John Quincy Adams' opinions of his contemporaries

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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' OPINIONS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

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I. OPPORTUNITIES TO KNOW HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

One of the chief reasons why a study of John Quincy Adams' opinions of his contemporaries is of interest and value, is because of his long and varied period of public service, which brought him into close contact with nearly every public person of his day. He expressed the judgments he formed very freely in his Diary, which covers the years 1795-1848, with very few serious breaks.

Mr. Adams' public career may be said to have begun with his appointment as Minister to the Hague in 1794. Other diplomatic positions followed, to Prussia, Russia, and England, broken by a membership in the Senate of the United States from 1803 to 1809, when he was sent to Russia by President Madison. He also acted as a member of the Ghent Peace Commission in 1814. During this period we find fewer opinions which are of use in this study. The harshness which is so prominent a feature of his later judgments is not so evident.

What may be termed the executive period of Mr. Adams' career began in 1817 with his recall from England to serve as President Monroe's Secretary of State. During the eight years he held this office, and the four which succeeded of his own presidency, his observations grew more caustic and are of great interest and value to the student.

The last and in some ways the most important period of Mr. Adams' life was passed as a member of the House of Representatives, and here his opinions are of greater interest than ever. The opinions he expresses of his fellow Congressmen especially those who differed with him on the slavery question are usually given in short, biting sarcasms. Comments on men who were holding positions such as he had formerly held, are longer, and very enlightening as to what he considered fitting qualifications for the chief executive and his cabinet.

In addition to the length of Mr. Adams' public life, further opportunity to know his contemporaries well was given by his many and varied interests. He was an alumnus of Harvard College, in the class of 1787, and always took a deep interest in the welfare of his Alma Mater. He was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa society, and was as scholarly in his tastes as that would indicate. His scientific interests were marked: he helped found the Smithsonian Institution and saved the fund which was left for that purpose from being thrown away by "graffters"; his report on Weights and Measures, made while he was Secretary of State, is said to be the best thing of the sort ever published; and he seems to have been interested in the Patent Office. He was acquainted with the leading men in Holland, Prussia, France, Russia, and England, through his diplomatic services in those countries, besides his relations with those representatives of other countries whom he met in the United States. Though rather stiff and reserved in manner, he met and enjoyed...
meeting many people at social functions here and abroad. (IX.412.) After about 1835 his dominant interest became the slavery question, which brought him into a new group. Always we find him with a broad national policy, and opposing sectionalism, whether it be of South Carolina, Kentucky, or Massachusetts.

II. VALUE OF THE DIARY AS A RECORD.

In this study only the diary has been used as a source. As has been stated, it covers the years 1795-1848, or practically the whole period of his public life, and is a monumental work of its kind. The accounts are usually long, except occasionally, after it has fallen into arrears, when we find him trying to write shorter but more frequent records. The character of the writer helps to make it the most valuable work of its kind of this period, certainly, if not in any period of any history. His prominence and his sterling integrity would make the Diary invaluable to the student of the period, even if it were not interesting in itself, as it is. The amazing frankness with which he scores, right and left, the prominent persons of his time, as well as many less prominent, fairly makes the reader gasp at times. The question whether Mr. Adams intended his memoirs for publication or not is one which, it is evident, will make some difference in the attitude in which one should accept his opinions. In the entry for November 7, 1842, (XI.267) he says his Diary is "trash inexpressible, which I pray to God may never be exposed, but which I leave to my son, to be used according to his good judgment for a memoir of my life." It was not published by the son until many years after the writer's death, and the death of most of those whom he had attacked in its pages.

III. SOME GENERAL TENDENCIES NOTED.

One general tendency which is very noteworthy in the opinions expressed by Mr. Adams is harshness of judgment, which will be shown again and again. Sometimes the harshness is shown in questioning the motives of opponents; sometimes in attributing low moral standards to others, especially drinking and gambling; and very often in suspecting others to be moved by personal malice against himself. This tendency seems to have increased as he grew older.

Another general tendency which is much less marked is an occasional curious reversal of opinion. This might be from an originally high opinion to a very low one, as was true of Jackson and Calhoun; or from a very low opinion to a relatively high one, as was true of Clay.

Another tendency is that the opinions he gives about noted foreigners agree more nearly with the current ideas about them than do most of his opinions about his American contemporaries. For instance, he judges Napoleon Bonaparte very much as do the best authorities of the present time. (II.416,420,447,531;VIII.40.)

Probably the chief general feature of his opinions, aside from their harshness, is his own evident effort to live
up to the standards set up for others. As a diplomat, he tried to overcome the want of tact and the natural shortness of temper to which he objected in others; as Secretary of State he tried to introduce system into a very disorganized department; in private morals, although no Puritan, he was irreproachable. Nowhere was this tendency more marked than in his objection to giving appointments for partisan reasons only; indeed, he kept men in office who he knew were working against him, as in the case of his own postmaster-general, McLean. The same thing is true of his use of the public press to advance himself; he criticizes others, especially Crawford and Calhoun, for this, and he will not permit the slightest suspicion that he himself is using such means. Perhaps the consciousness of his own rectitude in these matters made him less sympathetic in his judgments of others; at certainly made him very unpopular among practically all his contemporaries.

IV. DIPLOMACY.

From a study of the opinions given of various persons who held diplomatic positions here or abroad, one can draw certain conclusions as to the qualities Mr. Adams considered necessary for a good negotiator. He declares that one of the most indispensable qualities is discretion, and commends Sir Charles Bagot, minister from Great Britain after the War of 1812, for displaying it. (IV.338-9). Diplomatic missions to other countries, he thinks, should never be given for partisan reasons, but as rewards for distinguished service, especially the mission to Great Britain. Hence he favors the appointment of Gallatin to London (VI.281), and of Governor Barbour of Virginia (VII.525); and severely condemns sending Louis McLane (VIII.139), a partisan appointment. As a rule, only men of undoubted talent should be chosen (Webster, VII.463; Gallatin, VI.281; V.392; Everett, XI.337). But in the case of Sir Charles Bagot he says that the mediocrity of his talents, been one of the principal causes of his success in America (IV.338-9); and when he recommended Senator James Brown of Louisiana as minister to Mexico, and later to France, he speaks of his "respectable talents" (VI.123, 191). In connection with the same man, he speaks of a large private fortune as being another desirable feature in a representative of this country abroad especially in Europe (VI.123); Gallatin as Minister to France received an inadequate salary (V.153); and Mr. Adams himself frequently complained of the strain upon his resources made necessary by his position in European capitals. Another desirable quality is a pleasing manner in meeting others; this he mentions especially in connection with Baron Hyde de Neuville, French minister to Washington during Monroe's administration (V.136-7); the Abbé Correa del Serra, Portuguese minister to Washington at the same time (IV.326); Senator Brown (VI.123); William Tudor, chargé d'affaires at the court of Brazil (VIII.223-4). Often, too, he comments upon the lack of this attribute: Stratford Canning, Minister from Great Britain to Washington (VI.157); Lord Goulburn, one of the British Peace Commissioners at Ghent (III.105); and Condy Raguet, former American minister to Brazil (VIII.401). Impartiality of judgment he commends in William Tudor (VIII.223-4);
General Vives, Spanish minister to Washington (VIII.227); and its lack he mentions in Condy Raguet (VII.401, VIII.224); and J. B. Prevost, U. S. agent in Chili (V.157, 163). Sincerity is another desirable virtue: this he says Stratford Canning possessed (VI.157); and his chief objection to the Spanish ministers with whom he negotiated the treaty for the purchase of Florida was their insincerity (Onis, IV.306, V.320, 290; Vives V.96-98).

Of the foreign diplomats whom Mr. Adams met abroad, he speaks most highly of Count Romanzoff (V.136-7); Lord Liverpool he mentions as a man of remarkable mildness and amenity of manner (III.259); George Canning he calls "an implacable and rancorous enemy of the United States" (VII.328); and Henry Goulburn was one of the British Ghent Commissioners who seem to be unusually inousing Mr. Adams' temper (III.105).

There are many references to foreign diplomats whom Mr. Adams met in his official capacity as Secretary of State, most of whom have already been mentioned in other connections. Mr. Bagot he praises in warm terms (IV.338-9). His successor, Stratford Canning, was a man for whose moral qualities Mr. Adams expresses respect (VI.157), but with whom he could not get along amicably (V.195, 243-249; VI.157; VII.109). He also speaks of the difficulty they had in coming to any understanding within reasonable time limits (VI.13, 105, 140). Of Baron Hyde de Neuville, of France, he says: "No foreign minister who ever resided here has been so universally esteemed and beloved" (V.136-7); earlier he says: "De Neuville is not a profound or gigantic genius, but he is a fair and honorable man" (IV.331). After leaving the country with great credit to himself in 1820, he returned the next year, showing great want of judgment in so doing, in Mr. Adams' opinion (V.341). The Portuguese minister, the Abbé Correa del Serra, although not a profound statesman, he characterized as a man of very brilliant and entertaining conversation, and full of spirits, vivacity, and wit, even when he retired at seventy years of age (IV.326; V.172). He was succeeded by Mr. Francis Solano Constancio, as charge d' affaires, a man who, according to Mr. Adams, also appeared "lively and loquacious" (VI.99). Mr. Onis, the Spanish minister with whom Mr. Adams tried to negotiate the Florida treaty, he condemns in strong terms as "cold, calculating, wily------overbearing" (IV.306); "shuffling equivocator" (V.290). His successor, General Don Francisco Dionisio Vives, a soldier who had never before been employed in diplomatic negotiations, receives a more favorable comment; he apparently has a "a fair and candid mind, the rarest of talents in a Spanish negotiator" (V.32, VIII.227); although he also at times seems to be double-dealing (V.96-98). However Mr. Adams attributes this chiefly to the inadequate powers given him by Spain (V.78, 59, 74). Manuel Torres, charge d' affaires from the new republic of Colombia, was a European Spaniard, vain and self-important (V.137, VI.23).

