

WILLIAM H. SEWARD*

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YOUR distinguished President, in the period of his youthful ebullience, once produced a notable and robust volume on the *Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*. The story which he traced therein is a fascinating one; it suggests many other collateral themes; and among these latter perhaps none is more worth examining than the early political career of one who exemplified the rising popular forces in politics and strove to give them expression, that great New Yorker, and indeed great national statesman, William H. Seward. It so happens that through the kindness of a fellow townsman, I have recently been put in contact with a notable collection of letters, well-nigh 1000 in number, written by Seward to his bosom friend and kindred spirit in politics, Thurlow Weed, and this fact may well afford an additional reason for examining here the career of an individual whose life contains so much that is instructive from the standpoint of the larger movements of our politics, and who was one of the most lovable and attractive figures in the partisan activities of his time.

William H. Seward was the fourth child of Dr. Samuel S. Seward, of Florida, Orange county, and was born in that town May 16, 1801. Not particularly robust physically, and early giving signs of very decided intellectual gifts, he was selected by his father for a professional career. After a secondary education in Florida and in the nearby village of Goshen, at the age of 15 he entered Union College, then under the presidency, as it was to be for nearly a half-century to come, of Eliphalet Nott. His college years were temporarily interrupted by a slight tiff with his father, which sheds some light on the independence of the youth's character. Being unable to pay a tailor's bill which he had contracted, and parental aid having been denied to him, Seward left college for Georgia, where after some hardships he secured a position as a teacher in a small academy. But this transplantation, which might have

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effected quite vitally his whole life, was a very brief one. His father's anger, and perhaps still more the entreaties of his mother and sister, soon brought him northward again, and after a year's absence he returned to Union in January 1820 having in the meantime discharged his debt to the tailor by reading law in Goshen and in Florida. In June he graduated from college with high honors, and the first taste of law having apparently been to his liking, continued his reading for the bar, and was admitted at Utica in October of 1822. Shortly after, at the very beginning of 1823, he was taken into partnership by Elijah Miller of Auburn and began his residence in the town which was to be his home for the rest of his life. During the next two years law and love seem to have run side by side, for in October 1824 Seward married his partner's daughter, Francis. The chosen one was no mere docile companion; it is clear that she had opinions of her own, and that her womanly sympathy with the oppressed, and hatred of slavery, had their part in shaping the career and opinions of her husband.

Seward was formed for public life. His adoption of a profession, of course, pointed in that direction. In addition he was naturally sociable and convivial. He joined the militia, managed the town dancing assemblies, though unable to dance, and participated in all sorts of town activities. Cheerful, self-confident to a degree, and distinctly able, it was inevitable that he should be drawn into politics. The question was, with what group should he align himself?

Seward's father was a Jeffersonian Republican of the strictest sect. But the son, with praiseworthy independence, deviated from the path of orthodoxy. Distrust of the South (so he tells us in his *Autobiography*, written fifty years later) and zeal for internal improvements were the principal factors in aligning him with the partisans of John Quincy Adams in the elections of 1824. The choice once made, like so many other choices in life, in all probability developed a momentum of its own. Adams was a hero to Seward the rest of his life; and there may here be traced an influence none the less potent because not always on the surface of things. The loyalty of the younger man for the older soon had striking expression; the Clintonian faction in New York, which had supported Adams in 1824, soon broke with the acid New Englander, and this just at the time when Seward's name had

been sent to the State Senate as surrogate for Cayuga county. The young Auburn lawyer refused to desert the President; and thus early in his career sacrificed office for his convictions, failing of confirmation at the hands of his enraged former associates.

This little episode prompts me to interpolate at this point a word or two in general touching Seward's regard for principles in politics. There is no question that the future Republican chieftain could be an extremely canny and adroit politician; it cannot be denied that there were elements of political expediency in many of his boldest pronouncements; but it is also to be pointed out that throughout his life Seward was as far as possible from the type of politician who practices a discreet silence on every public issue which he can successfully avoid, and speaks, if speak he must, with calculated equivocations and carefully balanced phrases intended to please both sides at once. Naturally impulsive, naturally generous, honestly interested, not in the mere game of politics but in politics as the means of promoting human welfare, Seward's whole political life affords many an instance of courage, and of conviction.

