SOME NEW BOOKS.

Blue Grass Kentucky.

We are indebted to Mr. James Lane Allen for the first adequate treatment of an interesting subject—adequate both in respect of knowledge and of literary skill—in the book entitled "The Blue Grass Region of Kentucky" (Harpers). In this volume are reprinted eight articles which originally appeared in *Harper's* and the *Century Magazine*, which collectively depict a country and a people the nearest parallels to which are to be found in the most fertile sections of old England. There is also a special reason for the interest attaching to Kentucky in the minds of people at the North, namely, that in this State alone of all the States lying south of Mason and Dixon's line has the same class which was preponderant before the civil war managed to retain its political as well as its social preponderance. That is not true even of Maryland; it is certainly not true of Virginia, and it is not true of any of the States that seceded or wanted to secede.

I.

In a preliminary chapter descriptive of the blue grass region, it is pointed out that in Kentucky we find nearly pure English blood. Here, according to Prof. Shaler, is the largest body of pure English folk that has been separated from the mother country for 200 years. The blue grass Kentuckians are the descendants of those hardy, high-spirited Englishmen, largely of the squire and yeoman class, whose absorbing passion was not religious disputation, nor the political purpose of founding a State, but the ownership of land and the pursuits and pleasures of rural life. They keep to this day in a remarkable degree the race qualities of their English ancestry and the tastes and habits of their forefathers. It is a question whether the Kentuckian is not more like his English progenitor than is his New England contemporary; and this will soon cease to be a question if the inflow of French Canadians into the Northeastern States continues. In blue grass Kentucky families may be found living exactly where their pioneer ancestors made a settlement, and constituting a landed aristocracy if there be such in America. One great honored name will do nearly as much in Kentucky as in England to keep a family in peculiar respect after the reason for it has ceased. Then, again, with the upper class of Kentucky, as with the English squirarchy, the rural keynote of life is still the sweetest. Now after the lapse of more than a century the most populous town in the blue grass region contains less than thirty thousand white inhabitants. Along with the love of land has gone comparative content with the annual increase of flock and field. No man among the blue grass Kentuckians has ever acquired immense wealth. On the other hand, this would have been a densely peopled country and the farms would have been minutely subdivided had sons asked and received permission to settle on parts of the ancestral estate. But this parcellation of land and resultant closeness of personal contact would have satisfied neither father nor child, so that the one has generally kept his acres intact, and the other, impelled by the same land hunger that brought his pioneer forefather hither, has gone hence into the younger West. Here survives finally the old idea, still current in the rural parts of England, that the highest mark of a gentleman is not cultivation of the mind, not intellect or knowledge, but elegant living.

Yet while the typical Kentuckian is an Englishman without knowing it, he would no more try to imitate the English than he would to imitate the Jutes. In nothing is he more like his transatlantic ancestry than in his unshakable self-content. He sits on his farm as though it were the pole of the heavens—a manly man with a heart in him. He is usually of the blond type, robust, well formed, with a clear fair complexion that grows ruddier with age and stomachic development, a full neck and an open, kind, untroubled countenance. He is frank, but not familiar, talkative, but not garrulous; full of the genial humor of local hints and allusions, but without any subtle nimbleness of wit; indulgent toward purely masculine vices, but intolerant of petty crimes; no reader of books nor master in religious debate, faith coming to him as naturally as his appetite, and growing with what it feeds upon; loving his grass, not because it is beautiful, but because it is fresh and green and nourishing. In fine, a peaceful man with strong passions, and so to be heartily loved and respected, or heartily hated and respected, but never despised or trifled with. An occasional barbecue in the woods, where saddles of mutton are roasted on spits and washed down with draughts of whiskey; great agricultural fairs; race courses; county court days, where he meets his neighbors upon the public square of the nearest town; quiet Sunday mornings when he meets them again for chats at the door of the neighborhood church—these and his own fireside afford his characteristic pleasures.

The women of Kentucky have long had a national reputation for beauty. Mr. Allen tells us that the average type is a refinement on the English blonde, possessing, however, greater delicacy of form, feature, and color. A beautiful Kentucky woman is apt to be exceedingly beautiful. Her voice is low and soft; her hands and feet are delicately formed; her skin is pure and beautiful in tint and shading; her eyes are blue or brown, and her hair is nut brown, or golden brown; to all of which is added a certain air of admirable refinement. The author admits, however, that it must not for a moment be supposed that there are not many genuinely ugly women in Kentucky.

It will be remembered by the readers of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" that Mrs. Stowe depicts the type of slavery prevalent in Kentucky as the mildest form of the institution. Mr. Allen has some interesting remarks upon the subject. It is a mistake, he says, to suppose that negroes in Kentucky were deliberately bred and reared for the Southern market. They were sometimes sold to buyers from the South if they proved intractable, or, by the operation of the law of partible inheritance, or, as was the case with Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom, under constraint of death. But it was not true of Kentucky, as it may have been of tidewater of Virginia, that the soil was impoverished and that negro raising was the only profitable crop. The fact is that at least one-half of the soil of Kentucky has never been under cultivation, and could not therefore have been exhausted by slave labor. At least a half of the remainder, though cultivated ever since the war, is still not seriously exhausted, and of the portion still left a large share was always naturally poor, so that for this reason slave labor was but little employed on it. The great slave-holding section of the State was the fertile blue-grass region which has never been impoverished. In that region Mr. Allen does not hesitate to say that the institution of slavery, evil as it was, will, when looked at with the perspective which history will eventually acquire, be adjudged to have developed certain types of noble character. Along with other social forces peculiar to the place and time, it produced in Kentucky a kind of farmer the like of which will not appear again. He had the aristocratic virtues; high notions of personal liberty and personal honor; a fine scorn of anything that was little, cowardly, and mean. As an agriculturist he was not driving, or merciless, or grasping; the rapid amassing of wealth was not among his vices. To a certain carelessness of riches he added a certain profuseness of expenditure, and while indulgent toward his own pleasures he bore himself toward others, his equals or dependants, with a spirit of kindness and magnanimity. Intolerant of tyranny, he was no tyrant. To say of such a man as Jefferson said of every slaveholder, that he lived in perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions and unremitting despotisms, and in the exaction of the most degrading submission, was to pronounce a hasty and unfair judgment. Rather did Mrs. Stowe, while not blind to his faults, discern his virtues when she made him, embarrassed by debt, exclaim: "If anybody had said to me that I should sell Tom down South to one of those rascally traders I should have said, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?'"

