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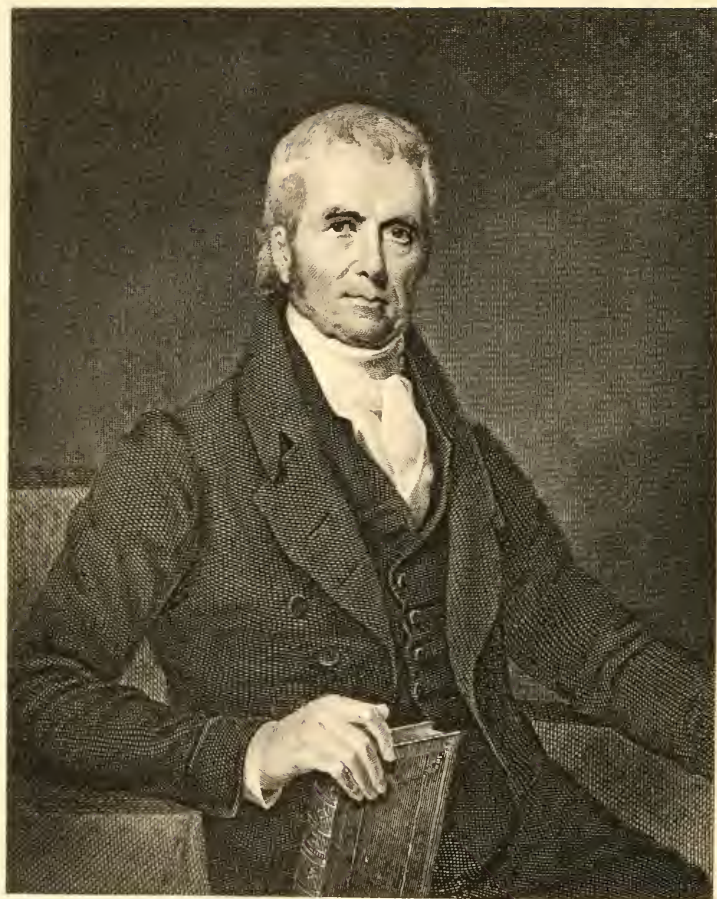
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John Marshall.

From the painting by Henry Inman.



John Marshall

Chief Justice of the United States

The  
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Henry Clay  
in  
Ten Volumes



Federal Edition



The Works of  
**Henry Clay**

Comprising His Life, Correspondence  
and Speeches

Edited by  
**Calvin Colton, LL.D.**

With an Introduction by  
**Thomas B. Reed**

And a History of Tariff Legislation, 1812-1896  
by  
William McKinley

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TEN VOLUMES

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New York and London  
**The Knickerbocker Press**  
1904

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The Works of Henry Clay

Volume Four

Private Correspondence

Part One

1801—1832



### NOTE.



As originally printed, the *Private Correspondence* was issued in one thick volume. In this edition it is divided into two volumes, but the paging is continuous.



## EDITOR'S PREFACE

MR. CLAY was not in the habit of keeping copies of his own letters. It may easily be imagined, therefore, that the time and trouble required to collect original and authenticated copies, so as to compose an epistolary history of his life, have not been inconsiderable.

From some three thousand documents, more or less, collected at Ashland and elsewhere, the editor has sifted and shaken out the correspondence contained in this volume. For the first fifteen years of the present century, down to the treaty of Ghent, embraced in the first chapter, very few of Mr. Clay's letters could be obtained. From that period they begin to appear more abundantly. It was thought proper to introduce letters of the correspondents of Mr. Clay to some extent, especially those of distinguished persons, and on occasions of especial interest. It was not possible generally to obtain the immediate counterparts of the correspondence.

After having completed the *Life and Times*, the plan of the editor has been to present in this volume an epistolary history of the same period, and chiefly of the same things, as viewed by the parties in correspondence from their own closets, with no design on their part of furnishing material for history. It must be seen that such materials, from such hands, are of a very peculiar character, naturally attractive and interesting; and some of them very instructive. They cannot but cast light on events, in some cases very important, which could not otherwise be fully understood. There is a truthfulness in the abandon of private correspondence which the cautiousness of politicians and statesmen rarely betrays in their ordinary and public acts. Not a little of such material will be found in this volume.

As the letters are generally presented in chronological order, with constantly recurring chasms of other

parts of the correspondence, and without any regard to their relations to each other, it is for the reader to connect them with history, as it may be found in the preceding volumes of this work and elsewhere.

Some will perhaps think there are too many letters in this volume of trivial import, and that some of the brief notes and others might as well have been omitted. But the editor has desired to present the entireness of Mr. Clay's character, so far as correspondence would reveal it, more especially in those parts which, from the nature and character of his career, have been very little before the public. His character as a public man is public property. But Mr. Clay made such a mark on his age and the history of his time, that the public have some right to know more of all his relations in life than his brilliant career as a public man permitted them to observe. They will find in this correspondence that nothing in his private and domestic life, and in the minor details touching the interests of his own family, escaped his care and attention. They will see that the fidelity and rigid conscientiousness which controlled all his conduct as a politician and statesman, were exemplified in a similar type, and in a degree as much more careful and anxious as the case required, in all his private relations. He not only had a large family of the first generation, most of whom left the world before him, but numerous grandchildren. It is touching to observe the action of his parental feelings toward them all, according to their characters and conditions of health and comfort, as disclosed in this correspondence.

Mr. Clay was necessarily a politician, because he was forever in the whirl of politics. He, however, did not seek politics, but politics sought him, on account of his peculiar and eminent qualifications for public life. But this correspondence will show how often and how sincerely he desired repose from political agitations, and how disgusted he was with unfair and dishonorable political strifes. Take him all in all, he was the most

popular public man, as to personal qualities, who has ever appeared in the history of the country, and that from the beginning to the end of his career. It was the unavoidable destiny of such a man that he should be abused by his political opponents, and carried on the shoulders of his political friends; and in the same proportion as the former feared, the latter loved him.

We know not of how many it can be said, yet it can be said of Mr. Clay, and all the world believe it, that he was an honest, fair, and patriotic politician. His country, and the good of his country, in the strife with his opponents, were ever the ruling passion of his mind in all public affairs. His patriotism, true as the needle to the pole, is more and more apparent as the events which excited it recede in the distance. Again and again, as a candidate for the highest trust in the nation, he sacrificed himself on the altar of his country, and of the principles he adopted. He "would rather be right," or what he thought was right, than be invested with the highest official honors. That he was actuated by a laudable ambition fairly to gain eminence in his career, was doubtless an ingredient of his lofty aspirations; but his principles would not bend for such an advantage. Who does not know that his talents, and the charm of his character on the public mind, would have borne him to any place in the gift of the nation, if he had thrown himself on the popular current, in almost any of the exigencies leading that way which fell in his path? But he would never sacrifice principle for personal advantage. If he had had less faith in public virtue, it would have made no difference; for he never sacrificed self-respect for influence. He trusted, and was deceived; but he acquired more fame in history by his course than could have been achieved in any other way. The most rigid scrutiny of his character leaves his name untarnished by a single act in all his political relations. He lived and died an American patriot of the loftiest character.

Forever cherished and followed by a great national party, and forced into the field as a candidate for public services and public honors, it was reasonable to expect that his correspondence would partake of this character. Judge Brooke,\* of Virginia, was a bosom friend of Mr. Clay for more than half a century, and there was no other man in the nation to whom he opened his heart and mind so fully and freely on public and private affairs. Hence the extended use here made of their correspondence. It always presents Mr. Clay's mind and views at the dates of the respective letters, and on the topics considered. It is a perfect abandon of private friendship, and on that account is doubly interesting and instructive. The Hon. J. S. Johnston, United States Senator from Louisiana, was also a bosom friend of Mr. Clay, and much of their correspondence is given as well. The chronological order of arrangement—the best, probably, that could have been adopted—necessarily places nearly all the letters each in an isolated position. They are not, of course, all historical in the higher sense of the term. Some are introduced for their eccentricity, and some, doubtless, will be of little interest to the public generally. It is believed, however, that they are a fair illustration in kind of Mr. Clay's relations to the wide public.

There will, of course, be found many peculiarities of style in such a variety of letters as are given in this volume. For the most part, however, they are good epistolary compositions, and not a few of them are of a high order. The letters of foreigners were, mainly addressed to Mr. Clay in English, Lafayette's always, and they are given as found. In no case are they translations of the editor. Mr. Clay's letters are generally a model of epistolary writing. The *fac-simile* presented is a fair exhibit of his chirography—always elegant, and never careless.

CALVIN COLTON

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\* Judge Brooke and Francis Brooke, in the correspondence, are the same person.



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# PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

# HENRY CLAY.

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## CHAPTER I.

### CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1801 TO 1815

#### MR. CLAY TO JUDGE BROOKE.\*

LEXINGTON, December 30, 1801.

DEAR SIR,—I have received as well your letter by Mr. H. Taylor, as the one written a few days after, by the post.

I must request the favor of you to execute a small commission for me. The Acts of the Virginia Legislature, passed prior to the separation of this State, are extremely difficult to be procured even by collecting fugitive Acts, in this country; but few indeed of the public offices possess entire collections. Will you be so obliging as to obtain for me, if you can, the old revisal, which reaches, I believe, to the year 1766, the Chancellor revisal, and the Acts passed since that, in a regular series to the year 1792. The last is most desired, but I could wish to possess all. Your revisal of 1791 would not answer my purpose, because it contains laws not in force in this country, and, if my recollection serves me, omits to give the respective dates of the passages of each law, all-important in many cases. These books you will be pleased to forward to William Taylor, Esq., merchant, in Baitimore, from whom I can easily procure them; or to either of our representatives in Congress, Mr. Brown, Mr. Breckenridge,

\* Mr. Clay and Judge Brooke, of Fredericksburg, Va., were correspondents for more than half a century.

Fowler, or Davis, who will contrive some mode for them to get to me. I suppose they may be obtained from the Council Chamber.

What has become of the son of my much regretted friend, your brother? I feel myself under obligations of gratitude to the father, which I should be happy of having an opportunity of discharging to the son. What is the progress he has made in his education? We have in this place an university in a very flourishing condition. Could you not spare him to me in this country for two or three years? I live at a short distance from the buildings, have a small family, and need not add, that from the cheapness of living in this country, his expense to me would be extremely inconsiderable. We have, too, a distant hope of getting Mr. Madison, from William and Mary, to take the management of our seminary. Be pleased to let me hear from you on this subject.

---

JAMES BROWN\* TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, September 16, 1804.

DEAR SIR,—Your last letter was dated at the Springs, where you were reveling in the enjoyments of ease, mirth, and engaging society. Since that time you have probably experienced the bustle and solicitude attendant on an election, for I discover your name at the head of the list of successful candidates.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nancy [Mrs. Brown] was delighted at finding that Lucretia [Mrs. Clay, sister of Mrs. Brown] had overcome her repugnance to writing, and by the next post replied to her letter. She begs me to press upon you the task of urging her to write more frequently, and authorizes me to declare that although her correspondents are numerous, Lucretia's letters shall ever receive prompt answers.

I have written to so many of my friends to-day, that I have, much against my inclination, defrauded you of your share. My affectionate wishes for the happiness of yourself and family wait upon you.

\* James Brown, brother-in-law of Mr. Clay, afterward American minister at Paris

JOHN ADAIR TO MR. CLAY.

LEXINGTON, August 15, 1805.

SIR,— \* \* \* \* \*

I need make no further apology for calling your recollection to the handbill that was shown in Frankfort last November, implicating my political principles as inimical to Mr. Jefferson and republicanism. From an application to Mr. Taylor and others who were present, it appears that the conversation alluded to took place principally between you and myself, although in presence of several gentlemen. I wish you now to recollect, as far as you can, the nature of that conversation—in what manner I spoke of the amendment to the Federal Constitution, whether positively as bad, or whether I did not merely doubt its future operation as unfavorable to republicanism, stating, as my reason, that it had been urged by the Federalists under the former Administration, and opposed by the party who had now carried it in opposition to them. I wish you likewise to state in what manner and by whom General Pinckney's name was first introduced, whether I discovered the least displeasure with the administration, or talents, or personal character of Mr. Jefferson; on the contrary whether I did not say I would prefer him as President to any man in the Union; but observed that the people of America ought not to think their liberty or happiness depended on the election of any individual, but on their steady adherence to a virtuous observance of their laws.

Your answer by post to Frankfort will be deemed a favor.

---

 MR. CLAY TO JOHN ADAIR.

LEXINGTON, August 24, 1805.

SIR,—Yours of the 15th instant, addressed to me at the Olympian Springs, did not reach me until a few days ago at Paris, or it should have been earlier answered.

I recollect, during the session of the Assembly of 1803, having had one or more conversations with you relative to the amendment of the Federal Constitution, providing for a designation of the President and Vice-President in the votes to be given for those officers. But I regret that my memory does not enable me to detail the particulars of those conversations. I remember, however, that you expressed doubts as to the propriety of the

proposed amendment, urged some arguments to prove that the existing provision was best, and suggested your fears that a change would produce mischievous consequences. Whether your opinion was matured or not I can not say, but I do not think you expressed one decisively. If the name of General Pinckney was mentioned, and how or by whom it was introduced, at the times of the conversations, or at any of them, it has escaped my memory. I have heard you speak of that gentleman, I think, more than once, in terms of high respect, and it may have been when the topic of conversation was the amendment; but I do not believe that you drew any parallel between Mr. Jefferson and him, or contended that he was equally well qualified to fill the presidential chair.

When I saw the handbill to which you allude, I was surprised at some of the sentiments there ascribed to you; and am inclined to think had they been avowed in my presence and hearing, that they would have made an impression which would be still fresh.

---

JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, March 12, 1805.

DEAR SIR,—I received, two mails ago, your very acceptable favor of the 28th of January, and should sooner have answered it but for the pressure of business arising from two courts in session at the same time. I rejoice at every assurance I receive of the health and happiness of a family to whom I feel every attachment which a consciousness of their worth and a recollection of their friendship can inspire. The hope of a rapturous meeting with you shortly, consoles me under an absence which, without this delightful expectation, would be insupportable. With the young portion of my relations I feel confident of an interview, but poor old Colonel Hart\*—am I never to see him again? He has frightened me by the very circumstance which he mentions as flattering to his hope of long life. He informs me that his weight has increased twenty-three pounds since his return from the Springs. I consider this as an unfavorable omen, but will feel perfectly relieved from all apprehensions if he survives the month of March.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* Father-in-law of Mr. Brown and Mr. Clay.

It gives me real pleasure to hear from every quarter that you stand in Kentucky at the head of your profession. May you soon grow rich, and be able to retire from a profession, the duties of which are too severe in that inclement climate for the most robust constitution. My retreat from your State saved my life. One winter more would have fixed upon me a confirmed consumption. Here I have renewed my youth.

Nancy has written to Lucretia. She enjoys good health, good spirits, and, as you may suppose, the esteem of all who know her.

Let me hear from you more frequently.

---

AARON BURR TO MR. CLAY.

LOUISVILLE, November 27, 1806.

