EASTON GAZETTE.

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ADDRESS OF
HENRY CLAY,
TO THE PUBLIC;
Containing certain testimonials in refutation of the Charges against him,
MADE BY GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,
TOUCHING
THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

ADDRESS, &c.
[CONTINUED.]

With the present Secretary of War I had a conversation in the early part of the session of 1824-5, on returning from a dinner, at the Columbia College, at which we both were in company with Gen. Lafayette and others. The day of the dinner was the 15th of December, which may be verified by a resort to the National Intelligencer. In the course of that conversation, Mr Barbour states that he expressed himself in the event of the contest "being narrowed down to Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, in favour of Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay expressed a coincidence of opinion."

It will be recollected that Gen. Lafayette was in Washington during the greater part of the session of the Presidential election. He mentioned the subject to me with his characteristic delicacy. Without seeking to influence my vote, or manifesting the least disposition to interfere in the election, he made a simple inquiry of me, which I am quite sure was prompted by the deep interest which he felt in every thing that concerns the welfare of this country. I am happy to be able now to submit the statement of the General of what passed between us on that occasion. He says: "Blessed as I have lately been with the welcome, and conscious as it is my happy lot to be of the affection and confidence of all parties and all men in every part within the United States, feelings which I most cordially reciprocate, I ever have thought myself bound to avoid taking any part in local or personal divisions. Indeed, if I thought that in these matters my influence could be of any avail, it should be solely exerted to deprecate, not by far, the free Republican, and full discussion of principles and candidates, but those invidious slanders which although they are happily repelled by the good sense, the candor, and in domestic instances, by the delicacy of the American people, tend to give abroad incorrect and disparaging impressions. Yet, that line of conduct from which I must not deviate except in imminent cases now out of the question, does not imply a forgetfulness of facts nor a refusal to state them occasionally. My remembrance concurs with your own on this point, that in the latter end of December either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the Presidential candidature, and after having expressed my abovementioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of a confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple unqualified question, respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was that in your opinion, the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, and that you had concluded to vote for Mr. Adams. Such has been, if not the literal wording, at least the precise sense of a conversation which it would have been inconsistent for me to carry farther and not to keep a secret, while a recollection of it, to assist your memory I should not now deny, not only to you as my friend, but to any man in a similar situation."

Gen. Lafayette was not able to state, with absolute precision, the date of the conversation between us, nor can I undertake to specify the day, although I retain a perfect recollection of the conversation. It was, he says, "in the latter end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the Presidential Candidature." He left Washington on the 16th for Annapolis, and returned on the 21st. [See National Intelligencer.] If the conversation took place before that excursion, it must have been on or prior to the 16th of December. But he says that I was out of the "Presidential Candidature." Whether I should be returned to the House or not, was not ascertained until the vote of Louisiana was known. Rumors had reached this city of the issue of it, previous to the 20th of the month; but the first certain intelligence of it was brought here by Mr. Senator Bouligny on the 20th, according to his recollection. On Gen. Lafayette's return from Annapolis, the probability is that the subject of the Presidential election was a common topic of conversation, as information had then just reached the city from Louisiana. I called to see him immediately after his return, and, as it had been very confidently expected that I would receive the vote of Louisiana, it is quite likely that it was on that occasion that he held the conversation with me. This would fix the day to have been prior to Christmas. But whatever was the actual day, there can be no doubt that it was before the memorable interview between General Jackson and Mr. Buchanan.

