equivocal. "INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT" is not now a conspicuous motto on the banners of political aspirants. The charm is dissolved, and the public mind no longer spell bound upon the subject. The ground which has been received in favor of sound principles is secure, and if they have not yet been re-established to their full extent, public sentiment affords an earnest that they are in a fair way of becoming so. The practice of squandering money out of the national Treasury upon local objects is effectually suppressed;—the memorials and reports in favor of improvements without number claimed to be of a general character, & into which there was a fixed determination to launch, without waiting even for a well considered system to regulate the action of the Government, have not been attempted to be revived;—the remonstrances of the President against the resumption of the subject, and in favor of leaving it to the State Governments until some adequate constitutional proposition can be established, have been attended with a marked effect, not only upon the Federal, but upon the State Governments; which justifies strong hopes that the latter will rapidly add to the proofs already afforded of their entire competence and peculiar fitness for the task, and that public sentiment will settle down decisively and perpetually in favor of leaving it to them. The improvement of the country, in which all are interested, and to which no good citizen can feel indifferent, instead of being the stalking horse of the politician, will then be restored to its proper nature as an affair of business, and its more rapid and successful, because more economical, prosecution will not be the least conspicuous fruit of the change. To the future historian of our Union will it belong, however, to trace this service of Andrew Jackson to its most important consequences; and by contrasting what will be with what would otherwise have been, convey a just idea of the debt it has imposed upon all whose welfare is dependent upon the success of our system, and permanence of our Union.

The Tariff.

There are few, if any, of the subjects of legislation, on which the action of Congress has had to contend with equal difficulties. A regulation of the customs, with a view to the protection of branches of domestic industry has in this, as in all other countries, been deemed, from the institution of our government, an object of the highest importance, and has in this more perhaps than any other proved a matter of great delicacy and difficulty. Although men are never wanting on either side of any question, who hesitate not with all the prepotency of individuality, to press their own partial and interest-worshipping views, their sweeping dogmas and crude schemes, upon the adoption of Congress, the most enlightened, dispassionate and patriotic men who have given their attention to this subject acknowledge the great practical difficulties with which legislation upon it is beset.

But in this delicate difficulty which it presents, serious as they are, have been far less detrimental to the public interest than those which have arisen from its connection with pure politics. One of the greatest evils to which political nations such as ours are subject, is the pecuniary liability of the wisest and most salutary policy to be carried to absurd and pernicious extremes, not only through the errors of enthusiasm, but through the

influence of a morbid appetite for political distinction. These two principles of mischief are, indeed, in most cases found united. When an ambitious individual aims at making himself conspicuous as the champion of a policy already in vogue, his first step is to push his views in regard to it further than is warranted by the existing state of public opinion, as influenced by men of prudence and moderation. The course is open to others also, and competitors arise who are not to be out-done in efforts to become eminent public benefactors in the proposed form. In this race of extravagance matters go from one step to another, until a revulsion in public sentiment occurs,—the ambitious hopes are disappointed,—anger, resentment and recklessness take the place of the patriotic ardor,—and the public interests, which have become so involved perhaps that it is impossible to extricate them without injury, are made to sustain in various ways the efforts of the explosion. The subject under consideration has been exposed in a very remarkable degree to this deleterious influence. It is not going too far to say, that since the foundation of the existing system of prohibitory and high protective duties was laid, not a single law passed upon the subject, has been free from it. The first was in 1816, the very time when the political campaigns by which the country has ever since been convulsed were first commenced, and the first movements made. Those which followed were in 1824, 1828 and 1832 immediately preceding the Presidential contests of those years. It has been remarked by an experienced and sagacious man, who was in Congress on several of these occasions, and an attentive observer on all that he has never yet seen a tariff bill passed, when the influence of the proposed measure upon the politics of the country was not obviously a more operative consideration than the effect it was to have upon its manufacturing, commercial and agricultural interests. To the justice of these remarks there is far too much reason to subscribe. Great as were the difficulties which the subject would have presented under the most favorable circumstances, they were immeasurably increased by the extent to which it had become interwoven with matters which it had no natural connexion, and by the degree in which the action of Congress upon it had become subjected to party organization and subservient to party politics.