It is Mr. Allen's conviction that only through a clear view of the peculiar features of slavery in Kentucky before the war can one understand the general status of the negroes of that State at the present time. Nowhere else has the black race made fewer efforts to push itself into equality with the white. This fact is principally ascribed to the conciliatory influences of a system which, though no longer in vogue, is still remembered and is still powerful to rule the minds of a naturally submissive and susceptible people. The kind, affectionate relations of the races under the old régime have continued with so little interruption that the blacks remain content with their inferiority and lazily drift through life without attempting to enforce their new political rights. This is represented as the keynote of the present situation in Kentucky.

Joshua R. Giddings.

Almost all of the eminent anti-slavery men have been commemorated in more or less adequate biographies, but the series would have been incomplete without the *Life of Joshua R. Giddings*, which is now published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. The author, Mr. GEORGE W. JULIAN, who has himself been a conspicuous member of the Republican party, married a daughter of Mr. Giddings and thus obtained access to private correspondence and to other papers of biographical value. That an estimate of Mr. Giddings, proceeding from such a source would be sympathetic, was to be expected, but it is also duly discriminative, and therefore constitutes a substantial addition to the materials of history. In the compass of 400 pages Mr. Julian has given us a clear and trustworthy account of the anti-slavery movement, from the entrance of Mr. Giddings into Congress in 1838 to his retirement from a parliamentary career in 1859, only about a year before Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency. The subject of this biography lived through the first three years of the civil war, but it was not his lot to witness its conclusion, for in May, 1864, he died at Montreal, where he was discharging the functions of Council-General. His political rewards, and, we may add, the popular recognition of his services, were not commensurate with the importance of the part he played among the makers of the Republican party. It is the merit of this book to have rescued from the partial oblivion which has obscured it the name of one who, by the side of John Quincy Adams, of Chase, of Sumner, and of Wilson, tilled the field of hope when the laborers were few, and when the harvest seemed far distant.

I.

The genealogy of Joshua Reed Giddings is distinguished by some famous names, including those of Rufus Choate and Nathaniel Hawthorne, and by the record of service in the French-Indian war, the American Revolution, the war of 1812, and the late war for the Union. The first of the name who came to this country was George Giddings, who emigrated from St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, and settled in Ipswich, Mass., in 1635. His grandson, Thomas, moved to Lyme, Conn., about the year 1725, and the latter's son Joshua, some thirty years later, settled in Hartland of the same State, where he became a man of influence. Of his five sons, the fourth, called Joshua after his father, was with Arnold on Lake Champlain, and two of the others served in the Revolution. The last named Joshua removed in 1773 to Tioga Point, now called Athens, in Bradford county, Pa., where for his second wife he married Elizabeth Pease of Enfield, Conn. Of this marriage there were four children, the youngest of whom was Joshua Reed Giddings, the subject of this biography, who was born Oct. 6, 1795. Six weeks after his birth his parents took up their abode in Canandaigua, N. Y., then near the western limit of civilization, but in 1806 the family was transplanted to Wayne township, in Ashtabula county, Ohio. Ohio had been admitted into the Union only three years before. The country was a wilderness inhabited by Indians and wild beasts; indeed, the story of Giddings's early years strongly resembles that of Lincoln's, barring the difference between life in Kentucky and on the Western Reserve. The area of this famous Reserve is about 5,000 square miles, and its population may now be estimated at 600,000. "No other 5,000 square miles of territory in the United States," says Hinsdale, "lying in a body outside of New England, ever had, to begin with, so pure a New England population, and no similar territory west of the Alleghany Mountains has so impressed the brain and conscience of the country."

Brought up in a pioneer community, the training of young Giddings was physical and altogether practical, and his naturally vigorous constitution became thoroughly developed. In the use of the axe he became an expert, and before he was grown he could chop and put up six cords of wood in a day. No man better understood the use of the shotgun and rifle; in the wrestling match and foot race he was second to none. He was, in fact, a recognized athlete, growing to the height of six feet two inches, broad shouldered, compact, and well proportioned. We scarcely need to add that his moral training would not be neglected, seeing that his father was a devout Presbyterian who imbued his children with his own principles. His education, however, in the conventional sense of the word, was scanty. In that time and place systematic instruction was unattainable, and from first to last young Giddings was only a few weeks at school. He had to learn what he could for himself in his rare intervals of leisure, and his opportunities were few, for there were no libraries and books were extremely scarce. He read such books of travel, biography, poetry, fiction, and theology as he could pick up, and devoured every newspaper and pamphlet he could lay his hands on. From a memorandum found among his papers we learn that from his childhood he had accustomed himself to earnest thinking, and had been led to investigate the idioms of our language and the philosophy of arithmetical rules. His diligence in study was noticed by the people of his neighborhood, and it soon became understood that, compared with those around him, he was a scholar. It was not surprising, therefore, that at the age of 19 he was called upon by his neighbors to teach school. He frankly pleaded lack of qualification, but luckily for him the plea was not accepted, for he was greatly stimulated in the work of self-education by the desire to keep in advance of his scholars, while he constantly refreshed his memory of what he had previously learned. While keeping school he profited by the liberal instruction of a clergyman, settled in Trumbull county, to acquire some knowledge of Latin and mathematics, and at the age of 23 astonished his friends and neighbors by announcing his intention of becoming a lawyer. In December, 1818, he left his father's home on foot to study in the office of a well-known lawyer in the town of Canfield, some forty miles away. Young Giddings carried his own luggage, consisting of three shirts, two pairs of stockings, four white neckcloths, and two pocket handkerchiefs. He had also $17 in cash. One hears with surprise, when one considers the time and place, that upon his application for admission to the bar in February, 1821, two objections were made to it, first that he had not received the proper literary training, and secondly that the sphere in which he had been reared was not such as to entitle him to associate with members of the bar. The second objection was ridiculous; the first was disposed of on his examination, when he was pronounced the best theoretical lawyer of the county. One week after his admission he appeared before the Court of Common Pleas with a list of cases which might have excited complacency on the part of a lawyer who had been years in practice. While still a law student he had married. While he practised, his wife taught school and contributed her earnings as a teacher to the purchase of a law library. They began housekeeping in Wayne township upon his father's farm, and he opened an office in the adjoining village of Williamsfield. We may here mention that eight children were born of this marriage, three of whom died in infancy. Of the survivors two were daughters, the younger of whom, Laura, was married to Mr. George W. Julian, the author of this biography.