Here, then, is an unbroken chain of testimony, commencing early in October, 1824, and extending to nearly the end of the year, establishing, beyond all controversy, my fixed and unwavering decision not to vote for Gen. Jackson. This purpose is deliberately manifested at different periods, in different places, and to distinguished individuals who would have been the last in society that I should have thought of deceiving. This testimony stands unopposed, and, with truth cannot be opposed by a solitary individual. There does not exist a human being, and if the dead could be recalled, one could not be summoned from the grave, who could truly testify that I ever expressed or ever intimated the remotest intention to vote for Gen. Jackson, in any contingency whatever.—As to him, my mind was never for a moment in doubt or difficulty. And whatever personal predilection I might have entertained for Mr. Crawford, of whose state of health there were such opposite representations in the public prints, when I saw him myself, there was no alternative in my judgment but that which I embraced. I have reason to believe that Gen. Jackson and his friends cherished no expectation that I would vote for him. Gen. Call, the then delegate from Florida, was his ardent and intimate friend, and had been his Aid. They travelled together on their journey to Washington City in the fall of 1824. In a letter from Gen. Jackson to Mr. Eaton, which is contained in the 66th page of the 28th vol. of Niles' Register, he states that Gen. Call was with him on that journey, and he refers to him as corroborating his own memory relative to a transaction at Washington, (Pennsylvania.) It is presumable that the election with its prospects and hopes must have frequently formed a subject of conversation on the journey. It can scarcely be doubted that Gen. Call was well acquainted with Gen. Jackson's views and expectations. At a tavern at Rockville, in Maryland, about fifteen miles from this city, during that same journey, General Call and several other gentlemen engaged in conversation about the presidential election. John Braddock, esq. (a gentleman not known to me, but who I understand is a merchant of great respectability) was present; and he states that "when the vote which Mr. Clay would probably give was spoken of, Gen. Call declared that the Friends of Gen. Jackson did not expect Mr. Clay to vote for him, and if he did so, it would be an act of duplicity on his part." [See Appendix C.]

In General Jackson's address to the public, of the 18th of July last, touching his previous statements to Mr. Beverly, and communicating the name of Mr. Buchanan, as the gentleman who bore the imaginary overture, he says, "the origin—the beginning of this matter was at my own house and fireside; where surely a freeman may be permitted to speak on public topics, without having ascribed to him improper designs." From this statement the fair inference is, that General Jackson intends to aver that he had never before spoken of his charge against me. The "origin, the beginning" of this matter was, he says, at his own fireside; that is, it was in March 1827, when, according to Mr. Beverly, before a crowd of company, of which there were no less than seven Virginians, he proclaimed his accusation. The obligation to observe the principles of honor, and to speak with scrupulous veracity of all men, and especially of our competitors, is unaffected by time or place. The domestic fireside has no privilege which exempts a man of honor from the force of that obligation. On the contrary there, more than in any other place, in the midst of one's family, should examples be exhibited of truth, of charity, and of kindness towards our fellow men. All the surrounding circumstances tend to soothe the vindictive passions, and to inculcate moderation. Whether the privileges of the domestic circle have been abused by General Jackson, or not, in my instance, let the impartial world decide. The attitude in which he stood before the American people, & the subsisting relations between him and me, one might have supposed would prompt him to the observance of the greatest delicacy.—Has he practised it? If indeed, in an unguarded moment of hilarity, amidst his convivial friends, in his own domicil, he had incautiously touched a subject, respecting which he might have been expected to prescribe to himself the most profound silence, he might possibly find, not any justification, but some excuse for his indiscretion, in the public liberality. But what must be the general surprise when the fact turns out to be, that the "origin—the beginning" of this matter with Gen. Jackson, was not, as he alleges, in March, 1827, but at least two years before; not as he also alleges at his own fireside, but in public places, on the highway, at taverns, and on board a steam-boat! I have expected to receive testimony to establish the fact of his promulgating his charge on all those various occasions, during his journey on his return from Congress, in March, 1825. At present I have only obtained it in part. (See Appendix D.)

Mr. Daniel Large testifies "that on my way down the Ohio from Wheeling to Cincinnati, in the month of March, 1825, on board the steam boat General Neville, among many other passengers were Gen. Jackson and a NUMBER of gentlemen from Pennsylvania, some of whom remarked to the General that they regretted that he had not been elected President instead of Mr. Adams. Gen. Jackson replied that if he would have made the same promises and offers to Mr. Clay, that Mr. Adams had done, he (Gen. Jackson) would then in that case, have been in the Presidential Chair, but he would make no promises to any; that if he went to the Presidential chair, he would go with clean hands & uncontrolled by any one."

To this statement, Mr. William Crosdell, who was present, subjoins a certificate that "it is a faithful account of Gen. Jackson's conversation on the occasion alluded to." Both of those gentlemen, I have been informed, are respectable citizens of Philadelphia.

I have understood, that to the Rev. Andrew Wylie, Major Davis, and others in Washington, in Pennsylvania, on one occasion; at a tavern in West Alexandria, in the same county on another; at Brownsville; at Cincinnati; at Louisville; and at Bowling Green, in a tavern in Kentucky, General Jackson made similar assertions. Should the additional proof expected arrive, it shall be presented to the public.—Whether such was the design or not, General Jackson appears to have proclaimed his accusation, at such convenient and separated points, as would insure its general circulation. We have the testimony of Gen. Duff Green, (which is at least admissible on such an occasion) that he PERSONALLY knew of Gen. Jackson speaking to the same effect as early as March, 1825.