With that sagacity which has always led him to select the proper point as well as the proper means of attack, and which has never yet failed, in what ever field of action he may have been engaged, to put him upon the sure road to victory, the President embraced the earliest occasion that presented itself to bring the public sentiment to bear upon this mischief, which it alone could subside. In his first message to Congress, he thus expressed himself:—
"In deliberating therefore on these interesting subjects, local feelings and prejudices should be merged in the patriotic determination to promote the great interests of the whole. All attempts to connect them with the party conflicts of the day are necessarily injurious, and should be denounced. Our action upon them should be under the control of higher and purer motives. Legislation subjected to such influence can never be just, and will not long retain the sanction of the people, whose active participation is not bounded by sectional limits, nor is suitable to that spirit of disinterestedness and fair hearing which give life to our political compact and still sustains it. Descending all calculations of political expediency, the North, the South, the East and the West should unite in doing nothing any farther of which either may justly complain."

More and more convinced as he proceeded in his administration of the impossibility of effecting a satisfactory settlement of this difficult and disturbing subject until greater influence should be allowed to this patriotic ardor, he, in his next annual message, again pressed it upon the attention of Congress:—"That our deliberations (says he) upon this interesting subject should be uninfluenced by those partisan conflicts that are incident to free institutions is the fervent wish of my heart. To make this great question, which unhappily so much divides and excites the public mind, subservient to the short-sighted views of faction, must destroy all hope of settling it satisfactorily to the great body of the people, and the general interest. I cannot, therefore, on taking leave of the subject, too earnestly for my own feelings, and the common good, warn you against the blighting consequences of such a course."—These admonitions were, however, in a great measure made in vain. Nothing short of the voice of the American People, again proclaiming in a tone not to be misunderstood, their steadfast confidence in Andrew Jackson, their concurrence in his views, and their sympathy in his enlarged patriotism, and again demonstrating their fixed determination to support a man of his stamp against all the combinations of local and particular interests that could be arrayed against him—nothing short of that voice, it seems, was sufficient to exercise the evil spirit which it was necessary to subdue and to drive away. Its efficacy, however has soon become manifest. It has induced a better consideration of the subject, even in the quarters from which it was least to be expected, and at once gave a decided turn to it; which is rapidly leading to a better state of things. The situation of the great mass of the people has been for the first time awakened to it, a general public sentiment is already set against all further use of the vitally interesting subject as a pretext for the lightness of staffs upon. The sentiments which General Jackson has, for the last four years been so earnestly inculcating, have been adopted by Mr. Clay himself, for whom, up to a very late date, has been claimed as his proudest boast, the prerogative of this system, and the fostering of its growth to the most extravagant and illimitable extent. It must have been with no small satisfaction that Mr. Clay, whose support has been uniformly placed upon his unbounded devotion to the protective system, upon his partisanship have made it their watch-word in all elections, and who have summoned to their banners all who (according to their vocabulary) were patriotic enough to prefer the interests of America to that of foreign industry,—that Mr. Clay, himself, was heard in the last session so feelingly to express the wish to see the Tariff separated from the politics of the country."

