

Indiana Palladium.

EQUALITY OF RIGHTS IS NATURE'S PLAN—AND FOLLOWING NATURE IS THE MARCH OF MAN.—BARLOW.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Isacks and Major Eaton have thought proper to bring my name before the public, as that of a person implicated, or in some way concerned in an attempt to induce General Jackson to give a certain pledge, or pledges, as to a certain appointment it would be his duty to make in the event of his election as President of the United States.—One consequence of the publications of these gentlemen has been that they have given rise to a torrent of abuse and calumny, which has been directed against me. It is not however for the purpose of averting this polluted stream or of noticing those who have cast into it their mite of slander that I sit down. My object is of a higher nature; a desire to do myself justice and, so far as my best recollection and judgment shall permit, to spread the truth and the whole truth before my fellow citizens. I do not hope by any thing I can say, however satisfactory and conclusive, to propitiate any of my enemies, personal or political; nor shall I, for that, or any other purpose, turn from a full and fair examination of such parts of the letters of the gentlemen who have imposed upon me this unpleasant duty. As relates to myself, I could have wished to have been spared this appeal, but it is no longer a matter of choice. I might have been persuaded to permit the errors and inaccuracies of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Isacks arising from a want of recollection, to pass unnoticed; and, from a desire to be at peace I might even have been content to overlook their unkindness; but, when Major Eaton, on their showing, presumes to call me "the negotiator," in what he represents to be a corrupt transaction I am imperatively bound to speak, and I will speak that which I do know to be true. Let the blame and condemnation, fall where it ought; where it is merited, but not on me.

If these were not motives sufficiently powerful, there is another which would determine me. An effort is making by the use, and the abuse, of my name, to wound the characters of some of our ablest and most exalted citizens, and by accusations which I believe to be unfounded and in which I am certain I bore no part, to sink them in public estimation; to cast them down from the heights which they have honorably attained and in their places to put those whom I regard as having adopted principles and avowing a determination to pursue a course of policy which I have no doubt would greatly affect the prosperity and happiness of the State of Pennsylvania and of the whole Union.

That I was originally friendly to the election of General Jackson to the Presidency I do not deny. My feelings of gratitude towards him for his military services to his country remain, and ever shall remain, unchanged. I voted for him in the Democratic Caucus of 1824.

As a representative of Pennsylvania, I subsequently not only gave him my vote but used my best exertions, by every fair and honorable means, to promote his election to the Presidential Chair. The united exertions of his friends having failed to effect his election, I was not one of those who felt it a duty, or thought it proper, immediately to unfurl the standard of opposition without knowing the principles and the policy of the men who were to be called to assist in administering the Government of the Union:—because I had been defeated, by a constitutional majority of the States, in my desire to have General Jackson elected, it did not seem to me that I was called upon to resist, embarrass and overthrow the new Administration whether it should be right or wrong. I thought it my duty as a representative of the people, and as a citizen, patiently to wait and see what would be the general character of Mr. Adams' Administration and what would be the complexion of his cabinet. When I ascertained that he had taken to his aid such able and experienced advisers as Mr. Clay, Mr. Rush, Mr. Southard, and Mr. Barbour, men identified with the republican institutions of our country, in peace and in war; men who had enjoyed the confidence of the republican Administrations of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe; men who had long acted and were incorporated with, the great democratic family of the Union, I did not feel myself at liberty to doubt what would be the character and policy of Mr. Adams' Administration. I considered that in these appointments a pledge was given to the Nation that the policy which had been pursued under former Administrations would be pursued un-

der the present. I determined therefore that as a representative of the people and as one of the people I would not permit my partialities, my disappointments or my prejudices to get the better of my judgment and patriotism, but that I would judge the Administration by its measures. If it continued to support and sustain those that sustained a system which promotes national prosperity, American manufactures, Internal improvements and commerce; and to cherish peace and administer the government with a due regard to economy, it should receive my cordial and hearty support.