Thus it appears that, in March, 1825, at various places, in the presence of many persons, Gen. Jackson took upon himself to represent that Mr. Adams had made offers to me, and that if he had made similar proposals, he and not Mr. Adams, would have been elected President. With what truth then can he assert, as he has done, that the "origin" of his charge was two years afterwards at his own fireside? Or that he "has not gone in the highways and market places" to proclaim his opinions?

Whilst he has made no protest against any benefit which might accrue to himself from the dissemination of such a charge against me, he is extremely desirous not to be considered as my PUBLIC ACCUSER. He has indeed not appeared before a grand jury to support a bill of indictment against me. Neither did he arraign me, when acting under the oath of a Senator of the United States, he passed upon my nomination. But, if he can be regarded as a public accuser, who, on numerous occasions, to particular individuals, as well as before crowds of people, in public as well as private places, charges another with a political offence, Gen. Jackson unites the double character of my public and private accuser. With him I have been reluctantly compelled to believe the accusation originated. Whether from an honest misconception of the purport of Mr. Buchanan's interview with him, (which no one can doubt was the source of the calumny) or from the design of promoting his own interests, the injury to me has been the same. The public (as I certainly had) prior to the last Summer, supposed that the charge had originated with Mr. George Kremer's letter to the Columbian Observer.—But recent disclosures of General Jackson and his partisans, satisfactorily establish that, although the sternness of Mr. Kremer's patriotism prompted him "to cry aloud and spare not," he must be stripped of the borrowed merit of original invention, which impartial justice requires should now be transferred to a more distinguished personage. A brief summary of incontestable facts will evince the justness of his observation.

It was the policy with which the political campaign was conducted in the winter 1824-25 by the forces of the General, in the first instance to practice stratagem with my friends & me. Accordingly the arts of persuasion and flattery were employed. But as I did not hasten to give in my adhesion, and remained most mysteriously silent, in other words had not converted myself into a boisterous and zealous partizan of Gen. Jackson, it became necessary to change that policy, and to substitute intimidation for blandishment. Mr. Kremer presented himself as a fit agent in this new work. He was ardent, impelled by a blind and infuriate zeal, and irresponsible, and possessed at least the faculty of clamorous vociferation. His letter to the Columbian Observer was prepared, and he was instructed to sign and transmit it. That he was not the author of the letter he has deliberately admitted to Mr. Crowninshield, former Secretary of the Navy. That he was not acquainted with its contents, that is, did not comprehend the import of its terms, had been sufficiently established. To Gov. Kent, Col. Little, (who voted in the House of Representatives for Gen. Jackson,) Col. Brent of Louisiana, and Mr. Digges, he disclaimed all intention of imputing any thing dishonorable to me. (See Appendix E.) Who was the real author of the letter, published in the Columbian Observer to which Mr. Kremer affixed his signature, I will not undertake positively to assert. Circumstances render it highly probable that it was written by Mr. Eaton, and with the knowledge of Gen. Jackson. In relation to the card of Mr. Kremer, in answer to that which I had previously inserted in the National Intelligencer, I remarked in my circular to my constituents, that the night before the appearance of Mr. Kremer's, "as I was voluntarily informed, Mr. Eaton, a Senator from Tennessee, and the biographer of General Jackson, (who boarded in the end of this City opposite to that in which Mr. Kremer took up his abode, a distance of about two miles and a half,) was closeted some time with him." This paragraph led to a correspondence between Mr. Eaton and myself, in the course of which, in a letter from me to him, under date the 31st March, 1825, I observe, "it is proper for me to add that I did believe; from your nocturnal interview with Mr. Kremer, referred to in my address, that you prepared or advised the publication of his card, in the guarded terms in which it is expressed. I should be happy by a disavowal on your part, of the fact of that interview, or of its supposed object, to be able to declare, as in the event of such disvowal, I would take pleasure in declaring, that I have been mistaken in supposing that you had any agency in the composition or publication of that card." No occasion can be conceived more fitting for an explicit denial of my participation on the part of Mr. Eaton, in the transaction referred to. It was the subject of the correspondence between us; and I purposely afforded him an honorable opportunity of avowing or disavowing my co-operation with Mr. Kremer. Instead of embracing it, he does not deny the visit, nor my inference from it.—On the contrary, he says in his letter of the 31st March; 1825, "suppose the fact to be that I did visit him; (Mr. Kremer,) and suppose too that it was, as you have termed it, a nocturnal visit; was there any thing existing that should have denied me this PRIVILEGE!"