But this is not the only particular in which the views of his opponents have been brought to his standard. The increasing spirit of discontent in the South and extreme East with the Tariff of 1828,—the attempt to make a satisfactory re-adjustment of the duties in 1832,—the scenes of resistance to the laws with which the country has been menaced by one of the Southern States,—and the arrangement at the last session in consequence of which the measure was withdrawn, are fresh in public recollection. Mr. Clay's Bill passed both branches of the legislature by large majorities; it revealed the undivided support of the Anti-Tariff party, and was supported by the most violent and extreme portion as, though not an entirely satisfactory, still a sufficient compromise with their demands for a redress of grievances. The Convention of South Carolina have so pronounced it, and have made it the ground of rescinding their ordinance. Let us now see what it is that has given to this measure such paramount claims to the favorable consideration of that body, and through what influence it was brought about. The recommendation of the bill is certainly not that it exceeds the ground which had been so perceptibly insisted upon, viz: the unconstitutionality of a protective Tariff. So far from this being the case, one of the arguments urged by its author in favor of the bill was, that it involved a surrender of this objection on the part of the opponents of the protective policy; and after a unanimous vote on the part of gentlemen under such solemn obligations to support the Constitution, in favor of a bill, the leading object of which is a reduction of duties because they are not wanted for revenue, but which at the same time for the avowed purpose of protecting the duties on a particular branch of manufactures from a duty of fifty per cent. (and that branch the very branch, too, on which the high duties had been so complained of as burdensome to the South.)—after such a vote, it may be presumed that, however conscientiously it may hereafter have been urged, the objection, that the laying of a duty for protection is an act which violates the Constitution, will not be again heard of from the same quarter. Neither can the merits of the bill have consisted in the degree or rapidity of the reduction effected by it; for a bill which proposed a much greater and speedier reduction, and against which a majority of the House of Representatives had in vain been attempted to be obtained, was, by the aid of the same votes, laid upon the table, and the former adopted.

It cannot have been accepted on the ground of a supposed pledge, restricting the Congress of the United States as to the duties which they may impose ten years hence. Every man in the country knows, that the late Congress had no such power; and must be aware, that (even supposing no intermediate legislation to take place) whether the proposed rate shall be continued to, or must depend upon the opinion of the country as to its fitness: in regard to which no opinion can now be formed. It must have been apparent, too, that any pretension on the part of the late Congress to tie up the hands of that of 1832, would be calculated to defeat rather than secure its object.

But why waste our time in speculations upon a subject on which the Convention have been so explicit. In the Report upon which the Ordinance of revocation is founded they say:—"But great as must be the advantage with the distinct recognitions in the new Bill of two great principles, which we deem of inestimable value,—that the duties shall eventually be brought down to the Revenue standard, even if it shall be found necessary to reduce the duties on the protected articles below 20 per cent. and that no more money shall be raised than shall be necessary to an economical administration of the government."—These provisions embody the great principles in reference to this subject for which South Carolina has, so long and so earnestly contended." (f)

(e) This is the bill sanctioned by the Head of the Treasury and the administration, prostrating it "a greater part of the manufactures of the country," to which Mr. Clay gave a prominent place in his picture of the errors which threatened his beloved system, and from which it was to be rescued by the "new bill."

(f) In order to make a fair comparison between the substance of that which is here so exultingly held up, and that which had been explicitly recommended by Gen. Jackson, and which the influence of his measures and his voice had brought the public sentiment to, it will be necessary to look a little closely here into the meaning of words.—We shall then see what the thing really is, which the convention usher in with such a flourish of trumpets. Their language here recalls forcibly to mind the prediction made by John Taylor of Caroline, that Congress were about to become transformed into a totally different thing from what the Constitution intended. The Constitution intended they should be a legislative body, whose business it is to make, to alter and to repeal laws; the "balance-mongers," (of whom Mr. Calhoun is now the prince) were about to change them into a body of diplomats, whose occupation would be to struggle for balances of power, to make bargains and to receive bribes.