It is an interesting and probably a significant incident that in 1831 Giddings formed a partnership with Benjamin F. Wade of Ashtabula county, then a young lawyer of much promise who had studied in the same law office. The practice of the firm became one of the largest in the State, and their earnings so far exceeded the demands of their simple village life that in an ill-fated moment, carried away by the fever of town lot speculations, both made large purchases of land, principally in Toledo. Giddings deemed himself so rich as to warrant his retirement from practice, and in 1836 dissolved his partnership with Wade, but his prospects were suddenly blighted by the financial panic which ensued. The price of land declined alarmingly and purchasers were made bankrupt, the result being that Giddings found himself a poor man at the age of 40, while his troubles were aggravated by his failing health. Returning to the bar, he was in a fair way to recover his practice when his professional career was cut short by unexpected events. The representative of the district in Congress having resigned his seat, he received the Whig nomination for the vacant place, and, as the Democrats were in a hopeless minority, his election was assured. Thus began his historical career in Congress and the great work of his life.

II.

It was in the epoch of slaveholding arrogance on the one hand and of Northern cowardice on the other that Joshua R. Giddings took his seat in the lower branch of the Twenty-fifth Congress in December, 1838. Slavery had not yet found its way into politics. The Liberal party and the Free Soil party which succeeded it were not organized until years afterward. The mass of the people of the Northern slaveholding States were asleep. The abolitionists were few, and everywhere misunderstood and hounded by the mob. The right of petition and of freedom of debate had been stricken down in the House of Representatives two years before. Lovejoy had been murdered in Alton the year previous for refusing to surrender the freedom of the press to proslavery ruffians, and about the same time Pennsylvania Hall had been burned by a Philadelphia rabble. Giddings was a Whig, and his Whig constituents were hostile to slavery, but as yet they had formulated no well defined method of resisting its usurpations. His interest, however, had been excited in the relations of the Federal Government to slavery through the speeches of Theodore D. Weld, one of the most eloquent of the early abolitionists, who in 1837 had spoken at Jefferson and other points in northern Ohio. Under this awakening Mr. Wade and himself had taken the lead in forming an anti-slavery society, which at first contained only four members. This was the outset of Giddings's warfare against slavery.

The shaping influence of Giddings's career was that of John Quincy Adams, who was a member of the Twenty-fifth Congress, and occupied in the House a commanding and unique position. In politics Mr. Adams was at this time absolutely independent. He had begun his public life in the Federalist party, but when he found it occupying grounds which he believed to be mistaken he provoked the wrath of his friends by accepting office under Mr. Jefferson. Afterward, when the Republican party, since called Democratic, swerved from what he considered its true course, he allied himself with the Whig party, but he always defied its discipline. He characterized Northern Democrats as the "consistent Swiss guards of slavery" and Northern Whigs as "the compromising non-resistants of the North afraid of answering a fool according to his folly." To the Whig party John Quincy Adams was a burden, always putting himself in the way of harmony between its Northern and Southern sections, while the Whig press of the Union, with rare exceptions, condemned him. He was now in the white heat of his fight for the right of petition and the freedom of debate. Mr. Julian believes that any other man would have been silenced and thus the ascendancy of the slave power would have been indefinitely prolonged. But Giddings caught Adams's spirit and seconded his labors while he lived, and when the protagonist of the anti-slavery struggle rested from his labors his mantle fell on his disciple from the West.

The personal appearance of Mr. Adams and of Mr. Van Buren at this epoch is described in Giddings's private journal under date of December, 1838. Of the former we are told: "He is about five feet eight inches in height, very bald, with low forehead, and nothing about the shape of his head that indicates unusual talent. Yet his physiognomy has something of an intellectual appearance." Van Buren, then President, is thus depicted: "He is small of stature, has a low forehead, is very bald, with eyes sunk far back in his head. His general appearance is not prepossessing. Indeed, to a casual observer he would present the appearance of a man of ordinary character; nor do you see any evidence of extraordinary intellect until you look him squarely in the face, when you are at once impressed with his shrewdness and intelligence. He converses fluently and rapidly." It will be remembered that in the ensuing political campaign the story of Mr. Van Buren's White House extravagance was circulated by his opponents with damaging effect. Mr. Giddings's observations of the White House furniture did not confirm the report. "The President's room," he notes, "is fitted up in a plain and becoming style. A neat mahogany bookcase, filled with miscellaneous works, two circular mahogany tables, eighteen or twenty chairs, with a large mirror over the mantelpiece, and a common sofa constitute the paraphernalia of his receiving apartment."

