TO THE PUBLIC.

Letter 4.

After 7 years arduous struggle to break down certain abuses, and establish men in authority who would reform them, and who were pledged to reform them—I now beheld the bitter fruit which had crumbled to dust and ashes as the hand grasped it. The very reverse of the objects contemplated had been realized. The most corrupt and offensive coalitions were written in glaring characters on the face of the cabinet. The first step of gen. Jackson was to adopt a ruinous practice, which he had been elected expressly to put down and abolish forever—the admission of presidential candidates at the council board of the cabinet! He adopted Mr. Van Buren as the "heir to the empire"—his first act being to nominate his successor, and thus make a fatal inroad into the freedom of elections, by putting the stamp of authority on the favorite of the executive, and superseding the free choice of the people. Mr. Van Buren, too, had been the most violent of all the rancorous opponents of General Jackson; and from his proximity to maj. Eaton in the senate, gave rise to the natural belief, that his appointment was but the consummation of a previous understanding, and the consideration paid for his support. Here he touched the rock of corruption with the rod of intrigue, and the fountain of discord gushed forth in streams too powerful for the feeble hands of age to stay, or direct it into wholesome channels. He nominated his successor, and factions instantly derascinated the country in their conflicts for future power. It was, perhaps, a mistake; an error of judgment; the blunder of inexperience; but its foundation was corrupt, and its consequences have proved fatal.

No force of power; no influence of authority, in a free and enlightened country, ever can succeed in forcing mediocrity to high places; or invest with the magic of genius the downward propensities of a grovelling mind. When that calamity befalls a nation like this, it must be the work of infatuation in the people and delusion in the leaders. But why should an enlightened people bandage their own eyes to take those of other men---a really free people never will.

On all sides the *coalition* was manifest and the *corruption* glaring. Mr. Van Buren and his friends were secured and rewarded. Mr. Calhoun and his supporters were gratified by the treasury, and some minor stations---more to soothe them from opposition than to promote their interests or gratify their pride. The intention of getting rid of Mr. Calhoun, even at that early hour, was evident, by showing him that Mr. Van Buren was in the "chair of succession," while Mr. Calhoun, in compliance with republican usage, would be left out of the chair of the vice-presidency. It was an unnatural alliance that placed a statesman so highly gifted, and a patriot so inflexibly just as John C. Calhoun, in conjunction with men so measured in talent, so loose in principle, and so grovelling in their views, as the adherents of the secretary of state---to say nothing of that frank, honorable, and lofty bearing, which exhibited so splendid a contrast in his favor, and threw his pigmy rival into such midnight shade. It was enough to see the president of the senate presiding with Roman dignity over that august body, to satisfy the least sagacious mind, that he held no qualities and feelings in common with the men of the government, which could create affinities between them, or permit them to tolerate him near the throne, without conspiring his destruction! Impressed with these views and feelings, I endeavoured to become personally acquainted with Mr. Calhoun---but the bustle and confusion incident to the approaching close of the session, deprived me of that satisfaction.

During my continuance in Washington I had but one, or at most, two interviews with the new secretary of war. He appeared absorbed in the contemplation of the greatness which had suddenly burst upon him. He was impenetrable, cold, selfish, and calculating. We interchanged but few opinions; and his observations upon the discontent which I intimated to him would be felt, if not expressed in Pennsylvania, upon the choice of the cabinet, evinced the utmost contempt for the opinions of the people, and the most inexcusable arrogance in his new situation. It was evident, both in the manner of gen. Jackson and his biographer, that as soon as the election terminated, a new train of thoughts and feelings had entered into their breasts; and they now as much despised the sovereign people, who had placed them there, as they had courted them with abject solicitation for their votes, before the close of the ballot boxes. On one occasion, Mr. Eaton burst into a loud laugh, exclaiming, 'what will the people, the sovereigns, say to that Mr. Simpson." Exultation was then unmixed with those bitter thoughts of degradation which his subsequent treatment must have inspired in his bosom.—He was then swimming on bubbles, and they had not yet burst beneath him. He was dreaming of new alliances, fresh conquests and progressive merits, in the scale of political advancement; dreams as transitory as bright, as idle as illusory; as pernicious as unhallowed.