During Mr. Adams' own years of diplomatic service abroad he was thrown with a few other Americans in similar positions and he has left opinions of most of these. The chief ones were his colleagues in the Ghent mission: he speaks of Mr. Callatin's equable temper (II.501) and his grasp of matters of
state(II.518); Mr. Bayard's ability as a popular speaker he admired, but on any state matter his view was "always exclusive"(II.577;III.23). There are references to the frequency with which Henry Clay lost his temper(III.61,103). Jonathan Russell was always "Clay's jackal"(VI.49). Silas Deane, Mr. Adams says, was "a man of talents and ingenuity" who was ruined by his elevation to a high position(I.107). He met Gouverneur Morris in London in 1795 and comments upon his lack of discretion(I.137).

Of the many men who represented the United States abroad comments are found on not a few. Mr. Adams constantly showed that he regarded the mission to Great Britain as the most important of all. Richard Rush had been acceptable in many ways, but his appointment was not the last step in a long series of diplomatic positions, as Mr. Adams seemed to think most desirable(V.132). Governor James Barbour, of Virginia, whom Mr. Adams, as president, sent to Great Britain, was given the appointment because he had "rendered faithful service to the country", and because "his integrity and honor are unsullied"(VII.525). He was removed in 1829 to be replaced by Louis McLane, of Delaware, an appointment which Mr. Adams regarded as a very serious mistake, and one which might have unpleasant results for the United States. "McLane is utterly incompetent to the mission to London, and if he does not disgrace the country, will effect nothing for her interest. His only merit is the sale of himself and his Crawford stock to Jackson".(VIII.159;XI.203-204) Mr. Adams thought Albert Gallatin "peculiarly fitted, and entitled to, the mission to Great Britain"(VI.281); he urged Rufus King to accept the appointment in 1825, as the most suitable person because of the special interests at stake at that time, and his own peculiar qualifications to conduct such negotiations(VI.523); and in 1828 he speaks of Webster as being another person who was preeminently fitted for the office, but who could not well be appointed at that time because of political considerations(VII.468)

Next to Great Britain in importance came the mission to France. This was held successfully for a number of years by Gallatin(V.153,392;VI.193,193-9). Calhoun was suggested for this position in 1819 by Mr. Adams, who urged him to go for the broadening effect such an experience would be likely to have on him(IV.477). In 1823 the mission was proposed to Senator James Brown, of Louisiana, but he declined(VI.123, 191). Lewis Cass, as minister to France under President Tyler, issued what Mr. Adams calls "a preposterous counterfeit of a state paper,—a compound of Yankee cunning, of Italian perfidy, and of French légèreté, cemented by shameless profligacy, unparalleled in American diplomacy"(XI.338). William R. King, appointed in 1844, Mr. Adams calls "a gentle slave-monger", and says he received the appointment because he had quarreled with Henry Clay three years before(XII.25). Other European diplomats of whom he speaks are Jonathan Russell, minister to Sweden, who thought he was entitled to a better mission than that of Sweden(IV.99); John Forsyth, minister to Spain about 1819, who was a man whom Mr. Adams distrusted, with some grounds, as events proved(IV.263;V.127). The new mission to China he regarded as of "transcendent importance", and the appointment of Edward Everett to
the position pleased him greatly (XI. 337); later in the same year (1843), when Caleb Cushing was given the place, it was through his "obsequiousness and sacrifice of principle" (XI. 388).

The missions to the new republics of Central and South America seemed to the office-seekers to be their peculiar and rightful property, and they do not seem to have been given to men who were really fit for the positions; at least so Mr. Adams intimates. Thomas P. Moore of Kentucky was appointed minister to Colombia because he helped elect Jackson president (VIII. 112); J., B. Prevost, agent in Chile for the United States, was a special protege of President Monroe's, but he made the mistake of taking sides in local disputes (V. 157, 163); Baptis Irvine, a Scotchman, was appointed agent to Venezuela, where he accomplished no good (V. 57). Others besides Prevost were involved in local disputes, especially Condy Raguet, former minister to Brazil, who almost drew the United States into a war because of his "heedless impetuosity" (VII. 401; VIII. 224). Thomas Lloyd Halsey had been consul at Buenos Ayres, but was dismissed for fraud and was unable to disprove the charges (V. 77, 92). Others besides Prevost were involved in local disputes, especially Condy Raguet, former minister to Brazil, who almost drew the United States into a war because of his "heedless impetuosity" (VII. 401; VIII. 224). Thomas Lloyd Halsey had been consul at Buenos Ayres, but was dismissed for fraud and was unable to disprove the charges (V. 77, 92). A shining contrast to most of the South American diplomats was William Tudor, charge d'affaires at the court of Brazil, an appointment made under Mr. Adams' personal favor, and whose early death in 1830, cut short what Mr. Adams hoped would be still more important services (VIII. 223-4).

V. CABINET MEMBERS.

Among the public men with whom Mr. Adams was closely associated for many years were several who held cabinet positions. The first group of these who are mentioned in the Diary are his colleagues in the cabinet of President Monroe, where he held the chief position. Next to himself, probably, in the importance of the office, and certainly the most important of his colleagues if one should take the number of references to him as a basis for judgment, was William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury. Of his character Mr. Adams says his chief merit is decision (V. 20, 185); his chief defects unbridled ambition (V. 135; IV. 241), which often leads to moral obliquity (VI. 278) and treachery (V. 315; VII. 390). Of his ability as Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Adams had a very low opinion. He declares (IV. 241) that Crawford "has no talents as a financier. He is just, and barely, equal to the current routine of the business of his office". (See also V. 154; IV. 497.) He used the patronage of his office as extensively as possible to help him win the Presidency, for which he been chosen as a caucus candidate against President Monroe (V. 89-90); as well as newspapers to further the same end (VI. 56, 61, 62, 64). His defeat for that office in 1824 was followed by a stroke of paralysis, after which there are few references to him (VI. 428, VII. 390-1, 308). Mr. Adams many times expresses the opinion that Crawford was actuated by personal malice against himself (IV. 36, 77, 428; V. 84, 85. 383, 385, 425-16; VI. 59, 63, 266).

Another colleague of the same group was John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War. Here there is a striking instance of the curious reversals of opinion, mentioned above. The earlier remarks are very complimentary: he praises Calhoun for his
independence of thought, sound judgment, keen observation, and powerful eloquence (IV.36,108,307); "the only man in the present Administration who is a statesman of a philosophical turn of mind (V.21); "a man of fair and candid mind, cool self-possession, honorable principles, of clear and quick understanding, of enlarged philosophical views, and of ardent patriotism——above all sectional and factious prejudices more than any other statesman of this Union with whom I have ever acted". (V.361) The beginning of differences of opinion came at the time of the Arbuthtnot—Ambriister affair in Florida, Calhoun wishing to censure Jackson for his conduct, and Adams to defend him (IV.108,307, V.29). It was increased by the Missouri question, when Calhoun began to seem sectional in his views to Adams (V.10, VI.16); and by their rivalry for the presidency in 1824, when Calhoun used newspapers and other (to Adams) questionable means to advance his candidacy. (VI.42,48,56,265,480) Soon Mr. Adams began his unfortunate habit of attributing to personal enmity of Calhoun, as he had throughout to Crawford, anything which seemed at all unfriendly: (VI.244,265,273,480,486-7,507; VII.113,364,433,447; VIII.275,306). The last opinions are just the reverse of the earliest ones: from Calhoun he "expects nothing but evil" (VIII.33,411,536,IX.461,505). He is "the high priest of Moloch—the embodied spirit of slavery" (XI.284-5); "the political mountebank" (XII.269). Much later, as Secretary of State for President Tyler, he made some serious mistakes in his report of the census of 1840, which Mr. Adams condemns roundly (XII.29,36).

There are not many references to the rest of his first group of colleagues. Of William Wirt, Attorney General for both President Monroe and himself, he declares that "he has two faults which may have an influence on the affairs of this nation—an excessive leaning to State supremacy, and to popular humors" (IV.35), and again he speaks of Wirt's Virginian sectionalism (VI.75). He was not very independent in thought (V.29; IV.36). Yet on his death, in 1834, there is much feeling expressed in Mr. Adams' reference to the event, and he speaks of "his fine talents, his amiable and admirable character,—his warm and honest sympathy with me in my trials when president of the United States". (IX.99-100).

Of Mr. Adams' own cabinet, during his service as president, the most numerous references are, as might be expected, to his Secretary of State, Henry Clay of Kentucky. The first reference to him is found in the entry for January 15, 1807, during Mr. Adams' term as Senator from Massachusetts (I.444). In this he speaks of him as "quite a young man, an orator, and a republican of the first fire". They were next thrown together at the time of the Ghent Peace Commission, where their relations were not very friendly. Mr. Adams objected to Mr. Clay's excessive liking for cards (III.39,60), and speaks of his violent temper (III.52). During President Monroe's term of office, he speaks often of Mr. Clay's determined opposition to the administration, which Mr. Adams thinks was caused by his disappointment at not being made Secretary of State (IV.70,131,212, V.25,52); and as usual, Mr. Adams soon began to see personal spite against himself in Clay's opposition (IV.212, 131, V.90,290, VI.26,40,49). However, his estimate of Mr. Clay at this time does not seem to be especially by his prejudices.
He says of him: "Clay is an eloquent man, with very popular manners, and great political management. He is, like almost all the eminent men of this country, only half educated. His school has been the world, and in that he is a proficient. His morals, public and private, are loose, but he has all the virtues indispensible to a popular man. As he is the first very distinguished man that the Western country has presented as a statesman to the Union, they are proportionably proud of him, and, being a native of Virginia, he has all the benefits of that clannish preference which Virginia has always given to her sons. Clay's temper is impetuous and his ambition is impatient.--- He has large and liberal views of public affairs, and that sort of generosity which attaches individual to his person. As President of the Union, his administration would be a perpetual succession of intrigue and management with the legislature. It would also be sectional and sacrifice all other interests to those in the Western country and the slave-holders. But his principles relative to internal improvements would produce results honorable and useful to the nation." (V. 325-6; see also V. 496, VI. 558).