As Mr. Kremer asserted that he did not write the letter to the Columbian Observer, and as Mr. Eaton does not deny that he wrote the Card published in Mr. Kremer's name, the inference is not unfair that having been Mr. Kremer's adviser and amanuensis on one occasion, he acted in the same character on the other. It is quite clear that the statements in the letter to the Columbian Observer are not made upon Mr. Kremer's own knowledge. He speaks of reports, rumors, &c. Overtures were SAID to have been made, &c."

It is most probable that those statements are founded on Gen. Jackson's interpretation of the object of Mr. Buchanan's interview. How did he obtain the information which was communicated to the Columbian Observer? Upon the supposition that the letter was prepared by Mr. Eaton, we can at once comprehend it. He was perfectly apprised of all that had passed between Mr. Buchanan and Gen. Jackson. The coincidence of the language employed in the letter to the Colombian Observer, with that of Gen. Jackson to Mr. Carter Beverly is very striking, and proves that it has a common origin. Mr. Kremer says, "Overtures were said to have been made to the friends of Mr. Clay, offering him the appointment of Secretary of State for his aid to elect Mr. Adams." Gen. Jackson says "He [Mr. Buchanan] said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State." The variations between other parts of the two letters are not greater than often occur in different narratives of the same conversation. They are not so great as those which exist in the accounts which Gen. Jackson has himself given, at different times, of the same transaction. This will be manifest from a comparison of Mr. Beverly's report of the conversation, at the Hermitage, contained in his Fayetteville letter of the 8th March last, with Gen. Jackson's statement of the same conversation, in his letter to Mr. Beverly of the 6th of June. Speaking of this letter Mr. Beverly says (in his letter to N. Zane, Esq.) that Gen. Jackson "asserts a great deal more than he ever told me."

From the intimacy which existed between General Jackson and Mr. Eaton, and from the fact, stated by them both, of the knowledge which each possessed of Mr. Buchanan's communication, it cannot be reasonably doubted, if Mr. Eaton prepared Mr. Kremer's letter, that Gen. Jackson was acquainted with this fact. It is worthy of particular observation that up to this day as far as I am informed, Mr. Kremer has most carefully concealed the source whence he derived the statements contained in his famous letter.

The rancor of party spirit spares nothing.—It pervades, it penetrates every where. It does not scruple to violate the sanctity of social and private intercourse—It substitutes for facts dark surmises and malevolent insinuations —It misrepresents and holds up in false and invidious lights incidents, perfectly harmless in themselves, of ordinary occurrence, or of mere common civility. More than once, in these agitated times, has unsuspecting and innocent conversation, which I have held with an individual, & which I never entertained the slightest suspicion was to be the text of newspaper animadversion, been published with scandalous perversions in the public prints, & supplied aliment for malignant criticism.—The intercourse and relations between Gen. Jackson and myself have furnished a copious theme of detraction and misrepresentation. These remarks are made in justification of the allusion which I feel constrained to make to a subject which, although there is nothing appertaining to it that I can desire to conceal, or which can occasion me any regret, should never be touched, without the most urgent necessity. I would not now refer to it, if I had not too much ground to believe that he has countenanced, if not prompted very great misrepresentations, which have first appeared in newspapers supporting his cause and enjoying his particular confidence, of circumstances, information about which must have been derived from him.

