Buchanan, by arraying Major Eaton and others against him," before the public. On so idle an errand, and so hopeless an effort I, should exceedingly regret the necessity of being obliged to proceed; and yet, were it necessary to maintain myself on any of the demands of truth, I should certainly venture, regardless of the sayings and prophecies of any one. Between Mr. Buchanan's statement, my own, and that of Gen. Jackson, heretofore published, I can, as already remarked, discern no essential or material difference. True, before I had read and particularly examined, what had been stated, I believed differences were to be found, though that opinion no longer remains. If there be those who desire to urge that any such do exist, and that the submitted averments are in fact unlike. I shall be free and cheerful to concede, that the mistakes are those which proceed from error of recollection, and from no other cause. I have known Mr. Buchanan too long, to place any statement of his which might be discrepant with my own, under the head of intentional error, or ascribe it to any other circumstance than inaccuracy of recollection.

I might here rest my remarks, and forbear to say more on the subject, but being in possession of some facts, which may not be considered immaterial—the tendency of which may be, to exhibit matters more fully to public consideration, I shall not conclude this presentation, without submitting them also. I have already said, that a meeting was held on the 22d of January; previous to which time, the opinion of Mr. Clay and his friends were but little known—conjecture alone pointed out what probably their course would be. On the succeeding Monday, the opinion prevailed, that they had taken their ground; and in a few days afterwards Mr. Clay's military chieftain letter, as it has been styled, was written to Judge Brooke, of Va, of whom he speaks as a particular friend. In that letter, he mentions his difficult, "highly critical" situation—the interrogation to his conscience, and the course he had resolved to pursue. Thus, to a particular friend, on the 28th of January, and not earlier, was a declaration made of the course he had concluded to take. Why the necessity of a silence so long, and so rigidly preserved?

This Saturday evening meeting, and the course which had been resolved upon, formed generally on Monday the subject of conversation. The Senate having adjourned, General Jackson and myself were passing from the capitol, being yet within the enclosure, and near to a flight of steps leading to the avenue, when Mr. Clay, coming diagonally on our route, from the House of Representatives, passed very near, and without speaking. He was proceeding down the flight of steps in front of the building, and we were in the act of descending, when some person coming up accosted us. At that moment, Mr. Clay, turning round, observed, "how are you to day, General? with a manner somewhat embarrassed, as though he had just then discovered him.—The salutation was returned, and Mr. Clay passed on. Immediately afterwards General Jackson remarked to me, that Mr. C. seemed disposed to pass him without speaking—my answer was, "as he has concluded to vote against you, General, I suppose he is solicitous for no further intercourse:" we dropped the subject. I had never before perceived Mr. Clay thus distant with General Jackson, having been previously quite the reverse; and well knowing, from our near proximity at passing, that it was altogether improbable he should not have observed us. I looked to this coyness on his part as a circumstance corroborative of what had been the reports of the day—a determination taken to support Mr. Adams.

Previous to the annunciation of this meeting on Saturday, I had not distrusted the result of the election. As regarded the course Kentucky would take even conceding the force of Mr. Clay's influence, I felt there was security in these considerations. That so far from there being any thing of good, there had been an unfriendly understanding, very lately subsisting between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay: That Mr. Adams was not the choice of Kentucky—had not been thought of nor voted for there; and of all the persons presented to the public, would probably have received the most inconsiderable suffrage in that state. That Mr. Crittenden who stood at the head of the electoral list for Mr. Clay, and whose opinions of the preference and choice of Kentucky, I hence inferred, might have weight, had written to a friend of mine at Washington, that Kentucky preferred Jackson, and wished him to succeed against Adams. But, besides all this, the Legislature of the state had sent forth their instructions, (or request) on this subject, declaring what was to be considered the sense of the people; and I, well remembering the warm and ancient contest between Mr. Clay and Mr. Pope, on the subject of a disregard of instructions, had not supposed that the former would venture to place at nought his previous open avowals on this important political point. These were the grounds of my opinions, & of my conclusions, and they were removed, only when I understood that this meeting had been held, and the vote of Kentucky determined upon.