When Mr. Adams made Mr. Clay his Secretary of State, the charge of "bargain and corruption" was immediately raised by Jackson's supporters. This is denied more than once in the Diary (VI. 447, 452, 456, 464, XI. 431). In several entries Mr. Adams states his reasons for making the appointment: he says he considered it "due his (Clay's) talents and services, to the Western section of the country, whence he comes, and to the confidence in me manifested by their delegations" (VI. 508, VIII. 174). As secretary of state he seems to have filled the office fairly satisfactorily. (VII. 61, 216-7, 518).

Their later relations, while not exactly cordial, were not hostile. When Clay was running for the presidency in 1832 and 1844, he was, if not actively supported by Mr. Adams, at least not opposed by him, as a choice of the least of several possible evils. (VIII. 521, 534, IX. 25-6, 162, XI. 62, 63, 352, 410, XII. 86.)

Richard Rush of Pennsylvania was made Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Adams, and he speaks in high terms of the excellence of his reports (VII. 361, 400-401); and of the mildness of his temper and the courtesy of his deportment (VII. 427). He was, however, disappointed in him when, on the President's becoming increasingly unpopular, he asked for a foreign mission, pleading ill-health, but his real reason being, as Mr. Adams suspected, "the preference of the harbor to the tempest". (VII. 403, 525; IX. 37-8, 40) The same unwillingness to support the administration is noted in the case of the Secretary of War, Governor James Barbour, of Virginia, (VII. 525, VIII. 4) and in each case Mr. Adams did not attempt to compel them to stay by him, and speaks very mildly of their defection, although it evidently hurt him deeply. Elsewhere he characterises Governor Barbour as "a man of fair and honorable mind" (VIII. 4) and a man of a generous, benevolent, and patriotic heart, although not particularly capable or efficient (VII. 112, 181). The references to Samuel Southard, Secretary of the Navy, are very few, and almost wholly in connection with a personal quarrel between the secretary and General Jackson. The only opinion given of him is a brief
reference to a eulogy delivered in 1842, on Mr. Southard's death, which, he said, Mr. Southard had well deserved at his hands.(XI.190) The remaining member of Mr. Adams' cabinet, with whom he had more trouble than with any other, was Postmaster-General John McLean, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Adams considered him an able and efficient officer(VII.275,343,364); but was finally forced to conclude that he was hostile to the administration(VII.275,343,364,544,VIII.25,210,51); although he considered it impolitic to remove him from office, (VII.544,VIII.51).

Cabinet members who were not his colleagues are mentioned occasionally, usually not at any length. Of John H. Eaton Jackson's Secretary of War, he says, "Among all the new administration there is not a man capable of a generous or liberal sentiment towards an adversary, excepting Eaton, and he is a man of indecently licentious life"(VIII.128,165,203). "Two of the meanest of my persecutors in the Senate" were John Branch of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, and John M. Berrien, Attorney-General, both of whom resigned because they objected to Mrs. Eaton.(VIII.128,203,373). Branch, he says, "is stolidly ignorant and stupidly malignant", (VIII.322-3); Berrien wrote a courteous letter of resignation, in which he "treated the laws of grammar with some respect", and was the only member of the cabinet who went out of office with dignity(VIII.373).Martin Van Buren, Jackson's Secretary of State, was "by far the ablest man of them all, but wasting most of his ability upon mere personal intrigues.---His principles are all subordinate to his ambition, and he will always be of that doctrine upon which he will see his way clear to rise".(VIII.128-9;154,209,327-8).Amos Kendall, who became postmaster-general, was "a liar, ---one of those authors to be let, whose profligacy if the child of his poverty"(VIII.28; "a filthy subaltern of John Branch"(VIII.323); "a political swindler". (IX.311-2) Louis McLane, Secretary of State, was a man in whom Mr. Adams had no confidence for his steadiness, his firmness, or his political integrity. (IX.36). Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney-General, was "the pupil, protege, and law-partner of Martin VanBuren", and his legal opinions were biased by his politics.(IX.233)

President Tyler's cabinet came in for many of Mr. Adams' animadversions. Mr. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, was "cold and crusty in manner"----"peevious".(XI.277); Thomas W. Glimmer, his successor in the same position, one of the victims of the bursting of the "Beaconmaker" gun in 1844, he says, "inflicted wounds upon freedom and the rights of human nature. (XI.572). Hugh S. Legarde, Attorney-general, and later acting secretary of state, was "an able and a very amiable man, by far the best of the President's present associates". (XI.336) David Henshaw, Secretary of the Navy, was outwardly courteous to Mr. Adams, who says: "there is no man living who has used fouler means to blacken my reputation and destroy my character." (XI.448). Walter Forward, Secretary of the Treasury, was "a worthy, well-meaning man, of considerable talent, and too pliable disposition, not the man of iron mould that the times require". (XI.436). The most prominent member of Tyler's cabinet was Daniel Webster, whom Mr. Adams censured greatly for retaining his office as Secretary of State.(X.539,XI.13,20,
47-48,111,255-6,340,382.383,384."Such is the gigantic intellect, the envious temper, the ravenous ambition, and the rotten heart of Daniel Webster".(XI.20). He declares that he has no confidence in the principles or belief in the sincerity of the Secretary of State(X.469); and says he is "a great baby" as far as any great, commanding, and compact system of statesmanship.(X.465) There are many other references to Mr. Webster, but in other connection, which will be given later.

VI. PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

John Quincy Adams mentions twelve different presidents of the United States whom he knew personally—besides himself, of course,—and on most of these he comments at length. Of Washington, he says only that he was his friend and benefactor(XII.206); his father is mentioned as one of the four living signers of the Declaration of Independence on the death of George III. in 1820(V.23); and on news of his death six years later, he says: "His was a life illustrious in the annals of his country and the world. He had served to great and useful purpose his nation, his age, and his God". (VII.125)

There are many references to Thomas Jefferson, whom he calls "a hollow and deceitful friend" (XII.206). During Mr. Jefferson's presidency, while Mr. Adams was in the Senate, their relations were mostly social, and Mr. Adams comments upon the marvellous tales told by the president.(I.316-7,330,457). He declares that the president's whole system of administration seemed to be founded upon the principle of carrying measures through the legislature by his personal or official influence(I.403). Much later, he says that in the purchase of Louisiana, Jefferson was assuming implied powers of government much greater and more comprehensive in their consequences than anything Washington or John Adams had ever done, although, with Madison, Jefferson had led a determined opposition to them on these very grounds.(V.364). About 1831, Mr. Adams was engaged in reading Jefferson's Memoirs, which occasioned many references to him in the Diary(VII.279,272,294,296,299-300). He condemns Jefferson's inactivity during the War of the Revolution(VII.294,296), but praises his sincere and ardent love of liberty and hatred of slavery(VII.299-300). One reference of this time which sums up the others quite fully is as follows: "The memoirs end with the 21st of March, 1790, when he became Secretary of State. As a work of much interest to the present and future ages it should have begun there. It is much to be regretted that he did not tell his own story from that time until his retirement from the presidency in 1809. It was then that all the good and all the evil parts of his character were brought into action. His ardent passion for liberty and the rights of man; his patriotism; the depth and compass of his understanding; the extent and variety of his knowledge; and the enviable faculty of applying it to his own purposes; the perpetual watchfulness of public opinion, and the pliability of principle and temper with which he accommodated it to his own designs and opinions:—all these were in ceaseless operation during those twenty years; and with them were combined a
rare mixture of infidel philosophy and epicurean morals, of burning ambition and stoical self-control, of deep duplicity and generous sensibility, between which two qualities, and a treacherous and inventive memory, his conduct towards his rivals and opponents appears one tissue of inconsistency. His treatment of Washington, of Knox, of my father, of Hamilton, of Bayard, who made him President, of the United States and lastly, of me, is marked with features of perfidy worthy of Tiberius Caesar, or Louis XI. of France. This double-dealing character was often imputed to him during his life, and was sometimes exposed——and indicates a memory so wandering to the will, that in deceiving others, he seems to have begun by deceiving himself".(VIII.272. See also IX.305-306).

Madison and Monroe are coupled with Washington as Mr. Adams' friends and benefactors(XII.206). He considered Madison a greater and far more estimable man than Jefferson(X.305); and speaks of his deliberation and decision.(I.549;II.548). The want of decision is the chief fault which he attributes to Monroe.(IV.37,V.23,33-34,158,513). Mr. Monroe's relations with the foreign representatives were likely to be cold and distant.(V.62,130). He took impressions very hastily, which were apt to unsettle his own judgment for a time. (IV.181,V.23,158). His administration, coming as it did at a fortunate time, was the period of greatest tranquillity enjoyed by the country for many years, "yet no one regretted the termination of his administration, and less of popular veneration followed him into retirement than had accompanied all his predecessors".(VIII.360,377-3).