DEAR SIR,—Information has this morning been given to me that Mr. Davies has recommenced his prosecution and inquiry. I must entreat your professional aid in this business. It would be disagreeable to me to form a new connection, and various considerations will, it is hoped, induce you, even at some personal inconvenience, to acquiesce in my request. I shall, however, insist on making a liberal pecuniary compensation. The delay of your journey to Washington for a few days can not be very material. No business is done in Congress till after New Years. I pray you to repair to Frankfort on receipt of this.

---

AARON BURR TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, December 1, 1806.

SIR,—I have no design, nor have I taken any measure to promote a dissolution of the Union, or a separation of any one or more States from the residue. I have neither published a line on this subject nor has any one, through my agency, or with my knowledge. I have no design to intermeddle with the Government or to disturb the tranquillity of the United States, or of its territories, or any part of them. I have neither issued, nor signed nor promised a commission to any person for any purpose. I do not own a musket nor a bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor does any person for me, by my authority or with my knowledge.

My views have been fully explained to, and approved by, several of the principal officers of Government, and, I believe, are well understood by the administration and seen by it with complacency. They are such as every man of honor and every good citizen must approve.

Considering the high station you now fill in our national councils\* I have thought these explanations proper, as well to counteract the chimerical tales which malevolent persons have so industriously circulated, as to satisfy you that you have not espoused the cause of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government, or the interests of his country.

---

AARON BURR TO MR. CLAY.

LEWIS INN, half past 3.

SIR,—At nine this morning Mr. Jordan received your letter in reply to one which he wrote at my request.

I have just arrived wet, and something fatigued, and send to inquire whether my presence in court is *now* deemed necessary or expedient.

I pray you to consider yourself as my counsel in the business moved by Mr. D. A more *technical* application will be made when I shall have the pleasure to see you. An early interview, at this house, would very much gratify me.

---

MR. CLAY TO THOMAS M. PRENTISS

CITY OF WASHINGTON, February 15, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—I received your agreeable favor, with its inclosure, for which accept my thanks. Your New Year's ode was well adapted to the object in view, and the perusal of it afforded me much pleasure.

Colonel Burr has supplied much fund of conversation. No doubt is now entertained here of his having engaged in schemes of the most daring and illegal kind. Having left Kentucky under a belief that he was innocent, it was with no little surprise upon my arrival here that I found I had been deceived. Entertaining the opinion I did, I ventured at Chillicothe to speak with some

\* Mr Clay was now Senator of the United States.



freedom upon measures proposed there of a harsh character, and unjustified, as it appeared to me, by public exigences. It is to this cause that the strictures upon my conduct, alluded to in yours, are owing. They give me no pain, as I am conscious of having participated in no illegal projects of Burr, and know that I will not be suspected of having done so by any who know me. 47

Alexander has been discharged for want of proof. Bollmar and Swartwout remain in custody. They applied to the Supreme Court of the United States, now in session, for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Some of the judges doubted their power to grant it, as it was not included within the enumerated powers conferred upon that tribunal in the Constitution. The question has been discussed, and three judges to two [Chase and Johnson] have determined in favor of the application. The prisoners are to be brought before the Court to-day.

The papers inform you of the great events passing upon the European theater. A measure has been lately taken by Bonaparte of a most gigantic nature, the declaration that the islands of Great Britain are in a state of blockade. It is said that our minister at Paris has written on to Government that our commerce is not to be affected by it; I apprehend, however, that it will subject it to much embarrassment.

The session of Congress has not been so interesting as I had anticipated. No questions in relation to our foreign intercourse, involving much discussion, have been agitated; every thing depends upon the result of pending negotiations, and this will not be known, it is probable, until the session expires.

// I expect to be accompanied to Kentucky by two young gentlemen, one proposing the practice and the other the study of the law. The latter will continue with me. I am glad to find that you have been getting acquainted with Strange. He is a valuable reporter, but occupies a second station only in the grade of merit. I calculate upon finding you much improved in your law knowledge. Two words will make any man of sound intellect a lawyer, industry and application, and the same words with a third, economy, will enable him to make a fortune.

My respects to your fellow-students; and tell them they have been very inattentive to me in not writing.

Present me also to the very amiable and sensible man with whom you reside.

MR. BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, September 1, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,—Before I had the pleasure of your last very agreeable letter, the news of the death of our venerable friend [Colonel Hart] had reached us. Although in some degree prepared for the melancholy event by the account given in your former letter of the state of his health, I yet felt the loss with a degree of sensibility which was heightened by the regret I experienced by being forever denied the long expected pleasure of giving him a gleam of happiness in his last days, by restoring him the society of his beloved daughter. I need not tell you that she has suffered. You know the sensibility of her heart, and the warmth of her gratitude and attachment to the best of fathers. Reflection, however, should teach us the duty of yielding to the decrees of heaven. Our friend was not prematurely snatched away from us. He has left no needy infant orphans. He lived long and he lived well. His character is set before his family as a model of public and private virtues, worthy of their imitation. While they cherish his memory may they never depart from the example he has left them.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am sorry that you do not live in better times, for you have talents to adorn a public station, and to be useful to your country. But to me character is more dear than every other thing; and can any man hope long to preserve it in the present miserable state of things? You have carried your election. I am rejoiced at it. Your enemies will be wounded. But I pray you to quit public life, or muster up sufficient philosophy to bear up under all the hard names with which you will be christened in the papers. You are, it seems, a Burr-ite. If Wilkinson deserves to be believed, seven thousand men in your State deserved the same opprobrious title. What you may next be called is uncertain; but as long as you retain your brains and your independence you will be abused. Republicanism demands that a man of talents should be kept down by detraction. Too much genius, like too much wealth, destroys equality, the very soul of democracy. But I forbear. You will say I have become splenetic, or rather that I have always been subject to that infirmity. Nothing is further from the fact. Ever since my arrival in this merry dancing country my temper has remained unruffled

with the exception of Wilkinson's winter of horrors. In domestic life I have nothing to wish, and my practice has been more prosperous than I had any right to expect. It is with pleasure that I discover that your rage for electioneering has not diverted your mind from the *main point*; and that the people, while they rail at the profession of law, vie with each other in filling the coffers of its professors. Happy in the bosom of your family may you long enjoy the fruits of your labors, and transmit liberal educations and competent fortunes to your descendants!

\* \* \* \* \*

Present my affectionate regards to Lucretia and the family.

---

MR. CLAY TO JUDGE BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor inclosing a statement relative to Garland's debt, and bank notes amounting to \$35, being \$3 more than was the balance agreeably to the statement. I have since received a letter from Mr. Hoomes, in which he acknowledges that I have overpaid the proportion of the purchase of Buzzard coming from me. But as I have the collection, in Kentucky, of some money for his father's estate, there will be no difficulty in adjusting the excess. I am much indebted to the kindness of your brother and yourself for your attention to this matter, and I can not agree that he shall be without compensation for his trouble. I must, therefore, request that you will pay him \$20, for which, as well as for the \$3 above mentioned, you shall be credited in the taxes upon your land. I do not think the present a very favorable period for selling your land, which I have no doubt is gradually rising in value. If, however, you are desirous to effect a sale, your object would probably be facilitated by such a descriptive survey of it as you mention. I can hardly suppose a survey necessary to the perpetuation of the boundaries; surveys in that county having been generally made in connection, in such manner that they tend to prove each other, and the removal of the corner of one would derange the whole block. Instances have, indeed, occurred there of such fraudulent attempts; but I believe they are rare. Should you desire to possess such an account of the qual-

ity of your lands as will enable you to satisfy the inquiries of purchasers, I need not say that, on this, as well as any other matter interesting to you, I shall take pleasure in promoting your wishes.

---

MR. CLAY TO ———.\*

LEXINGTON, July 9, 1811.

DEAR SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 7th inst., covering \$100 for the Lexington Library, I must say you have furnished, what was not wanted, an additional evidence of that devotion to literature, and that disinterested liberality, which you have invariably so eminently displayed. I fear that, in this instance, your munificence has exceeded the bounds of self-justice, by the appropriation of a sum not warranted by the proceeds of the orations, with which you have favored us. Under this impression, I was about to obey my first impulse of soliciting you to permit me to return your benevolent donation. But apprehensive that, in so doing, I might excite some unpleasant sensation, I determined to give it the direction which your goodness has prescribed, and invest it in such of the books contained in your list, as are not already in the Library, which will be not more appreciated for their enlightened contents than by a recollection of the distinguished source whence they have proceeded.

---

LANGDON CHEVES TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON (Davis' Hotel), July 30, 1812.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 15th July, inst., I received yesterday, at Philadelphia, at the very moment I was getting into the stage on my way to Carolina. \* \* \* \* \*

You ask me, "What notice you ought to take of Randolph's reply?" certainly none—none whatever. Were you to notice it he would reply again, and it would never terminate. *He* spoke with great truth in the beginning of the last session, when he said the "Speaker of the House of Representatives was the second man in the nation;" and if this be true, as I think it is, it does not become the Speaker to enter into altercations with any member of the House, or even of the nation, i. e. a public

\* The address of this letter is not given.

justification of his conduct, any more than it does to the *first* man in the nation—the President. I, therefore, thought you originally wrong. But if any notice of Mr. R.'s first publication was right, it was taken by you exactly in the manner, temperate and dignified, in which it ought to have been noticed. I think, as the question stands, you have entirely the advantage of the *argument*; and I think you would egregiously err, as the Speaker of the House of Representatives (it would be entirely different were it a question between Mr. Clay and Mr. R.) to put it on any other footing than that of argument. I have not heard one sentence on the subject of his reply, of any kind, from any person, except one in my own family, which resulted from my having received a copy of it, through the Post-office, from himself—it was not one to your prejudice. On this subject, although about the latitude of debate we differ, I am entirely and decidedly of opinion you are right; and *that*, I think, is enough for you as Speaker. I am sure of this, whether you think me right or wrong, you will be certain that I give you *candid* advice.

I have not a doubt of your willingness to put the question personally on any footing whatever, that might be deemed proper. But any such notice of it on your part would be most *inexcusably wrong*. It is always to be remembered that it is the Speaker and Mr. R. who are engaged; and really I should be afraid myself of the freedom of speech, if the Chair were supported in that way. No; if you had any feelings leading you that way, it would be a sacred public duty to suppress them. I ought to have said, besides, that there is not even a plausible reason and occasion for any such notice were you viewed merely as any other individual of the community. Present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Clay. I have only arrived here fifteen minutes, and go away on my journey in fifteen more. I am, therefore, in great haste. //

---

JAMES MONROE TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 29th ultimo and 12th instant have been received. The former should have been answered sooner, had I not been absent in Virginia, where I had gone to to take my family for the advantage of our mountain air.

We have just heard with equal astonishment and concern, that General Hull has surrendered, by capitulation, the army under his command at Detroit, to the British force opposed to him. The circumstances attending this most mortifying and humiliating event are not known ; but, so far as we are informed on the subject, there appears to be no justification of it. I can not suspect his integrity ; I rather suppose that a panic had seized the whole force, and that he and they became victims of his want of energy, promptitude of decision, and those resources, the characteristics of great minds in difficult emergencies. We understand that, after passing the river, he suffered his communication to be cut off with the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and without making any active movement in front to strike terror into the enemy, he remained tranquil, thereby evincing a want of confidence in his own means, and giving time to collect his forces together. No intelligence justifies the belief that he gave battle in a single instance. It appears that he surrendered on a summons from Fort Sandwich, on the opposite side of the river, after the firing of some cannon or mortars, which did no great mischief.

Before this disastrous event was known, the force, now, I presume, on its march, was ordered from Kentucky, and the appointment of brigadier had been conferred on Governor Harrison. Your letters had produced all the effect on those subjects, which their solidity justly merited.

I most sincerely wish that the President could dispose of me, at this juncture, in the military line. If circumstances would permit, and it should be thought that I could render any service, I would, in a very few days, join our forces assembling beyond the Ohio, and endeavor to recover the ground which we have lost. He left this to-day for Virginia, as did Mr. Gallatin for New York, but expresses being sent for them, they will probably both return to-morrow.

---

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO MR. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, August 29, 1812.

I write to you, my dear sir, amid a thousand interruptions, and I do it solely for the purpose of showing you that you are present to my recollection, under circumstances that would almost justify a suspension of every private feeling. The ru-

more disasters upon our north-western frontier, are now ascertained to be correct. The important point of Mackinac was surrendered without an effort; an army captured at Detroit, after receiving three shots from a *distant* battery of the enemy (and from the range of which it was easy to retire), a fort [Chicago], in the midst of hostile tribes of Indians, ordered to be evacuated, and the garrison slaughtered; the numerous north-western tribes of Indians (with the exception of two feeble ones), in arms against us, is the distressing picture which presents itself to view in this part of the country. To remedy all these misfortunes, I have an army competent in numbers, and in spirit equal to any that Greece or Rome ever boasted of, but destitute of artillery, of many necessary equipments, and absolutely ignorant of every military evolution, nor have I but a single individual capable of assisting me in training them. But I beg you to believe, my dear sir, that this retrospect of my situation, far from producing despondency, produces a contrary effect, and I feel confident of being able to surmount them all. The grounds of this confidence are a reliance on my own zeal and perseverance, and a perfect conviction that no such *materials* for forming an invincible army ever existed, as the volunteers which have marched from Kentucky on the present occasion.

Fort Wayne is in imminent danger. Governor Meiggs is collecting a body of mounted men at Urbanna, and I suppose will send them to relieve Fort Wayne, before I can get up with the infantry. I dispatched Garrard's troop this morning, with orders to join any corps (at Piqua) which may be destined for that object. The three regiments of infantry marched also this morning; I shall follow and overtake them to-morrow. Should the relief of Fort Wayne not have been attempted, or the attempt have failed, it will be my first object upon my arrival at Piqua. I have made every arrangement in my power to facilitate the march of the regiments which are expected from Kentucky, after they shall arrive here, but I fear that I shall be obliged to advance from Piqua without them. With the assistance of a number of mounted men, however, which Governor Meiggs can supply, I may do pretty well. With troops that are awkward, and who, of course, maneuver slowly, mounted men are absolutely indispensable to mask their evolutions.

I am so much interrupted, that I can only add that I am your friend, etc.

## WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO MR. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, August 30, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,—After having been absent from home for so many months you will no doubt think it unreasonable that you should be asked to take a considerable journey, and that on an occasion entirely foreign to your ordinary public duties. I know you, however, too well, not to believe that sacrifices of private convenience will be always made to render service to your country. Without further preamble then, I inform you that in my opinion, your presence on the frontier of this State would be productive of great advantages. I can assure you that your advice and assistance in determining the course of operations for the army (to the command of which I have been designated by your recommendation), will be highly useful. You are not only pledged in some manner for my conduct, but for the success of the war—for God's sake, then, come on to Piqua as quickly as possible, and let us endeavor to throw off from the administration that weight of reproach which the late disasters will heap upon them. If you come, bring on McKee with you, whom you will overtake upon the road. An extract from this letter will be authority for the commanding officer of his regiment to let him come. ||

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 JAMES MONROE TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, September 17, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive several letters from you in relation to our affairs to the westward, and I hope that one which I wrote you on the receipt of the first, has long since reached its destination. Every effort has been made by the government to remedy the shameful and disastrous loss of the army and fort at Detroit, and I hope the best effects will result from them. In aid of the force which has so generously volunteered its service from Kentucky and Ohio, fifteen hundred are ordered from Pennsylvania, and a like number from Virginia, so that I think you will have on the borders of Lake Erie, early in the next month, eight thousand or ten thousand men, well equipped, prepared to march on to recover the ground lost, and resume the conquest of Upper Canada. I have the utmost confi-



lence in the success of the expedition which is set on foot, because the spirit of the people appears to be roused to that state which is best adapted to manly and heroic achievements. I am willing to trust to their sense of honor and to their patriotism, to efface the stigma which has been fixed on our national character. I hope they will exhibit a noble contrast to that degenerate spirit which has of late, and continues to exhibit itself to the eastward, in the dominant party there. The command of this force is committed to Governor Harrison, who, it is believed, will justify the favorable expectation entertained of him by those who are best acquainted with his merit. You and our other friends in Kentucky will find that the utmost attention has been paid to your opinions and wishes on all these subjects.

A large park of heavy artillery is sent on to Pittsburg, to be forwarded thence toward Cleveland, for the use of the army whose duty it will be to retake Detroit, and expel the British from Malden and Upper Canada. In short, every arrangement is made to give effect to our operations in that quarter that has appeared to be necessary.

On the intelligence of the surrender of Detroit, the President expressed a desire to avail himself of my services in that quarter, and had partly decided so to do. He proposed that I should go in the character of a volunteer, with the rank of major general, to take the command of the forces. I expressed my willingness to obey the summons, although it was sudden and unexpected, as indeed the event which suggested the idea was. On mature reflection, however, he concluded that it would not be proper for me to leave my present station at the present juncture. I had no opinion on the subject, but was prepared to act in any situation in which it might be thought I might be most useful.

From the northern army we have nothing which inspires a confident hope of any brilliant success. The disaffection in that quarter has paralyzed every effort of the government, and rendered inoperative every law of Congress; I speak comparatively with what might have been expected. On the public mind, however, a salutary effect is produced even there, by the events which have occurred. Misfortune and success have alike diminished the influence of foreign attachments and party animosities, and contributed to draw the people closer together. The surrender of our army excited a general grief, and the naval victory a general joy. Inveterate Toryism itself was compelled, in both

instances, to disguise its character and hide its feelings, by appearing to sympathize with those of the nation. If Great Britain does not come forward soon and propose honorable conditions, I am convinced that the war will become a national one, and will terminate in the expulsion of her force and power from the continent.

Should you see my old and venerable friend, General Scott, I beg you to present my best regards to him.

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MR. CLAY'S PASSPORT TO GOTTENBURG.

*To all who shall see these presents, greeting :*

The President of the United States of America having appointed the Honorable Henry Clay, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, a Minister Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary, in conjunction with John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, and Jonathan Russell, Esquires, to negotiate and sign a treaty of peace with Great Britain ; and the said Henry Clay, who is the bearer hereof, being now on his way to Gottenburg, in the kingdom of Sweden, for the purpose of fulfilling the objects of his mission ; These are to request all officers of the United States aforesaid, civil and military, the officers and subjects of powers in amity with the said United States, and all others whom it may concern, not to offer to the said Henry Clay any hinderance or molestation whatsoever ; but, on the contrary, to afford to him and to his secretaries and attendants, with their baggage, all necessary aid, comfort, and protection.

In faith whereof, I, James Monroe, Secretary of State for the United States of America, have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of my office.

' Given at Washington City, this 4th day of February, A. D. 1814, and in the thirty-eighth year of American Independence.

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MRS. CLAY TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, March 10.

MY DEAR HUSBAND,—Mr. Barker called to-day to let me know that he has an opportunity of sending letters to Gottenburg, and offered to take charge of one for you. I heard the other day

from Lexington that it is more sickly than it ever has been. Nelly Hart had twelve negroes sick; Theodore wrote me that all our family were well. The children that I have with me are all well, and Henry is always talking of you, he comes up and kisses me for his papa. I long very much to be at home with my family, for I am very dreary here as I do not pay visits; indeed I found I could not go out without you in the evening, but I do all in my power to keep me from being melancholy. Our suit in this court was tried the other day; I have not heard that it is decided. Mr. Wickliff started on Sunday last for Kentucky. Mrs. Brown has at last made up her mind to go home with me and spend the summer. Judge Todd and his lady have been very polite to me since you left this; the Judge called the other day to examine the light wagon we were to have got from Mr. L. but he found it so completely worn out that I determined not to take it; we shall I hope get on without it. Mr. Bibb paid me the \$500 as soon as he got here. You need not make yourself the least uneasy on our account, for I believe we shall do very well. Mr. Granger has been turned out of office. A great many blame Mr. Madison. Susan and Ann send their love to you. May God spare you to us. Do take care of yourself for our sakes //

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MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, April 8, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—The events which have within a few days passed in this city, and in its neighborhood, have changed every thing in France but the character of the Parisians, and perhaps of Frenchmen in general.

On the 30th ult. a battle was fought in the vicinity of Paris by the French troops under the Duke of Ragusa, amounting to between fifteen and twenty thousand men, and the grand allied army. The loss was considerable on both sides, but that of the Allies was more than double. It is estimated from eight to ten thousand men. The disparity in the loss was the result of the strong positions of the French troops, and the desire of the Allies to get possession of the capital before the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon, who was advancing by rapid marches upon their rear. This desire was so predominant that they made no attempt

to turn these positions, but marched directly up to the intrenchments, where they were repulsed four or five times. The battle commenced about 4 o'clock A. M. and finished about the same time in the evening. The Duke of Ragusa entered into a convention by which he agreed to evacuate the city, taking with him all his baggage, ammunition and artillery.

The next day the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia entered Paris at the head of about fifty thousand of the finest troops in the world. The remainder of their immense army either defiled on the north or south side of the city, or remained in their positions on the east, which was the field of battle. The Emperor of Russia, with his Minister of Foreign Relations, went directly to the house of the Prince of Benevento, who convened the Senate the same evening, and had himself and three of his friends, with one devoted Bourbonite, named to the provisional government. The Senate had deposed Napoleon Bonaparte, and directed the provisional government to form a Constitution, which has been accomplished, and accepted by the Senate and the small portion of the Legislative corps who are now in Paris. The *Moniteur* of this day contains this Constitution, which you will probably see before you receive this letter. The monarchy is declared to be hereditary in the house of Bourbon in the male line. The present Senators remaining Senators of the realm by the same tenure. The Senate to consist of one hundred and fifty at least, and not more than two hundred. The ancient and new nobility to remain. All Frenchmen to be capable of filling all the offices of the government. The members of the legislative corps to hold their offices for five years, and to be elected directly by the people.

The proceedings of the Senate and of the provisional government, have overturned the authority of the Emperor with his army, and especially with his ablest generals. He seems to have sunk without an effort, at least without an effort corresponding in any degree with his former fame. Such at least is the conclusion which I draw from the facts which are communicated to the public. It is possible that these facts may be misrepresented. I believe, however, that it is certain, that he has agreed to retire with his family to the Isle of Elba upon a pension of six millions of livres. From the moment that he saw that it was impossible for him to reign he ought to have died. The manner was in his election. A strange infatuation seems to have influenced his conduct during the last six months. Still relying

upon his talents and his power he refused, at Prague, to secure at least the neutrality of Austria, by giving her every thing she required. After having retreated across the Rhine he reluctantly accepted the basis which the Allies proposed, and which there is some reason to believe they were sincerely disposed to adopt. Lord Castlereagh's mission, however, according to the best view of the subject which I have been able to take, was intended solely to prevent this accommodation. Time will prove the accuracy or inaccuracy of this opinion. There must have been great address employed in managing the Emperor of Austria, who had rejected all idea of overthrowing the reigning dynasty. The infatuation of the Emperor, and his arrogance to his father-in-law (if we are to credit reports apparently well founded), greatly contributed to the success of the arts employed by the British Secretary. That the Emperor of Austria has been duped is clearly established by the declaration of the Allies after the breaking up of the Congress at Chatillon, and by the conduct of Lord Wellington. This declaration states that up to the 15th of March they were ready to make peace with the Emperor Napoleon, whereas the address of Lord Wellington, on the 2d of February, declares Louis XVIII. and raises the Bourbon standard. The introduction of the ancient dynasty is not acceptable to the great body of the people of Paris. Even now, after the Senate and provisional government have declared for that dynasty, there is not one man in a hundred who puts on the white cockade. On the day of the entry of the allied sovereigns, all the persons devoted to their ancient kings endeavored to make themselves as conspicuous as possible, and to conceal the smallness of their numbers by continual change of place. Exertions were made to excite popular feeling and popular tumult, but without effect. But for the National Guard popular tumult would have been excited, perhaps, but not in favor of the Bourbons. If the mob of Paris had been put in motion it would have been in favor of a free government.

The men now in power would, as far as I have been able to judge, have preferred the succession of the King of Rome, with a regency provided by the Empress; but the Emperor Alexander, who, under the modest exterior of submitting every thing to the will of the French people, dictates to the Senate and provisional government, at least this article of their Constitution.

I did not anticipate precisely the manner in which this European peace was to be consummated. I most sincerely wish you complete success in your negotiations, although I apprehend that great difficulties will be presented. Under existing circumstances, if peace is made, I presume that the treaty will be very short, concluding nothing but peace and the restoration of what territory may be in the hands of either party by conquest, if there is any such.

P. S. I send this by the Secretary of the Danish Legation, who sets out immediately for Copenhagen, which gives me no opportunity for reflection or revision of this hasty scrawl, as I have just been informed of the fact of his setting out.

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MR. BAYARD TO MR. CLAY.

LONDON, April 20, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—The mail of last evening brought the intelligence of your arrival at Gottenburg. I present you my congratulations upon your safe passage across the Atlantic. Mr. Gallatin and myself left St. Petersburg on the 25th of January, and arrived at Amsterdam on the 4th of March. In that city we received the first advice of the direct negotiation proposed to be held between the United States and Great Britain, at Gottenburg, and of the intention of our government to send additional commissioners from America. Knowing that some time would elapse before your arrival in Europe, and also before the appointment of commissioners on the part of this Government, we thought it likely that more good might result from spending the interval in this country rather than in Holland.

We came over on the 9th inst. at a moment not very propitious for the objects we had in view. The Allies had taken possession of Paris, and the next day brought the news of Bonaparte's formal abdication of the thrones of France and Italy. The intelligence completely turned the heads of all ranks who seem to have thought of nothing since, but the means of manifesting their joy on the occasion.

It is much to be apprehended that this great and unexpected event will have an unfavorable influence upon the state of affairs between the United States and Great Britain. There is reason to think that it has materially changed the views of the British

Ministry. In fact the sudden reduction of their naval and military establishments would create much embarrassment, and the American war furnishes too good a pretense to avoid it. And the great augmentation of their disposable force presents an additional temptation to prosecute the war. You must also know that the temper of the country is highly excited against us, and decidedly expressed in favor of the continuance of hostilities.

I do not pretend, however, to speak at present with any certainty of the intentions of the Government, for we have had no communication with any member of it.

I think they have avoided any intercourse with us, but this may be attributed to the absence of Lord Castlereagh and the indisposition of the other ministers to interfere with the affairs of his department.

We can not learn that any step has yet been taken toward the selection of characters to be charged with the negotiation on the part of this Government. It is stated, and upon such authority as to deserve credit, that no appointment will be made till the Government is officially notified of the appointment of the American commissioners and of their arrival at the place of rendezvous. Mr. G. and myself have thought it, therefore, of sufficient importance to dispatch a special messenger to apprise you of the fact, and to enable you by his return, without loss of time, to make the official communication.

If there be a discretion on the subject, we would thoroughly recommend that some town in Holland should be substituted in lieu of Gottenburg, as the seat of the negotiation. There can be no doubt that the change would facilitate and accelerate the result. You may rely upon the friendly dispositions of the Prince of Orange, of which we had distinguished proofs during a short residence at Amsterdam.

One of the first acts of the Government of the Prince, was to nominate a minister to the United States.

I shall remain in London till I have the pleasure of hearing from you, unless (which is not to be expected), in the mean time commissioners should be appointed on the part of this Government.

This letter will be delivered to you by Colonel Milligan, who accompanied me as private secretary to St. Petersburg. He is deserving of your confidence, and I beg leave to recommend him to your attentions.

## ALBERT GALLATIN TO MR. CLAY.

LONDON, April 22, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—We have just heard of your arrival, but have received no letters, and I am yet ignorant whether I am one of the new commission to treat of peace. My arrangements must depend on that circumstance, and I wait with impatience for the official account which you must have brought. For that reason Mr. Bayard addresses you and Mr. Russel in his own name; but I coincide fully with him in the opinion that the negotiations should by all means be opened here, or at least, in Holland, if this is not rendered impracticable from the nature of the commission. If this has unfortunately been limited to treating of peace at Gottenburg, which seems highly improbable, there is no remedy. But if the commission admits of a change of place, I would feel no hesitation in removing them, at least, to any other neutral place, whatever may be the language of the instructions. For their spirit would be fully answered by treating in any other friendly country as well as if at Gottenburg. On that point I feel great anxiety, because on account of the late great changes in Europe, and of the increased difficulties thence arising in making any treaty, I do believe that it would be utterly impossible to succeed in that corner, removed from every interference in our favor on the part of the European powers, and compelled to act with men clothed with limited authorities, and who might at all times plead a want of instructions.

You are sufficiently aware of the total change in our affairs produced by the late revolution, and by the restoration of universal peace in the European world, from which we are alone excluded. A well organized and large army is at once liberated from any European employment, and ready, together with a superabundant naval force, to act immediately against us. How ill-prepared we are to meet it in a proper manner no one knows better than yourself; but, above all, our own divisions and the hostile attitude of the Eastern States give room to apprehend that a continuance of the war might prove vitally fatal to the United States.

I understand that the ministers, with whom we have not had any direct intercourse, still profess to be disposed to make an equitable peace. But the hope not of ultimate conquest, but of a dissolution of the union, the convenient pretense which the



American war will afford to preserve large military establishments, and above all the force of popular feeling may all unite in inducing the cabinet in throwing impediments in the way of peace. They will not, certainly, be disposed to make concessions, nor probably displeased at a failure of negotiations. That the war is popular, and that national pride, inflated by the last unexpected success, can not be satisfied without what they call the chastisement of America, can not be doubted. The mass of the people here know nothing of American politics but through the medium of federal speeches and newspapers faithfully transcribed in their own journals. They do not even suspect that we have any just cause of complaint, and consider us altogether as the aggressors, and as allies of Bonaparte. In these opinions it is understood that the ministers do not participate; but it will really require an effort on their part to act contrary to public opinion; and they must, even if perfectly sincere, use great caution and run some risk of popularity. A direct, or at least, a very near intercourse with them is therefore highly important, as I have no doubt that they would go further themselves than they would be willing to intrust any other person. To this must be added, that Lord Castlereagh is, according to the best information I have been able to collect, the best disposed man in the cabinet, and that coming from France and having had intercourse with the Emperor Alexander, it is not improbable that these dispositions may have been increased by the personal expression of the Emperor's wishes in favor of peace with America. Whatever advantage may be derived from that circumstance and from the Emperor's arrival here, would be altogether lost at Gottenburg.