In all the conversations had by me with the president and his favorites, Eaton and Lewis, one impression was always produced more vividly than others—and that was, that they were *tired*, sick of *those people* who had placed them in power, and now panted to make converts of their opponents, by all the fawning of little minds, the sacrifices of unprincipled politicians and the favor of gratuitous friendship. Major Eaton had been severely sarcastic in his observations on the "barefooted Jacksonmen" as he and his lady had termed that unfortunate party, whose infatuation had enticed them to the support of unfeeling aristocratic, and ungrateful men. It was an unfailing theme for their ridicule and evidently a source of deep mortification to the president, as well as to his favorite, and his "factotum," that their party consisted so exclusively of *mechanics*, and *working people*! It was apparent, that their pride was excited to aspire after *better company*; and that they were bent upon using their efforts to conciliate the favor of the aristocracy and win the support of their opponents. Facts to this point will hereafter be adduced. The re-appointment of all the officers in the city, whose commissions expired on the 4th of March, 1829, will be explained by the new born feeling of upstart pride.

The better part of the friends of the President then at Washington, with the exception of *Mr.* Ingham's supporters, were loud in their expressions of mortification at the complexion of the new cabinet Judge Baldwin stood pre-eminent in this attitude—so also did Judge Hemphill, and the whole flower of the party There was no difference of opinion, among those who had come there without having a view to appointments. I must therefore, exclude from this mass of rebellion, the throng of *editors* who at that early hour, pressed round the person of the new president, to the evident danger of his suffocation. Among these the gentlemen of the last minute, of the 11th hour, were always most conspicuous. The fascinating person, and good natured visage of *Major* Noah, were not so deeply shaded by retiring modesty, as to escape observation. It was necessary that diffidence should not restrain this gentleman "of principle in proportion to his interest." He had nullified general Jackson too lavishly—had painted his *wife* in colors too degrading, to rely either upon the president's friendship, or his own talents, for promotion But the Major was popular, the flexibility of his principles saved him from creating enemies—his derelictions he met with a laugh—to the charge of apostacy, he answered by a stroke of humor and without a sound principle, or a useful talent, eat and drank his way to the head of a party that he had denounced as infamous, and ridiculed as imbecile. Exclusively mercenary, he had started for Mr. Crawford—then bowed to Mr. Clay—nodded to Mr. Calhoun and at last [illegible] flections to "the military chieftain" *his* Nero, *his* Cæsar, *his* Cataline! How could such a career and such qualifications, fail to gratify the man who acted on the maxim, that a *converted enemy* made the best friend, as a reformed rake makes the best husband? It was, I believe through this gentleman, that a proposition came, that I should receive the office of Fourth Auditor, which I of course from feelings of delicacy, indignantly rejected;—when other stations were successively named, and as promptly re-declined.—William Hewitt, Esq. and other gentlemen that could be named, who were then at Washington, were privy to those overtures.*

Mr. Isaac Hill of New Hampshire; Mr. Green, of Boston; and the *publisher* of the Philadelphia Gazette, Mr. Stevenson Smith, were most devoted and abject worshippers at the altar of the god of office. Mr. Hill was taciturn, shrewd, bilious & acquiescent in all that emanated from the power, whose golden effulgence mantled his cadaverous cheek with the flush of hope. He received his reward for having calumniated the *wife* of Mr. Adams—but retribution has since fallen upon both him and his patrons. Mr. Green was appointed Post-master of Boston, and Mr. Henshaw, another editor, (in a state that never did, and never will give a vote to general Jackson) was commissioned collector of the port—vengeance taking, the place of interest, and patronage being relied on for its conversion! Mr. Smith failed—as every thing else miscarried coming from Pennsylvania. This was a little surprising, for although Mr. Smith was not much more a favorite with Appollo than Minerva, and although he stood in the humble rank of *publisher*, yet he had been recommended to apply for office by the giver of all favors, Mrs. Eaton, to whom he paid assiduous attention; and when it is considered, that Mr. Smith never permitted a doubt to enter his mind, touching the *divine right* of the president to do what he pleased—and that he carried with him a good certificate of character under the signs-manuel of 1000 of his party, it is just matter for marvel how he escaped the honor of an appointment! Ambition, however, even in small matters will sometimes overreach itself. Mr. Smith aspired to be thought an original;—to walk *bare footed* to the hermitage—and on that rock he foundered although had his claims been but slightly scrutinized, the penalty of his rashness might have been averted, without offence to truth, or violence to consistency. But Mr. Smith has since been consoled by a pittance of printing† and lacks not zeal to serve those who pay best. His principles were, I believe, never expounded, and it is impossible to tell, whether events have conciliated or shocked him.