The first references to General Jackson in the Diary appear in connection with the Arbuthnot and Ambrister affair in Florida, in which Adams alone in the cabinet, defended Jackson's action.(IV.103,111,V.472-3). In 1822 he writes: "General Jackson has rendered such services to this nation, that it was impossible for me to contemplate his character or conduct without veneration".(V.472-3). Their relations continued to be friendly for a few years: he and Mrs. Adams gave an evening party to Jackson on the anniversary of the victory of New Orleans, in 1824(VI.229); and at Mr. Adams' inaugural reception General Jackson was present, being "altogether affable and courteous"(VI.502). Mr. Adams favored Jackson for the presidency in 1824, because of "his fitness for the place, the fitness of the place for him, and the peculiar advantage of geographical association, with Calhoun as vice-president".(VI.253); and a few days later, he advised his friends to vote for Jackson as vice-president—under himself—for the same reasons.(VI.269). The charge of "bargain and corruption" in the election of 1824, however, soon changed this confidence and sympathy into bitter hostility, which continued increasingly as long as they both lived. He repeatedly refers to Jackson's ingratitude(VIII.123,405,XII.93,210-211); and completely reverses his former opinions about Jackson's fitness for the office of president: "he is incompetent both by reason his ignorance and the fury of his passions".(VII.333,479,483,VIII.113,172,209,210,317-8,327-8,366,503,546,X.366,XI.357,363). Jackson's use of the spoils system was directly against Mr. Adams' own principles, so
it is condemned in unqualified terms. (VIII.113, 172, 317-8, IX.311). He is charged with sectionalism (VIII.503); with ignorance: "a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and who could hardly spell his own name" (VII.479, 483, VIII.546); and instead of the veneration referred to above one finds phrases such as: "the Old Horse-Bacer himself" (VIII.203; a "ruffian and escroc" (IX.40); the "unprincipled absurdities of the present incumbent" (IX.162). In one of the last references to Jackson found in the Diary (26th of July, 1845), Mr. Adams includes him in a group of "base, malignant, lying enemies" (XII.206)—surely an interesting example of a complete reversal of opinion.

Martin Van Buren is characterised as "a man of great talents and of good principles, but he has suffered them to be too much warped by party spirit. At other times he has followed a more generous and wiser policy and I hope he will ultimately return to it." (VI.493). As the electioneering manager for General Jackson, Adams compares him to Aaron Burr, in character, manners, and even in person, but with the advantage in favor of Van Buren. (VII.272). He is also compared with Mr. Madison, in his "extreme caution in avoiding and averting personal collisions; and in calmness, genileness of manner, his discretion, his easy and conciliatory temper. (IX.276-7, 369); but Van Buren was obsequious, a sycophant, and a traitor. (IX.369, 441, X.129, 366). As compared with Jackson, he was "insinuating and plausible" (IX.441).

The earliest references to William Henry Harrison occur in connection with his anxiety to secure a lucrative office, which, Mr. Adams says, was "positively rabid". He calls Harrison "a political adventurer, not without talents, but self-sufficient, vain, and indiscreet. He has the faculty of making friends, and is incessantly importuning them for their influence in his favor". (VII.350, VIII.194). On his election as president, Mr. Adams writes: "He is not the choice of three-fourths of those who have elected him. His present popularity is all artificial. There is little confidence in his talents or in his firmness. If he is not found time-serving, demagogical, unsteady, and western-sectional, he will more than satisfy my present expectations". (X.366, IX.312). A kinder judgment is expressed a few days later, on the sudden death of the president: "He was amiable and benevolent. Sympathy for his sufferings and his fate is the prevailing sentiment of his fellow-citizens". (X.456).

Every comment upon John Tyler, except perhaps one, shows Mr. Adams' complete lack of sympathy with him. He calls him "a political sectarian, of the slave-driving, Virginian, Jeffersonian school, principled against all improvement, with all the interests and passions and vices of slavery rooted in his moral and political constitution,—with talents not above mediocrity, and a spirit incapable of expansion to the dimensions of the station upon which he has been cast by the hand of Providence." (X.456-7. See also X.465, 469, XI.48, 382-3, 384, XII.22, 37). Among his minor vices was nepotism. (XI.250). The exception above referred to is one in which Mr. Adams says that the president's receptions are all that the most accomplished European courts could have displayed. (XI.174).
James K. Polk is first referred to as a member of Congress, where he was the leader of the administration in the House for some time, a part of it as Speaker. Mr. Adams says of him: "He is just qualified for an eminent county court lawyer. He has no wit, no literature, no point of argument, no gracefulness of delivery, no elegance of language, no philosophy, no pathos, no felicitous impromptus; nothing that can constitute an orator, but confidence, fluency, and labor". (IX. 64). He speaks again of Polk's "clumsy speech" (IX. 366); of his "whispering" (IX. 301); and when Polk was elected President, Mr. Adams writes in utter disgust: "He is sold, soul and body, to that grim idol, half albino, half negro, the compound of Democracy and slavery, which, by the slave-representation in Congress, rules and ruins the Union". (XII. 167).

The other references which are found to the presidents are to men whom Mr. Adams could not foresee in that connection, but are interesting, nevertheless. He speaks of Franklin Pierce as a member of Congress and a young man from New Hampshire, who spoke "very handsomely" in the House on some minor point. (IX. 103). James Buchanan he refers to in connection with a controversy he had with Jackson, in which he declares that Buchanan is morally obtuse and mentally dull. (VIII. 307). Again, he calls him a "snaking scrivenor". (X. 402). Andrew Johnson was a colleague in the House of Representatives, and made a speech about the "gag-rule" in which he was especially abusive upon Mr. Adams (XI. 493), but later redeemed himself in Mr. Adams' opinion by a complete refutation of a charge made by another member of the House against Mr. Adams, who calls Johnson his "champion from Tennessee". (XII. 240-241).

VII. VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. Adams thought that the vice-presidency should be given to men who had achieved something, and who should represent a different section of the country from that represented by the president. For this reason he favored the candidacy of Andrew Jackson in 1824, of Calhoun, and of Richard Rush. (VI. 269, 273, VII. 400). Not many comments are found upon men who held the office. Aaron Burr is the first one of whom he says much. As a presiding officer in the Senate he was impartial at first, but after his duel with Hamilton Mr. Adams notes some exceptions. (I. 314-5, 325); and he speaks of him on his first social meeting with him as "a man of very insinuating manners and address". (I. 236). Many years later, on reading a biography of Burr, he comments upon his absolute lack of religious principles, which seemed to Mr. Adams the fundamental cause for his failure. "He seems to have had a passion for high adventure, an inflexible will, and an invincible perseverance in pursuing it, but no judgment in adapting his means to his ends, and a capricious levity in passing from an object attained to one unattainable". (IX. 435-6). "He lived and died a man of the world—brave, generous, hospitable, and courteous, but ambitious, rapacious, faithless, and intriguing". (IX. 429).

George Clinton of New York was "totally ignorant of all the most common forms of proceeding in the Senate, and — his judgment was neither quick nor strong. As the only duty of a vice-president is to preside in the Senate, his qualifications should be considered. In this respect a worse choice than Mr. Clinton could scarcely have been made". (I. 325).
Calhoun, as vice-president, was criticised for allowing John Randolph, day after day, to make ten hour speeches against the administration, while he was intoxicated. (V.I.433). Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Vice-President under Van Buren, is mentioned several times as a typical western politician, warm-hearted, impulsive, generous to his friends, but too fond of intrigue and selfishness to please Mr. Adams. (V.36,72,328,X.176).

VIII. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Many years of Mr. Adams' life were spent in Congress, either in the Senate or in the lower house, and it is natural that the references to his associates should be very numerous. Usually they are much shorter than the comments upon his colleagues in diplomacy or in the cabinet, or the presidents. The opinions given are seldom complimentary and increase in bitterness towards the close of the Diary and of his life. He says at one time: "Universal mediocrity is the basis upon which the liberties of this nation repose" (X.78-9,112,XI.500,509); and this he certainly thought true of the average member of Congress.

Many of his associates were, he thought, tainted with sectionalism, and in this his own part of the country was not free from blame. Especially was this true of the New England Federalists. (VII.207-8,IX.20,446,447,VI.483). That Mr. Adams did not consider his New England neighbors always in the right against all other sections may be seen from his comment upon Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, "a libel upon his own name" (X.408); and "the very thickest skull of all New Hampshire" (X.419XI.533); Atherton, of New Hampshire, "the man of the mongrel gag" (X.273); and Francis Baylies of Rhode Island, a "blue-light federalist", "one of the most talented and worthless men in New England" (IX.467). His colleague in the Senate, Timothy Pickering, was not in sympathy with Mr. Adams upon any point; he said: "Mr. Pickering cannot possibly think like me." (I.291; see also I.285-9,VI.346,IX.263). He was much disappointed in some of his former friends, sometimes through treachery, and sometimes through the unworthiness of those in whom he had confided, as he says of Dutee J. Pearce of Rhode Island (IX.33,46-7), and Levi Lincoln (X.14,437). Daniel Webster he admired for his abilities and talent, but he thoroughly distrusted his sincerity (VI.352,483,X.43,539,XII.163,214). More complimentary comments are found, however. He says of W. C. Bradley, of Vermont, that in spite of the misfortune of deafness, he was one of the most talented and intelligent members of the House (VI.466); he praises the speech of Congressman Fletcher, of Boston (IX.391-2); and less warmly, one by Henry Williams, of Taunton (X.301).

Another Congressional group who were strongly sectional was that from New York, who as a rule were "politicians usually profident in their knowledge of the world". (VII.304,IX.187). Congressman Brown he characterised as "a tall, tame, tiresome conservative, who poured forth a basin of milk and water Democracy tinged with a scruple of arsenic" (IX.396). A similar comment is made of John C. Clark (XL339). Representative Ferris of New York City, he says, "is a heavy, coarse, vulgar-looking man, with a slouchy dress and slovenly deportment, but civil, courteous, and unassuming. He speaks seldom but very well". (X 529)
Of Theron R. Strong, of Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, he says, his reasons for supporting the sub-treasury bill were venomous, sophistical, and disingenuous.\(^{(X.304)}\). C. C. Cambrerleg he calls "that utterly unprincipled fellow".\(^{(X.32, 406, 413, X.109)}\). Of Ogdan Hoffman he says: "He has considerable talent, and some powers of eloquence, but his whole system of government is comprised in the maxim of leaving money in the pockets of the people".\(^{(VIII.510, 519, IX.406)}\). Two men whose professions of friendliness he questioned were Ambrose Spencer\(^{(VI.499)}\), and Galian C. Verplanck\(^{(IX.32, X.462)}\), whose last resort, he says, is always to compromise with principle.