There were other considerations of inference and of argument. The state of N. York was thought to be dependent for the course she would pursue, on the vote of a single individual. Thus situated it could not be known to absolute certainty, though conjecturally it was, what finally her course would be. Maryland it was believed would at least on the first ballot, be on the side of Mr. Adams. These two, with the six New England states, were all, which with any thing of certainty could be counted on. Five were yet wanted. Louisiana and Illinois it was believed would be in favor of the same course; though as it was in opposition to the preference, indicated by the electoral colleges at home, it was asserted, that the members from those states, would not march in that direction, except in the event, that thereby the election of Mr. Adams would be rendered secure and certain. Report having urged strongly, that on the second ballot, Maryland would secede and vote for General Jackson, it was therefore indispensably important to bring matters to a close. The whole affair then rested with Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri. Under this state of things was it, and after that it had been ascertained, that Jackson, would make no disclosure, as to his cabinet, that the meeting of the 22d of January took place. Those who attended it, being participants in what was done, have never yet declared the particulars. I have though in my possession a communication from a gentleman formerly of Congress, (not from this state) and heretofore the friend of Mr. Clay. He gives the reason why he is no longer that friend. To a letter which was lately written to him by me, this is his reply.

'The bargain of 1825, between Messrs. Adams and Clay I remember well was freely spoken of by many members of Congress although I had no personal knowledge of any fact, which would warrant the belief, that the contract existed; besides the high estimation in which I then held Mr. Clay forbade my suspicions on any accusations not supported by positive proof; that proof was not afforded me, and I held him guiltless:--Yet there were some circumstances of unfavourable appearance, and which as the friend of Mr. Clay I was sorry had existence. The circumstances to which I allude were the continued silence & lengthy reserve of Mr. Clay's friends, in publishing or letting it be known, how they would vote; and the fact that the Kentucky delegation who voted for Mr. A. had a meeting to determine upon their course, as I was informed by one of them: at which it was said to me, that upon the question being proposed to Mr. Clay for whom shall we vote, he answered in substance, 'that in case General Jackson should be elected he believed the administration with its weight would be opposed to him, to prostrate him that should Mr. A be elected he felt satisfied it would not be so; but that he hoped no personal considerations for him would induce them to act contrary to their desire.' Upon these circumstances I have often remarked that the first was not in character of Kentuckians, and that the last was the strongest appeal which could be made to a man's friends, and the heaviest requisitions which could be levied on their attachment. Until a very short time since I had not been convinced that the bargain had been made as executed, and I even now regret that I am constrained to admit it; but believing it, I shall leave nothing undone, which can be honourably performed to defeat the Coalition.'

Anthony's oration over the dead body of Cæsar has been greatly admired for manner, artfulness, and concealment of intended purpose; but this of Mr. Clay is quite a match for it: so pointed; and yet so modest; so retiring and so evidently concealing its real intentions. Gentlemen you are my friends, and as such we have met. Let me not ask you to neglect your duty, or sacrifice yourselves for me: I ask nothing at your hands;—but of one thing you may rest assured—if Jackson is elected I shall be prostrated; but if Mr. Adams shall be chosen, 'he felt satisfied it would not be so.' In the one case, there was danger to his prospects, in the other there would be none; nor was this given as an opinion formed, or belief entertained—it is of stronger import—he was *satisfied* there would be none. The speech had its effect, the long agony was over and the determination taken to move together. Thus was the whole machinery ready to operate provided defection could be kept from its parts. And until this were effected Mr. Clay's course was but matter of conjecture. If judgement and sound deliberation, prompted him to adopt the preference he did, certainly it does not follow that duty demanded of him this grave and formal exercise of his influence, whereby to have controlled the opinions and votes of others. Resting on this ground of decision merely, apart from any other, and future consideration, such active zeal was forbidden by the situation in which he himself had very lately stood, and more especially from the personal relation which he, and Mr. Adams had recently occupied towards each other.