The history of the adhesion of this paper to General Jackson, is worthy of being recorded, as demonstrating the *high federal feeling* which rallied under the Jackson banner in order to put down Mr. Adams, though as pure as the angels in heaven. Mr. Gouge, the editor, was among those who suspected Mr. Adams' conversion to democracy to be sincere—and it was early agreed between the *Gazette* and the Evening Post of New York—that a warm and united opposition to Mr. Adams should be prosecuted—with the understanding that general Jackson could not fail, *after his election* of being secured by the *federal party* in consideration of their *more efficient support*. Viewed as an apostate from their ranks, at a moment of critical emergency and great bitterness of feeling—the resolution to hunt him down was unmitigated by one consideration of truth mercy or justice. The feeling towards general Jackson was that of *interest*—towards Mr. Adams of *hatred*. The issue of the contest exhibited Mr. Smith as an applicant for office-- for the common benefit of the concern. This example furnishes a just illustration of the accidental conjunction of mercenary atoms that congregrated at the *second election* for 1828, to secure a triumph that has necessarily disappointed all expectations save those founded on lust of office, and the most mercenary and degrading feelings of our nature, under the deceitful pretence of *democracy* on the one hand, and a shyness of office on the other.

I trust an apology will not be required for this introduction of Jackson's editors upon the scene at Washington, when the important consequences attending their appointment, are duly considered, as they affect the institutions of the country, and the wholesome purity of the newspaper press. An editor ought indubitably to be eligible to all the honors his country can bestow; and to exclude him from office would be to proscribe him on account of his profession. His right to appointment, therefore, cannot be questioned; but whether the manner of bestowing it is just, wholesome, or corrupt depends upon the circumstances attending it. An editor, like a prominent demagogue, or a member of congress, may be purchased from the antagonist party, or seduced from his duty to the people and his country, by an improper and impure bestowal of an appointment. All the editors whom gen. Jackson has commissioned, as far as I can now recollect, had come into his support during the canvass as they saw the current set in his favor, after having waged a war of extermination against him, until all hope of his ruin had expired. Under these circumstances, their purity, sincerity, and disinterestedness were to be tested by their future conduct---whether they stood aloof from office, or pressed forward, like *Swiss* for their pay. Mr. Noah, Mr. Isaac Hill, Mr. Kendall, and Mr. Henshaw, were the first to ask for, and the first to receive the *wages of corruption*. Whether the motives of the president were pure or impure, is not to the question: it is impossible they could be pure, without supposing him totally destitute of understanding and supposing likewise that he is not a *moral* agent——not a responsible being. The case of Noah is a conclusive one on this point; for he receives the pay from government, and gives the *song of praise*, in return, in his own newspaper. The case of Kendall is precisely parallel—who fills the columns of the Globe with adulation approaching to impiety—calling a frail and broken down old man, *'the greatest and the best"*—and heaping coals of fire upon the heads of all, who dare to exercise *freedom of opinion*, and maintain the *right of suffrage*, against a system of imbecility and corruption, which beggars all example even in the feculent history of once degenerate, but now *regenerating Europe*. According to the *circumstances* then, the appointment of *such editors* was in the highest degree culpable---fraught with peril to our rights and liberties, and imminent danger to the permanency of our free institutions; for as the great and the good Washington observed, in his farewell address, the only sure foundation of free government was *public and private virtue*. Once undermine this, and the whole fabric tumbles into ruins.

It was a general remark, and a theme for general regret among those who dissented from, and blushed for General Jackson's derelictions, that he should have brought with him from Tennessee, with the exception of Major Donelson, the least talented, the least accomplished, and the least honorable of his friends; but all surprise was terminated in mortification, when the eye rested on the *fugleman*, and Major Eaton, appeared as the flower of a band, who ought to have had for a leader, a generous, high minded chivalrous and warm hearted man; with a heart above *selfishness*, and a mind soaring to true fame

Against his appointment as Secretary of War, a unanimous protest was entered by the members of the Tennessee delegation; some of whom were so overcome by the violence done to decency and patriotism, as to sicken and confine themselves to their chambers. Before its confirmation by the Senate, a confidential committee was understood to have expostulated with the President against this unhappy appointment. "But the roaring lion" was not to be moved from his purposes towards the favorite, and he returned for answer, that "*there should be no government without* MAJOR EATON." A resolution adopted at that early day, which has since been so singularly manifested, in the unexampled dissolution of an entire cabinet, from motives affecting the domestic economy of their private families, and regulations touching the chastity of their wives and daughters.