My personal acquaintance with Gen. Jackson commenced in the Fall of 1815, at the City of Washington, prior to that time, I had never seen him. Our intercourse was then friendly and cordial. He engaged to pass a week of the ensuing summer at my residence in Kentucky. During that season, I received a letter from him communicating his regret that he was prevented from visiting me. I did not again see him until that session of Congress at which the events of the Seminole War were discussed. He arrived in Washington in the midst of the debate, and after the delivery, but before the publication of the first speech which I pronounced on that subject. Waiving all ceremony, I called to see him, intending by the visit to evince, on my part, that no opinion, which a sense of duty had compelled me to express of his public conduct, ought to affect our personal intercourse. My visit was not returned, and I was subsequently told that he was in the habit of indulging in the bitterest observations upon most of those (myself among the number) who had called in question the propriety of his military conduct in the Seminole War. I saw no more of him, except possibly at a distance during the same winter, in the city until the summer of the year 1819. Being in that summer, on my way from New Orleans to Lexington, and travelling the same road on which he was passing, in the opposite direction from Lexington to Nashville, we met at Lebanon in Kentucky, where I had stopt to breakfast. I was sitting at the door in the shade reading a newspaper, when the arrival of Gen. Jackson and his suite was announced.—As he ascended the steps and approached me, I rose and saluted him in the most respectful manner. He darted by me, slightly inclining his head, and abruptly addressed me.—He was followed by some of his suite who stopped and conversed with me some time, giving me the latest information of my family. I afterwards learnt that Gen. Jackson accompanied President Monroe, in a visit to my family, and partook of some slight refreshment at my house. On leaving the tavern at Lebanon I had occasion to go into a room where I found Gen. Jackson seated reading a newspaper, and I retired, neither having spoken to the other, and pursued my journey, in company with four or five travelling companions.

Such was the state of our relations at the commencement of the session of Congress in 1823, the interval having passed without my seeing him. Soon after his arrival here to attend that session, I collected from certain indications that he had resolved upon a general amnesty, the benefit of which was to be extended to me. He became suddenly reconciled with some individuals between whom and himself there had been a long existing enmity. The greater part of the Tennessee delegation (all I believe except Mr. Eaton and General Cocke) called on me together early in the session, for the express purpose, as I understood, of producing a reconciliation between us. I related, in substance, all of the above circumstances, including the meeting at Lebanon. By way of apology for his conduct at Lebanon, some of the gentlemen remarked that he did not intend any disrespect to me, but that he was laboring under some indisposition. I stated that the opinions which I had expressed in the *Hall* of Representatives, in regard to Gen. Jackson's military transactions had been sincerely entertained and were still held, but that being opinions in respect to public acts, they never had been supposed by me to form any just occasion for private enmity between us, and that none had been cherished on my part. Consequently there was on my side no obstacle to a meeting with him, and maintaining a respectful intercourse. For the purpose of bringing us together, the Tennessee representatives, all of whom, according to my recollection, boarded at Mrs. Claxton's, on Capitol *Hill*, gave a dinner to which we were both invited, and at which I remember, Mr. Senator White, then acting as a Commissioner under the Florida treaty, and others were present—We there met, exchanged salutations, and dined together. I retired from the table early, and was followed to the door by Gen. Jackson and Mr. Eaton, who insisted on my taking a seat in their carriage. I rode with them and was set down at my own lodgings. I was afterwards invited by Gen Jackson to dine with him, where I met with Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard and many other gentlemen, chiefly members of Congress. He also dined, in company with fifteen or eighteen members of Congress, at my lodgings, & we frequently met, in the course of the winter, always respectfully addressing each other.

Just before I left Kentucky the succeeding fall (Nov. 1824,) to proceed to Washington, a report reached Lexington that Gen Jackson intended to take that place in his route to the city. Our friendly intercourse having been restored, in the manner stated, I was very desirous that he should arrive, prior to my departure from home, that I might offer to him the hospitality of my house, and, lest he might misinterpret the motive of my departure, if it preceded his arrival. In this temper of mind, I think it quite possible that I may have said that, if I had been aware of his intention to pass that way, I would have written to him when I intended to set out, and urged him to reach Lexington before I started on my journey. I certainly never contemplated travelling in company with him, having some time before made all my arrangements for the journey with the gentleman who accompanied me; and having determined upon a route, different from the usual one, which was taken by Gen. Jackson. It has been affirmed that I wrote to him expressing a wish to accompany him to the City of Washington, and his silence would seem to imply an acquiescence in the correctness of the statement, if it were not put forward on his suggestion. I am quite sure that I did not at that period write him a letter of any description; but if I did, I here express my entire assent to the publication of that or any other letter addressed to him by me. I do not believe I did, because I do not think that there was time, after I heard of his intention to come by Lexington, for a letter from me to reach Nashville, and an answer to be returned, before it was requisite to commence the journey—a punctual attendance on my part being necessary as the presiding officer of the House. If such a letter had been (as most undesignedly it might have been,) written, can any thing more strongly illustrate the spirit of hostility against me than the unwarrantable inferences, which have been drawn from that assumed fact? When I left home in November I did not certainly know the electoral vote of a solitary state in the Union. Although I did not doubt the result of that in Kentucky, the returns had not come in and the first authentic information which I received of the vote of any State was of that of Ohio, which reached me on the Kanawa, during the journey, more than two hundred miles from my residence.