The active political career of Seward is closely identified with that of another remarkable New Yorker, Thurlow Weed. The two men had met as early as 1824, when Seward's carriage broke down in Rochester and Weed came to his aid. Weed was already active in politics and, like Seward, an Adams man. In the course of the years following their meeting he attained greater and greater influence. He was one of the leading spirits in the formation of the short-lived Anti-Masonic party, and his skill in the arts of political management soon gave him a considerable power. He moved to Albany in 1830 and there established the *Albany Evening Journal*. From this time on his fortunes mounted rapidly, and within a few years he had become the dominant figure in the opposition to the Democracy. From this time on, too, he carried on a voluminous correspondence with the rising young Auburn lawyer, the tone of which attests an intimacy hardly paralleled in American politics, perhaps finding its most suggestive comparison, though by no means an exact one, in the friendship of William McKinley and Marcus Alonzo Hanna. The two men supplemented each other extraordinarily well. In the gifts of partisan maneuvering, in shrewdness, in the cajoling of individuals and the maintaining

of party harmony, Weed was no doubt superior to Seward; but Seward excelled his mentor in boldness, in imagination, in willingness to do battle for positive policies. The combination was destined in course of time to be irresistible.

It was due to Weed that Seward, already active in the politics of Anti-Masonry, around which the forces opposed to the Democracy had temporarily centered, went to the State Senate in the fall of 1830, and was re-elected in 1832. In Albany he speedily made a name for himself; he vigorously opposed Jackson's policy with regard to the bank; sponsored actively internal improvements; and bore an honorable part in the movement for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Indeed, he did so well that he became the accepted leader of the minority; and though the collapse of the Anti-Masonic party in the elections of 1833 temporarily discouraged him and his political associates, it needed only Weed's political ingenuity to make possible the rise of a new political organization which took the name of Whig and which nominated Seward for the governorship in 1834. The election, however, went against him, and for the moment the rising young statesman retired to private life.

It is interesting to see the evolution of Seward's thought in the next four years, until he emerged from his profession to run again for the governorship in 1838. In the formation of the new Whig party, there was, in his view, one principal danger to be avoided, that is, its identification, as with Federalism thirty years before, with the interests of the aristocrats rather than with the interests of the people. One of his most interesting and penetrating letters is that which he wrote to Weed on April 12, 1835; he was commenting on the great strength of Van Buren.

The People are for him, not so much for him as for the principle they suppose he represents. That principle is democracy, and the best result of all our labors in the Whig cause and under the Whig banner to rouse them to a sense of the progress of Toryism in the Government has been to excite them while they have been more and more confirmed in their apprehensions of the danger of the loss of their liberties by an imaginary instead of a real aristocracy. It is with them the Poor against the Rich—And it is not to be disguised that since the last election the array of parties has very strongly taken that character. Those who felt themselves or believed themselves poor have fallen off very naturally from us.

. . . While the rich we have always with us. Our papers without being conscious of it have been gradually assuring their cause—Not from choice but by way of retaliation upon the victors. . . . Nothing could have been more indiscreet than the articles appealing to national prejudice and religious prejudices against foreigners and Catholics.

The closing words of this letter suggest some further comment on Seward's views on nativism and on Catholicism. He was, from the early period of his career, the straightforward foe of little Americanism and of religious bigotry. His enemies were, in later years, to accuse him of currying favor with the Irish voters; but I am convinced that his general attitude towards the immigrants and towards the religious question in politics was of the most thorough stuff of his convictions. "The fear of Catholicism," he wrote to Weed, May 12, 1835, in words which sound their just reproach down the years to the election of 1928, "is as absurd as the revival of Salem witchcraft." And again, "The Catholic religion is infinitely better than Protestant intolerance." These views were set down in a private letter but, as we shall see, they were to be confirmed in public conduct as time went on.

The slavery question was at this time, though by no means a central issue, rising into greater and greater prominence. Seward early saw the question as one involving humanitarian liberalism, and sought to persuade Weed of this fact. When the latter seemed to suggest that the activities of the abolitionists ought to be checked or controlled, the Auburn lawyer wrote, October 4, 1835, that such action "would only add fuel to the flames," and that if "potent legal restraints" were adopted, "the name of the party that enacted them will from that moment be Ichabod." A year and a half later, Weed having persisted in the not unwarranted view that the agitations of the abolitionists endangered the Union, Seward wrote, it must be admitted with less foresight than his mentor, but from generous feeling:

All the ranting in and out of Congress by Southerners about dissolving the Union is the raving or rather blustering of Priests who swear by their ancient gods when the People have changed their religion. Except South Carolina the most of the Southern people are as fast within the power of the General Government as we of the North are, and that is fast enough, God knows.