Through whose agency more than that of any other man, was it that these results were brought about? Let the question be answered by facts which cannot lie, and upon authority which on this point will scarcely be called in question. Leaving out of view the immense influence which the President's course, with regard to Internal Improvements and the Debt, had upon this subject, let us merely look at his recommendations and exertions with regard to the Tariff itself. In his message he called the attention of Congress to the existing tariff, and recommended its modification. In his message of 1830 he repeated this recommendation in the most earnest and unreserved manner. In his message of 1831, and in the message to act upon it, it was in his first annual message preceding that struggle, when, yielding to the wishes of the people, he had consented to be again a candidate, that he pressed the subject upon Congress with the greatest solicitude, and urged them to act upon the very principles now so enthusiastically lauded by the South Carolina Convention. "That part of his message which has immediate reference to it is in the following words:—"The confidence with which the extinguishing of the public debt may be anticipated presents an opportunity for carrying into effect more fully the policy in relation to import duties which has been recommended in my former message. A modification of the Tariff which shall produce a reduction of our revenues to the wants of the Government, and an adjustment of the duties upon imports with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the maintenance of justice, may be effected by a judicious selection of the present Tariff." Nor were the exertions to carry these views into effect for one moment relaxed. When it had become evident that an opposition to his reelection of unprecedented activity, violence and bitterness was determined upon,—when the Bank was marshaling its numerous and well appointed cohorts for the day, and it was openly announced on the floor of Congress, that the question for the people was "the Bank without Andrew Jackson, or Andrew Jackson and no Bank,"—when the religious feelings of the nation were sought to be played upon by two different devices, well suited to enlist them against him,—when the ranks of ancient federalism, with a few isolated exceptions, were once more formed to make the victory certain,—when Mr. Clay was maintaining in the Senate, that "between the points of the preservation of the system and its absolute repeal, there is no principle of Union,"—insisting that "the protective system" should be preserved "in full vigor,"—and proclaiming aloud that, besides numberless other enemies, "the executive through the Secretary of the Treasury, had sent to Congress a tariff bill which would have destroyed numerous branches of our domestic industry, and led to the final destruction of all,"—it was at this moment that Andrew Jackson, intent only on the faithful discharge of his duty, and firm in his reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of his people for their support in the struggle, broke up combinations inimical to the prosperity and peace of his country, was unwilling to exert to give effect to his recommendations.—Those efforts proved at that period partially successful; but his confidence in the goodness and patriotism of the people was most signally justified. They rallied to the banner on which was emblazoned in letters of light, the acts and the principles which had already made his service in the presidency like that in the field of battle, ever memorable, and, from perhaps the most violently contested election-field that was ever witnessed, he was borne aloft more than conqueror.—Then sank—and sank too low to be again raised—the hopes of the combinations. Their subsidence at length gave way before this renewed manifestation of an enlarged national spirit, too vigorous and too strong under such a leader to be lulled or resisted, which proclaimed a change of course to the public servants, and demanded that the great interests of the Union should be preferred to those of sections or individuals, and should no longer be allowed to be controlled by the power resulting from their organization. From that moment their power was gone, and the peace of the country was secure. For him however, new cares and fresh exertions were the fruits of this victory, & the struggle compelled only to redouble his vigilance and stimulate new efforts. In his next message he once more brought the subject before Congress in the following words:—"Long and patient reflection has strengthened the opinion, which I have heretofore expressed to Congress on this subject, and I deem it my duty on the present occasion again to urge them upon the attention of the Legislature. The soundest maxims of public policy and the principles upon which our Republican institutions are founded, command a proper abolition of the revenue to the expenditure; and they also require that the expenditure shall be limited to what is necessary for the economical administration of the government, and that the simplicity of the government and necessary in an efficient service." We have, as has been seen, the authority of the most violent opponents of the Tariff and of the President for the assertion that these principles have substantially succeeded by the passage of the Bill of the last session. To what is the conception of that bill to be ascribed? Let Mr. Clay himself answer:—"Mr. President, I want to be perfectly understood as to the motives which have prompted me to offer this measure. I repeat what I said on the introduction of it, that they are, first, to preserve the manufacturing interest, and secondly, to quiet the country. I believe the American system to be in the greatest danger, and I believe it can be placed on a better and safer foundation at this session than the next. I heard, with surprise, my friend from Massachusetts say that nothing had occurred since the last six months to increase its hazard. I entertain him on this subject, but I repeat, it is correct. Is the issue of numerous elections, including that of the high officers of the Government, nothing? Is the explicit recommendation of that officer, in his message at the opening of the session, sustained as he is, by a recent triumphant election, nothing? Is his declaration in his proclamation, that the burdens of the South ought to be relieved, nothing? Is the introduction of a bill into the House of Representatives during this session, sanctioned by the Head of the Treasury and the Administration, prostrating the greater part of the manufactures of the country, nothing?—Mr. Clay then goes on to add to his list of motives the recent events in the South. These no one could speak on the subject without averting to; but, that those which he places first and foremost on the list were more than sufficient, without the aid of the latter, to make even his bold and fearless obstinacy give way; while the latter, without the former, would have had no such effect, is a matter not only from the whole tenor of his speech, but from the very nature and facts of the case.—It is well known that the majority of the dominant party is adverse to the Tariff. There are many honorable exceptions,—the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Dilterson] among them. But for the creations of the other party the Tariff would have been long since sacrificed. Now let us look at the composition of the two branches of Congress at the next session. In this body we lose three friends of the protective policy, without being sure of gaining one. Here judging from present appearances, we shall, at the next session, be in the minority. In the House it is notorious that there is a considerable accession to the number of the dominant party. How, then, I ask, is the system to be sustained against numbers,—against the whole weight of the Administration,—against the united South,—and against the increasing danger of civil war? Again.—"The President, in his opening message, will urge that justice, as he terms it, be done to the South, and that the burdens imposed upon it by the Tariff be removed. The whole weight of the Administration, the united South, and majorities of the dominant party in both branches of Congress, will be found in active cooperation with the gentleman from Massachusetts to make every effort to save the tariff against this united and irresistible force?"