From the outset Giddings was struck with the vast difference in the character and demeanor of the members from the North and South. "Every person present," he writes, "must have remarked the high and important bearing of the Southern men, their confident and bold assertions, their self-important airs, and their overbearing manner; while the Northern men, even on the subject of slavery are diffident, taciturn, and forbearing. I have come to the conclusion that our Northern friends are afraid of these Southern bullies. I have made inquiry, and think we have no Northern man who dares boldly and fearlessly to declare his abhorrence of slavery and the slave trade. This kind of fear I never experienced, nor shall I submit to it now. When I came here I had no thought of participating in debate at all, and particularly this winter. But since I have seen our Northern friends so backward and delicate, I have determined to express my own views and declare my own sentiments, and risk the effects. For that purpose I have drawn up a resolution calling for information as to the slave trade in the District of Columbia." In this passage Mr. Giddings strikes the keynote of the conduct, which he was to pursue unflinchingly during the next twenty years.

The first parliamentary orator to make a deep impression on the new member from Ohio was Prentiss of Mississippi. The following reference to a speech of his occurs in Giddings's journal: "He is truly one of nature's most gifted sons. He is a Whig, and as the present system of the national administration was his theme to-day, high expectations were entertained of the intellectual treat he was to give the House. He did not disappoint his friends. During the entire session he either chained the audience in breathless silence or convulsed them with laughter. His irony was of the most bitter kind. His invective was solemn and impressive, and his eloquence lofty and commanding. For three hours the partisans of the Administration sat in tortures and writhed beneath his castigation. No one could, while hearing him, entertain any other feelings toward them than those of pity. When we returned for dinner we found our boarding house in total confusion. Women and girls, blacks and whites, master, mistress, and servants, all had gone to hear Prentiss, and all forgot that their boarders would want dinner until he closed his remarks." This sort of thing is not apt to happen nowadays.

Giddings had been in the House but a few weeks when he made his first anti-slavery speech. He was incessantly interrupted and finally compelled by the rulings of the Speaker to take his seat. He had fairly entered, however, upon the work of his life, and although for the moment the Southern men silenced him by their clamor, they saw clearly that he could not be subdued. His journal shows that several leading reprepresentatives of the South endeavored to insult him while he was in his seat, but he refused to have any altercation with them. Henceforth he was to encounter the wrath and scorn of the slave barons and their Northern allies, and to fall under the ban of social outlawry. But this only aroused in him the spirit of defiance, and in the end his bold and steadfast course secured for him the respect even of his enemies.

The Twenty-sixth Congress, to which Giddings was returned by his constituents, met in December, 1839, and the Harrison campaign of 1840 followed. The votes of anti-slavery men throughout the country were divided at this time, but Giddings, like the great body of the Whigs, gave his support to Harrison.

It was during the Twenty-sixth Congress that Giddings made the memorable speech demonstrating that the Florida war had been waged by the Government to aid the slaveholders in the capture of runaway slaves and for the enslavement of Indians and negroes who were free. He showed that a large number of the fugitives from Georgia, who had fled prior to 1812, intermarried with the Seminoles or Southern Creek Indians, and that the Government by treaty in 1821 compelled the Creeks to pay for these fugitives; that the Creeks, supposing that they had thus acquired a good title to them from the United States, claimed the wives and children of the Seminoles, who, however, finally refused to remove to the West, preferring to remain and fight the whites rather than hazard the loss of their wives and children by becoming again incorporated with the Creeks; and, finally, that the interests of the neighboring slaveholders required that the Seminoles should be compelled to emigrate, which the United States undertook to accomplish. Giddings further proved by official documents that $141,000, which rightfully belonged to the Indians, was paid to the slaveholders by the Government as compensation for the children of fugitive slaves who would have been born to their masters if their parents had remained in servitude. This speech was exceedingly exasperating to Southern members, and Giddings was frequently interrupted by questions of order and incidental debate. Black of Georgia assured the House that if the member from Ohio should come to Georgia he would be hanged, and Thompson of South Carolina described Giddings as "the very obscurest of the obscure individuals belonging to the Whig party." Giddings retorted that the gentleman from South Carolina did not possess the power to designate the position which other members should fill in the public mind. He added that he well understood the insult offered, but he could not resent it in the manner common among Southern gentlemen, as the people of the free States would not permit their public servants to practise that barbarous mode of settling difficulties, and, if they would, his own conscience would not permit it. But he would say to the gentleman, in the language of a military veteran, who, after leading his men into a hundred battles, happened to offend a young officer, who spat in his face: "Could I as easily wipe the stain of your blood from my soul (wiping the spittle from his face with his handkerchief) you should not live an hour." There is no doubt that this speech of Giddings proved a powerful agency in the political education of the Northern people. Published in large editions and profusely scattered over the country, it breathed a new life into the anti-slavery cause by revealing the extent to which the machinery of the Federal Government had been worked in the interests of the slaveholders. It is to be noted that when, on the day following this speech, Mr. Giddings called on Gen. Harrison, then President-elect, he met with such evidence of displeasure that he never afterward repeated the visit, although he had labored earnestly for the Whig cause in the previous canvass.

III.