General Van Rensselaer is mentioned as a man who is honest and honorable\(^{(VII.397)}\), and Dickinson, a member of the New York Senate, as man of plain speech but of great intelligence and mighty influence in the Senate\(^{(X.461)}\). Several are mentioned with favor for their stand with him on various occasions, especially against the gag-rule: Foster\(^{(IX.473-4)}\); H. Storrs\(^{(VI.295)}\); Col. Thomas\(^{(VII.304, 591)}\); General Tallmadge\(^{(VII.411-2)}\); and Albert H. Tracy, "one of the ablest members from that state, and a man of pure morals"\(^{(I.377, 397, VI.458)}\).

A prominent New Yorker who might be given in this connection, although he was not a member of Congress very much, was DeWitt Clinton, of whom Mr. Adams several times speaks at length. "He is a man of great talents and has magnificent purposes of public service. He has comprehensive views and great designs. But with these higher and honorable materials of ambition he employs those of a baser sort,—the charlatancy of popular enticement.---He has been laboring all his life in combinations and coalitions and political intriguing with individuals and with parties.---His abilities rank him among the first men of the Union; he is the most eminent, though not the ablest, man in the State of New York".\(^{(IV.359-361)}\). "He has made himself so completely the object of party controversy that the whole state of New York politically consists of his partisans and his opponents".\(^{(V.286, VII.177)}\). In spite of Mr. Adams' high opinion of Clinton,\(^{(VI.293-4)}\), the conduct of the latter to him was cold and reserved.\(^{(VII.171, 184, 185)}\). On the news of Clinton's sudden death in 1828, he writes: "This was one of the distinguished and ambitious statesmen of this Union. He was one of the first post-Revolutionary great men of the age, but his mind was of secondary size, deluded by success and flattery into the self-confidence that he was of the first magnitude".\(^{(VII.433)}\).

Pennsylvania was characterized by a greater democracy, in general, according to Mr. Adams. Joseph Anderson, a colleague in the Senate, he says, was a lawyer of good understanding and good education, but lacking the courage of his convictions.\(^{(I.377-8)}\). Fornance, a representative, he calls "a drivelling changeable" who "dawled out, with a nasal twang, an hour of ambidexter neutrality".\(^{(XI.132)}\). Col. Thomas Forrest presented to him an amusing contrast of a good Quaker who prided himself on his military record.\(^{(V.204)}\). Joseph Hopkinson he mentions as a personal friend, and favors his appointment to office in spite of his federalist principles.\(^{(V.297, VI.315, VII.93, X.361)}\). Senator Marks, he says, "is a very worthy man, who has kept his faith unshaken, unuced, unterrified, through all the popular frenzies of his
state". (VII.203). He calls Congressman Ramsey "the bob-tail of the Harrisburg mob"(X.210). Almon H. Read he calls "a Pennsylvanian dunce, who made an abortive attempt to get a silly motion of his upon the journal". (XI.321). Senator Jonathan Roberts was one of the men to whom democracy in Pennsylvania had given a chance to rise to eminence. (V.111-2).

John Sergeant was "one of the ablest, purest, fairest men in Congress, a warm and most efficient friend"of Mr. Adams' own administration. (V.116, VIII.9, 521, X.321, 338). Thaddeus Stevens is mentioned as the great anti-Masonic leader of Pennsylvania in 1836, who "is a remarkable man, likely hereafter to figure in the history of this Union". (IX.273, 327). David D. Wagener of Easton, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, he calls "a quiet, peaceable Pennsylvania Democrat, who would be an honest man if he could". (X.316)

"Virginia statesmen", he says, "still possess in a superior degree the art of political management". (V.365, 325, VIII.323, IX.38, X.321, 409, XI.270); and again:"Virginia statesmen are jealous of States' rights and of the Executive, and are apt to be obstructionists to all sorts of measures, both good and bad, rather than their originators". (V.231, VI.75, VIII.4, X.139, 413, XII.163). William S. Archer, though an ardent friend of President Jackson's administration, was too much a man of principle to uphold everything that was done. (IX.22, XII.163). Examples of the peculiar political prejudices of the Virginia school are Thomas Tyler Boulden (IX.91-2); John M. Botts, "a busy Virginia electioneering Whig"(X.139, 321); Wm. A. Burwell (V.3281); R. S. Garnett, "a lively, sensible, and somewhat eccentric Virginian"(VII.246); John W. Jones, "a lame and mean-looking man---covering under a cold exterior of indifference a deep and rancorous malignity"(IX.533, X.163); and Littleton W. Tazewell, a man of some talents, "the business of whose life it is to split hairs". (VIII.106, 327).

Archibald Atkinson, he says, "voided a hogshead of invective against the Whigs"(XII.9); Thomas H. Bayly, of Accomac, he calls a "beef-witted blunderhead"(XII.240-1). He first met W. B. Giles, later Governor, when they were colleagues in the Senate, where he comments upon the extent exceeding freedom with which Mr. Giles discussed persons and events. (I.344, 449). Their later relations were not friendly. (VII.104, 369, 472, IX.263). Henry A. Wise he calls "the personified caricature of Virginia--great conception, wild but energetic elucubrations of conclusion, small and pitiful result". (IX.38, X.409, 413, 478, XI.106, 240, 283, XII.195-6).

John Randolph is the Virginia leader of whom a greater number of comments are made than any other, and all show the complete lack of sympathy and understanding which existed between the two men. His speeches in Congress, according to Mr. Adams, were always with as little relation to the subject-matter as possible, a curious mixture of good and bad rhetoric, and always delivered with "much distortion of face and contortion of body, tears, groans, and sobs". (I.359, 418-9, VI.352, VII.433, 472, VIII.64). "Randolph is the image and superscription of a great man stamped upon base metal. His mind is a jumble of sense, wit, and absurdities.---His heart is a compound of egotism, inflated vanity, and envy". (VIII.64).

Mr. Adams comments upon his eccentric conduct--"tricky humors to make himself conspicuous"(V.36), and upon the fact that he "turns his diseases into commodity". (VIII.323, IX.5). His
drunkenness disgusted Mr. Adams, (VII.366, 433, 472, VIII.64), and he believed Randolph to be one of the most violent and malignant of his personal enemies. (VII.366, 433, 472, VII.431, IX.203, XII.206).

South Carolina had a peculiar character of its own, in Mr. Adams' opinion. "How much of the South Carolina character originated in Locke's Constitution? How much in the sub-tropical climate? How much in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and cotton? How much (more than all the rest) in negro slavery? How much in the Christian religion? and how much in Anglo-Saxon descent? These elements, mixed with the casual diversities of individual men in the progress of population, have produced an average associate character different from any other state in the Union,—from none more than from its next-door neighbor, North Carolina." (X.295).

James Blair, a Unionist and anti-nullifier, "an honest and very intelligent man," was ruined by intemperance and finally shot himself. (IX.109, 112, 119). Warren R. Davis, a real friend to Mr. Adams, as he believed, was "a high-spirited man of some wit, a lively imagination, and honest, though satirical good humor,—a fair specimen of the South Carolina character." (IX.203). T.R. Mitchell he calls a good-humored man of very good talents. (VIII.449). William Lowndes was another "man of fine talents, of good principles, of mild temper, and placid manners.--- He has more personal influence in the House of Representatives than any other member". But his chief fault was in too great independence. "To be very sure of standing erect, he leans a little backward. Supporting the administration (Monroe's) in the main, he is apt to seek for differences of detail." (V.17, 121, 202). The South Carolina orators did not always please Mr. Adams. He says James Hamilton "fancies himself equal to five Ciceros" (VII.399, 431). Isaac E. Holmes, of Charleston, "is a pompous orator, fancying himself a very profound statesman. He has a pickpocket habit of looking askance from the corner of his eyes while he is speaking, and he affects deep, logical deduction." (X.532). George McDuffie was a man of "gloomy churlishness of character, and a very slow and tiresome speaker." (IX.119, XI.510). F. W. Pickens, "a fixture to the house of Calhoun", he calls "a coarse sample of the South Carolina school of orator-statesmen—pompous, flashy, and shallow." (IX.398-9, X.172, 217) "His speeches sound like a tin canister, half-filled with stones, rolling down an entry staircase." (X.517) Henry Laurens Pinckney "talks much nullification" as do most of the members of the South Carolina delegation."—So fanatical are they in their devotion to it that they cannot resist the temptation to introduce it into all their speeches, the consequence of which has been the forfeiture of every particle of their influence in the House." (IX.107) Robert Barnwell Rhett's oratory was "the ne plus ultra of South Carolina rhetoric,—ranting for eloquence; emphatic inconsistency and absurdity." (IX.530, X.167, XI.483).

North Carolina had some men of whom Mr. Adams speaks favorably, such as Lewis Williams, the Father of the House, "one of the best men in the House, or in the world." (X.99), and Edward Stanley, a man of excellent principles and lofty spirit, who as a Whig was opposed to the majority of his own state. (XI.19). He calls Senator Macon "a sort of political
Walter Shandy; "(V.40) "a humorist and a political Puritan(V.491), and he grants his integrity and indefatigable attention to business.(V.204, VII.545). But most of his comments upon North Carolina Congressmen are unfriendly. Kenneth Rayner, a states'-rights man and a nullifier, attacked Mr. Adams in what the latter called "a splendid speech of three hours", in which he "rang over all the changes of invective upon me and of slave-breeding rhodomontade about abolition and the rights and institutions of the South".(X.167-3, 480). McKay of North Carolina he calls "the Jerry Sneak of candid prevarication". (X.157); "a political Mrs. Candour, smooth as oil in outward form, and fetid as a polecat in inward savour".(X.273, 500-1).

Jesse A. Bynum is described as "a small, thin man, with a perpetual agony in his face, a dark brow, a livid complexion, a haggard look, a ghastly smile, and when he speaks his face is distorted with convulsion. His discourse is one uniform growl of invective upon federalists, the bank, Loco-Focos, old women, and predict"s.(X.75-6, 202, 270-1).