The latter end of December 1824, I believe, but cannot with absolute certainty say, it was on the 30th, my friend Mr. Buchanan called to see me in the evening at my boarding house. I happened to be alone in my room:—he sat with me a considerable length of time; our conversation turned, principally, on the then pending Presidential election.—Mr. B. commenced by stating that he felt great solicitude for the election of Gen. Jackson and that his friends should use every honorable means to promote it; to which I replied that I heartily united with him in opinion. Mr. Buchanan adverted to the rumors which were afloat that the friends of Mr. Adams were holding out the idea that in case he should be elected Mr. Clay would probably be offered the situation of Secretary of State, and that in case General Jackson was elected he would appoint or continue Mr. Adams, Secretary of State. I told Mr. Buchanan I thought such a report was calculated to do the General a great deal of injury, and if it were not well founded it ought to be contradicted, and mentioned further that there was great plausibility in such reports, and their receiving credit particularly that which represented General Jackson as having determined if he should be elected that he would continue Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, inasmuch as Mr. Adams had been one of his ablest defenders and advocates in his report sustaining General Jackson against the charges which were preferred against him for his conduct in relation to the Seminole war.

Mr. Buchanan stated that he had written to, or received a letter from a mutual friend of ours in Pennsylvania, on the subject of the Presidential election, and cabinet appointments, and that he had determined to call upon the General himself or to get Major Eaton, to mention to him the reports that were in circulation, and obtain a contradiction of them. Mr. B. also asked if I had seen Mr. Clay, and whether I had had any conversation with him touching the Presidential election. I replied that I had seen him in the House, but had had no conversation with him on that subject, but said I was anxious to get an opportunity to have a conversation with him, as I felt a great anxiety that he should vote with Pennsylvania. Mr. Buchanan replied that no one felt more anxious, for various reasons, than he did himself; that it was important, not only as it regarded the success of General Jackson's election that Mr. Clay should go with Pennsylvania, but on account of his ulterior political prospects: declaring that he (Mr. B.) hoped one day to see Mr. Clay President of the United States, and that was another reason why he should like to see him Secretary of State, in case General Jackson was elected; and that if he was certain that Mr. Clay's views were favorable to General Jackson's election he would take an opportunity of talking to the General on the subject, or get Major Eaton to do so; that he thought by doing so he would confer a particular benefit on his country, and that he could see nothing wrong in it. Mr. Buchanan urged me to use no delay in seeing Mr. Clay. I told him I would, and accordingly called upon Mr. Clay at his boarding house, I think the evening after this conversation, but he was not at his lodgings. I called to see him again, but he had some of his friends with him, and I had no opportunity of conversing with him, nor had I ever any conversation with him until the evening of the 10th or 11th of January prior to my leaving Washington for Pennsylvania to attend the courts in Montgomery county. The conversation I then had with him was of a very general character; no mention was made of cabinet appointments, and I did not ascertain which of the candidates Mr. Clay would support. I have no recollection of any thing being said in the conversation with Mr. Buchanan about the friends of Mr. Clay moving in concert at the election; I however distinctly recollect that we

both expressed an anxious hope that the West would not separate from Pennsylvania.—I have no recollection whatever of having urged Mr. B. to see General Jackson, although I concurred in the propriety of his suggestion that he should call to see him, nor have I the faintest recollection of any thing being said about fighting Mr. Adams' friends with their own weapons. If any such expressions were used I am very certain it was not by me. From the recollection I have of the conversation to which Mr. Buchanan has reference, in his letter to the public of the 3d of August last, my impressions are that the object of his visit that evening was to urge the propriety of my seeing Mr. Clay, and to give him my views as to the importance of his identifying himself with Pennsylvania in support of General Jackson. I entertained no doubt that Mr. Buchanan was honestly determined that no exertions on his part should be wanting, and that he felt confident he could speak with certainty as to the great mass of General Jackson's friends, that in case of the election of Gen. Jackson, they would press upon him the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State.

Mr. Buchanan concurred with me in opinion that Pennsylvania would prefer Mr. Clay's appointment to that of any other person as Secretary of State and from the obligations the general was under to Pennsylvania, that he would go far to gratify her wishes and that therefore he believed the General if elected, would appoint Mr. Clay. I have thus given the conversation substantially as it took place, as the one Mr. B. has reference to in his letter to the public of the 8th of August last. It was a conversation of rather a general and promiscuous character in which we both participated. It is upwards of two years since that conversation took place, and considering it of a private and confidential character I made no minute of it, nor did I ever expect it would have been given to the public. It is somewhat remarkable that two years and more should have elapsed, Mr. Buchanan and myself boarding together at the same house during the two last sessions of Congress, during which period we had many conversations on the subject of the Presidential election, as well as on public and private matters, yet, not once in all that time did my friend Mr. Buchanan ever advert to the conversation which he has recently thought himself called upon to give as having taken place between us.