From the retirement of the years 1834 to 1838 Seward emerged to run once more for the governorship. During his years of relative inactivity he had maintained and drawn still closer his intimacy with Weed, now the most powerful figure in the Whig party; and he represented the more vigorous and youthful elements in Whiggery. His rival for the nomination was Francis Granger, long a figure of prominence in the anti-Democratic ranks and a courtly, polished and attractive man; but Granger had not proved very successful in his two previous candidacies and, long before the convention, the Whig leader had decided against him. The ground was carefully prepared in advance; but even so, the battle was a hard one, and it required all of Weed's adroitness to secure Seward's nomination. That the rising young politician of Auburn was ardently anxious to be nominated, and that he had done a good deal of careful political pipe-laying in preparation for the event, is amply attested in his correspondence.

The year 1838 was naturally a propitious one for the Whigs. The great depression of 1837 had fallen upon the country, and the mood of revolt was running strong. The Van Buren administration was unpopular, also, because of its vigorous efforts to maintain the peace of the border during the Canadian insurrection; and in the state itself the Democrats had made themselves unpopular by the enactment of the so-called small bills law, prohibiting the issuance of paper money under the value of five dollars. The cards were stacked, therefore, in favor of Seward, and the only question which embarrassed him during the campaign was that of slavery. Three questions were addressed to him, and to his Democratic rival, Governor Marcy, by the abolitionists; would Seward favor the passage of a law granting trial by jury to fugitive slaves; of a law abolishing the special requirements for Negro voters; and would he seek the repeal of a law permitting the bringing of slaves into the state, and their retention there for a period of nine months? Whoever reads Seward's reply to these queries will be impressed, I think, with its candor. Of the three changes suggested, only the first was approved; but the negative answer to the other two queries was stated with frankness, and rested, in the main, upon the unpreparedness of public opinion for any such course. Seward was never a radical, in the literal sense of the word; it is not strange

that he did not wholly satisfy the little group of anti-slavery fanatics in 1838.

The tide of popular revolt, running strong as we have said, bore Seward triumphantly into the Governor's chair; and to this honorable post he was to be re-elected in 1840. His career there deserves attention as a revelation of the man, and also because of its extraordinary appositeness in relation to some of the problems of our own time.

One of the most interesting aspects of Seward in office is the emphasis laid upon the question of internal improvements. The undertaking of such improvements was, of course, good Whig doctrine; indeed, it was one of the things that had attracted Seward to the party of his choice at the beginning. An ambitious program of public building of canals had been recommended by the Whigs in the legislature of 1838; and to such a program the young Governor now addressed himself with ardor. It was his optimistic belief (and optimism was the very mainspring of Seward's character) that a great canal system would pay for itself; he argued this point at length in his message of 1839; and he maintained, with his Whig confrères, that so great would be the productiveness of such improvements, that they would warrant the state in expending the then large sum of \$4,000,000 a year for a period of ten years, these funds to be secured by borrowing, and not by taxation. It was impossible to embark upon any such program in the first year of Seward's governorship; for while the Whigs had swept the Assembly in the elections of the previous year, they had not secured control of the Senate; and no legislation of importance in regard to internal improvements was adopted, save a small sum for improving the navigation of the Oneida River. In the meantime, moreover, estimates with regard to the enlargement of the Erie Canal, made in Governor Marcy's administration and the basis of a loan of four millions, had been proven to be widely erroneous, about half as much as would really be required; and the disillusionment which thus confronted the friends of internal improvements, combined with the persistence of the depression, prevented the new Governor from going as far as in his heart he designed. Indeed, it would have been easy to have called a halt on all public building. But Seward, with the two houses of the legislature now in the possession of the Whigs,

strongly advocated the prosecution of existing projects; and he did so in language that suggests some of the economic-political theories of 1933.