It is unnecessary to look any further. The concessions made in this bill are due to the measures and recommendations of General Jackson, ratified by the voice of the American People, re-elected him, and sending to Congress "majorities of the dominant party," to sustain his principles and to carry his views into effect. The merit which Mr. Clay claims is that of saving from party had led them; and secondly, the desire to defraud General Jackson of the credit of what he had accomplished.

Compare this with the recommendation of Andrew Jackson! Entertaining no correct views of the duties and the constitutional powers of Congress to ask them to "abolish them, or to make recognitions of principles," the soundest maxims of public policy and the principles of our institutions, required that the revenue should not be reduced to the revenue standard, so that no more money should be raised than what by an economical administration shall be consistent with the simplicity of the Government and necessary to an efficient service."—To be sure, he recommended also, that in reducing the duties to the revenue standard, due regard should be paid to the interests on which the reduction might operate. His sense of justice was too strong to permit him to believe that it was practicable to effect any arrangement in which they should be overlooked. The event is the best commentary upon his course. The arrangement which was sanctioned at with such avidity and hailed with such exultation by the gentlemen who would have every thing or nothing, and who could not express their scorn, the measures proposed by Gen. Jackson,—that very arrangement was proposed by Mr. Clay, because it was far more favorable to the "detestable system" than the measures which General Jackson would have carried.—This, then, is the great achievement of these gentlemen.—The duties on woollens raised from 5 to 60 per cent; the immediate reduction of duties to the economical wants of the government, postponed for ten years or more; and meanwhile, a better tariff for the protective system than could possibly be had for from the Administration!

And to what are the opponents of the system, the friends of economy, and the enemies of a large surplus revenue indebted for this beautiful result? To two things,—first, the inconsiderate joy with which the Nullifiers seized upon the first pretext for scrambling out of the "Serbian bog" into which the reckless ambition of the leaders and the unalterable inflexibility of the lowest mass of the

approaching wreck of his favorite system the protection which is secured by his bill. In what it concedes, he has merely done what had been rendered unavoidable by the previous acts of others—what was in effect already done. If, therefore, there be any merit in the provisions which have been so highly lauded at the South, it is to General Jackson, sustained by the enlightened patriotism of the American People, the credit is due. To him will it inevitably be awarded. Those who are so anxious, and so busy to prevent this, may heap epithets upon epithets, conjure up ever so many points of collision, promise every day a new device for distracting the public mind; but their ingenuity and their industry will be in vain. As well might they attempt to drive back to their source the rays of a meridian sun, as to avert this final judgment of the People.

DEATH OF JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE.

"John Randolph of Roanoke is no more. He died yesterday about twelve o'clock, in the City Hotel. The excitement in Chesnut street, when the melancholy fact became known, can be imagined—not described.