Whether I would be one of the three returned to the House of Representatives was not ascertained, until more than three weeks after I had reached Washington. Is it not, then, most unreasonable to suppose, if I had written such a letter as has been imagined, proposing that we should travel together, that I could have had any object connected with the presidential election? I reached Washington several days before him. Shortly after his arrival he called to see me, but I was out, returned the visit, considering in both instances one of mere ceremony. I met with him but rarely during that session, and always when I did see him, in company. I sought no opportunities to meet him, for having my mind unalterably fixed in its resolution not to vote for him, I wished to inspire him with no hopes from me. The presidential election never was a topic, to which the most distant allusion was made by me, in any conversation with him, but once, and that happened at a dinner given by the Russian Minister, the late Baron of Tuyll, on the 24th December 1824. I recollect the day, because it was the birth day of the late Emperor Alexander.—About thirty gentlemen composed the party, and among them Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, General Jackson, and I think, Mr. Macon. Just before we passed from the drawing into the dining room, a group of some eight or ten gentlemen were standing together, of whom General Jackson and I were a part, and Internal Improvements (I do not recollect how) became the subject of conversation. I observed to him, in the course of it, that if he should be elected President, I hoped the cause would prosper under his administration. He made some general remarks, which I will not undertake to state, lest I should do him injustice.

My principal inducement to the publication of this address being to exhibit the testimony which it embodies; it forms no part of my purpose to comment on the statements which have been published of Messrs. Buchanan, Eaton, Isaacs, and Markley, all of them the friends of Gen. Jackson, on the occasion of the late election. Neither shall I notice the numerous falsehoods of anonymous writers, and editors of newspapers, with which the press has teemed to my prejudice. The task would be endless. To guard against any misrepresentation that might be placed on my silence, in respect to a letter from Mr. Harrison Munday, which has been widely circulated, and which was published at a period chosen to affect the Kentucky election, I declare that whether this letter be genuine or not, its statements are altogether groundless. I never had such a conversation with him as that letter describes respecting Mr. Adams, who, at the time when it is alleged to have happened, was abroad, & of whom at that early period, there had been certainly no general conversation in regard to his election to the Presidency. The appointment which Mr. *Markley* holds, was conferred upon him in consequence of the very strong recommendations of him, principally for a more important office, from numerous highly respectable persons of all parties, in various parts of Pennsylvania, from some of the Pennsylvania delegation, among whom Mr. Buchanan took a warm and zealous interest in his behalf, and from the support given to him by the Secretary of the Treasury, to which department the appointment belonged.

When it was ascertained that I was not one of the three candidates who were returned to the House of Representatives, I was compelled to vote, if I voted at all, for one of those actually returned. The duty which the people devolved on me was painful and perilous, and I anticipated that it was impossible for me, whatever course I should take, to escape censure. I confess that the measure has transcended all expectation, if it be not unexampled. It has been seen that my opinions was early and deliberately formed, under circumstances where no personal motive could have swayed me, that it was adhered to without deviation; and that it was avowed again and again, not to one or two but to many persons, not in obscurity, but standing high in the public estimation and in my own. Not a particle of opposing testimony has been, or with truth can be, adduced. I have indeed derived consolation from the reflection that, amidst all the perturbation of the times, no man has been yet found hardy enough to assert, that I ever signified a purpose of voting for General Jackson. It has been seen that, so far as any advances were made, they proceeded from the side of Gen. Jackson. After our meeting at Lebanon, ages might have rolled away, and, if we both continued to live, I never would have sought the renewal of any intercourse with him. When he came to the Senate, and at the commencement of the next session of Congress, the system of operation decided on, in respect to my friends and me, was one of courteous and assiduous attention. From that the transaction was to a scheme of intimidation, of which Mr. Kremer's letter is only a small part of the evidence. Intimidation of a representative of the people in the discharge of a solemn trust! That is the last day of the Republic on which such means shall be successfully employed and publicly sanctioned. Finding me immovable by flattery or fear, the

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