It was in the Twenty-seventh Congress that a resolution was offered to censure John Quincy Adams for presenting a petition from citizens of Massachusetts requesting the adoption of immediate measures for the peaceful dissolution of the Union. It was in the debate on this resolution that Wise of Kentucky spoke of Mr. Adams as "a white-haired hypocrite," and charged him with forsaking the friends of his father and trampling on the ashes of the dead. He referred to him as one who, in the fury of his apostate zeal, could prey upon the dead like the vampire, and declared that he was as defunct as Burr and as dead as Arnold. Marshall of Kentucky followed in a no less savage and remorseless speech. When Adams arose to reply he became at once the accuser and arraigned the slaveholders at the bar of the nation for endeavoring to destroy the right of petition and the liberty of speech. Giddings records that "his manner was calm and self-possessed; his voice clear and firm; his words measured; his form erect under the weight of more than seventy years. There he stood, confronting a power which for more than half a century had controlled the councils of the nation." Replying to Wise, Adams referred to his connection with the duel in which Cilley had fallen, and pronounced him far more guilty than the man who pulled the trigger by which a brother member had been sent to judgment. He declared that Wise had come to the House with his hands dripping with blood and his face smeared with human gore, and that with these evidences of murder upon his person he had attempted to read moral lectures to members of the House. Giddings, in his account of the trial, says he was sitting near Wise at the time and read in his countenance the feelings which tortured him. When Adams came to Marshall he suggested the propriety of his returning to Kentucky to commence the study of law. He made an allusion to his moral habits, and expressed an earnest desire that he might reform. As he continued his remarks he became more and more impassioned, and drawing one shaft after another from his quiver he sent them with unerring aim into the flesh of his victim. Marshall was pale with emotion, and the whole expression of his face revealed his humiliation. He declared afterward that he would rather have suffered death than the torment to which he had been subjected. On a subsequent occasion when he entered the hall and found Adams replying with some severity to an attack from some member from Pennsylvania, Marshall, on hearing the facts, said, "Well, if he has fallen into Adams's hands, all I can say is, may God have mercy on his soul." Adams continued his defence, or rather his prosecution, of the slaveholders until on motion of Botts of Virginia the whole subject of the resolution to censure was laid on the table. In less than a month Giddings presented a similar petition from Ohio, praying for a dissolution of the Union, but not a word was heard about censuring him or about the high treason involved in the act.

The tremendous triumph achieved on this occasion by Mr. Adams is thus referred to by Mr. Giddings in a letter to his wife, dated Feb. 6, 1842: "Never in my life have I felt that the welfare of this mighty nation depended so much upon the courage and determination of the friends of liberty as I have for the past week. Mr. Adams has spoken three days. * * * He is, I believe, the most extraordinary man living; but I cannot attempt a description either of him or of his speech. Suffice it to say that he has made the entire South tremble before him. I have with my own eyes seen the slaveholders literally shake and tremble through every nerve and joint while he arrayed before them their political and moral sins. The power of his eloquence has exceeded any conception which I have heretofore had of the force of words or logic. He has, in my opinion, opened a new era in our political history. I entertain not the least doubt that a moral revolution in this nation will take its date from this session of Congress. I am confident that the charm of the slave power is now broken." Mr. Julian points out that events confirmed the judgment of Giddings as to the far-reaching consequences of Adams's speech. It was apparently the deliberate purpose of the slave holders to make an example of the great leader of political abolitionism. They meant to humiliate and crush him, and they did not doubt their ability to do it. Had they succeeded, the efforts of smaller and less favored men would have been crippled, if not paralyzed.

The champions of slavery, however, were in no mood to profit by the failure of their attempt to muzzle Mr. Adams, and their next chosen victim was Giddings. Apropos of the case of the brig Creole, he had introduced resolutions to the effect that when a ship belonging to citizens of any State of the Union had entered upon the high seas, the persons on board ceased to be subject to the laws of the State and all attempts to reënslave them were unauthorized by the Constitution. For these resolutions the slave-holding majority of the South severely censured Mr. Giddings without permitting him to utter a word in his defence. He forthwith resigned the office of Representative and left Washington for his home. At this time he was determined to retire from public life, and it was only in compliance with the entreaties of his friends that he consented to return to Congress. He was weary of the strife inseparable from his attitude on the slavery question, but he was to see a great deal more of it. He found on his return to the House of Representatives that the Southern members had become more overbearing and insolent than ever. A bill was before the Twenty-seventh Congress authorizing the Treasury to turn over to the claimants some money paid by the British Government for slaves made free under the operation of British laws through the wrecking of certain slave ships near the British West India Islands. Giddings had opposed this bill, and after his motion to reconsider it had been laid on the table he rose to a question of privilege, touching an occurrence which had taken place during the proceedings. It seems that while speaking he had noticed several persons standing in front of the Clerk's desk, one of whom was Mr. Dawson of Louisiana. The moment he closed his remarks he was violently pushed by the elbow of a man pressing against his side. Recognizing Dawson as he passed, he pronounced his name in an undertone, but so loud as to be heard. Thereupon that member turned around, and, seizing the handle of a bowie knife, advanced toward Giddings until within striking distance. Looking him in the eye, Giddings said: "Did you push me in that rude manner?" He answered "Yes." "For the purpose of insulting me?" "Yes," said Dawson, as he partially removed the knife from the sheath. Giddings rejoined, "No gentleman will wantonly insult another. I have no more to say to you, but turn you over to public contempt as incapable of insulting an honorable man." By this time Moore of Louisiana and other members had seized Dawson and took him from the hall. Giddings stated to the House that he felt it due to the members as a body to lay these facts before them, wishing it distinctly understood that he asked no protection from the House, but left that body to protect its own dignity. The fact that the House omitted to take any cognizance of the matter produced at the North a widespread feeling of indignation and disgust.

In the national campaign of 1844 Henry Clay was supported by Giddings, although the latter had become, next to John Quincy Adams, the most conspicuous representative of anti-slavery sentiment in Congress. The confidence of Giddings in the anti-slavery leanings of Henry Clay is one of the remarkable facts of his public life. His son-in-law, Mr. Julian, thinks that it may be partially accounted for by his admiration for the great leader, which he shared with all his fellow Whigs, and by the indescribable power of Clay's personal magnetism, which was even more potent in the social circle than in his public speeches. Giddings firmly believed that Clay's election in 1844 would avert the calamities of war and the ascendancy of slavery which was expected to follow the acquisition of Texas. The majority of the slave holders so firmly concurred with him in this belief that they for their part did their utmost to insure the success of Polk. Giddings was sorely troubled by the Alabama letter written by Clay to appease the discontent of his Southern supporters, and there is no doubt that this document proved disastrous to the Whig candidate in the north. Giddings, however, did not slacken his labors for the Whig cause, and it was on the Whig majority, obtained largely through his efforts in Ashtabula county, that the vote of Ohio turned. Mr. Clay and his friends in Kentucky felt so grateful to Giddings for his labors in the canvass that they sent a delegation to present a silk banner to the Ashtabula Whigs. Clay, however, was defeated, having lost Pennsylvania through Polk's Kane letter on the tariff, and having been beaten in New York on account of his trimming on the question of of annexation.