I have confined my letter to this single point, and hoping soon to hear from you and from Mr. Russell to whom you will present my best compliments.

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MR. RUSSELL TO MR. CLAY.

STOCKHOLM, April 26, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—I did not reach this place until yesterday, a little before noon. The roads were very fine, but the weather, after the first day, execrable. I have announced my arrival to the minister, and he has assigned one o'clock to-morrow for our first

interview, when I shall probably learn when I may expect to be presented to the king. This place, as far as I have yet seen it, promises to be agreeable.

Mr. Speyer received this morning a letter from Mr. Adams, dated the 11th of this month, in which he says he purposes to leave St. Petersburg about the 20th of this month, and hopes to arrive *somewhere* in Sweden, by the 1st of May—probably at Stockholm. This *route*, he says, will depend upon the thermometer of the next ten days.

I shall endeavor to complete my preparatory errand here, in season, to join Mr. Adams in his progress toward Gottenburg, should he come this way.

If you hear any thing of our wandering colleagues, please communicate it to me, as well as every thing else of an interesting nature at your residence.

Please say to our worthy secretary, and to Captain Angus, that I think Stockholm will fully indemnify them for the fatigue and expense of a visit.

I shall occasionally report progress, and give you a sketch of the times here. Make my compliments to Mr. Carroll.

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MR. RUSSELL TO MR. CLAY.

STOCKHOLM, May 8, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, day before yesterday, your communication, by the Consul General of Portugal, but not in season to return an answer by the mail of that day.

With regard to our power to enter into the negotiation elsewhere than at Gottenburg, I think the view which you have taken is quite satisfactory. A restriction of this power having been omitted in the commission, by the *express direction* of the President, appears to explain sufficiently his intentions, and to leave us at liberty, notwithstanding the incidental insertion of "Gottenburg" in the instructions, to treat wherever we may have the most promising prospect of success.

The only point, therefore, which remains for consideration, is that of expediency, and the reasons urged by Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Bayard, and yourself, have great weight.

The apprehension of any *serious* evil from this quarter, occasioned by our change of position, is, I trust, without foundation.

I regret, however, that I had not known the opinions of Messrs Gallatin and Bayard in season to have shaped my communications here accordingly. Something like a retrograde movement will now be necessary, and it may require some address to reconcile this Government to the new arrangement. I hope it may be in our power to throw the responsibility on the British Government, but am somewhat afraid the original proposition will appear to have come from our colleagues.

My personal convenience and inclination are, indeed, opposed to the change, but considerations of this kind must yield to those of public utility.

I am placed rather in an awkward predicament by your communication, as the uncertainty in which it leaves our ultimate location, disqualifies me from adapting my movements here with sufficient precision to either alternative. This is a situation truly *diplomatic*, but I pray you to relieve me from its embarrassments the first moment it is in your power to do so.

I had, on the 29th ultimo, my presentations successively to the King, the Queen, the Duke of Sudermania, and the Princess Sophia. The early day assigned for this ceremony may be considered as some proof of a friendly disposition toward us.

The Crown Prince was to leave Paris on the 23d ultimo, and will probably be here by the 20th of this month. I hope, therefore, to have an opportunity of seeing him before my departure from Stockholm.

I wrote you soon after my arrival here, but my letter does not appear to have been received at the date of yours. I hear nothing more of Mr. Adams, but as the navigation is now open from Abo, he will probably soon be in Sweden.

Please remember me kindly to Mr. Carroll, and Captain Angus and his officers.

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MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, June 10, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Carroll arrived a few days ago, and brought me your letters of the 10th and 14th ultimo. The change in the place of the negotiation for peace will enable me to write to you frequently, and will afford me the pleasure of receiving from you the most interesting details upon the advances which you shall make from day to day in the work of peace.

My expectations of a happy result are not strong. The arrogance of the enemy was never greater than at the present moment. The infatuation of that nation excludes almost the possibility of peace. The ministry are represented as being very temperate and moderate. In my former communications I have stated the reasons which I have for doubting the sincerity of their professions of moderation. I may have been wrong in my inferences. I wish that the result may correct me of this error. Admitting the possibility that the British ministers will consent to make peace, without deciding any thing upon the question of impressment, will your instructions justify you in accepting it? So far as I am acquainted with the nature of those instructions, their letter will not. But these instructions were given at a time when the great changes which have intervened in Europe were not only unknown, but wholly unexpected. What will be the effect which these changes will produce upon the determinations of the Government? Will the Government, after they are informed of these changes, give directions to conclude peace, leaving the question of impressment open to further negotiation? Will it consent to a peace which shall make no mention of this question? I presume it will. If the negotiators shall be of this opinion, ought they to hesitate to accept, in the most prompt manner, of a peace which they are convinced the Government will instruct them to make, as soon as it is informed of the actual state of things? I should answer promptly, No. A peace which omits the question of impressment entirely, will leave the American Government at perfect liberty to apply the proper remedy, whenever the evil shall be felt. I do not believe that you will be placed in a situation to determine this question. I believe they will insist upon the unqualified admission of their right to impress on board American vessels at sea. This, I trust, will never be conceded. It would be better to return to our colonial relations with *our mother country*, than submit to this condition. If it must be conceded, a federal President must make the concession. As there is but a faint glimmering of hope that the negotiation will terminate in peace, the next important point to be obtained is, that it shall break off, upon principles which will convince the American people, of all parties, that peace can be obtained only by the most vigorous prosecution of the war. I have the most unlimited confidence in the skill and address of our negotiators. I am perfectly satisfied that the negotiation will

be conducted with a view to affect this important point. I have seen and conversed with several Englishmen in Paris, upon the question of impressment, and find the most of them very ignorant and arrogant. Sir Thomas Baring is an exception to this remark. But his mode of adjusting this question is wholly inadmissible. He proposes that no impressment shall be made in vessels engaged in the coasting trade—that no impressment shall take place in vessels engaged in the foreign trade, in sight of the American coast. He thinks the ministry will hardly go so far. A merchant of the name of Wilson says that an arrangement of a different nature would be satisfactory to the nation. It is this, that when a British officer should visit an American vessel, and designate any one of the crew as a British subject, and he should admit the fact, that the master or captain of the American vessel should deliver him up. If the man should deny that he is an Englishman, and the captain should refuse to deliver him, that the visiting officer should endorse the ship's papers with the name of the sailor, and with his allegation. The question of nationality shall be inquired into, at the first port at which the vessel shall touch, where there is a British consul; if found against the sailor, the captain shall pay a fine, or the expenses of the investigation, and the sailor shall be delivered up. If for him, the British Consul, or if in England, the British Government should be subject to the same payment. He says, that in the case of an admitted British subject, if the American captain should declare that the loss of the man would endanger the vessel, that he should be kept on board until the vessel entered the port of destination, when the captain should be bound to deliver him over to the British Consul, or officer authorized to receive him. I see no objection to this plan, except that the captain should not be permitted to deliver any man who denies the charge, until it is established against him. This arrangement will give the enemy the absolute control over their own seamen, as far as the fact of nationality can be established. It at the same time secures American sailors from arbitrary impressment. If the vessel should be bound to the ports of a nation at war with England, it might be made the duty of the American Consul at such port to ship him on board of an American vessel bound to England, to the United States, or to a neutral port, where the fact should be promptly settled. I do not believe that this arrangement will be acceptable to the Government of Eng-

land, because I do not believe they will be satisfied with any arrangement which will prevent their seizing upon the sailors of other nations. If I am correct in my conjecture, the proposition will embarrass them, and the rejection will prove, to the most prejudiced mind, that they are determined to make the American sailors fight the battles which are to rivet the chains of slavery, which they have been forging for all maritime states, and especially for the seafaring men of these states, for a century past. I have thought that this arrangement ought to be suggested to you, because it may not have occurred to any one of our ministers. I think it highly improbable that the English negotiators will make any proposition of this nature. If their pretensions shall be so moderate as to afford rational ground for discussion, this arrangement may be proposed with advantage.

If their views are so unreasonable as to exclude discussion, that of itself will have the happy effect of convincing all parties that the peace must be obtained by the sword alone. But even in this case, when the rejection of the arrangement will be certain, I am inclined to believe that the proposition, coming from the American ministers, will have a tendency to elucidate the extent of the concessions which they demand upon this point, more satisfactorily than any other mode which has been presented to my mind. Mr. Wilson is a true John Bull, but, I believe, a very honest man, and, I am sure, sincerely desirous of peace. The rejection of the arrangement will probably have some effect upon the English nation itself. If this principle will be satisfactory to Mr. Wilson, it is probable that it will be acceptable to many others—in fact, to all reasonable men—to all men who have not formed the foolish and extravagant idea of re-colonizing the United States.

I have felt that it was my duty to present this subject to you in its fullest extent. I have verbally communicated it to Mr. Bayard. It is probable that Mr. Wilson may have communicated this idea to Mr. Gallatin, as he made his acquaintance, and that of Mr. Bayard's also, in London. He had not suggested it to the latter.

I will obtain the necessary passports for you, and send them on to Ghent, as the *Moniteur* of yesterday has notified that it is necessary to have them to leave the kingdom. I suppose it is equally necessary to enter it. From the letters which I have written to you, you will perceive that some of my inferences

have been proved, by subsequent events, to be incorrect. I reasoned from the facts as they were presented to my mind, and I feel no mortification at the result. If it was my duty to communicate every thing to you which I knew, or believed, at the moment of writing, I do not feel any mortification that some of my conjectures, some of my inferences, have proved to be incorrect.

I have authority to draw on the bankers of the United States for diplomatic intercourse, and for disbursements for distressed seamen. Under the first head, I can satisfy Mr. Carroll's expenses, and shall do it with great pleasure on his own account, as well as upon your request. I am well acquainted with his father, and entertain the highest esteem for him.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Bayard, who, I am happy to inform you, coincides with me in every question relative to the peace. He believes with me, if the nation can be united in the prosecution of the war, that the interest of the United States will be promoted by the failure of the negotiation. He will heartily unite with you in bringing the discussions to a close that will secure this great object. I think, from the English papers, that no armistice has been agreed upon. I rejoice that it has failed. It might have done us much injury, but could not possibly do us any good. God bless you, my dear sir, and bless your labors, and make them useful to your country. Mine, I believe, are like water spilled on the ground, that can never be gathered. Adieu.

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MR. RUSSELL TO MR. CLAY.

STOCKHOLM, July 2, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 27th ult. My distress at the delay which our joint errand has encountered, had almost become intolerable, and the kind of comfort I have received from Mr. Adams, has afforded very little relief. His apprehensions are rather of a gloomy cast with regard to the result of our labors, in which, I hope, however, he will be disappointed. He will show you a letter to Lord Castlereagh, which I have signed. I have done this in the expectation that the letter will not be delivered without the signatures of the other gentlemen composing the mission, and solely in the case

that the conferences be not transferred to Holland, on the terms which you proposed, that is, if Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, not being able to obtain your condition, and declining a removal without it, should again recur to you at Gottenburg, with new propositions. I think indeed that the condition itself was not of importance, although you had certainly reason to believe it to be so. Things have, however, come to my knowledge since my arrival here, which have entirely altered my view of the disposition and policy of this cabinet. Although the condition be not important, yet I find Mr. Adams, who also believes it not to be important, has definitively made up his mind not to remove without it, and is even uncertain if he will go with it. His reasons are that our present instructions will not admit of a negotiation on the basis which will be proposed by the adverse party, and therefore, the sooner we meet, the sooner shall we know the result, and be able to act accordingly. He is decided, therefore, that Gottenburg is to be preferred, unless Holland should already be agreed on. I have signed the above note to prevent the delay of applying to me, or the necessity of acting without me, should the circumstances occur in which it can be properly used.

I sincerely wish with you that the twenty prizes of the Rattlesnake, in Norway, could be condemned, but to this procedure there are insuperable difficulties. I do not recollect a single instance of a sovereign having *freely* consented to the institution of a foreign court of admiralty within his dominions, and the peculiar situation of Norway at this moment, presents additional difficulties. Both the contending parties must consider the friendship of England to be indispensable to their success, and so far from consenting to an extraordinary measure for the condemnation of the property in question, I am not without alarm that either of them would be willing to conciliate that friendship, by a violation of the rights of the captor.

The prince will be here to-morrow, and I shall follow Mr. Adams, who will hand you this letter, as soon as I learn the definitive location of the mission. I regret very much to learn the serious indisposition of Captain Angus. Please present my respects to him, and assure him of my best wishes for a speedy and perfect recovery.

It seems that a mail from England has at length arrived at Gottenburg, but I have not yet learned if it brought you any



thing of a decisive character. A letter from Mr. Beasley, of the 13th May, informs me that Admiral Lord Gambier, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Goulbourn, are the persons who are to meet us, and that the place of the conference would be ascertained the next day.

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## MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, July 4, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have but little to add to the contents of my preceding letters. Mr. Gallatin, and the young gentlemen who accompany, or follow immediately after him, will give you the ephemeral news of this capital. There is but little doing here which can interest an American citizen.

I am not sanguine in my expectations of peace. If the failure of your exertions, to put an end to the war, shall succeed in producing unanimity at home, we shall have no cause to lament that failure. I am thoroughly convinced that the United States can never be called upon to treat, under circumstances less auspicious than those which exist at the present moment, unless our internal bickerings shall continue to weaken the efforts of the Government. I sincerely trust that this will not be the case. In your letter to Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, you state that the elections in the East had terminated against the Government, but by smaller majorities than on the preceding elections. I have not yet received any other information upon the subject, than what is contained in that letter. There is a chasm in my newspapers, delivered by Mr. Carroll, from the 19th of March to the 5th of April. If you can supply this chasm, you will greatly oblige me.

From what I have lately discovered of the councils of this nation, and of the temper of the principal maritime states of Europe, I am inclined to believe that the time at which they may be disposed to oppose the maritime usurpations of our enemy, will be more distant than I had previously imagined. At all events, I am fearful that it will be more distant than we shall be disposed to prosecute the war, to avoid concessions which they will feel as severely as we shall.

In the prosecution of the war, the great difficulty we shall have to encounter, will be the raising of money. The war will give us soldiers, and point out the officers qualified to command,

but it will neither coin money, or increase our credit. If we can get through this campaign without any signal defeat, and without the loss of any of our principal commercial cities, and can raise for the ensuing year the sums necessary for the prosecution of the war, we shall find ourselves in much more eligible circumstances at the close of the next campaign, than we are at present.

I do not look forward with dismay; I believe we shall rise superior to all the difficulties with which we are surrounded. I trust we shall live to enjoy many happy celebrations of this anniversary of our national existence.

Give my best respects to your colleagues, and accept for yourself the assurance of my warmest friendship.