The course adopted by Mr. Clay, in reference to this election, and the circumstances attending it at the time were then as now the subject of free and censurable remark. The final consummation though did not for a time take place. Many, incredulous to mere assertion, and anxious to maintain their former favourable opinions, were willing and disposed to defer all credence until after the Inauguration, and when it should with certainty be ascertained whether Mr. Clay would be appointed to the first situation in the Cabinet. The nomination came! It was submitted to the Senate.—a vote taken, and contrary to what before, I believe, had ever happened, in reference to a Cabinet Appointment, a large number of that body (one third) were found in opposition to it. Besides those there were others, unfriendly to the confirmation but who yielded their assent on the ground that the President was amenable to the country for a correct administration of its affairs; and that the immemorial usage of the Senate, had conceded him the right to select his Cabinet agreeably to his own wishes. It was said if the Senate shall refuse their assent, and future mishaps arise a strong defence to the Executive would be afforded and the President be enabled to say—the Senate opposed me and denied a right heretofore never withheld—the right of obtaining that assistance in which I had confidence, and which, it was my desire and object to procure. That the nomination though, was silently voted on, and nothing said respecting it is not correct. A Senator in his place addressed the chair—opposed a confirmation and presented the reasons, of his objections which were entirely in reference to Mr. Clay's course and conduct on the Presidential election. I shall not use his name nor attempt to quote his remarks, although the injunction of secrecy has been long since removed. I well remember tho', that the name of this Senator and what he had done, and what said were spoken of at the time publicly; and I well remember too, that no reply to him was made or attempted or committee of enquiry asked for. After he had taken his seat, the nomination was voted on, and carried, and the appointment confirmed. I know not what friend or member, afforded Mr. Clay the information that his nomination was not objected to in the Senate; But I do know, that he made an incorrect report.

If after a perusal of what is here written there shall be any, disposed to maintain, that a statement, simply, of Mr. Buchanan's conversation, is all that was necessary, or proper to be presented; and that I should have gone no farther, this is my answer.—It is a public matter, and one about which the country has manifested deep solicitude; it was right thence to speak what I knew. But besides this, Mr. Clay without regard to others' feelings, or concern for the injustice he might be doing, has undertaken to hold me before the public, by representing that I had sustained a paper for the avowed object of assailing his motives and deterring him in the exercise of his duty, for thus it seems to be read: a noble vocation indeed! Why do this? I had not interfered to interrupt Mr. Clay's repose;—I had written no letter to Mr. Carter Beverly; and far as he then had knowledge, had spoken nothing of or concerning him. No reasonable man then, can look to me as a volunteer in this business or as having gone farther, than even, justice to myself demanded.

JOHN H. EATON.

Franklin, Ten. Sept. 12. 1827.

Easton Gazette.

EASTON, MD.

SATURDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 13.

GEN. JACKSON AND THE TARIFF,

A certain Doctor Coleman of N. Carolina has extracted the subjoined letter from General Jackson, or his amanuensis, (for they say that the General though great in Indian Wars is no mighty Grammarian or Orthographer, and his late correspondence with the Secretary of the Navy is said to be proof of this) and we present this letter, taken from one of the devoted Jackson prints, "The Delaware Gazette" of honest memory though of fallen fame, to our readers, that they may see what General Jackson's notions are about Tariffs.

We had a great pother rung about our ears not long since, that after great consideration it was resolved to take up Jackson as being *anti-tariff*, or *less tariff*, than Mr. Adams—and here is proof from Gen. Jackson's own hand how far in truth this wonderful surmise is founded.

Read this letter to Doctor Coleman, & then say, if any man can be fuller up with tariff mania than Gen. Jackson—and further say, if you have seen a more complete electioneering letter at any time from any quarter—and still further say, if you have seen a letter of truer slang, of more false politics, or of less statesman-like character. If the author of such a letter as this is fit to be President of these United States, it will be no hard matter to get plenty of them—for we believe there is no county in Maryland that will not afford a hundred & fifty men who can write a letter of sounder politics than this from Gen. Jackson to Dr. Coleman.