Mr. Adams' opinion of some of the Georgia statesmen is summed up in his remark that "there is a contempt of principle in some of the Georgia partisans against which it is indispensable to be guarded"(V.188, 90, 43, 211, VII.11, 49, 233, 382).

Thomas F. Foster, is he says, "like all Georgians an ardent politician, somewhat infected with the nullification views, and stiff as muckram for States'rights, but honest, honorable, and talented".(IX.250). Senator Freeman Walker is a young man and enjoys a high reputation for abilities and integrity. He has also a handsome person and a pleasing deportment. In party conflicts in Georgia he is neutral"(V.211). Most of the Georgia delegation he considered very mediocre, however; he speaks of Dr. Haynes, who "has puffed himself up into a self-conceit of statesmanship, and fancies himself the main-stay of the Administration"(Van Buren's)(IX.402); of Edward J. Black, a "fiery-tempered piece of insanity, swelling with his dignity as a chairman of a select committee appointed by the House"(chairman of new cheap printing committee).(X.210, 311, 312, XI.509); and the Rev. Walter T. Colquitt, in the Senate, a Methodist preacher, who was much better at that than he was as a statesman in the Senate, according to Mr. Adams.(X.315, 322-3, XI.459). A Georgian who was not a member of Congress was Governor Troup, with whom Mr. Adams had considerable trouble when President, over the rights of the Creek Indians. He successfully defied the President and was very insolent in his conduct throughout the entire affair.(VII.11, 49, 233, 382).

C.C. Clay, of Alabama, he says, "is a man of some talent and of much activity and perseverance, a fluent speaker, of very little power, but making up for the deficiency of substance by the ardor of his zeal".(IX.113), Belser of Alabama sank "into the slough of slavery " in one of his speeches(XII. 165); and Dixon H. Lewis, of the same state, he calls "the Silemus of the House- a Falstaff without his wit or good humor".(X.164, XII.25). Gwin of Mississippi was "a blunderer, too stupid to see the issue of his own movements".(XI.507); and particularly venomous against Mr. Adams, who reports that "Gwin had only five minutes to empty his bile-bag on me for this day, and has the floor for another emission tomorrow"(XI. 315). Edward Livingstone, of Louisiana "is a man of very
superior talents, whose career has been checkered with good and evil, with right and wrong, perhaps as much as that of any public man in this country". (VI.55). Senator Alexander Parter, of Louisiana, was "one of the upstarts of fortune who compose the government of this Union. ---He was a man of fine talents, amiable disposition, pleasant temper, benevolent heart, elegant taste, and classical acquirements. His death is a grievous loss to the country, for he will be succeeded by a stinkard". (XI.500). John Slidell of New Orleans is mentioned only in connection with his "gentle" eulogy upon the death of a Louisiana colleague in the House, "larded with Latin and French proverbs". (XII.18). Congressman Yell of Arkansas "is a shallow, foolish fellow, without principle enough to stand on the point of a needle- filter for the brawler of a bar-room than for a representative of the people in Congress" (IX.484). Most of the comments on the members from Tennessee are milder in tone. A speech by Aaron V. Brown is moderately praised (X.238-9); as is another by Adam Hunterman (IX.281); and John Bell (X.4-5). Hugh Lawson White, Senator from Tennessee and candidate for President, was "a man of straw-----of moderate capacity, but of varied public service, and of long experience in the affairs of the nation", (IX.312); "a tool of Jackson's" (X.267).

The congressmen from the west he called "land-robbers". (VIII.503, IX.256), but this judgment was not given of all of them. Their chief was Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri, "a liar of magnitude beyond the reach of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto", (VI.522, VII.173, VIII.186, 190-1, 236, X.144). This opinion was later modified; Mr. Adams notes Mr. Benton's affectionate fondness for his children (X.257), and their first social visit in 1845, after a common residence of 25 years in Washington. (XII.140). Isaac E. Crary of Michigan was "one of the most unscrupulous Swiss mercenaries in the House" (X.30), and one of its "most desperate disorganizers". (X.218) Caleb Cushing favored Benton's views, (X.18), and so did David Trimble of Kentucky (V.67,69). Andrew Kennedy of Indiana is described as "the rabid Democrat", "the Indiana blacksmith", "the bravest cut-throat of the gang"; "coarse, vulgar and unreasonable, but not inelegant" (XI.531, 502, 182, 143). Landaff W. Andrews of Kentucky, he says, was "an honest prejudiced, hot-headed man, who always moved by impulses and whose wild stare always denoted excitement" (XI.125). Ratliff Boon of Indiana, "whose political existence hangs to his servility and whose faculty of speech is a yelp", attacked Mr. Adams personally, but was answered completely. (IX.324, 521-2). William J. Brown, of Indianapolis, was one of the "demi-demons of Democracy which make a Pandemonium of the House" (XII.6).

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois usually is described as "raving" whenever he made a speech (XI.510-1, XII.159), although there is one exception noted. (XI.478). Reynolds of Illinois "is a coarse, vulgar, ignorant, knavish Democrat----whose buffoonery keeps him afloat". (XI.43). Homer of Ohio was "as sly as a Quaker and as sour as a Presbyterian" (IX.375); and
Jameson of Missouri was "a savage in temper, in looks, and, I have no doubt, in blood." (X.336).

Among those of his enemies who pretended to be his friends he classes Wickliffe of Kentucky (VII.431,449); Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois (VII.91-2, V.207-8); and possibly Ninian Edwards, Senator from Illinois, although their relations were at first quite friendly (V.52,121, VI.362-3,296-400), and always so on Mr. Adams' part, although he later had reason to distrust that of Mr. Edwards. (VI.282-3). Col. R. M. Johnson, Senator from Kentucky, denied the stories of his electioneering against Mr. Adams, being "disposed to keep upon good terms with all parties". (VII.201). Dr. Alexander Duncan of Cincinnati, was "a thorough-going hack demagogue" "with the skin of a rhinoceros". (X.187-8,323-4,405-6), but was succeeded in the House by Nathaniel G. Pendleton, also of Cincinnati, a complete contrast to him in character. (X.530)

Favorable comments upon westerners are found. Of Clay's friend, R. P. Letcher of Kentucky, he says: "Letcher is a man of moderate talents, good temper, playful wit, and shrewd sagacity. He will be a loss to the House, for he laughs at everything; often in the heat of angry and fierce debate he throws in a joke, which turns it all to good humor". (VII.336,508). Richard H. Menifee of Kentucky made what Mr. Adams considered the strongest speech on the Treasury Note bill (IX.394). Sloane and Wright of Ohio are mentioned as friends and supporters of Mr. Adams' own administration (VIII.107); Elisha Whittlesey of Ohio, as a "most conscientious and indefatigable performer of his duty". (IX.123); Profitt of Indiana, a self-made man, was one of the most powerful speakers in the House (X.218,540). Joshua Giddings of Ohio was Mr. Adams' friend and associate on the slavery question. (XII.31, XI.149). Schenck of Ohio made a speech which pleased Mr. Adams particularly. (XI.479) in reply to one made by Douglas of Illinois. Vinton of Ohio, "one of the best and ablest men in the House", gave another on the future power and influence upon this Union of the valley of the Mississippi, of which Mr. Adams says: "I dare not say how I felt when he closed". (XII.164).

In addition to the sectional groups, Mr. Adams makes many comments upon the orators of Congress which seem worthy of special attention. One reason for this, perhaps, was that he very keenly realized his own deficiencies in this respect, and so paid more attention to the efforts of others. Many of these comments have already been noted in other connections, but others are of interest. He thinks "the southern and western contested elections sharpen the wits and improve greatly the talent of public speaking". (X.218,303). Again he remarks that out of a committee of nine congressmen selected at random, every one has a good talent for public speaking. (X.239) He greatly admired the fluency of Mr. Bayard, his colleague in the Senate and later on at Ghent, but criticized his occasional lack of judgment. (I.401-2,447,501). His comments upon Calhoun's speeches belong in the period of his dislike for Calhoun, so perhaps one might expect the opinion of "shallow and sophistical" he gives of many of them (IX.505, 225-6,232). Of some of Webster's speeches in the Senate he makes similar comments. (IX.225,232); and of the famous "Reply to Hayne he says: "It is a remarkable instance of
readiness in debate— a reply of at least four hours to a speech of equal length. It demolishes the whole fabric of Haynes' speech, so that it leaves scarcely the wreck to be seen" (VIII.192-3). In 1833 Mr. Adams notes: "Mr. Webster is a very handsome speaker, but he overlabored a point as plain as day, and he hung his cause upon a broken hinge in maintaining that a Government is not a compact." (VIII.526). His eulogy in Faneuil Hall upon John Adams and Thomas Jefferson was heard by a crowd which entirely filled the hall, who listened intently for the two hours and a half of its delivery. (VII.140). Robert Wright, of Maryland, a colleague of Mr. Adams in the Senate, "takes part in every debate, speaks upon every subject, and very seldom without exposing himself by some absurdity in argument or some confusion in learning." (I.377, 438). Senator Preston, of South Carolina, made a speech on the sub-treasury bill in 1837, of which Mr. Adams notes: "It is one of those speeches of which multitudes are delivered almost every day in both Houses of Congress— full of eloquence, dazzling with beauty, sparkling with wit, radiant with sentiment, beaming with philosophy, and yet radically defective in the basement story of moral principle; ardent patriotism, generous feeling, benevolent sentiment, elegant language, literature, courtesy, all the charms of eloquence, are here; but the foundation of all wisdom, moral principle, is lacking." (IX.433).