During the severe pressure we have experienced, the industry of the citizen has been stimulated, and the wages of labor, the prices of the products of the earth, and the value of property have been sustained by expenditures in the prosecution of this system [i.e., the canal system]. The sudden arrest of such expenditures, and the discharge of probably ten thousand laborers, now employed upon the public works, at a time when the circulation of money in other departments of business is so embarrassed as almost to have ceased, would extend throughout the whole community, and with fearful aggravation, the losses and suffering that as yet have been in a great measure confined to the mercantile class.

The Governor went on to justify the general principles of his system in great detail, and to urge upon the legislature the continuation of the program of public works to which it had already committed itself. Indeed, he went further. Railroads as well as canals came within the range of his vigorous faith in the future. In his messages of 1839 and 1840 he advocated, though in guarded language, the construction of railroads by the state itself, if private enterprise could not be induced to undertake the task; and though reflection led him to see some practical difficulties in the way of such a course, he was entirely in favor of lending the credit of the state to private corporations for the building of this new form of transportation. No doubt there was something a little exaggerated in his view of the matter; but the Governor who advocated a program of public expenditure in the midst of financial gloom undoubtedly arrests the attention and commands the approval of many of the present generation.

It cannot be said, however, that Seward's policy was a success. The works themselves proceeded slowly; the debt of the state rose steadily, the canal debt alone increasing from ten to nineteen millions; in 1841 it was necessary to sell the state's 6% bonds at 20% discount; and the elections of 1841 produced a violent popular reaction which gave the Democrats a majority in both houses of the legislature, and led to the passage of the so-called "stop and tax" law. This provided for the virtual suspension of all new construction, the levy of a new property tax, and the making of

the interest on any loan to be effected a charge on the canal revenues. Orthodox finance held sway once more, and Seward was arguing a lost cause when with courage and tenacity he still defended his policy in his message to the special session of 1842. Yet he did not hesitate to do so. The change of policy he denounced as "sudden and humiliating."

The danger to which the credit of the state was exposed, arose, not from any cause merely local or temporary, nor at all from the extent of our unfinished works, nor from the firmness with which we had persevered in our improvements during the three previous years, but from the failure of the confidence of foreign capitalists, and even of the American people themselves, in the financial wisdom and integrity of the governments of other States. [He invited the legislature to rescind its action; and declared that the state was oppressed,] "not so much by opposing forces as by our own irresolution, and that a small portion of that energy which was put forth when our system of internal improvements was undertaken, would secure its reestablishment and successful triumph.

Courage and confidence are here, if nothing else; and perhaps depressions would be other than they are if there were more of this spirit.

Nothing is more characteristic of the generous spirits of the nineteenth century than the faith which they felt in the value of education. And in no respect was Seward more typical of the larger views of his time than in the insistence with which he urged the cause of the schools upon the people of New York State. In this subject he had always been interested, and intelligently interested. In a speech delivered at Westfield in 1837 he had urged an ambitious program of educational reform; he had laid stress on the necessity of affording equal opportunities to those whom the society of the 40s so patronizingly described as "females;" and he had criticized the college education of the time as lacking in progressive ideas and in practical adaptation to the needs of the students. In the message of 1839 the newly-elected Governor had much to say on the whole subject. He spoke approvingly of the establishment of school libraries; but devoted his principal attention to what he deemed the crying need of establishing higher standards of instruction. The method which he advocated was that of "visitation," visitation not confined to the schools alone,

but extended to the academies and the colleges, and in this connection he advocated the establishment of a state board, with a state superintendent appointed by the legislature. Those who have witnessed in our own era the growth of an educational bureaucracy at Albany may feel only a qualified enthusiasm for the Governor's recommendations; they may heave a gentle sigh of relief at learning that the legislature failed to act on these recommendations; but there is another side to the matter. It can hardly be denied that state supervision of education has been from the beginning in the interest of higher standards, and that a case can be made out for such supervision on just this ground. At any rate, whatever one's own views, it must be admitted that Seward identified himself with a policy, later to be adopted by the State, and from motives that were altogether worthy.