Jesuitical.—The General says, "he is in favour of a *judicious revision* of the tariff, and so far as it embraces the design of fostering, protecting and preserving, *within ourselves*, the means of national defence & independence." Now what does he mean by *fostering within ourselves* the means of national independence? Just exactly what the manufacturers themselves mean, that is, prohibitory duties upon imported articles, by which the whole Commerce of our country is to be destroyed, our wheat, corn and flour prevented from going abroad to foreign markets, and then the manufacturers at home will get their breadstuffs for little or nothing, and we shall all be obliged to buy their manufactures at their own price, because the *judicious tariff* of Gen. Jackson will prevent the importation of any foreign article.

False Politics—General Jackson says, "Beyond this, I look at the tariff with an eye to the *proper distribution of labour and to revenue*—and with a view to discharge the national debt"—It is a wonder he had not said, and to the levelling of fluids—for a tariff to work a distribution of labour is about as wise as a law to level water—Let labour alone, away with your prohibitions and restrictions, and enterprise and profits will always give the best distribution to labour—But when the General talks of increasing revenue and paying off the national debt by prohibitory duties and manufactures, this is indeed a political riddle for political children to puzzle themselves with.—What revenue do manufactures produce? Not a cent—Prohibitory duties destroy all commerce for the benefit of manufactures, and our whole revenue is derived from commerce; and that revenue is our only dependence for paying off the national debt—for, as for the little precariously received from back lands, it is not worth mentioning.

Slang—The General is against a national debt, "as it is calculated to raise around the administration a *monied aristocracy*."—This is old, worn out Jacobinical Balderdash, that a man of sense would disdain to stoop to. This monied aristocracy is a term to frighten, as his huge oaths and execrations used to be employed in the army to drive his officers and soldiers who displeased him. What the General calls a monied aristocracy, is when the Government wants money and the citizens of this country or of any other lend it for the purpose of aiding government, the persons who make the loan constitute this *monied aristocracy*. What danger is to be apprehended from these men? The Government has their money, and so far they are obliged by government, instead of the Administration being subservient to them—Nay more—Hitherto our government has been well administered, and it is conferring an obligation on individuals to borrow their money for the use of government—So much so, that individuals will lend money to Goverment at one or two per cent less than to any person else—thus it is an accommodation to the leaders, who are a keen sighted set of men, and who will never risk their money in bad hands—As for the administration tampering with the creditors of the government, that is too absurd to listen to, and the whole story of a monied aristocracy in our country is a weak fiction, first set on foot by bad men with bad designs, and they who continue the talk, in spite of all the confutation and experience of the past, must, to say the least of them, be very silly, drivelling politicians, and such as the people ought to laugh at rather than employ in the management of their concerns.

More Slang.—The General says "we have been too long subject to the policy of British Merchants. It is time that we should become a little more *Americanized*"—This is an attempt to appeal to old jealousies and angry feelings against Great Britain—This strain has been long worn out, and the wise and best men of our country have adopted other maxims in relation to all foreign nations, viz: "In war enemies, in peace friends—Commerce and free intercourse with all, entangling alliances with none" in which there is more sense and patriotism than in all your tariffs and talks about British Merchants and Americanism.

It would consume too much time and space to go regularly through this electioneering letter, stuffed with pretence at patriotism and gilded with apparent frankness. We leave it for the cool reflection of our readers, and we think, when they are done with it, that the anti-tariff men will have but little to hope from General Jackson.—In truth we always thought it an absurdity for any man to pretend that tariff and anti-tariff had any thing to do with a choice between Mr. Adams and the General. There is a majority of tariff states and people, and no man can be elected who is anti-tariff—this is the misfortune—but when men tell us they are for Gen. Jackson because he is anti tariff, it is ridiculous—read his letter and doubt no more.