A general renunciation of adhesion among those who remained true to their early principles, immediately took place at Washington. The number might have been few and select, as must ever be the case in opposition to the rising sun of power, whom all worship, propitiate and flatter, but they were men with few exceptions, of firm character and choice parts, who would not sacrifice the policy and interests of the country for a court smile, the favor of a President, or the patronage of government; they were men who had planned and executed a great political revolution; whose knowledge of human nature, and stores of political science, combined with their talents and patriotism, rendered them at all times formidable, because they were intrinsically powerful and intellectually great, not the mere creatures of a party, or the transitious idols of popular delusion.

Without waiting to see the President inducted into office—without calling on him—with no desire to behold a mock triumph, an empty show and a visionary pageant, I took my departure from Washington, filled with humiliation and disgust at the very moment that thousands were flocking in thoughtless haste, to join in a revel, of the character and tendency of which they were wholly ignorant, and about which they perhaps cared as little as they conceived The dream had passed from me—the long projected schemes of reform, that had engrossed the meditations of the midnight hour and occupied the labours of the day, had been dispelled forever by the first breath of infected power, tainted by the ambition of demagogues, and the intrigues of the court. How fully these impressions and opinions were reciprocated by the party in Pennsylvania, will appear in the course of the succeeding letter.

STEPHEN SIMPSON.

*It was urged from various quarters, that I ought to accept the office of 4th auditor, then in the occupancy of my brother-in-law, Dr. Watkins. I do not deem it necessary to mention the names of all the friends of the president, who proposed this station—which, fortunately, from the best motives, I had predetermined not to accept.

†A dispute has been waged between this publisher, and the proprietor of the Pennsylvania Inquirer, touching the *honor* of major Barry, and the conflicting interests of the two journals;—the postmaster general having solemnly pledged to Mr. Smith, the *identical advertisement* that operated like the forbidden fruit upon the gastric juices of Mr. Harding,—and caused his fall! Such are the motives of Gen. Jackson's supporters; and such the means by which he promotes his re-election!—Well might Addison exclaim, "how precious is a day—an hour of virtuous liberty!"

THE KENTUCKY ELECTION.

At length, we have *authentic* news of the result of the Kentucky Election, in the subjoined Letter to the editors from an intelligent correspondent, and in the article from the Louisville Journal which follows it. The remarks of our Kentucky friends, in these two articles, are so much to the point, that we make none of our own, except that the result of this election has decisively refuted the statements of those persons who, pretending not to be particularly hostile to Mr. Clay, have endeavoured to produce an impression upon the true friends to the cause with which he is identified, that he could not obtain the vote of his own State for the Presidency. Nothing, we believe, can be more certain, than his obtaining the vote of Kentucky, should he be nominated, as we question not that he will be, as the candidate of the National Republican Convention for the Presidency.

Nat. Intel.

Editor's Correspondence.

FRANKFORT, Ky. Aug. 11.

Gentlemen:—The worthy politicians of the capital of Kentucky have been doomed to suffer no small share of perplexity and vexation during the last five or six days—

> While great events were on the gale,
> And each hour brought a varying tale.

For nearly a week after the election was over, it was confidently believed here that Mr. Davis had been chosen a representative to congress in place of the Hon. H. Daniel. The hithermost counties, Montgomery and Fleming, had given him a clear majority of 56; Bath, which, in all former contests, had given Jackson about 200 majority, had given Daniel but 60 odd in this election: another county, we know, had disappointed his expectation to the amount of 160. But in the most distant part of the district there are three counties, of mountains and barren hills containing more square miles than voters; where no newspapers penetrate, and the passage of an intelligent traveller is more rare than the flight of an eagle. There the party thrives upon its natural aliment, grows and flourishes, and here Daniel, it seems, obtained such a vote as gives him a majority in the district, amounting to 288. His party, however, have little to boast of, impaired as their strength evidently is. In the Presidential election, this district gave the Jackson electors an aggregate majority of 1187 votes; at the Congressional election, two years ago, Daniel's only competitor was a friend of the Administration; now the majority is paired down as you see.