I cannot avoid thinking it somewhat singular that Mr. B. should have been so reserved towards me, particularly as Duff Green had been furnished with a statement in October, 1826, of what had passed between General Jackson and himself, and that a statement had also been furnished to him by Major Eaton in August, 1826, as to the purport of the conversation between himself and Mr. Buchanan. That these movements should have taken place, and that there should have been no concert improperly to drag me into this business, and yet that under all these circumstances Mr. B. should have been silent towards me, and that he should think proper to introduce to the public a detailed conversation, in which he makes me say all, and himself little or nothing—a conversation totally unnecessary for the purpose of sustaining an individual acting, as he protests he always acted, on his own authority—does to me and probably will to the public, seem somewhat unaccountable. It gives me pain to think of these things, especially as having emanated from a person to whom I feel obligations of friendship for acts of kindness, and in whose friendship I reposed the most unlimited confidence.

The succeeding morning after the conversation with Mr. Buchanan, I met with Mr. Isacks, of Tennessee, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. My recollection does not enable me to state whether it was at his seat, or in the lobby, or on the sofa, at the right hand as you go into the door.

I may here be permitted to remark, that Mr. Isacks being a native of Montgomery county, Pa. the district I represented in Congress he early sought my acquaintance in the session of 1823 and 1824, and had many conversations with me of a private character, in relation to himself, and in which I took an interest, and to the best of my ability and opportunities faithfully served him. These conversations necessarily produced an intimacy and friendship which frequently brought us together, and even in the habit of free friendly and unreserved conversation. The conversation which he represents to have taken place be-

tween us is incorrectly reported: He assuredly misapprehended or much misrepresented me. From the general tenor of his statement, this, however, does not appear singular. He seems, from his narrative, to have paid more regard to our relative positions, the several meetings to which he has reference, than to even the substance of what passed between us, relying upon the recollection of Mr. Buchanan, as to dates. That there was a conversation between Mr. Isacks and myself, on the subject of the Presidential election, the morning after Mr. Buchanan had called to see me, I perfectly well remember, and I have no doubt that in the course of that conversation we agreed that Gen. Jackson's prospects of an election were fair; in fact, we both expressed ourselves anxious for his success. I distinctly recollect Mr. Isacks remarking that much would depend on the course Mr. Clay's friends would take, and expressing his belief that they would act with us. I replied that I sincerely hoped they would go with Pennsylvania, and that in the event of General Jackson's election, I felt confident nothing would be more gratifying to Pennsylvania, than to see Mr. Clay appointed secretary of state. Mr. Isacks replied that he was his second choice for President; that he would be his first choice if General Jackson was elected, and that he had frequently expressed himself to that effect. I have no recollection of having said to Mr. Isacks that I wished to see Mr. Eaton, nor did I with more than ordinary interest and earnestness, insist that General Jackson, if elected, ought to appoint Mr. Clay.

It must be apparent that before I or any one could have used the strong language imputed to me, that it was indispensable that it should be distinctly understood that Mr. Isacks was authorized by General Jackson, to receive propositions to promote his election. On this I had no evidence, nor entertained any opinion, nor did I at any time, or to any one, use the strong language imputed to me by Mr. Isacks. I well remember that, at that time we both believed, and expressed our belief, that if General Jackson was elected, and he could not be elected without the aid of Mr. Clay and his friends, that he would be appointed Secretary of State.—Further, Mr. Isacks declared his belief, in which I concurred, that a large portion of the western delegation, from the unreserved conversation we had had on the subject, wished Mr. Clay to be Secretary of State, in which desire they were joined by a large portion of the delegation from other states friendly to General Jackson's election. It is indeed a well known fact, that amongst the friends of all the candidates there was much speculation on the subject, much was said unreservedly and with much zeal and good humour on the subject of cabinet appointments; that if this, or that, candidate succeeded to the Presidency, the general voice was raised in favor of, and the general eye always fixed upon, that distinguished statesman and inflexible republican Henry Clay, as the first officer of the government; and I now sincerely believe that whichever of the candidates had been elected he would have had the offer of the most prominent situation in the cabinet; that which he now holds under Mr. Adams.