We come in this book on frequent references to the mutual friendship which grew up between Adams and Giddings, and ripened into affection. In his later years John Quincy Adams led a solitary life. His open hostility to slavery had greatly multiplied his enemies in both sections of the Union, and severely tried his faith in humanity. His intimate and trusted friends were few. While in age, acquirements, intellectual training, experience, and social advantages he and Giddings were the opposites of each other, yet their relations were as kindly and dutiful as those of father and son. In 1844, when Mr. Adams was nearly 78 years old, he gave expression to the warmth of his feeling for Giddings in some verses from which we clip the following lines:

> When first together here we meet,
> Askance each other we behold,
> The bitter mingling with the sweet,
> The warm attempered by the cold.
>
> We seek with searching ken to find,
> A soul congenial to our own;
> For mind, in sympathy with mind,
> Instinctive dreads to walk alone.

It will be remembered that some four years later (Feb. 21, 1848) the country was startled by the news that John Quincy Adams had been stricken down by an attack of apoplexy. On the morning of that day he was in his seat at the usual hour, and when Giddings made his customary inquiry about his health Mr. Adams shook hands with his usual cordiality, while a faint smile lighted up his face. When the House proceeded to business he took up his pen, and had commenced an apostrophe to the genius of history, when he suddenly fell from his seat and was carried to the rotunda, whence he was presently removed to the Speaker's room, where two days afterward he died. Giddings was at that time the oldest member in the Ohio delegation, both in years and service. He had long been associated with Mr. Adams in the work of redeeming the Government from slave-holding domination, while they were bound to each other by strong ties of friendship and affection. Giddings naturally desired to accompany the body to the tomb, and his selection as a member of the committee was expected; but the Speaker saw fit to appoint another member from Ohio, who, however, declined to serve. The Chairman of the committee then called on Giddings to find if he would serve on the committee appointed. Giddings told him that under the circumstances he could not refuse, as such a refusal might subject him to the charge of subordinating his respect for Mr. Adams to the expression of his feelings toward the Speaker for not appointing him in the first instance. Notwithstanding his acceptance of this overture, Giddings was not appointed, a slight by which he was inexpressibly pained. A reference to the matter has been found among his papers, in which he says he longed to accompany the remains of his venerated friend to the grave, and speaks of the act of the Speaker as "one thing I would forget if I could."

Mr. Giddings continued to represent his district at Washington until, at the close of the Thirty-fifth Congress, in March, 1859—having failed for the first time to obtain a renomination—he withdrew from public life. He was a delegate, however, to the Republican Convention at Chicago, and insisted on a reassertion of the truths of the Declaration of Independence which had been embodied in the platform of 1856. At first no member of the Convention came to his support, and his motion was voted down. Thereupon Giddings left the Convention, remarking to George William Curtis, who met him on his way out, "I see that I am out of place here." Recounting the incident afterward, Mr. Curtis said: "It seemed to me that the original impulse of the party was leaving the Convention in his person, and I begged him to remain, saying that I would renew the motion in another form." This was done, Mr. Curtis saying when he had with difficulty obtained the floor, "I have to ask the Convention whether they are prepared to go upon the record before the country as voting down the Declaration of Independence? I rise simply to ask gentlemen to think well before upon the free prairies of the West in the summer of 1860 they dare to wince and quail before the assertions of the men of Philadelphia in 1776—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that those great men enunciated." This speech took the Convention by storm and a scene of the wildest excitement followed. The amendment was unanimously adopted, and Giddings returned to his seat, while ten thousand voices swelled into a roar so deafening that for several minutes every effort to restore order was in vain. Mr. Murat Halstead, who was present, has recently recounted the incident: "It was a great scene, and as I think of it every feature of it comes vividly before me. I had very often seen Mr. Giddings in Congress, but never saw him when his figure appeared so stately and his snowy head so lofty as on this occasion; and the play of emotion over his face was as frank as a child's." Giddings understood the significance of a reaffirmation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. By it the cowardly fear of abolitionism was rebuked, and the trimmers and timeservers were made to see that their rank in the party was to be one of subordination.

IV.

During the ten years succeeding the death of John Quincy Adams, Mr. Giddings was preeminently the leader of the anti-slavery forces in the House of Representatives. It was he who drafted and incorporated into the Republican platform of 1856 the resolution declaring the spread of slavery over the national territory, and the admission of new slaveholding States, to be unconstitutional. In other words, while all the compromises of the Constitution were to be faithfully observed, the Federal Government in all other respects was bound to see to it that no man outside of the slave States, and under its exclusive jurisdiction, should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due processes of law. Such was the fundamental principle which was to be the starting point of organized political action against slavery and the measure of its scope, and Von Holst has recognized that "to Giddings more than to any other person, belongs the credit of having with full consciousness made it the constitutional basis of the entire warfare against the slave power, and of having applied it with a consistency never before attained to all questions to which it was pertinent." On this principle the Free Soil party of 1848 planted itself, as did the Republican party eight years afterward. On the lines indicated by this principle the political battle of slavery was to be fought, and Giddings foresaw the victory of the free States, and that it would be decisive. Time has vindicated his sagacity, and his present biographer is right in saying that if any man can be singled out as the father of the Republican party it is he.