In his message of 1840 Seward approached the educational problem from a new angle, and in a fashion that was to cause him many heart-burnings. The educational system of the state at this time did not extend to the city of New York. There the schools were administered by a private agency known as the New York Public School Society, sectarian in temper, if not avowedly so, and the benefits of their instruction were by no means as widely diffused as they ought to have been. Seward had visited the metropolis officially during his first year as Governor and had been much impressed with that fact. In his message of 1840 he used the following language:

The children of foreigners, found in great numbers in our populous cities and towns, and in the vicinity of our public works, are too often deprived of the advantages of our system of public education, in consequence of prejudices arising from difference of language or religion. It ought never to be forgotten that the public welfare is as deeply concerned in their education as in that of our own children. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith.

This declaration had not been adopted without reflection; it had been the subject of discussion with Dr. Nott, the venerable president of Union College, and formerly Seward's own teacher, and with at least one other prominent Protestant clergyman; but it was most obviously a political blunder. For the 30s and 40s saw the

rise of one of those movements of nativism of which American history affords so many examples, and in this, as in other instances, religious bigotry combined with nationalist fundamentalism. Seward was violently denounced, all too frequently and to his distress by members of his own party. He was "sapping the foundations of liberty." He was a "betrayer of the innocent to the wiles of the Scarlet Lady." He was "in league with the Pope." He was "himself a Jesuit." The Democrats seized joyfully upon the Governor's language, and capitalized it to excellent advantage. Though Seward was re-elected in the campaign of 1840, he ran behind his ticket, and the astute Weed laid most of the blame upon the pronouncement upon education from which we have just quoted.

The message of 1840 was, undoubtedly, a political misstep; and the wisdom of any such policy as Seward advocated might itself be challenged and has not met with the approval of later generations. Yet the generosity of the Governor's views commands admiration. And as between the Ku Kluxers of the 40s, as myopic in their Americanism as their successors of the 1920s, and William H. Seward, the choice does not appear to be difficult. Nor were the Governor's efforts altogether unavailing. On the proposition which he had made in 1840, Seward was compelled to beat a retreat; in his annual message of 1841 he did so, in language perhaps not strictly accurate:

I have not recommended, nor do I seek the education of any class in foreign languages, or in particular creeds or faiths; but fully believing with the author of the Declaration of Independence, that even error may be safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it, and therefore indulging no apprehensions from the influence of any language or creed among an enlightened people, I desire the education of the entire rising generation in all the elements of knowledge we possess, and in that tongue which is the universal language of our countrymen.

But at the same time he reiterated his strong conviction that the situation in the city of New York was not what it ought to be, and strongly recommended the extension of the public school system of the state to the metropolis. Before his second term had expired, he had the satisfaction of seeing placed upon the statute books a law which carried out this principle, putting the control of the schools in the hands of an elective board, and removing the

Public School Society from the center of the stage. In the controversy of these three years, Seward won the respect of many of those who were opposed to him politically; he formed a firm friendship with Bishop Hughes, whom, contrary to rumor, he had not known at all at the time of the message of 1840; and this friendship was to last for a quarter of a century, and to result in Hughes mission abroad at the time of the Civil War.

The period of Seward's governorship marks an interesting evolution in his views on slavery. As we have seen, he had from the beginning viewed the abolitionist movement with respect, and had disapproved of attempts at repressing it; but in his campaign of 1838 his tone on the Negro question had been far from satisfactory to the ardent foes of slavery. In office, however, he was to delight these gentry beyond measure. For only a few months after taking the oath, Seward was confronted with a request from the governor of Virginia for the extradition of three seamen who had encouraged the escape of a slave while their vessel was undergoing repairs at Norfolk. The Constitution of the United States enjoins the surrender of persons "charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state." But Seward, in his reply to the governor of Virginia, declared that he could not comply with the requisition, since slavery was not a crime under the laws of the state of New York, nor under the common law. The validity of his reasoning, on this matter, though it met with the emphatic approval of his political idol, John Quincy Adams, must be pronounced ingenious rather than convincing, but that he was acting in accordance with a large body of opinion is evidenced by the endorsement of the Governor's stand by the Whig legislature of 1840. Thus early then, did the tawny-haired Auburn lawyer seek to identify, and in a measure succeed in identifying, the Whig party with an advanced position on the slavery issue. And to the position taken in 1839 Seward steadfastly adhered, despite the wrath of the Virginians and the criticism of party foes in his own state. And in connection with this aspect of his governorship it is also to be set down that in 1840 Seward had the satisfaction of signing a law granting trial by jury to every person claimed as a fugitive slave.