Some of his orator-colleagues in the House were Rufus Choate (IX.115), "a young man of great power and promise"; Corwin, Sergeant, Bernhard, Biddle, all Whig orators (X.32); George Evans, of Maine, who gave "the most furious personal phillipic" against Mr. Adams that was ever delivered (IX.338); but who, he says, was one of the ablest and most eloquent men in the House; (IX.498); William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, "a promising young man"— "who speaks with great facility, without elegance— plain sound sense, but without striking thought or imagery, wit or humor—always grave, always calm, always moderate, never very impressive, never original in thought or sentiment" (X.529-30, XI.288); Ogden Hoffman of New York, whose speech against Pickens he praises (IX.283); W. Cost Johnson, who gave "a speech of at least two hours, full of sarcasm, drollery, sound sense, generous sympathies, intrepid spirit, moral philosophy, and idle humors, such as I believe was never before delivered in any deliberative assembly" (IX.403); Albert G. Marchand, of Greensburg, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, "a little Jew-faced rotundity", whose speech was full of classical and historical allusions (X.304-5); Mason of Ohio (XI.156); and John White of Kentucky, "a man of fine talents and an able debater, but his manner is so vehement and his articulation so rapid that it becomes altogether indistinct. He repeats the word "Sir" at least every fifth word, and his discourse is one continued stream, without division into paragraphs, or construction of sentences" (X.303). Mr. Adams describes the ideal physique of an orator in his remarks upon Ely Moore "the prince of working-men" and Hugh Legare of South Carolina. Moore, he says, "is a very handsome man, six feet high, well-formed, with a bold,
keen, piercing eye, a prepossessing countenance, a rather courteous deportment, a strong, clear, impressive voice, a good command of language, and fluent elocution". (IX.405-6). Of Legaré he says: "Legaré has not the ideal form of an orator—short, thick, with a head dispropor tioned in size to his body; a fattish, ugly, but intelligent face, dark complexion, and slightly limping left foot; but his voice is strong, his enunciation distinct, though rapid; his action not graceful but energetic; his intonation alternately high and low; and his command of language is copious and ornamental. He will surely be ranked among the distinguished orators". (IX.388, 399,404-5).

Adverse comment are found, among others, on Rives, who made "a rambling, bullying, ridiculous speech"(X.237); Potter of Pennsylvania, "a rancorous, thorough-going party man----with the controversial art of saying bitter things in sweet words"(IX.465); James K. Polk,(quoted on page 13)(IX64); Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, whose early speeches were "sublimated by no thin potations"(XI.17-18), but who later took the temperance pledge and made one of the best speeches of the session(XI.56,72); Mark A. Cooper, who was in the habit of "inflicting fooleries" upon the House(XI.311); George W. Keim, "a thick-set, squat-figured half-Dutchman"—whose speech was "inexpressibly flat, a compound of champagne and dishwater"(X.269); and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, whose vehement manner of speech did not please Mr. Adams.(XI.510-511,XII.159).

Mr. Adams mentions some of the Speakers of the House of Representatives, expressing an opinion. He calls Philip Barbour, of Virginia, "a shallow-pated wild-cat, fit for nothing but to tear the Union to rags and tatters"(V.450-1; VIII.316); Henry Clay , he says, was a very popular man and Speaker(V.59,90); John Taylor, of New York, elected Speaker in 1820, but who failed of election in 1827, was "one of the few men in whom I have hoped to find a friend of whom I could be proud, as well as a virtuous politician", but in this he was disappointed.(V.202,428, VII.368). Andrew J. Stevenson, of Virginia, elected in 1827 and again in 1833, was very partial in his appointment of committees(VII.369,IX.42). John Bell of Tennessee, Speaker in 1835, he says was, on the whole, a good Speaker, "and impartial as far as he dares, though occasionally subservient from timidity".(IX.214). James K. Polk made an ineffective and partial Speaker(X.38-9); John W. Davis was "a pro-slavery representative from the free state of Indiana, buckled close to the slave-mongers", who always discriminated in favor of them(XII.245,265-6). Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, he calls "an amiable, good-hearted, weak-headed young man, prematurely hoisted into a place for which he is not fit, precisely for his Virginian quiddities"(X.379,170).

There are many other possible groupings of comments about Members of Congress, but those on members directly concerned with the question of slavery ought not be omitted. He says Bynum of North Carolina was "drunk with slavery"(IX.284,294,534); Calhoun he calls "the high-priest of Moloch—the embodied spirit of slavery"(XI.234-5); Patton, "a representative of
slaves under servile fear" (IX.383); Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, "a planter who owned 1000 slaves and religiously believed that slavery was made for the African race and the African race for slavery" (XII.41-42,63); and Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, who opposed the slave-trade but "raved about the hell-hound of abolition" (X.478, XI.283, XII.195-6). On the other side he mentions Rufus King of New York, the only great speaker for the free states on the Missouri question. (IV.506, 522,524, V.12-13,33, VI.242). He says in 1820—"There is not a man in the Union of purer integrity than Rufus King" (V.12-3); and in 1824: "King is one of the wisest and best men among us. But his own ambition was inflamed by splendid success in early life, followed by vicissitudes of popular favor and hopes deferred, till he has arrived nearly at the close of his public career" (VI.242). Reference has already been made to Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. (XI.149, XII.31). Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky freed his own slaves and has "acquired great celebrity by declaring the highest-toned sentiments against slavery". (XII.77).

IX. SUNDRY COMMENTS.

A. Foreign Celebrities.

Mr. Adams comments upon many other persons in addition to those already mentioned, but usually rather briefly. Among them are several foreign celebrities. Napoleon Bonaparte was convulsing Europe during much of Mr. Adams' service abroad, and of him Mr. Adams says in 1813: "I believe the man is abandoned of God, and that Heaven is breaking one of the instruments of its wrath. The only prayer I dare to form is, that by his ruin still more terrible scourged may not be substituted in his place" (II.531); and in 1828 he writes: "Bonaparte was a man of great genius for military combinations and operations, whose head was turned by success; who had magnificent imaginations and some generous purposes, but was under no control of moral principle". (VIII.40; see also II.416,420,447); Mr. Adams speaks of his personal debt to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and says that he was, perhaps, of all living men the man whose life was most important to the rest of mankind. (VII.112). The news of the death of George III. of England in 1820 was the occasion for an extended comment. In part he says: "George III. was a man of good but ordinary capacity, possessed of many private virtues, and no vices but those incidental to a royal education. His reign has been a most tempestuous period in the history of the civilized world. His influence over it has been negative and inauspicious. As the great head and champion of existing institutions against all innovation, he has contributed to perpetuate abuses of the most pernicious character, to re-cement with human blood the ruinous and perishing edifice of feudality, and to prolong the deadly struggle between the absurd and artificial distinctions of hereditary rank and the tendencies of the age to the common level of democracy". (V.22-3). Of George IV., while Prince Regent, Mr. Adams says: "The character of this person is a composition of obtundity and frivolity. He is a Falstaff without the wit and a Prince Henry without the compunctions". (III.529). With General LaFayette Mr. Adams was on very friendly terms and he speaks of the
General's cheerfulness, his pleasant conversation, and his ardent patriotism. (III.189, 198, VII.49). He met Madame De Staël in Russia, and speaks of her great enthusiasm for the English cause against Napoleon, as well as of her rather volatile animation. (II.399, 401). He met Talleyrand while the latter was an exile in America, and speaks of him as reserved and distant. (I.33). He met the Duke of Wellington at a dinner given in his honor, where, he says, the duke "bore the daubing of flattery spread over him at every toast with moderate composure". (III.413). Simon Bolivar, Mr. Adams thought, was a double-dealer. (VIII.190).

B. The Judiciary.

Other comments are found upon members of the Supreme and other courts. He speaks of John Marshall in the highest terms: "He has done more than to establish the Constitution of the United States on a sound construction than any other man living". (VIII.315). "He was one of the most eminent men that this country has ever produced.----Marshall, by the ascendancy of his genius, by the amenity of his deportment, and by the imperturbable command of his temper, has given a permanent and systematic character to the decisions of the Court, and settled many great constitutional questions favorably to the continuance of the Union". (IX.243, 251). Samuel Chase of Maryland was another member of the Supreme Court on whom Mr. Adams comments. He says: "I considered Mr. Chase as one of the men whose life, conduct, and opinions had been of the most extensive and influence upon the Constitution of this country.----He was a man of ardent passions, strong mind, of domineering temper. His life was consequent-ly turbulent and boisterous". (V.213). Judge Johnson, he says, was "a man of considerable talents and law knowledge, but a restless, turbulent, hot-headed, politician caballing Judge". (V.43). Judge Baldwin, he thought, was a politician of equivocal morality, but he hoped he would make a more impartial judge. (VIII.174). Mr. Adams was greatly opposed to the impeachment proceedings against District Judge Pickering, of New Hampshire, because of the insanity of the judge and the unfairness of the trial. (I.309-310ff.)

C. Soldiers.

There were several soldiers of whom Mr. Adams write in the Diary: of General Jackson (IV.108, 111, 323, V.472-3); of Captain David Porter, in regard to a case in which he was to be court-martialed, deservedly, as Mr. Adams thought, (VII. 18-19); of General Brown, of whom he speaks very highly as one who had done perhaps more than any other man to redeem and establish the military character of his country (VII.447-8); and of Captain Partridge, who conducted a military school which Mr. Adams thought was doing more harm than good (VII.214). Commodore Stephen Decatur, who was killed as a result of a duel, was sincerely mourned by Mr. Adams, who said that in him the nation had lost one of its heroes - "one who has illustrated its history and given grace and dignity to its character in the eyes of the world. He was a warm-hearted, cheerful, unassuming, gentle in deportment, friendly and hospitable, beloved in social life: with a soul all devoted to his country, and a sense of honor too disdainful of life--
-- a spirit as kindly, as generous, and as dauntless as breathed in this nation, or on the earth" (V.32,36). His opinion of General Winfield Scott was not so high, the chief objection to him being his unreasonableness and inconsistency (IV.325-4, VII.251, XI.270,352). His criticism of Jefferson's inactivity during the Revolution has already been mentioned. (VIII.294,296).