Again: During the election, and for some days after, the friends of Mr. CLAY here, were quite confident of the success of the candidate of their side, in Gaither's district. The letters and returns from the western and most Jackson part of the district justified this confidence. But one more distant county, Pulaski, where a large majority for Brents was calculated upon, disappointed all expectation, and actually gave a majority the other way. This is, by some, attributed to the movements of some *aspirant* of the same principles with Brents, in that part of the State. Whatever may have been the cause, it lets Gaither in again, by a majority of 185 votes in the district.

As to *Lyon's desert*, about two thirds of which is a sparely settled region, from much of which the backwoodsmen have expelled the Indians since the late war—a region where correct information makes but slow progress—the friends of Mr. Clay were quite too sanguine; they should have expected nothing in such a district; they put too much upon the fine counties of Christian, Todd, &c. when they looked to them to redeem the district. The Clay party are of course defeated, and that by a considerable majority.

The result of the Congressional election throughout the State—conclusive information having reached us from all the districts—is, that Messrs. T. A. Marshall, Chilton Allan, Robert P. Letcher, Christopher Tompkins, and Thomas Chilton, decided Clay men are elected, and Messrs. H. Daniel, R. M. Johnson, Joseph Lecompte, John Adair, Nathan Gaither, Charles A. Wickliffe, and C. Lyon—all thorough going administration men, except Col. Johnson, who, you know, is an American System man, are also elected; this election having terminated as much better for the Clay party, than the last Congressional election did, as five is better than two. For this State, it will be recollected, elected but two members to the last congress as Clay men, though two of the ten Jacksonians deserted that Chief upon the developement of his principles and policy as President.

The anti-Jackson party were entitled to a decided majority in the representation in Congress; and the only reason why they have it not is, that the adverse party, *happen to possess a very great advantage* in the manner in which the Congressional Districts are laid off. This is either by *chance*, or by the management of the *old relief* party, the members of which now constitute the main body of the Jackson party when the representation was apportioned, and the State districted nine years ago. If the Jackson party had had the privilege of districting the State, a month ago, in a way to suit their party purposes, they could hardly have improved upon the present arrangement. Take a map of the State, and cast your eye, for an example, upon Adair's district, the main body of which is composed of Washington and Mercer, constituting something like a regular ellipsis, but upon one corner of Mercer joins a corner of Jessamine; upon another a corner of Mercer join a corner of Lincoln, and these two latter counties are affixed to that Congressional District, like the wings to a griffin; between them lies Garrard, bounding many a mile upon Mercer. Now, suppose the Griffin's wings, (too weak, we see, to enable the animal *to rise*) were lopped off, and Garrard added to the Mercer district, in their place, there would be an end to the power of Jacksonism there, and to the fond hopes of divers demagogues. But what shall we do with Jessamine, thus lopped off? Put it to Clark's (Allan's) district, the population there requires it. What with Lincoln? Put it to Gaither's district which it naturally belongs to, and where it would correct completely, all the bad results of that district, and leave the present incumbent where he ought to be. Look again at the county of Clarke—does it not geographically belong to Daniel's district where it formerly was? Put there again, with its 500 Clay majority, in place of the barren mountains of the eastern end of the State, it would render to the State and the Nation most signal service. In short the Clay majority, *in the single district* represented by Mr. Letcher, rightly distributed, would revolutionize *every Jackson district* in the State, and still leave Mr Letcher enough to elect him, or any man of his principles.

From *every county in the State*, where there was any room to doubt the result, we have accounts of the election of members of the House of Representatives of the State. *The Clay party have a majority*—a majority of *firm men*, unpledged, untrammelled, and true representatives of their constituents—a majority, not so large as some sanguine temperaments, who had not attended to the unequal distribution of party majorities in the counties, were induced to expect, but large enough for effective action *on every question* in the House of representatives, and on all just votes: and two or three Jackson members are said to be committed to the Clay party for the election of Senator, but their votes will not be needed for that purpose. The general sentiment *here* seems to be that Mr. CLAY himself should go to the Senate.

Yours, &c.

CAMP MEETING.

A Camp meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church will commence in Hibernia Woods, near Centreville on Friday next the 26th, and close on the following Wednesday morning.

Aug. 20.

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