It has repeatedly been stated, that I was the agent, or as Major Eaton is pleased to say, the "negotiator" of Mr. Clay, authorized to make propositions or ask a pledge of a conditional character, for the vote of Mr. C. and his friends. I do now solemnly and positively declare that the charge and insinuation are void of truth. I never did, either directly or indirectly, receive from Mr. Clay or his friends, any intimation which could be construed even by political rancour, into such a commission, or any thing even remotely approaching to it. Had any such agency, by any one, been tendered, I should have indignantly rejected it. I will go further and state, that never did I in the course of any conversation with Mr. Clay hear him say, or express a desire, that in the event of the election of General Jackson, Mr. Adams or Mr. Crawford, that he should wish to be Secretary of State, or hold any station in the cabinet.—Further, I never have to any one, at any time, or on any occasion represented myself, or wished it to be understood, that I was authorized to receive, or to make overtures on the part of Mr. Clay, or his friends. I think proper to make this general and unqualified declaration that there may not be left a loop on which to hang a doubt on this subject. I did not know until ten days after the election of Mr. Adams, that Mr. Clay had

been offered the appointment of Secretary of State; and it is a well known fact, that after he had the offer he consulted many of his friends whether he should, or should not, accept it. He told me in conversation, he did me the honor to hold with me on the subject, that the acceptance of it would be to him not only a sacrifice of domestic happiness, but a serious pecuniary loss. I know also, that not only his immediate personal and political friends, but many of those who voted for other candidates, were desirous that he should accept the station, and urged that his country had claims upon him paramount to other considerations, and would never see him suffer from devotion to her best interests.

I am free to acknowledge that at the time of the conversation between Mr. Buchanan and myself, my impression was that Gen. Jackson would be elected, and it was pretty generally talked of, as well as understood among many of his friends, that in the event of his election, Mr. Clay would have the office of Secretary of State; and I doubt not but I may in common with others, have mentioned my opinion to my political friends. These impressions were founded on the belief that the western interest would unite in Gen. Jackson's election, and that with the aid of one or two of the states in favor of Mr. Crawford, he would be elected. I mention those floating opinions of the day, to show that I have no reserves, and that all I said or did I am quite willing should be known.

I left Washington for Pennsylvania on the morning of the 11th or 12th of January 1825, and did not return until Tuesday the 30th of the same month, the day after Mr. Clay's card had appeared in the National Intelligencer. This absence at this critical juncture, of itself sufficient to repel the idea that I took any peculiar interest as to the arrangements dependant on who might, or who might not, be elected president. I recollect a conversation with a particular friend, who travelled with me in the stage, on my return to Pennsylvania. To him, in the course of that conversation, I expressed my regret at not having had an opportunity of a free and general conversation with Mr. Clay on the subject of the Presidential election, and said that I had some idea of writing to him as soon as I arrived at Norristown.—We both expressed an anxiety that Mr. Clay should vote with Pennsylvania.

Exception has been taken to my offering the resolution of thanks when Mr. Clay was about retiring from the speaker's chair in 1825. Such a resolution it had been customary at the end of a Congress, to offer, and the house to adopt, as it did on this occasion, almost with perfect unanimity.—It was my own voluntary act. I had no consultation with any one, nor the slightest reference to his course on the Presidential election; I offered the resolution because I thought he eminently deserved it. If he, as speaker, did not richly earn a vote of thanks, who shall presume to think he has pretensions to such an honor? The thanks of the house over which he presided, for a faithful, firm, and impartial discharge of the duties of the station was hardly earned and willingly awarded. I thought it his due even though he had differed from Pennsylvania in the choice of a president, she owed him much for his indefatigable exertions in favor of her policy and best interests. Not only did these considerations, prompt me to offer the resolution of thanks. Mr. Clay, I thought, had been unjustly and undeservedly assailed for an honest difference of opinion; and it was painful to see a man who had raised himself by his own talents and exertions to be one of the most distinguished statesmen and orators of the age; one who in war and in peace had never abandoned his country, but always stood firmly by her, defending, by the powers of his gigantic mind and powerful eloquence, her rights, and boldly proclaiming her true policy; that such a man should be unthanked when about to retire from the speaker's chair of a body of which I had the honor to be a member, did not comport with my feelings or sense of right and wrong; I should indeed have considered such a neglect as gross dereliction of duty.

I feel somewhat at a loss for terms, sufficiently measured, in which to speak of the presumptuous and unwarranted conclusion at which Major Eaton has arrived, and the bold and unceremonious epithet which it has been his pleasure to apply to me. The conversations, reported as they are, by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Isacks, and laboriously and carefully detected against me, furnish no evidence, even of a remote and circumstantial char-