P. S. I will send by Mr. Todd, the passport necessary to enable you to come to Paris, after you close your diplomatic functions. I repeat my request that you will make my house your home, during your residence here. If you wish to take a disciple of Pestalozzi with you to the United States, one can be obtained. Upon him you can impose the condition of teaching the Greek and Latin. You will have, however, to maintain him, until he learns English enough to teach. The economy of Switzerland makes this expense very inconsiderable. I have learned with great pleasure, from the enemies of the system, that it has overcome the prejudices even of the priesthood.

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MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, July 9, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—I acknowledge with much pleasure your very interesting letter of the 2d instant, by the hands of Mr. Connell.

It appears that we differ in opinion upon two points. You believe that the British Government will not hesitate to make peace, leaving the question of impressment wholly out of view. You appear also to believe that the events of the present campaign will have a favorable effect upon your negotiation. I sincerely wish you may be right, but I am strongly inclined to believe that the result will prove your opinions to be incorrect.

When I foresaw that peace would probably take place in Europe, in the early part of the year, I did not expect that the war-

ner in which the war has terminated would so inflate the arrogance of the enemy as it manifestly has done. I thought, as you now think, that England would not hesitate to make peace by waiving the question of impressment. I am even now convinced that her interest requires that this course should be adopted. There are, however, occasions in which nations, like individuals, blinded by some momentary but predominant passion, turn a deaf ear to the voice of interest. This I presume to be the case with our enemy at the present moment. Various facts which have come to my knowledge have led me to believe that she will now decidedly reject any proposition which you can make, which does not admit the legality of her practice of impressment on board American vessels at sea.

At the moment, however, when I presented to the joint embassy the idea of making peace, by omitting this question, even if your instructions did not literally warrant it, I still believed that England would consent to this course. At that time I expected the negotiation to open at Gottenburg, about the 1st of May. I did not expect that instructions could be received from the Government, founded on the recent changes in Europe, before the month of August. At the date of my letter to you of the 10th ultimo, my opinion of the views of the British Government had in some degree changed, but even then, I expected the negotiation to open a month sooner than it probably will. I also expected that the change of the seat of negotiations would probably postpone the receipt of the instructions expected from the United States. These reasons, together with those which arise from the expectation of a different result from our military operations from that which you entertain, aided by the express wish of Mr. Bayard that I should present the question anew to you individually, must plead my apology for its intrusion upon your attention.

If there was any rational ground to expect that by a longer prosecution of the war we should ultimately succeed in compelling the enemy to relinquish, by treaty, the practice of impressment, I would not hesitate to continue the war. I believe there is no such reasonable ground of expectation, unless we are disposed to bequeath this war as a legacy to our sons.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Russian officers now in Paris who have been in England, are highly disgusted with that nation. They speak of a war

with Austria as certain. In this I think they are mistaken. If war breaks out on the continent, I presume England, in her present temper, must have a finger in it. In this question, however, as she has no resentments to gratify, she will be governed by her interest. She will, therefore, be against that power which is most commercial, and the destruction of whose commerce will tend most directly to her interest.

I must really apologize to you for the length of my letters.

Present me most respectfully to your colleagues, and accept yourself the assurance of my most sincere friendship.

P. S. Mr. Carroll leaves Paris sooner than I expected. I will send your passport by Mr. Todd.

Remember me to the young gentlemen of the mission.

MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, July 19, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—The departure of Messrs. Blanchard and Elliot, for Ghent, enables me to send you the passport which I have obtained for you. They will be able to give you the ephemeral news of this capital.

I dined a few days ago in company with the Marquis of Buckinghamshire. We conversed long and freely upon the subject of the approaching negotiation. The result of our conversation was that there can be no peace. He insists absolutely that the question of impressment shall be settled in this treaty, and of course, that it shall be settled entirely in their favor. He attempted to derive their right to take (for he insisted upon dropping the word *impressment*, to which I assented) their seamen from our vessels, from the law of nations.

DIPLOMATIC NOTE PROPOSED BY MR. CLAY AT GHENT.

The undersigned, ministers, etc., have the honor of recalling to the attention of his B. M. P. the note of the undersigned of the 30th ult., and to so much of what has passed in the subsequent conferences as is deemed material to the present communication.

In that note they stated that they objected to one of the altera-

tions proposed by the B. P. in the first article, and to the modification which they also proposed of the eighth article, of the project which the undersigned had submitted for consideration.

By the first article of this project, the undersigned had proposed that there should be a mutual restitution of all territories, places and possessions, taken by either party during the war, without exception. The alteration in question, proposed by the B. P., contemplates a restitution of what belongs to either party. The alteration would be free from objection, if there were no places in the occupation of either party, which are claimed by the other. In that case the execution of the treaty would depend upon the question of who was the possessor at the moment when war was declared. But there are certain islands in the Bay of Fundy the title to which is claimed by both parties, and other portions of territory from that bay to the Lake of the Woods, the whole line between which is more or less liable to dispute, and which may by each party be supposed to belong to him. For the settlement of the respective pretensions of the two parties to those islands, and for other purposes, a mode of decision, suggested by Great Britain, has been assented to by the undersigned.

They can not consent to the proposed alteration, first, because by constituting each party the sole judge of what belongs to him, it makes the restitution to depend upon his uncertain exercise of judgment, and not on the precise principle of status before the war, on which alone in this respect they have repeatedly stated they can treat, and which has been agreed to by Great Britain; and secondly because it is repugnant to the principle on which it has been agreed to waive, at this time, the determination of the claims of the parties to the disputed islands, and to submit it to an impartial tribunal erected for the purpose. These objections apply equally to the alteration as proposed in general terms, and to the qualification by which it would be limited in its operation to the territories in dispute, or to the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. It may be added that it is further objectionable as sowing, in the very instrument of pacification, the seeds of an immediate misunderstanding, the moment it is carried into practical execution.

On the other remaining subject of difference, the undersigned must observe that the demand of Great Britain of the navigation of the Mississippi, brought forward in the form of a modification of the eighth article of the project of the undersigned, was

wholly unexpected by them, after the explicit declaration made by the British Plenipotentiaries that their Government had no demands to make other than was contained in their notes of the —, etc., of which this was not one. As to that modification, the undersigned have offered three alternatives, first to strike out the article altogether, or to strike out the clause which grants the navigation of the Mississippi, or lastly, retaining that clause, to place the exercise of the right under restrictions to prevent its abuse or perversion, in consideration of the recognition by Great Britain of that liberty in the fisheries which she considers abrogated by the war. To either of these alternatives the undersigned are yet willing to assent. And it was with some surprise that they have been made acquainted, by the British Plenipotentiaries, that their Government declines to accept either of them, and offers as a substitute for the second, a clause referring to a future negotiation the adjustment of the proper equivalent to be given by the United States for the enjoyment of the liberty to the fisheries referred to; and of the proper equivalent to be given by Great Britain for the navigation of the Mississippi.

The undersigned can not consent to this substitute because it is either useless in itself, in providing for a future negotiation which the two governments, without any such provision, will at all times, if it be necessary, have it in their power to take up; or because it supposes, what the undersigned have declared their Government does not admit, that the liberty in the fisheries alluded to has been lost by the war.

To a general stipulation, similar to the — article of the treaty of 1794, the undersigned will not object.

All other points having been substantially arranged either by the correspondence, or in the conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of the two countries, it remains only to dispose of the two existing topics of difference to conclude, so far as depends on the undersigned, a treaty of peace. For this happy result it is quite unnecessary to dwell on the testimony which, in every stage of the negotiation, they have constantly given of their anxious desire.

[The above note is in Mr. Clay's hand-writing, endorsed by him as follows:]

*Proposed by me in lieu of the note which we sent on the 14th day of December, 1814.*

H. C.

## SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO MR. CLAY.

15 GREAT GEORGE STREET, Monday Forenoon.

Sir James Mackintosh is so eager to have the honor of Mr. Clay's acquaintance that he ventures to request his company this evening, to a small party, when Lady Mackintosh will be most happy to receive him, at nine or ten o'clock, with any gentleman of his suite who may be so good as to honor them with coming.

## MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

LIVERPOOL, July 14, 1815.

MY DEAR WIFE,—I expect to embark to-morrow on board the Lorenzo, of this port, for New York, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you before this letter reaches you. As it is possible, however, that I may not, to guard against any accidents which may attend me, I inclose you a copy of a power of Attorney (accompanied by a copy of the original certificate) to transfer to me \$4,444 44, in the 6 per cent. stock of the United States. The original of these copies is in my possession.

Messrs. Baring, Brothers & Co., bankers London, have in their hands £201 0s. 9d. sterling of my money.

On the other side is a memorandum of charges against the United States, which are to be brought forward on settlement of my account, besides my outfit and salary.

Dr. the United States to H. Clay,

To the sum lost by me in the rent of a house from Mr. Pritz, of Gottenburg, for one quarter, and which I occupied only one month; there remaining two months; Mr. Pritz agreed to be satisfied with rent for one of them (see Mr. Carroll) at \$200 per month . . . . .	\$200
To expenses of my journey from Gottenburg to Ghent in consequence of the removal of the seat of the negotiation . . . . .	500
To newspapers for one quarter, at Gottenburg, (see Mr. Hall's account) . .	£5
To newspapers at London . . . . .	£5
To stationary at Gottenburg and London . . . . .	25

## MR. ADAMS TO MESSRS. BAYARD, CLAY, RUSSELL AND GALLATIN.

GHENT, January 17, 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—A letter from Mr. Hughes of which I subjoin a copy, was received by me this morning. I presume you will have heard more directly, and before this will reach you, what were the

interruptions or difficulties which delayed his departure so long beyond the time he had anticipated by his former letter, and occasioned the disappointment of which he complains. No intermediate letter from him has been received.

I contemplate leaving this city this day week, and hope to find a passport from Mr. Crawford at Bruxelles.

I am with great respect, gentlemen, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[COPY.]

ON BOARD THE TRANSIT.

6th January, 1815—Friday, 2 P.M.

GENTLEMEN,—I am at last under way; we are now about four leagues from Bordeaux; I came on board last night, and am in hopes that there will be no further interruption or difficulty to delay my progress to the United States. I am afraid I shall be the second or third herald, in point of time; yet the news is so happy for the country, that in the pleasure of contemplating its fine effect at home I lose almost all the mortification of the disappointment I have suffered.

I have the honor to be be very respectfully your obedient servant,

C. HUGHES, JR.

American Ministers at Ghent.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.\*

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1810.

DR. BEATTY,—This day was fixed by resolution of the two Houses of Congress for its adjournment, but that resolution has been rescinded, and the session protracted one week longer. On the great subject of our foreign affairs, I believe we shall adjourn without adopting any efficient measure. A bill to augment the duties fifty per cent. has passed the House of Representatives, but I fear, like Macon's bill, it will not be concurred in by the Senate. One of its valuable effects, if it passes, will be the encouragement of our manufactures. As the increase is not contemplated, however, to be permanent, I should prefer a smaller augmentation, and that it should be durable.

Two committees of the House of Representatives are engaged

\* The remaining letters of this chapter, from Mr. Clay to Judge Beatty, were not received in time for their proper place *as to date*.



in investigating Wilkinson's conduct (who has at length arrived), one into the Spanish conspiracy, and the other into the causes of the mortality of the army last summer. On this latter subject it is expected a report will be made this session; upon the other a report will hardly be made before the next.

Howard is appointed Governor of Louisiana.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

FRANKFORT, May 31, 1810.

DR. BEATTY,—I received your favor, with the specimen inclosed of your merino's fleece, and compared it with one which I took from a full-blooded merino of General Mason's, and find very little difference between them. If you could send your wool, or the yarn, to a manufacturer in Danville, he would make you the best piece of cloth that you could obtain from it. I do not recollect his name, but he is an Englishman, accustomed to the business, and has undertaken, for Judge Todd, to make him a coat which he warrants shall not be inferior to the best imported cloth in the State. I propose sending mine to him. If, however, you prefer having it made in the neighborhood of Lexington, there will be no difficulty in getting it wove, full'd, etc.

I am glad to learn that your election to the Legislature is deemed certain. Your presence there will be extremely necessary. I am solicitous for it on various accounts. You will have heard that I am no longer a candidate for the Senate, and that my successor will consequently be appointed. May not the Federalists attempt to rally in support of one of their party? This should be looked to.

In offering for the House of Representatives, I was influenced by a partiality for the station, and by the wishes of some of my friends, as well here as to the East. I contemplate, however serving out the term for which I am already appointed in the Senate, not wishing to give the trouble of supplying my place for the ensuing session, and being desirous to prevent the possibility of the State being partially represented during a considerable portion of it.

## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

LEXINGTON, July 27, 1810.

DR. BEATTY,—I received your favor of the 24th June. The nett yield of our merino (owing to the neglect or fraud of the shearer of him) was not sufficient to make me a coat. Mrs. Clay therefore determined to have it spun, and either applied to other uses, or retained until we could get an additional quantity. A Captain M'Call, in this neighborhood, has undertaken to weave and full, for Jordan, some yarn spun from the merino wool; and if you can not better dispose of yours, I have no doubt Mr. Jordan can procure him to weave and full yours also.

I learned with pleasure your decision in favor of again offering for the Legislature. Your success, I am told, is not doubted. The Republican interests will require, and, I am sure, will receive your best support. Whether the Federalists will or will not attempt a Senator of their own kind depends on the issue of the election. I believe Daviess will not be elected here; and even Humphrey\* dreads the result of the Franklin election.

P. S. I requested a Mr. Fowke, of Baltimore, to call on you for professional aid, which I hope you will afford.

## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

LIMESTONE, March 31, 1818.

Henry Clay presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Beatty. His solicitude to reach home prevents him from having the pleasure to see Mr. Beatty, whose favors he ought to have acknowledged at the city. With every disposition to serve Colonel C. B., he regrets his inability to have done so. Under the regular establishment of the military there were no vacancies worthy his notice. Under the act for raising twenty thousand infantry for the term of one year, when Henry Clay left Washington it was understood that but one regiment would be allotted to K., and the field officers of that regiment were determined upon prior to Mr. B.'s application, although not announced. Henry Clay could not interfere with the contemplated arrangement.

Henry Clay paid Mr. Beatty's last year's subscription to the "Intelligencer," and was reimbursed before he left K. What is due he forgot to pay, but will discharge on his return to the city. He can add no news to the public prints.

\* Marshall.

## CHAPTER II.

### CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1815 TO 1820.

JAMES MONROE TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, October 30, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since the overthrow of France, Russia has acquired the highest degree of political importance in relation to these States. As a great power, friendly to a liberal system of neutral rights, and with whose dominions our commerce had become considerable, she held, before that event, a distinguished rank ; but by it her weight in the general scale has been much augmented. Russia forms, in effect, at this time, the principal check on the overgrown power of England, on which account, and many others, it is immensely the interest of these States to cultivate a good understanding with her sovereign. The President is desirous of confiding to you a mission to that power, and will be much gratified to hear that it will be acceptable to you. I write you now that you may be enabled to consider the proposition before you leave home, and make the necessary arrangements for your departure, in case you accept the trust ; though you will not infer from this intimation that all due and friendly attention will not be paid to your convenience as to the time.

It would have been very agreeable to the President as well as to me, to have had an opportunity of seeing and conferring with you on your arrival, but our absence from this city and your anxiety to join your family after so long a separation from them, were obstacles not to be surmounted.