We have said that this biography, while in the highest degree sympathetic and appreciative, is discriminative. It is admitted that Mr. Giddings was wholly wanting in genius. Mr. Julian recognizes that he was deficient in imagination and the graces of rhetoric. There are passages, no doubt, in his speeches which rise to the height of eloquence, but, as a rule, his utterances are merely the compact statements of a man of strong convictions and of common sense whose ruling aim was to impress others with his opinions, and whose profound earnestness made him indifferent to literary art. He was always sturdily himself. He was well aware that his whole life had been handicapped by the privations of his earlier years. His native diffidence and love of peace would have lured him into the walks of private usefulness, but his warfare with slavery was the travail of his soul, and he prosecuted it with unfaltering faith and unquenchable zeal. He could not do otherwise. It was sufficient for him that his conscience commanded him, and he succeeded by the strength of a great moral purpose, which found an answering throb in the heart of the people, and made him their prophet.

The ardor of eloquence to which Giddings occasionally attained in the white heat of earnestness is exemplified in a passage quoted by Mr. Julian from a speech delivered in the House of Representatives nine years before Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation. On this occasion Giddings uttered words which now seem prophetic. The champions of slavery then desired a war with Spain for the acquisition of Cuba and the more complete ascendancy of their power over the Government. Giddings reminded them that in such a struggle the enemy would strike at our weakest point, and might "bring the war into this American Africa and rear the standard of freedom on our own soil." He warned them that in such a contest the war power of the Government could interpose for the liberation of every slave in the Union. He said: "When that contest shall come; when the thunder shall roll and the lightnings flash; when the slaves of the South shall rise in the spirit of freedom, actuated by the soul-stirring emotion that they are men, destined to immortality, entitled to the rights which God bestowed on them; when the masters shall turn pale and tremble; when their dwellings shall smoke, and dismay sit on each countenance, then, sir, I do not say we shall laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh, but I do say the lovers of our race will then stand forth and exert the legitimate powers of this Government of freedom. We shall then have constitutional power to act for the good of our country, and to do justice to the slave. We will then strike off the shackles from his limbs. The Government will then have power to act between slavery and freedom; and it can best make peace by giving liberty to the slaves. And let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that time hastens; the President is exerting a power that will hurry it on; and I shall hail it as the dawn of that millennium which I know must come upon the earth."

This memorable passage is quoted in Mr. Julian's final chapter, and with it we may take leave of a book in which is worthily depicted one of the most stalwart figures in our political history.

M. W. H.

What Ingalls is Reading and Writing.

From the Kansas City Star.

Mr. Wilder asked Mr. Ingalls if he was doing any reading now.

"Yes," he said, "a great deal, but chiefly fiction. I read every novel I can lay my hands on. I have also read much of the New Testament lately, and I read considerable of Latin. I have given up my Greek entirely. But I delight in Latin. My children acquired the 'weeny, weedy, weeky' pronunciation, but although they laugh at me a great deal, I stick to the old way."

Then he proceeded to quote entire verses of Horace in the original Latin to Mr. Wilder.

"I have a copy of Horace," he said, "which I prize very highly. It is handsomely bound and profusely illustrated, and was brought to me from Paris by William M. Evarts. Horace, while not a great writer, left an immortal work. He did not try to be an epic poet. He wrote about ordinary things, and wrote them well, and in this simplicity lies his charm."

Asked if he was still working on "that novel," he laughed and said: "No. You know that was burned up when my house was destroyed by fire. But," he went on to say, "I am working on a book of memoirs. It is laborious work and I disliked to undertake it, but I have now made a start and I shall keep at it until I complete it. I write not to exceed 500 words a day. It will contain about 180,000 words, or nearly 500 pages. It will be published by an Eastern printing house, possibly the one which published Grant's book. But that is too far ahead to talk about. The book will not contain a date or a figure, except the numbers over the chapters."

THE INHERITANCE TAX.

Complications that Arise in Enforcing the Law in this State.

Some time ago a lawyer called on Comptroller Myers and promised to secure for the State about $40,000 of unpaid taxes provided the Comptroller would give him half of the amount recovered as his fee. The Comptroller inquired into the matter and found that the lawyer referred to the taxes on personal property which had belonged to a deceased resident, and had been removed from the State by the executors to avoid the payment of the tax due under the Inheritance Tax law. Although unable to make any arrangement with the lawyer personally, he sent him to the Attorney-General. A bargain was entered into between the latter and the lawyer, whereby the State recovered between fifteen and [illegible] thousand dollars. The revelation in this case served a more important purpose, however. It proved that the State was frequently defrauded by the heirs and executors of persons having property within the State. As a result, an amendment to the Inheritance Tax law was passed by the Legislature, and the opportunity for evading the law was reduced to a minimum.

The experience of those whose duty it is to collect this tax shows, however, that extremely intricate problems are constantly arising, and, inasmuch as they are peculiarly responsible for any errors, they are subjected frequently to a great deal of worry.

"These problems," said Mr. Levy, Comptroller Myers's legal adviser, "are often as interesting as they are delicate. They would not arise if it were not for the difference between the laws of the several States. As each of these is independent of the other, and as their laws frequently conflict, it necessarily happens that we and the heirs, also, find the situation embarrassing. The law levies a tax of one per cent. on direct inheritances—that is, where the estate goes to a child or a parent. Remoter relatives are taxed five per cent. This tax includes personal as well as real property. It is rarely considered burdensome. Direct inheritances of less value than $10,000 and collateral inheritances of less than $500 are exempted altogether, so that the poor are not affected. When a man inherits over $10,000 he doesn't mind paying one per cent. even if he knew that he was going to get it. In the same way the remote relative doesn't object to paying $50 out of $1,000 that he was not at all certain about receiving. There was a young man in here only a few minutes ago who just inherited $300,000 from his aunt. He paid over the $15,000 of tax without a murmur.