There are many other aspects of Seward's four years in office that might be treated in a longer paper. I cannot discuss them

all, but I do wish to add a word or two with regard to certain questions which further illustrate my central theme, that is, that William H. Seward amply represented the generous, liberal and humanitarian tendencies of his age. Take, for example, the reform of judicial procedure. On this matter Seward benefited in part from the suggestions of his predecessor and political rival, Governor Marcy; in his public papers he generously acknowledged his debt in this regard; and where Marcy had recommended ineffectually, the Whig governor put forth accomplishment. It may not be thought disrespectful to the votaries of a great profession to suggest that a zeal for legal reformation is not generally characteristic of lawyers; in this as in other matters Seward was no mere conformist; he undoubtedly antagonized many of his legal associates; indeed Weed believed that, next to the school question, the legal reforms of the Governor's first term did most to explain his reduced plurality. An easier victory of the liberal tendencies of the time is to be found in the abolition of the last remnants of imprisonment for debt under Seward's leadership; and in the movement for prison reform, so characteristic of his time, the Whig leader had an honorable part.

In his appointments to office, Seward followed the standards of his time. He depended much upon Weed, who was a frank spoilsman, and so great was the influence of the Albany journalist that he was often known as the "Dictator." Yet in an examination of Seward's governorship, one comes to the conviction that the Governor was his own man throughout his four years of office, and that his friend never sought to influence him in any way that could be deemed reprehensible. As to Weed, it is one of his best titles to favorable judgment that he brought into politics, supported and advanced, and on the whole remained loyal to, a man of enlarged and liberal views and farseeing statesmanship. The relationship between the two men remained extraordinarily close during the four years of the governorship; and I should like to close this paper with some emphasis upon this point. Seward poured out his heart to Weed, even when his usually mercurial temperament was a prey to discouragement; there is an interesting letter in which he talked of resignation, written November 29, 1841, after a crushing Whig defeat in the elections. In a mood of deep discouragement, he contemplated laying down the seals of

office. Yet he wrote further: "I dare not oppose your advice. You have been faithful to me, and when I remember how high that fidelity has enabled me to rise I feel that it is treasonable not to procure your advice." Weed, as one would expect, counseled against any such step, and Seward carried on. On the last day of his second term, he summed up much of the experience of four years in another letter to his friend:

The end has come at last. My successor and the New Year come together. He has the keys and seal and I have only recollections and reflections. Those which crowd upon me are different from what I anticipated—I looked for ennui if not for regret. But there is nothing of these. The thousand perils through which I have passed, the thousand enemies by whom I have been opposed, the hundreds by whom I have been causelessly hated, and the many whom I have unavoidably or imprudently offended rise up before me. And yet I am safe and if friends who never flattered when I had power are not false now when I am powerless I am more than safe. My public career is successfully and honorably closed, and I am yet young enough if a reasonable age is allotted me to repair all the waste of private fortune it has cost. Gratitude to God and gratitude and affection toward my friends and most of all to you, my first and most efficient and devoted friend, oppress me until tears like such as woman sheds, flow whenever I am alone.

In the letter I have just quoted, it will have been noted, Seward assumes that his political career is closed. "My principles are too liberal," he wrote to Weed on another occasion, "too philanthropic, if it be not vain to say so, for my party. The promulgation of them offends many; the operation of them injures many; and their sincerity is questioned by all." Holding such views, he seems willingly to have surrendered office, and though it is quite clear that he could not have been re-elected, and that prudence itself dictated retirement, it seems equally clear that when he wrote these lines to his closest political associate, he was expressing his true thought. Time was to prove him wrong; time was to prove that the humanitarianism which came so easily to Seward was to bring him back into public life as the exponent of a great cause, and to have its part in shaping for him a still more distinguished public career. All this, however, was yet in the future; and as the Governor of New York returned to his beloved family, and his flowers, and his law-practice in Auburn, he may well have carried

with him a sense of inadequacy, or even of failure. With him, however, as with many others, the judgment of the moment must be esteemed as of trifling significance; and on this September day of 1933, more than ninety years after the closing scenes at Albany, as we stand in Headquarters House, and Governor Seward gazes down upon us from its walls, we are ready to answer his gaze with one of friendly judgment and high regard.