We do not mean to say that General Jackson wants patriotism—we really believe him to be entirely well affected to our country—but he wants the necessary knowledge and experience of a statesman—He does not know enough to be President of these United States, and it is all folly for us to be giving way to prejudices against Mr. Adams, and trying to persuade ourselves that General Jackson is more honest, more opposed to tariffs, or less inclined to adopt all that state management which has been found necessary in all governments—not corruption, but fair address in regulating men and things upon sound principles to effect good national objects.

But here is the letter.

From the Delaware Gazette.

Dr. Coleman, of N. C. having addressed a letter to General Jackson, asking his opinion, upon the subject of protecting the manufactures of the country, and intimating his unwillingness to support a man who was in favor of the system, received the following reply:

Washington, April 26th, 1824.

"SIR.—I have had the honour, this day to receive your letter of the 21st inst, and with candor, shall reply to it. My name has been brought before the nation by the people themselves, without any agency of mine; for I wish it not to be forgotten that I have never solicited office; nor, when called upon by the constituted authorities, have ever declined, where I conceived my services could be beneficial to my country. But, as my name has been brought before the nation, for the first office in the gift of the people, it is incumbent on me, when asked, frankly to declare my opinion upon any political national question, pending before, and about which the country feels an interest.

"You ask me my opinion on the tariff. I answer, that I am in favour of a judicious examination and revision of it; and so far as the tariff bill before us embraces the design of fostering protecting, and preserving within ourselves the means of national defence and Independence; particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it. The experience of the late war ought to teach us a lesson, and one never to be forgotten. If our liberty and republican form of government, procured for us by our revolutionary fathers, are worth the blood and treasure at which they were obtained it surely is our duty to protect and defend them. Can there be an American patriot, who saw the privations, dangers and difficulties experienced for the want of proper means of defence during the last war, who would be willing again to hazard the safety of our country, if embroiled; or to rest it for defence on the precarious means of national resource to be derived from commerce in a state of war with a maritime power, who might destroy that commerce to prevent us obtaining the means of defence, and thereby subdue us? I hope there is not; and if there is, I am sure he does not deserve to enjoy the blessings of freedom. Heaven smiled upon, and gave us liberty and independence.—*That same Providence has blessed us with the means of national defence.—If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which he has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of his blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—lead, iron and copper; and given us climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defence they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection that our own manufactories and laborers may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles, so essential in war.* Beyond this, I look at the tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor; and to revenue; and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe that a national debt is a national blessing, but rather a curse to a republic; inasmuch as it is calculated to raise around the administration a monied aristocracy, dangerous to the liberties of the country. This tariff—I mean a judicious one—possesses more fanciful than real danger. I will ask, what is the real situation of the agriculturalist. Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus product? Except for cotton he has neither a foreign nor home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture: and that the channels for labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture this superabundant labor; employ it in mechanism and manufactures; thereby creating a home market for your bread stuffs, and distributing labor to the most profitable account; and benefits to the country will result. Take from Agriculture in the U. States six hundred thousand men, women & children, and you will at once give a home market for more bread stuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time that we should become a little more *Americanized*; and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves.

It is therefore, my opinion, that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defence within ourselves, on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last, though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which, must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence and wealth of the community.

"*This is a short outline of my opinions generally, on the subject of your inquiry; and believing them correct, and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you, I would not barter them for any office or situation of a temporal character that could be given me.*"

I have presented you my opinions freely because I am without concealment; and should, indeed despise myself, if I could believe myself capable of desiring the confidence of any, by means so ignoble.

"I am sir, very respectfully, yours, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON.

"*Dr. L. H. Coleman, Warrenton, N. C.*

PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

Some of our readers complain that they are tired of Jackson and Adams, and say, let us have no more of it until just before the election. We are sorry to place any thing before our readers that is not acceptable, but in a country and government like our own, the election of Chief Magistrate will always be the predominant and most

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