"The law is really of great antiquity, and has been successfully enforced in England. Under the original English feudal law the owner of real estate could not dispose of it in any way without the consent of the lord from whom he had received it. Every person in the kingdom, excepting the King, was under the same restriction. The big lords had to get the consent of the King, who was declared the lord in chief. His immediate tenants exercised the same power over their vassals, and so it continued downward, every owner of real property being restrained from disposing of it without the consent of somebody else. In order to obtain such consent the tenant usually paid some price agreed upon between him and his lord. It might be money or it might be something else. While the feudal law does not exist in this country, still the State is the sovereign in the sense that all the lands originally belonged to it, and all property for which no immediate owner can be found also belongs to it.

"Our law says that the tax must be paid within eighteen months of the death of the owner, otherwise the executors and beneficiaries are liable for an increase at the rate 10 per cent. a year. The way in which persons have usually attempted to evade the law is this: Say that the deceased left in this State only personal property in the shape of money deposits, notes, stocks, bonds, and the like. Immediately after his death his beneficiaries or executors would take these securities out of the State. By the time we were informed about it the property would be beyond our jurisdiction. In order to prevent this we secured an amendment from the last Legislature compelling the safe deposit companies, trust companies, and banks acting as such, to notify us at least three days before allowing executors or beneficiaries to take securities from their possession. At the same time we checkmated attempts to dispose of or remove the property of non-residents by securing an amendment which directs the Surrogate to cite the Comptroller as a party to any proceeding affecting the property. To secure the power to dispose of the property, the executors must secure ancillary letters from the Surrogate. The latter calls us in, and we protest against the issuance of any such letter until the tax is paid. Only the other day we collected $3,000 in this manner. Of course, the State could be cheated as to personal property where the executor conceals it, but he would have to commit perjury to do this, and the chances are therefore very slim.

"Some of the ticklish questions arise where part of the estate of the deceased lies in another State. In one case taken before the courts, known as the Romaine case, the executor set up the claim that we had no authority to tax the estate, because the only property in this estate consisted of personal securities, and the deceased owner was a resident of another State. The Court of Appeals decided, however, that personal property was taxable wherever it remained habitually. Then another interesting point arose. We found among the securities of an estate of a deceased person in this city a certificate of stock in a New Jersey water company. The owner was a resident of New Jersey, and his executors claimed that we could not tax this property because the realty which it stood for belonged in New Jersey. We replied that the stock, being merely an evidence of ownership, was personal property, and therefore liable. We won our point.

"Another complication arose in the case of an estate owned by a man named Swift. He was a resident of this State and left personal property in another State. The Surrogate held that we could not tax this, because the decision in the Romaine case was against us. He admitted that the Legislature had the power to tax property both within and without the State, if it choose, but held that unless such intention was clearly shown the construction must be such as to make the practice harmonious. The decision that personal property must be taxed where it was habitually restrained us, in his opinion, from taxing it when it was outside the State. An appeal from his decision is now pending. An unpleasant feature of the law is the possibility that the heirs may be taxed twice for the same property. For instance, where we tax a nonresident's estate because some of it is within our borders, the State of which he is a resident may also tax it because he was the owner. In the same way, where we tax a resident's estate, situated elsewhere, simply because he was a resident, the State in which the property is situated may also tax him because the property is within its borders. This complication would be overcome if the States could agree upon a uniform inheritance tax law. Fortunately for some individuals, some of the States have no such law. In this country we collect between $3,000 and $4,000 through this tax every year. It goes to the State which allows the Comptroller of each county a commission on all he collects."

IS IT WORTH WHILE?

One of the Few Giant Sequoias to be Sacrificed for an Advertisement.

From the San Francisco Examiner.

A novel scheme is on foot to advertise California at the World's Fair, and there is every likelihood of it being carried out. It is no other than to exhibit at Chicago one of the State's greatest attractions, if not the greatest, a huge redwood of the species *sequoia gigantea*, or big tree.

It is well known that the State and Federal Governments have taken every precaution to preserve these trees from destruction or mutilation, and all the groves have been reserved from private entry and sale. Even for so laudable a purpose as that of attracting attention to the wonders of the State the gentlemen who have the scheme in hand would have found it impossible to secure one of the big trees. In fact, it would probably require an act of Congress before any tree in the reserved groves could be touched with the woodman's axe. It came to their knowledge, however, that on a strip of land adjoining the grove, in Mariposa county, and owned by George B. Sperry, the millman of Stockton, were several trees which were available for their purpose, over which the Government had no control. Negotiations were opened with Mr. Sperry, and he was asked to put a price on one of his trees.

He replied that the sequoias were not on the market, and only consented to name a figure when it was represented to him that it would be a great attraction at the Columbian Exhibition, and would probably cause more comment and draw more attention to the natural wonders of the Golden State than any other single exhibit possibly could.

An arrangement was finally reached with Mr. Sperry, and he has consented that one of his monster redwoods should be felled. The tree will be trimmed and brought to San Francisco, a barge being employed for the purpose of transportation, as the size of the forest giant precludes the use of anything but a specially constructed train. The tree is about 300 feet high and at some distance from the ground is thirty feet in diameter, than which there are few larger in the famous groves of Mariposa or the King River [illegible].

It is estimated that it will cost $3,000 to land the big tree in San Francisco. Here it will be placed on exhibition while the special train that is to carry it across the continent is in process of construction.

On reaching Chicago the great tree will be set up on a strip of ground just across the way from the main entrance to the Fair, which has been leased for that purpose. It will be bored so that persons may pass into the interior and ranged round the wall of bark booths will be set up, at which California wines, fruits, and curiosities, such as toilet boxes made of polished redwood and the like, will be sold.

The sequoia will probably be in San Francisco within a month.