D. Women.

Mr. Adams does not often express himself about his women contemporaries, but when he does, it is with fair enough judgments. His affection for his mother and reverence for her memory appears often. He mentions Mrs. Madison on her return to Washington to live after her husband's death, and remarks on her placid, equable temperament. (IX.418-9). Lucretia Mott he visited in 1856, with Benjamin Lundy, and speaks of her as a sensible and lively woman, and an abolitionist of the most intrepid school. (IX.303). Emma Willard visited him during his presidency to ask aid for her "female seminary" at Troy, New York, and he speaks of her good sense and intelligence, qualities which he seems to have admired. (VII.145-6).

His opinion of Harriet Livermore, noted after hearing her preach in 1838, is not so flattering. He thinks she talks chiefly from vanity and the love of fame. (X.6-7). Madame de Staël has already been mentioned. (page 24).

E. Editors.

Mr. Adams thought every editor was for sale to the highest bidder (V.173), and if one judges from those he mentions one can see why he should have thought so. Many of those of talent, however, were foreigners. One of these was John Binns, an Englishman, editor of the Democratic Press, of Pennsylvania, (V.112). Another was Baptis Irvine, a Scotchman, who would have been willing to be hired by Mr. Adams himself, but of whom Mr. Adams says: "I would not accept him as a gift. His natural market is elsewhere" (V.36,51,435). Another foreigner was M. M. Noah, a Jew, and editor of the New York Advocate, controlled by Van Buren, (V.173), and of them all Mr. Adams says: "There is not one of them whose friendship is worth buying, nor one whose enmity is not formidable" (V.173). Wm. J. Duane, an Irishman, was editor of the Aurora, a Pennsylvania newspaper, and was a supreme example of the average editor, who was particularly dangerous because of the way in which he mixed truth with falsehood. He says, "I had rather have Duane and his Aurora against me than for me" (V.36,45,112,117, VI.17, X.115). Other writers for hire, not foreigners, were S. S. Southworth, whose professions of friendship Mr. Adams did not believe in (IX.311); and John B. Colvin, whom Mr. Adams dismissed from the department of State for inefficiency, and who retaliated by attacking him in the columns of the Washington City Gazette (VI.94-5). J. Buckingham of the Boston Courier was for years a bitter political enemy of Mr. Adams, but became one of his strongest supporters. (X.128). Writers, not editors, who prostituted their talents, were Henry Lee and John Howard Payne. Of Lee he says, "He writes with great force and elegance, and Mr. Calhoun has used him for that purpose, "—"an abandoned and sacrificed character, but a writer of very considerable talent and power" (VII.180, IX.387x546-7); Mr. Payne he calls
"the histionic parasite, who was here all the summer of 1841, currying favor by writing nimny-pimny meretricious letters of courtly adulation of John Tyler, to be published in the New York Herald". (XI.369-370). Mention has already been made of Crawford's extensive use of newspapers to further his presidential aspirations. Mr. Adams mentions among those so used, the National Intelligencer, published by Gales and Seaton, the Richmond Enquirer, the National Advocate of New York (edited by Noah), the Boston Statesman, the Portland Argus, the Democratic Press of Philadelphia, and the Washington City Gazette.

F. Office-hunters.

Along with editors as objects for contempt in Mr. Adams' opinion, were the hordes of office-seekers by whom he was besieged especially during his Secretaryship of State, and the Presidency, and many of these he admits to the rather questionable fame of the Diary. George Brown, commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, he says, "is a speaking example of the chemical affinity between power, patronage, place, and political opinions,—his patterns being Daniel Webster and Caleb Cushing." (XI.355-6). General Dearborn, collector of Customs in Boston, was fearful of being displaced by Eustis, both of whom were very patriotic in their willingness to serve their country in office(V.237). DeGrand, of Philadelphia, wanted a position, and as Mr. Adams says of him, "on veut être Napoléon—sinon préfet — ou bien gendarme". (VII.171). Dr. S. D. Forsyth is called an "ambidexter personage"(V.48,62), very desirous of securing a South American appointment, as were Worthington, Baptis Irvine, and W. D. Robinson.(V.36). An office-hunter who seemed proof against any rebuff was Jeremy Robinson,(VII.494); another was Alexander Scott(VII.54); another, G. A. Otis,(V.23,24,99). James Strong was an example of "an ex-member of Congress, who are wasps who have lost their sting; and it is pitiful to see them soliciting offices of high distinction for which they are not qualified, as consolation for the loss of their confidence of their constituents". (V.456-7). George Sullivan disgusted Mr. Adams by his "unveiled proposals of political barter". (V.70-71). Dr. Georg P. Todson, a disappointed office-seeker, threatened the life of President Adams, but was later brought to reason. (VII.209-212, X.473), Mr. Tippett applied for a place as superintendent of the penitentiary, and of him Mr. Adams writes: "Their eagerness to obtain an-office promise and their propensity to construe every kind word into one, make it necessary to be reserved with them. This they call chilling frigidity." (VII. 255). Mr. Adams believed that one reason for Jonathan Russell's determined attacks upon him were based on his disappointment that Mr. Adams would not help him to secure a better diplomatic position. (V.497,498,515,24,40,VI,48,49).

G. Science.

There are a few references to scientists, chiefly in connection with the Smithsonian Fund. The debate in the Senate on this gives rise to a very characteristic bit of sarcasm: "A debate between Great Gibeer's brazen, brainless brothers at the gates of Bedlam would be more rational, and a debate between Jonathan Wild the Great and Barrington of
Botany Bay as honest as the discussion of this dignified body upon this magnificent and munificent bequest". (X.112-3).

Asher Robbins, of Rhode Island, had "a mean and selfish project to make a university from the Smithsonian fund, for him to be placed at the head of it". (X.139); and Thomas Cooper, of South Carolina, was consulted on the disposal of the fund, although Mr. Adams said of him, "his very breath is pestilential to every good purpose" (X.57). Robert Fulton, he said, invented little or nothing, but with the aid of Chancellor Livingston's fortune, he made the inventions of others practically useful (IV.351). Henry L. Ellsworth, commissioner of the Patent Office, "has turned the Patent Office from a mere gincrack-shop into a great and highly useful public establishment". (XII.188).

H. Education,

Mr. Adams considered a college education a much better preparation for after-life than a military education. (VII.214-5). He took much interest in the administration of his own Alma Mater, Harvard, sympathizing with his friend, Josiah Quincy, in some difficulties he had as President. He thought Harvard was disgraced because in 1833 she conferred the degree of LL.D. upon President Jackson, "a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and who could hardly spell his own name"- (VIII.546). He notes elsewhere some examples of Jackson's bad spelling. (VII.479). Clay is also criticized for his lack in education (V.325), as was Calhoun (VII.113, VIII.546).

I. Ministers,

Very often Mr. Adams would summarize the sermons he had heard in the Diary, and occasionally add a brief note about the preacher. He says of one: "Allen is a mendicant clergyman who was here last summer. He has the manners of a half-idiom". (VII.235). Of the Reverend Walter T. Colquitt, a representative from Georgia, he says: "I liked him much better as a pulpit orator than I do as a Congressional speaker, statesman, or politician". (X.322-3). He frequently attended church at Mr. McCormick's, and thought his sermons sensible and well-written, although not delivered with much enthusiasm. (V.26). There is one mention of "Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet", (XII.35). The most complimentary reference of this sort is one on the first sermon he heard by Edward Everett, in 1820, "a young man of shining talents and illustrious promise"- "His sermon was without comparison the most splendid composition as a sermon 0 ever heard delivered". (IV.525). He always speaks in high terms of Mr. Everett, throughout his long period of public life. (VII.132, IX.11, 184, 305). His orations, Mr. Adams thought, were among the best ever delivered in this country, and he thought they would stand the test of time. (IX.305).

J. Abolitionists.

Mention should be made of those contemporaries who worked with Mr. Adams against slavery, to whom he refers, and who were not members of Congress. In commenting upon Rufus King's stand upon the Missouri question, Mr. Adams says: "Never since human sentiment and human conduct were influenced by human speech was there a theme for eloquence like the free
side of this question now before the Congress of this Union" (IV.524). This was always his feeling in the question, and it grew stronger with time. Yet he was not thoroughly in sympathy with all the abolitionists, as far as his references to them would show, at least. He says Benjamin F. Lundy and the abolitionists generally were constantly urging him to indiscreet movements, which would ruin him and not help them. (IX.365). James G. Birney, leader of the party, he says, "is the sport of envious, bitter, ambitious, and malignant passions, and his head is turned by the greatness of being a candidate for the Presidency". (XII.76). He calls Lovejoy, of Alton, Ill., "a martyr to the cause of human freedom"(IX432); Lucretia Mott, "an abolitionist of the most intrepid school"(IX.303); and of William Ellery Channing, "Dr. Channing’s course of the slavery subject has been too bold and anti-servile for the timid and the time-serving friends of freedom. Dr. Channing has never flinched or quailed before the enemy--The loss of Dr. Channing to the anti-slavery cause is irreparable". (XI.258-9).

J. Personal Friends.

This study would not be complete without a brief mention of those whom Mr. Adams called his personal friends, and the pity is that there are so few. Most of those whom he considered his friends, disappointed him sooner or later, as did Alexander H. Everett(XI.405); Levi Lincoln(IX.21-22,24,54); and many others already mentioned. General Macomb, he says, is one of the few men in the world who have shown him that they do not forget a benefit conferred(IX.33); S. T. Armstrong, he says, is one of the truest friends he has met with in this world,(XII.95);William Vans Murray he mourned as one of his dearest and oldest friends; and Josiah Quincy was a lifelong friend(I.537,540,IX.166). His "friends and benefactors" were Washington, Madison, and Monroe,(XII.206), and the list might be extended further. Although the habit of caustic speech well illustrated in the Diary cost him the friendship of most of his contemporaries, a study of the Diary can hardly fail to increase one's respect for and sympathy with the writer, so that probably he may be said to have more real friends since his death than he had in his lifetime.
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