In the hope of seeing you soon, I shall reserve for that occasion comments on other subjects.

THOMAS VAUGHAN TO MR. CLAY.

NEAR CARDIFF, December 1, 1815.

MY GOOD AND WORTHY SIR,—Having seen an account in our newspapers of your safe arrival in America, gives me great pleasure, and I hope this will meet you in perfect health, and every other earthly comfort. And I now take the liberty of informing you that we have received an account from my son's wife, Mrs. Vaughan, of his death, so long back as the 5th of April, 1814. We have also an account of it from a relation of mine, living near to Upper Bluelick, but on whom (I am sorry to say) we can set no dependence at all; and therefore take the liberty of begging that you will be pleased to have the goodness to inquire into the state of his (my son's) affairs and property, and, if possible, to get for his daughter (now with me from an infant, and thirty-two years of age) whatever is right, and justly her due; as she is a good, honest, and industrious young woman, and deserving of every justice and encouragement that can be lawfully given her; and your influence will, no doubt, have great weight in settling it justly, and we desire no other; but, by Mrs. Vaughan's account, there seems to be but little for her; and we are at such a distance, it is next to impossible for us to see into it; but I know, from all my son's letters, it was his intention to make his daughter nearly equal to his son; and by a letter of his to me, as far back as the 20th May, 1807, he referred me to you in case of his death (which was the only knowledge I had of his acquaintance with you, and the reason I took the liberty of writing to you in London), in the following words: "I will request Henry Clay of Lexington, Esquire, to give you every information respecting my property, etc., etc. He is one of our Senators, in Congress, which is now sitting; he is very friendly to me, and, I am sure, will do me any reasonable request," etc., etc.

If you will have the goodness to take the trouble on you to get for her what is right and just, and, after deducting for your trouble and every expense, will be pleased to remit the remainder, directed as under, whenever it may be convenient, will greatly oblige me and my grand-daughter (who begs her respectful compliments to you), and am, with deference and respect (although unknown), your obedient servant.

P. S. I am sorry we had not the honor of seeing you in Wales

as we made provision for your reception, after we heard, by my nephew, of your longer stay in London, and particularly as we have the largest iron and tin works in this neighborhood, that are in Great Britain, and through all of which I could have conducted you, and would have been well worth your seeing. I have written by this packet to my daughter-in-law at Bluelick, telling her I have written to you on the above subject, and also to invite my grandson over to England, as I should be very glad to see him here, for one whole year at least, if I live so long.

Whenever convenient, I shall be very glad of a few lines from you, to hear how matters go, and to give me your proper address, as I am at a loss whether to address you as minister, or commissioner, or as a private gentleman. Your goodness will excuse any defects you may meet with in this scrawl, from my age of eighty-five years, and want of memory, etc., although I am as healthy and as heart-well as ever, blessed be God for that, and all his other goodness to me. We are in general very happy to be at peace with America in particular, and with the rest of the world; but our farmers and manufacturers complain heavily, the former because grain, cattle, horses, etc., sell very low, and the latter for want of orders for their wares, etc. Almost every thing is lowered very much since you left England, and the surrender of Napoleon; but we are in hopes of our taxes being lowered to ease the farmers and trades, and traffic revived with you, and with other countries, to relieve our manufacturers.

I pray God bless you with good health, long life, and every other comfort that this uncertain world can give you, are the sincere prayers of your unknown friend and humble servant.

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HENRY GOULBURN TO MR. CLAY.

DOWNING STREET, March 8, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am really very much obliged to you for your letter of the 7th of January, which I received a short time since, both because it has enabled me to relieve the anxiety which a friend of mine in this country (Mr. Harris) felt for the fate of the relation to whom it particularly relates, and not less because it has assured me that, though situated in so distant a quarter of the world, I nevertheless bear a place in your recollection.

I had already learned the death of Mr. Bayard before your letter reached me, and although I could not but regret the event, I was glad that he had at least the satisfaction of seeing his family before his death.

I have to congratulate you on your resumption of the arduous and honorable situation which you left in order to meet us at Ghent. I trust that this is an evidence that our joint work is approved in America. I assure you it is so in England; and whatever may be said in the newspapers on either side of the Atlantic, I have little doubt that it will continue to be approved by all rational persons. You seem by your papers to be fighting the same battle in America that we are fighting here, namely, that of putting peace establishments on a footing not unbecoming the growth of the population and the empire in which they are to be maintained. It is impossible that either country should feel any jealousy of the other so long as the augmentation does not exceed the necessity of the case, and I have not heard an argument any where to prove that it does so exceed in either case. From all that I know, I am sure I can take upon me to relieve the apprehensions which you seem to entertain of hostile movements on the part of this country in any quarter of the globe. Newspapers will, on subjects of this kind, propagate any intelligence, however false, which is likely to excite an interest on the part of their readers, but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking it the duty of every man to avoid giving the authority of his belief to any of the rumors which they so convert for their own purposes into facts.

When you see Mr. Gallatin, may I beg you to present to him my best respects, and if at any time I can be of any service to you or to him in this country, I trust you will have no hesitation in commanding me, for I can assure you that nothing could give me greater pleasure.

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JAMES MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, August 30, 1816.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Dallas seems to have made up his mind to retire early in October from the department in his hands, and the event may draw after it a vacancy in the War Department. Will you permit me to avail our country of your services in the

latter? It will be convenient to know your determination as soon as you have formed it, and it will be particularly gratifying if it assent to my request.

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MR. CLAY TO MR. MADISON.

ASHLAND, September 14, 1816.

DEAR SIR,—The last mail brought me the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 30th ultimo, stating your expectation of a vacancy in the Department of War, and communicating your wish that I would take upon myself the discharge of the duties of that office. Several considerations appear to me to require that I should decline accepting the honor which your favorable opinion has tendered. I regret the necessity of this decision the less, as I hope that you will fill the place equally agreeably to yourself, and I am sure more advantageously to the public interest. I pray you, however, to believe that I shall always entertain the highest sense of this new proof of your confidence, and that, with the greatest respect and esteem, I am your obedient servant.

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JAMES MONROE TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1817.

SIR,—I had the honor to receive your letter of yesterday last night, advising me that the chamber of the House of Representatives would be put, by the officers of the House, in a condition to receive me to-day, for the purpose of taking the oath prescribed by the Constitution for the President of the United States. I have hastened to transmit the communication to the Chairman of the Committee of the Senate, and I beg you to accept my acknowledgment for your polite attention.

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LORD GAMBIER TO MR. CLAY.

IVER GROVE, January 20, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had much satisfaction in receiving your letter of the 6th November, by the hand of Mr. Burgess, from whom and from Mr. Mills, I had the pleasure of hearing of your health

and welfare. I return you many thanks for the kind and obliging terms in which you are so good as to express yourself toward me, and can with great truth assure you it would afford me much gratification if the course of events should approximate us so that I could have the pleasure of your society, and avail myself of any opportunity that might offer by which I could evince my regard and esteem personally for you. I hope Messrs. Burgess and Mills received every necessary assistance and kindness from the several persons, Mr. Wilberforce and others, to whom they were introduced, toward the object of their benevolent undertaking. I regret their short visit to this country deprived me of the pleasure of performing any kind offices of hospitality and respect that their own characters give them claim to, and which would have been gratifying to me to show to any person in whose interest you take a part.

If Mr. Adams should be near you when this comes to your hand, I will beg of you to communicate my best regards to him.

With every cordial wish for your health and prosperity, I remain, my dear sir, in great respect, your faithful and most humble servant.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 16, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—In great haste I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 13th March. Walker would undertake to explore your lands, and report to you particularly their situation, quality, and value. He would charge for the service, only his expenses, that is to say, about \$2 per day, for twelve or fifteen days. He is a man of perfect integrity, and may be relied on for such an undertaking. When I spoke, in a former letter, of him, I did not mean to imply any question of his veracity, but merely to convey the idea, that he was a laughing, talking, good-natured sort of a fellow, who might express himself somewhat at random, unless he knew precision to be necessary.

He himself recommends Daniel Ashley at Madisonville as a person on whom you may rely to report the desired information. Major Walker's address is "David Walker, Russellville, Ky."



## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

WASHINGTON, April 21, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—The contemplated changes in the judicial establishment of the United States, were not made during the session of Congress just terminated. The opinion that these changes are necessary acquires daily additional strength; and I think there is reason to believe that they will be effected at the next session.

I am glad to learn that there exists a prospect of doing something towards turnpiking in Kentucky. I shall be very happy to co-operate with you in an object so worthy of the utmost exertions.

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## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, July 25, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 9th. You mention that you have thought of becoming a candidate for the Senate, and, justly viewing me as one of your friends, you have asked my opinion.

In the first place, I beg leave to state that I have always felt a most lively and sincere interest in your welfare, and that it would give me, personally, much satisfaction to see you in the situation suggested. With respect to your prospect of success I am not a very good judge, having been so much of late years out of the State, and therefore knowing but little of the weight and standing of different individuals. I hinted at the subject to Barry, who seemed to think that, living in one extreme of the State, however much esteemed there, you were probably hardly well enough known at the other to count with any certainty upon your success. I did not mention it to Breckenridge, because I am quite sure that he proposes to himself the career of politics, and I have heard, though not from him, nor from any one that as far as I know, was authorized by him, that he is looking himself to the situation. I should think the event would greatly depend upon the persons who might happen to be your competitors. Should Colonel Johnson offer, (he has been talked of, with what authority from himself I know not,) or perhaps Breckenridge, you would probably fail.

I will now give you, in the frankness which is due from the

friendship I feel for you, my opinion. I do not think you ought to accept the situation, if you had a moral certainty of getting it. Although comfortable in your pecuniary condition, you are not rich, and you have a growing family. Instead of making additions to your fortune, you would most probably make annual subtractions from it, during your service. For if your pay should cover your expenses, while absent from your family, affairs would go on less profitably at home than they do now. Such, at least, is my experience ; and such I believe to be in the nature of things. Congress, too, has greater attractions at a distance than near. After the novelty wears off (which it commonly does in the course of two or three months), the interest which was at first felt is diminished, if not extinguished, with most of those, at least, who are not perfectly at their ease in their circumstances, or who are not in pursuit of place, and are willing to venture every thing on getting it, or, lastly, those few individuals whose great attainments give them a high degree of prominence in the body and in the nation.

With respect to yourself (I write, you see, with the frankness and freedom which you have invited,) your talents are of the most respectable kind ; but they are better adapted to the career which you have been wisely pursuing than to that of politics. While you would never fail to speak sensibly, your elocution would not perhaps procure for you that high degree of eminence which I am sure you would be ambitious of reaching. Besides, you have great reason to expect promotion in the judiciary of either the State or the United States, when vacancies shall occur. While judicial appointment might also be acquired in the situation to which we refer, it is perhaps not so direct a road to it as by a faithful and enlightened discharge of the duties of your present office. There is, moreover, always some risk (and it is greater as we are more advanced in life) in quitting an occupation with which one is familiar, and entering upon another with which he is less conversant. The intimate alliance between law and politics, and the habit which is so common in our country of participating in the consideration of its political affairs, diminishes but does not entirely remove this objection.

I have given you my candid sentiments. Your own better judgment will, at last, guide you, as it ought ; and that you may be successful and prosperous, however you may decide, is my sincere wish.

[In pursuance of the advice of Mr. Clay, I concluded to retain my judicial station, and therefore declined becoming a candidate for the Senate of the United States. A. B.]

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 26, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,—The letter of which Mr. Newcomb was the bearer, is the last communication I have had from you. Permit me to solicit a more frequent correspondence. In this exchange of information you may be a loser as I now am returned to a private, solitary life, and can hardly write any thing but what you will collect from European papers. Indeed the gazettes of France, shackled as they are, to such a reader as you, may tell, and even foretell a great deal.

The French, or rather the European revolution, had raised against us the passions and the exertions of Coblenz and Piltz. In subsequent excesses, although it had put a stop to proselytism, it did not so generally operate abroad as the ambitious despotism of Napoleon who estranged from France the speculative love of freedom, and roused against her the masses of the people, our natural allies. In that situation of universal oppression and enmity, Bonaparte did twice squander away the moral and military resources of this nation, first in Russia, afterward, at Dresden, and Leipsic, and brought in the hosts of the coalition, leaving on the Niemen, the Oder, and the Elbe, the material means of defense which he had taken from our stores and fortresses. He capitulated for himself, while a restoration ushered by the Allies, and not displeasing to the nation, was generally considered as a tolerable transaction between old princes and modern institutions. A month had sufficed to prepare the people for a change. It was impossible for any combination, but the folly of the royal Government, to make Bonaparte welcome, which proved to be the case with many, although few could love and trust him. But these interior vicissitudes were of no effect upon foreign courts and foreign nations. The latter, having no time to explain, were hurried again against their own interest, with revengeful and desperate fury. The courts were the more eager to avail themselves of their error, as they saw that Napoleon, unable to reassume his arbitrary doc-

trines, had been forced to acknowledge the first principles of the Revolution.

Two modes of resistance were left for France, to launch out of the imperial circle of men and measures into a national insurrection: or to support the actual ruler who, although he was a check upon the exertions of a people whom he did no more trust than he could be trusted by them, was justly reckoned the ablest of generals, and enjoyed the confidence of a standing army amounting to two hundred thousand men. The active majority having preferred this method, it remained for those who would have proposed a bolder and more popular system, to slide in with the adopted plan of defense, which was done with candor and determination.

Two weeks after the opening of the session, Napoleon had lost the only army that bore a proportion with the opposed forces, and leaving it to its fate, he flew back to the national representation, not to consult, but to dissolve it, recurring to a wild and desperate arbitrariness which, while it countenanced the attack, could not but damp and dishearten the defense. He was checked in the attempt, and with the assent of his best friends, obliged to abdicate.

Time was short. An attempt to raise some sort of *pudeur* in the Allies, and construe their word of honor into a suspension of arms proved fruitless. In the mean while the troops being rallied under the walls of the capital, more divested of Bonapartism, more actuated by patriotism than they had been said to be, were all alive to national colors and national independence. On my return from the diplomatic errand which I could not refuse, I was much disappointed to hear of the capitulation. The provisory Government and peers dissolved themselves. The House of Representatives were dissolved by force, but not before they had, in their declaration of the 5th of July, expressed what I think to have been for five-and-twenty years the true sense of the nation.

Further resistance to foreign powers was impeded. The President of the popular Government was a minister of the King before he had entered Paris. The imperial system of administration having been, during thirteen years, calculated for absolute monarchy had precluded the means of exertion. A Royal Government being reinstalled in the capital, many trusted its influence with the Allies, those who did not were afraid the impend-

ing evils should be imputed to their obstinacy. And above all, the high powers, made a more Machiavelian use of the King's name and hand successively to undo all the means of French resistance, after which you know what treaty has been dictated by them.

Two administrations have been tried. That of Talleyrand and Fouché, although the former had solicited and signed the coalition of Vienna, and the second put his name to the proscription of many of his associates and friends, and to the suppression of the liberty of the press, was not thought a match for the royalism of the two new chambers. The present ministry, the head of which, although for twenty-five years a Russian officer, is a Frenchman by birth, the last of the illustrious family of Richelieu, and among whom our friend Barbi Marbois is seal-keeper, have gone great lengths toward the spirit of reaction. You have in the papers the bills proposed by them, and their speeches in both Houses, which, nevertheless, keep ahead of the Executive. Among the influencing powers you may distinguish a British and a Russian interest, to both of which I am, thank God, a perfect stranger.