"This has departed at the advanced age of sixty-one years, one of the most extraordinary men that perhaps ever appeared in the world. Whatever feelings, whatever enmities, whatever hostilities, and whatever prejudices may have existed towards him when living, they are all buried in the same grave in which his ashes will be consigned to their long repose. The generation that survives and all that follow only remember his excellencies, for he had many—his virtues, and they were not few—his unflinching genius—his unequalled eloquence—his wit that never beamed but in the most brilliant light—and his learning, that irradiated his whole converse, society, and intercourse. He was a statesman—a philosopher—a philanthropist—a patriot—but for mankind—far after nature, and is a remarkable coincidence that his southward take his last flight in the same city in which he made his political debut to the councils of his country.

Mr. Randolph became a member of the House of Representatives about the time when Mr. Jefferson came into power. He was then a young man, but his appearance was even more juvenile than his years. It is related of him that on being questioned by the speaker about his age, he replied in his peculiar tone, "ask my constituents." He had been, while a young man, a warm politician at the Virginia Court House and hustings, and we remember to have heard him once give an account of his visit to Powell-Keepe, to hear the debates in the Convention of New York, called together to deliberate on accepting the constitution of 1787.

Mr. Randolph took the republican side of the question on his appearance in Congress. He at once attained a high rank as a debater, and was appointed Chairman to the most important committee of the House—the committee of ways and means. He continued in this position for several years, gave great evidence of talent and originality, but occasionally showed an eccentricity that gradually cooled the admiration and friendship of Mr. Jefferson.

"Mr. Randolph was we believe, one of the managers who conducted the proceedings in relation to Burr—but we forget at this moment the exact complexion of his participation.

It was during the second presidency of Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Randolph withdrew his support entirely from that patriot's administration. Of this event he was in the habit of saying, "when Mr. Jefferson made war on my tobacco, I made war on him." He opposed the anti-rent laws and embargo laws, and took the same exceptions to those measures which New England did.

"During the whole of Mr. Madison's administration and part of Mr. Monroe's, Mr. Randolph continued in opposition to the administration. His speeches are partly on record—but his spirit and beauty no pen can record. He was warmly opposed to the late war and made many eloquent bursts against that popular measure.

"On the chartering of the present United States Bank he made a speech of great originality in hostility to all banks. His favorite expression was, that the Constitution was a "hard money constitution"—but Congress was making it a paper money constitution.

His last appearance in Congress was during the session of 1828, 29. The first session, previous to the election of General Jackson, he used to speak every other day. We heard him on almost every occasion, and although he was always erratic, he was always fascinating—sometimes eloquent—never without point—and occasionally beautiful, and severe to an extreme degree.

"Mr. Randolph's *beau ideal* of country was "Old Virginia"—"good Old Virginia"—his patriotism was the love of the hills, the streams, the rivers, the vales, and the blue mountains of his loved Virginia. He has done more to make the "Old Dominion" the idol, the pride, the which world to Virginians, than all their other public men put together. Virginia was to him a sentiment—a feeling—a passion—a mistress—a lover—all that he cared for, and all that he valued in the world. Horses, society, travel and adventure occasionally called forth his attention and his resources—but all these occupations were merely interludes to the great drama of Virginia ascendancy, which perpetually haunted his imagination, and sometimes reached his heart. There was a man that could wield the popular enthusiasm of the "Old Dominion" with the wizard power that John Randolph could. He was indeed captious as a lover, and so was his mistress—let on great emergencies they were always found locked in each other's arms. His influence over his immediate constituents was unbounded.

Do you intend to come to Congress again? asked a gentleman of his immediate predecessor, Judge Boulton, "I can't tell—it depends whether Mr. Randolph wants to run or not."

"But we must close this brief sketch of the character of John Randolph; a man that, make him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again during the present century. He belongs not to the useful class of leading spirits—his region was mind—imagination—eloquence—his intercourse in private society was as fascinating as his public speaking. He was, however, taciturn and loquacious by turns. A full and accurate history of his life and character would make one of the most interesting books that ever appeared on this side of the Atlantic."