Unfit as I shall ever be for such complicated politics, and having, in my doctrines of legitimacy, much to say for the rights of men and the sovereignty of nations, I am returned to my retirement of Lagrange, and my agricultural pursuits. Here my son, his wife, two daughters, and eleven grandchildren, are now with me. We expect in a few days the pleasure to receive General Scott and Major Mercer.

The happy tidings we receive of increasing prosperity in the United States, fill my heart with delight. I hope the work of liberty and independence in the other parts of America, is going on, and am I to be discouraged with respect to the final establishment of freedom in the European world? The liberal part of the Revolution shall not be lost.

You have been pleased, my dear sir, to promise your kind inquiries and good care with respect to my Orleans business. The Pointe Coupée lands have been purchased by Sir John Coghill, Mr. Seymour, and the parish. The two former gentlemen complain that M. Duplansier, by refusing to answer some questions relative to a land tax, has exposed their property to be sold. They were ignorant of the duty. I hastened to write to the President and explain their situation.

There remain five hundred and twenty acres to be located, or I rather think, located in the vicinity of the town. Under the pressure of my affairs I have parted with one half of those town lots to Sir John, whose large capital, being employed on his alternate lots, would soon bring my share to a value much superior to the actual totality. Should the location be at a distance of more than two miles, the space between the bayou and the town, it becomes a common tract and the whole would have been paid above its value. In the contrary case, one half is mine. It is true, Sir John might challenge me to take back this half for the given price and interest. But if the location was made on the spot, I would, I think, easily find a capitalist to take Sir John's bargain. Let me add that he is willing, in case there was not room for a location of five hundred and twenty acres, to enter into some arrangements with the claimants, to make it complete. Such is, my dear sir, as far as I know it, the present state of the affair. M. Duplansier, who has been very unfortunate in his own concerns, has not, for several years, written to me. M. Allen Michel had the powers of Sir John who has since, I believe, sent a relation of his. The President, to whose kind concern in my behalf, I am highly obliged, knows probably more of my affairs than myself.

This letter will be delivered by Mr. Lakanal, member of the French Institute of the Academy, and Rector General of the Medical System with a handsome treatment, all which he abandons for a settlement in the neighborhood of Lexington, State of Kentucky. The high rank he holds in the scientific world, and his having been a distinguished member of our former assemblies will recommend him to your notice. But I have presumed to engage in your name you would favor him with your good advice, and with letters of introduction to the country which he intends to inhabit. I know you will be so kind as to render him in that way, the services which I beg leave to solicit on account of his own merit and my earnest desire to oblige him. Permit me to depend upon you to ask the same favor from our friends, Mr. Monroe, and Crawford, and others who may recommend him to public and private characters in the State.

## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1820.

DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 10th inst., from Frankfort, and thank you for the friendly feelings toward me of which it furnishes the evidence. On the subject of the next Governor I had communicated my views, prior to the receipt of your letter, to several friends at Frankfort, from whom you must have learned them before you left that place. I have regretted exceedingly my inability to conform to the wishes of those whose kindness has made them look to me for that office.

I am glad to find that the course which it seems to me fitting for this country to pursue, in respect to Spanish affairs, meets with your concurrence. The extraordinary one recommended by the President excited much surprise in Congress, and has, I think, very few of that body disposed to adopt it. The general embarrassments throughout the country, the deficit in the Treasury, and other causes, have communicated their influence to Congress, and produced the effect of great repugnance to war and to any augmentation of the national expenditure. Add to which the various alternatives which the failure of Spain to ratify the treaty presents to our choice, and I should not be surprised if the result should be that Congress will do nothing on Spanish affairs, but leave them where it found them. I should regret this very much, because I think it would be precisely the result most gratifying to Spain.

At present Spanish affairs, manufactures, and every other matter of public concern, have given way to the Missouri question, which engrosses the whole thoughts of the members, and constitutes almost the only topic of conversation. It is a most unhappy question, awakening sectional feelings, and exasperating them to the highest degree. The words, civil war, and disunion, are uttered almost without emotion, and a Senator of the United States, in his place, as I understand, said the other day that he would rather have both than fail in the resolution. I witnessed yesterday a display of astonishing eloquence, in the Senate, on the part of Mr. Pinkney of Indiana against the restriction. In that body the majority is with us; in the House of Representatives it is doubtful.

I think nothing will be done by Congress respecting the currency.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, June 9, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,—Permit me to entreat your kind welcome and good advice in behalf of M. Pette and M. Menardi, who are going to settle in the State of Ohio. Their partner, M. La Barthe, is already fixed near New Athens, and there enjoys the freedom which old Athens now struggles to obtain. Our cause has been unfortunate in Italy, but can not fail ultimately to prevail. European liberty chiefly depends on the interior politics of France. I hope our American newspapers take their paragraphs from the “*Constitutionnel*,” the “*Courier*,” or at least the semi-official “*Moniteur*,” in what relates to the debates of the Chamber of Deputies; all the other journals make it a point to disfigure them scandalously. Where M. Pette and M. Menardi will find you I do not know, but am sure you will have the goodness to give them all the advice and recommendation in your power.

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## PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

ALBANY, January 29, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—I arrived two days ago at this place, where not only the members of our Legislature, but most of the active political talent and mischief of the State are now congregated. I have not, during this period, been inattentive to the great question that at present engages the speculations of the politicians throughout the Union, and I think I do not deceive you when I say that your prospects here are highly flattering. You are probably aware that some six or eight months ago there was a partial understanding and commitment among some of our most active politicians in favor of Mr. C——d, and it is to this class that my conversations and views have been principally directed. Many of them are now ready to change their ground, and even the most zealous are willing to lie still at present, and eventually to be governed by future and clearer indications of public sentiment on this subject.

You will see Mr. Van Buren in Washington, and I beg you to pay him some attention. I am decidedly of opinion that he will yet be for you. His best and strongest friends here are so, and



I know that his own views have been essentially changed since last spring. He will not, I presume, avow his preference of any candidate during the present session of Congress, and perhaps it is desirable that he should not. Be civil also to Rochester of our State, who is a very clever young man, and strongly your friend. A rumor is in circulation here that you and D. Clinton are playing in concert, and that you and he will run on the same ticket. I need not tell you that such a rumor, once believed, would prostrate all your hopes here. The recent, and all but unanimous, rejection of the Clintonian judges by our Senate, shows the temper of the State in regard to that class of politicians. Can you with propriety say something in a letter to me on the subject of this supposed coalition which I may show *confidentially* to two or three persons? It might be attended with good consequences. Noah, the Advocate man, is now here. I have had several conversations with him, and although his predilections are still for Mr. C——d, his zeal and confidence have greatly abated. He finds that the State is not disposed to go with him, and expresses a willingness to be quiet, until the sentiments of the old republican party shall be more fully developed

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JOSE M. DEL REAL TO MR. CLAY.

BORDEAUX, February 23, 1822.

SIR,—Both by honor of my country and duty of friendship, I think myself obliged to make over to posterity the image of Don Josef M. Garcia de Toledo, my particular friend, and the first defender of the rights of his country, and as I was favored with the honor of your acquaintance in London, and convinced as I am of a great deal of interest you lay hold of for the liberty and independence as well as for all that belongs to the glorious revolution of South America, I take the liberty of sending you six stamps of his portrait, which I entreat you to have the goodness of accepting as an acknowledgment of my duty to you.

After a few days I shall embark to Carthagena, where, if it is in my way to render you any service, I should be very glad to be honored with your commands.

R. M. JOHNSON TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—I have seen the President, who has again assured me that he would get Mr. Wirt to re-examine your claim, and he will bring the thing to a close. I see that Fickler has republished a piece from the "Franklin Gazette," in favor of Mr Calhoun, and some letters from our friends who dislike his course. I do not know his motive in doing this. I have not written a word to him on the subject of the next President. I saw a letter of his to Mr. Johnson, in which he says he is for you. It is very possible that some of your particular friends may think that as I am intimate with him, I may have some influence in this respect, and knowing the disposition with some, to place every thing to my account, I hope you will not only believe me incapable of promoting any thing unfavorable to you, but whenever a different sentiment is communicated or hinted to you, my feelings may be explained. I intend, in this business, to keep a straightforward course, and while I consider it my duty to be on terms of personal friendship with others, if I find it reciprocal, no person shall doubt my course where I can be of any service to you.

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 ITURBIDE TO MR. CLAY.

MEXICO, May 6, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,—Through the means of the captain of the navy, Don Eugenio Cortes, I have been informed of the great services by which you have furthered the success of his commission, and contributed to the prosperous advantages that resulted from it; this generous course, the fruit of this enlightened age, excites my gratitude, and obliges me to give you my most sincere thanks, and offer you my friendship; for this philanthropic conduct that emanates from a liberal education, and whose end is the civilization of nations, though it relates to the whole Mexican Empire, if its success should be in proportion to its promise, I offer you the gratitude which is due to you by all, and my most particular thanks for the present of books, and for the value you set on my portrait. In exchange for it, I am waiting for yours, which is announced by our common friend Cortes, and without seeing it, it gives me a satisfaction, from that

common effect which can not be explained, in which men reciprocally love without knowing each other, in which the mind forms favorable prepossessions, and gives to the person (for so it delights in), as many virtues as it pleases, takes for true what it conjectures, and goes so far as to give to the portrait expression and gestures. But our case is different from this—your works are distinguished, my correspondence is a debt of justice to their merit, and I promise myself the continuance of duties so praiseworthy, and protest to render you the same in like circumstances.

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EUGENIO CORTES TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1822.

THE HONORABLE HENRY CLAY:

I have the honor to deliver to you the inclosed letter from the supreme chief of the Mexican Empire, who directed me to present it to you personally, as a testimony of the gratitude, esteem, and distinction, which the supreme chief of the Mexican nation entertains for the virtues, talents and services displayed by you in favor of the just cause sustained by all the States of South America, to gain their independence.

This occasion affords me the opportunity of offering to you my respects, and of assuring you that I am your most faithful obedient servant.

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PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

BLACK ROCK, July 8, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—It has been the misfortune of this State, that for a number of years past, its political concerns have been managed, or rather distracted, by a few ambitious men, whose views have extended only to their own personal aggrandizement, and on almost every great national question, our strength has been scattered and wasted by premature and unadvised commitments, made by these headlong and selfish politicians. As regards the interesting question which is the subject of your letter, a new and more circumspect course of proceeding has been adopted. A mutual understanding now exists among the principal republicans of the State, that it is yet too early to act on this question, and that, whatever may be the private sentiments and predilections of individuals, it would be imprudent at present to

promulgate them. Whenever the proper time shall arrive (and perhaps the next winter session of our Legislature may be selected as such), a full and friendly consultation and interchange of sentiments will take place, and we are not without hopes of producing, by this course, a unanimity that will insure to this State (what it has never possessed), an influence proportioned to its reputation and wealth. Whoever may be the candidate fairly designated by the majority, I shall consider myself bound, as a republican, to give him my support. I have indeed been one of the advisers of this cautious and circumspect policy, because I have deemed it the wisest that this State, under present circumstances, could pursue. If we had a favorite candidate in one of our own citizens, it would afford a fair apology for our taking the field early, but we have none, and you are aware of the jealousy that exists, particularly at the South, against the growing power of the *great State of New York*, and if we were to manifest our solicitude, by making an early selection, that very circumstance might weaken the chance of our candidate, and perhaps throw him into a minority.

The Republicans of this State have been so often and shamefully deceived and abused by the professed friendship, as well as open hostility of the opposite party, that the first requisite in their candidate will be, that he be a *Republican of the old school*, and I know of no one who, in addition to so many other splendid qualifications, can better sustain the integrity of this character, than my friend from Kentucky.

I expect to see a number of my political friends at my house during the summer, and among them, Mr. Van Buren, of the Senate. The subject of the next Presidency will of course be canvassed, and I will, in a future letter, give you my impressions in regard to the prevailing views of the Republicans of this State.

Mrs. P. is in excellent health, and desires her best respects to you.

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LANGDON CHEVES TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 27, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 5th instant was duly received. I have put your brother in nomination, and his and your wish will be duly and respectfully considered. The ap-

pointments for the Orleans office will be made on the 27th November next, at which time I will be merely nominally an officer of the bank, as I have determined to leave it a few weeks after.

I perceive you are again a candidate for Congress, in which I suppose you are right. The *great question* seems to be but little agitated yet. You will perceive from the "Sentinel" of this city, which is one of the oracles of the democratic party in this part of the State—the "Franklin Gazette" is the other—that there is a schism among the active men. The "Sentinel" appears to incline to Crawford. New York appears to be completely undecided, and apparently asking for an offer; but I really know nothing about it, and hear little.

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PATRICK HENRY TO MR. CLAY.

August 21, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—You must make Clinton President, which, with your force and talents, public and private, you can accomplish. He has pretensions in every respect—a man of business, is bold and honorable—an elegant scholar—deeply read—liberal altogether in his ideas. He would return the favor with fidelity. He has no sneaking, tricky vices. You would be the next President, from character, pretensions, experience, and, coming from the West, you would be expected and attended to by the nation. You would be Vice-President or Secretary of State. The former would keep you out of turmoil and responsibility, and perhaps be the safest place. You would be happy in it, honored and supported by every body.

Clinton has name, fame, talents, and useful and lasting honors to sustain him for any or in any station he may fill. It would be worthy of Clay and Kentucky to join New York and Clinton in so glorious a career in saving the Union.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, November 5, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am too happy in an opportunity to keep our friendly acquaintance, and would be still happier to converse with you on the business of freedom, as it relates to both sides

of the Atlantic. You have had the pleasure, in which I was long ago ready to sympathize, of the acknowledgment of Columbian independence by the United States. May every part of that continent be also free, independent, and universally acknowledged! It is to be expected the nonsense of an American emperor can not last long. But while I rejoice in the emancipation of what was called the Spanish dominion, while I lament the hesitation of the Cortes in the acknowledgment which policy and necessity point out to them, I would be very sorry to hear of a serious quarrel between Spain and the United States. The embers of European freedom are now to be cherished in the peninsula. Old Governments, England particularly, employ a great deal of cunning in fomenting divisions among the nations, and in every nation among the parties, nay, the individuals who enlist in the cause of mankind. Their friendship is almost as bad as their enmity. The British papers, Whig and Tory, seem to vie in recommending an intervention, under the form of protection, in the affairs of this very Greece against whom Great Britain and Austria have acted so cruel and dishonorable a part. How happy should I be to see an American squadron in those seas! The American flag should be the natural, disinterested protector for the Grecian confederacy. Should the Ottoman navy prove impertinent, it might be crushed at once. A Grecian citizen who has left Corinth with orders from the Federal Government, tells me that two millions of dollars, two ships of the line, or three or four large frigates, could they obtain that sum and naval means from mercantile enterprise, would suffice to insure the liberties of that classic country. It is to be feared the assistance will be either withheld or lent with interested views, if not under degrading conditions. The decisions of the Vienna Congress are every day expected. While a common antipathy to the rights of men and nations link them together, the old systems and potent views of each Cabinet interfere with the general plan of the Holy Alliance. The situation of France under its counter-revolutionary Government is better understood by a series of intelligences lately collected from the papers of both parties, than I could explain in a letter. An actual invasion of Spain by foreign troops may be postponed from the fear of uniting the whole people in the defense of the country; but every countenance and protection will more and more be afforded to the enemies of the Constitution; and if the patriots are driven

to excesses, in consequence of their provoked irritation it will become a pretense against them, against the liberals of every country, and the cause itself, much depends on the spirited resistance of Spain in the present crisis.

I have been requested by my former aid-de-camp in the national guards, and constant friend, M. de la Rue, to mention to you a claim of his lady, Beaumarchais' daughter, now under the examination of Congress. Their wish is that the affair may be referred to a judicial, I suppose the Supreme Court. It does not belong to me to decide on the propriety of the measure, nor the circumstances of the claim, further than to say, I have been a witness to very active exertions of Beaumarchais in the first period of our American contest; but I owe it to those remembrances, and to my affection for M. de la Rue, to make to you the mention of this affair, very important to him and family. It appears that American claims upon France are on the point of being examined in this country. I much wish justice may be rendered on all sides.

I have often the pleasure to talk of you with two amiable friends of ours, Miller and Wright, who are now in France, and most of the time in our family colony of Lagrange.

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B. W. LEIGH TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, November 9, 1822.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the happiness to receive your letter of the 29th October this morning, and I am heartily thankful to you for it. It was the more welcome, as it served to assure me of the re-establishment of your health. The newspapers represented you, some weeks ago, as very dangerously ill; and one of them killed you outright—which your distant friends regard as a very unpardonable abuse of the freedom of the press.

It was considerate and kind in you to send me your report of our arrangements to the Legislature of Kentucky—the more so since I must plead guilty to the charge of having broken my promise to write to you on my return home. The truth is, that when I got home, I had to write so many letters which I was obliged to write, that I soon came to a conclusion to write none but such as were absolutely indispensable. I trust to your own experience in like cases to estimate the worth of this apology.

As to yourself in particular, I shall take this occasion to say,

that there was no part of your conduct in regard to the peculiar state of your local politics (and I was very observant of it all), which impressed me with such high respect, and excited so warm a sentiment of approbation, as the constant effort I saw you making to impress it upon all parties, that there was no desperation either in the distemper of the State, or in the remedies that had been applied, and that it behooved all men to treat them both with patience, temper, and moderation, as well as frankness and steadiness.

Tell my friends in Kentucky that I remember them as I ought. Have the goodness to present my best respects to Mrs. Clay.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, January 8, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will have seen a note which I addressed to the editors of the "Intelligencer," on the subject of the business of Ghent. I wish to say one word to you on it. To those who have attentively read the controversial papers between Messrs. Russell and Adams, and particularly the appendix to the book of the latter, it must be apparent that the honorable secretary has labored to draw me into the controversy, by the manner in which he has alluded to my name, and the inconsistency which, on one occasion, he imputes to me. I had but one alternative, either to acquiesce, by my silence, in all misrepresentations; or, by a sort of protest, to reserve to myself the right of correcting errors on some future fit occasion. I might, indeed, have rushed into the controversy between those two gentlemen, or commenced a new one; but I hope my friends will believe me incapable of committing such an indiscretion, as I conceive that would be, of doing at this time the one or the other. I chose the latter because of the alternative stated, and I hope you will approve of the step I have taken. My purpose is answered, my ground is taken, and those who know me will not want to be assured that I will adhere to both. I shall write no more until I think the period has arrived which I have indicated. The honorable secretary seems to deplore its possible distance. I shall remain unmoved by any regrets he may feel on account of the want of fresh aliment for new strife.

The newspapers will communicate to you the events which



have occurred here. As they chose to have a second caucus, I was glad it took place before I reached Columbus. Considering the great efforts made from without to prevent any legislative expression of public opinion, the proof which is afforded by the vote here is extremely strong. My friends believe that from eighty to ninety out of the one hundred and three members, who compose the General Assembly, are in my favor; and there is among the former the greatest zeal, animation, and confidence.

I am anxious to learn the names of your commissioners. Expecting to reach Washington by the 22d instant, I shall be glad to have the pleasure of hearing from you on my arrival there.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 31, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your obliging favor of the 29th instant. The considerations were so many and so powerful, calling upon your State to ratify the convention with Kentucky, that I confess to you frankly I did not anticipate the event which you say will probably happen. In that event I shall deeply regret that Virginia ever again opened the negotiation, after respecting the professions which Mr. Bibb and I submitted to your Legislature last winter. Why did Virginia ask a reference of the claim of her State limit? Could she suppose that Kentucky would refer it and leave herself exposed, after the decision of the referees, to the claim, as if it had never been submitted to arbitration? Could she think that the mockery of creating a tribunal was to be presented to decide a controversy, respecting which the parties were to be as free and unbound after the decision as before the reference. If she had no power to refer; if she had no authority to bind her constituents, then she ought not to have moved in the business; and the first error was committed at Richmond, and not at Lexington. For my part I believe the State line *bound* by the decision, and that the guaranty is the mere expression of a fair implication from the whole transaction without it. And it was only to render the convention more explicit, and to preclude the necessity of resorting to any interpretations about which disputes might arise, that it appeared to me to be expedient to insert the clause of guaranty. Upon the whole I must say, that if you reject the convention

I think the impartial world will look upon you as being clearly in the wrong.

I am extremely sorry to find that any of my friends believe that I was not called upon to address the note which was recently published in the *Intelligencer*, respecting certain questions arising at Ghent. Had Mr. Adams, either before or after his several publications, designed to consult me about the use which he has freely made in them of my name; had he said to me "Mr. Clay, I have imputed to you such and such opinions, and made statements about the part you acted at Ghent; if I am inaccurate in any of them I will take pleasure in correcting the error," I should have felt myself required to address Mr. Adams personally, and not the public. But he never communicated to me any one of his publications, and I never had an opportunity even of seeing his book until my arrival here. Having chosen, without my knowledge or consent, to usher my name into the public journals; having imputed to me, as he does in his appendix, inconsistencies, and by an innuendo insinuated that I was the author of an editorial article in *Kentucky*, which I never saw until I read it in the paper in which it was printed, I felt myself absolved from all obligation to make any direct appeal to Mr. Adams himself. In addressing the note which I did to the public, it was my intention merely to enter a *caveat* against the correctness of all his statements, and to exhibit a public reservation of a right on my part to rectify mistakes, when the proper occasion should arrive. Considering the relation in which both of us now stand to the public, I thought the present an unsuitable moment even to hazard any controversy with him; and if I could prostrate him in the dust I would not write at this time.

I thank you for your kind information respecting the state of the public mind in Virginia. \* \* \* \* \*

I look upon this struggle with all the philosophy which I ought to do. On one resolution my friends may rest assured I will firmly rely, and that is, to participate in no intrigues, to enter into no arrangements, to make no promises or pledges; but that, whether I am elected or not, I will have nothing to reproach myself with. If elected I will go into the office with a pure conscience, to promote with my utmost exertions the common good of our country, and free to select the most able and faithful public servants. If not elected, acquiescing most cheerfully in the better selection which will thus have been made, I will at

least have the satisfaction of preserving my honor unsullied, and my heart uncorrupted.

I shall remain here during the greater part of the term of the Supreme Court, in which I have some professional business, particularly the cause between the bank and the State of Ohio.

I shall be glad that your leisure may allow you to give me the pleasure of again hearing from you.

P. S. What course does Virginia mean to take after refuting the guaranty? Does she intend again to open the negotiation? To propose that the Board of Commissioners shall now proceed without the clause of guaranty? Or to make a rupture of all negotiations and fly to arms? I mean *forensic* arms.

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B. W. LEIGH TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, Feb. 12, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your truly kind and friendly letter. Far from being surprised at the indignation which the conduct of the Virginia Legislature, in respect to the convention agreed on between us last summer, has excited in your breast, I unite in the sentiment; but my indignation is aggravated by the sense of personal mortification at such a defeat of my best efforts for the public service, and of burning shame for the ridicule and dishonor which Virginia has brought on herself. If *you* be thus indignant, what must be the feelings of your colleague, Mr. Rowan? I fancy I can see his resentment, disdain, and contempt. Yet, my dear sir, this deed must not be imputed to us, the people of Virginia, nor even to the body of her representatives—it must lie at the door of a bare majority of the Senate. I am not sure that Kentucky is bound to take the distinction, but I hope you will. I believe that the sentiment of the people of Virginia toward Kentucky, is the same with my own individually, and that, I am sure, is what it ought to be.

It is impossible to say what our assembly means to do in this business. Some answer must be given to Kentucky. What it will be, or how it can be agreed on, considering the difference of opinion between the two houses, I am wholly at a loss to conjecture. The majority in the Senate for the present, so far as I can learn, are perfectly careless about it. But it is impos-

sible, I hope, that they can continue so regardless of self-respect, so unconcerned about the comity due to a sister State, as to leave matters in their present condition. Mr. Johnson desired me a day or two ago, to tell you that he did not think it absolutely hopeless, and that the Senate will yet consent to the ratification of the convention.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 26, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your friendly letter of the 19th inst., as I did the preceding one to which it refers. The course which the business between our respective States has taken, fills me with so much regret and concern, that I will not dwell upon it, especially as it has probably terminated finally, and had, therefore better be forgotten as soon as it can be. What is done can not be changed, and it is not conformable to my temper or habit, to indulge in unavailing regrets. I prefer always looking to the future. I observe what you state with respect to the condition of the public feeling in Virginia, in regard to the next Presidency. I ever thought that the line of conduct which the Virginia gentleman had marked out for that State, that is, to take no forward part in the ensuing election, but rather to leave the decision of it to the residue of the Union, was wise and discreet. It would have been thought that Virginia was dictatorial, if after ceasing to furnish a chief magistrate, she should have displayed any early and anxious solicitude about the successor of Mr. Monroe. But has Virginia acted in consonance with this avowed purpose? Has not that point, which heretofore has invariably indicated her pleasure, distinctly taken its ground? Has it not been confidently proclaimed, and been believed, every where out of Virginia, that her choice was fixed? May not the effect of all this be, to jeopardize, not only that preference, if it be actually made, but also the election of him who would be her second choice?

Virginia may possibly decide the election by bestowing her suffrage on the gentleman referred to, though I doubt it extremely. But she certainly *can* decide it by lending her support to him who is said to be her second choice. She will, of course, as she ought to, determine as she pleases in such contingences. \* \*

In saying that it is my firm conviction that Mr. Adams is at present the most formidable, I pray you to believe that I do not

mean (far from it), to indicate any preference for him, nor am I moved, at Mr. Crawford's expense, by the desire of advancing my own interests. \* \* \* \*

Connect yourselves with the West, and are you not, whether the election is won or lost, on the vantage ground? You see, my dear sir, that I write you with all the freedom of an ancient friendship, which could alone excuse the presentation to you of views, which, I dare say, have often been taken by you.

I pray you to give my best respects to your associate, Judge Green, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making last winter, and for whose character I have a high regard.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will have seen that the Supreme Court has decided against the validity of our occupying claimant laws. The dissatisfaction which will be felt by the people of Kentucky, with the decision, will be aggravated in no little degree, by the fact, that the decision is that of three judges to one, a minority, therefore, of the whole court; and this aggravation will be further increased by considerations which belong to either of these three judges.

At the moment of some vexation about this unhappy result of a cause, the effects and possible consequences of which, fill me with extreme concern, I wrote you my last letter, and I fear that I expressed myself in it, on some points, in a manner which I ought not to have done, even to one whom I have ever regarded as one of my best friends. I must pray you, therefore, to commit it to the flames, and its contents to oblivion. \* \* \*

I shall leave this place in a few days, for Kentucky, by the way of Philadelphia, and I shall be glad to have the pleasure of hearing from you, when I reach home.

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M. DE MENOUE TO MR. CLAY.

MARCH 17, 1823.

M. de Menou has the honor of presenting his respects to Mr Clay, and while acknowledging his polite note of yesterday begs leave to thank him for his attention to the affair of Apollon which he regrets was not tried this term. He hopes Mr. Clay

will have the goodness to give it his continued support next year.

Should Mr. Clay have no further use, at present, for the different papers relating to that business, and think fit to send them to M. de Menou, he would keep them in readiness to be returned to Mr. Clay on his return to Washington.

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REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA TO MR. CLAY.

FAVORITA, December 31, 1822.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, begs leave to offer his best respects to Colonel Todd, and will have the greatest pleasure in presenting to the Executive of Colombia, the portrait of the Honorable Henry Clay, to whom the Continental States of the *ci-devant* Spanish America, are so much indebted for his perseverance and enlightened sagacity.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Relations, entertains no doubt but that the Executive will accept a present which will at every moment recall to his mind, an American politician and a sincere friend of humanity. He does not hesitate, by anticipation, to offer to Colonel Todd his best thanks for his goodness and the particular confidence with which he distinguishes him.

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BOGOTA, April 23, 1823.

C. S. Todd offers his respects to the Honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia, and, as a testimony of his esteem for the first Constitutional Congress, has the honor to present an engraved portrait of his distinguished friend and connection, Henry Clay, the eloquent advocate of the liberty of both Americas.

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LA FAVORITA, December 31, 1822.

C. S. Todd's respects to Dr. Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs leave to present, as a slight testimony of his esteem, an engraved portrait of his distinguished friend and connection, Henry Clay; to be disposed of in such manner as Dr. Gual may deem most complimentary to the Executive Department of Colombia.

## REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN BOGOTA,  
April 25, 1823.To MR. C. S. TODD, *Chargé d'Affaires*—

The House of Representatives has received with the most lively sense of gratitude the valuable present you have had the goodness to offer. It duly appreciates the generous sentiments manifested in the address with which you accompanied it; sentiments very worthy of the country of Washington and of Franklin.

The House will not fail to pay that profound tribute of respect which is due to the Honorable Henry Clay, the intrepid advocate of the cause of Colombia; and while it reserves to itself the occasion of manifesting in a more conspicuous manner, the high esteem of which he is worthy, you will condescend to communicate to him, the wishes which the House cherishes for the prosperity of the United States. God preserve you.

DOMINGO CAYCEDO, *President of the House.*

## C. S. TODD TO MR. CLAY.

BOGOTA, May 8, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of addressing you a short note from Merida, in December last, and avail myself, now, of the return of the Swedish Consul-General to Philadelphia, to transmit a correspondence with the authorities here, produced by the presentation of some of Tyler's engravings of you, three copies of which I had procured for the purpose; the receipt of that presented to General Soublette, Intendant-General at Caracas, has not been acknowledged. The correspondence was originally in Spanish, and you will see in the translation that I have made some progress in a language, which, besides its pre-eminent beauties, may become emphatically that of America.

I hope you know me sufficiently to be aware that I have not received with indifference, the account of the indications in Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri, and in the prints of other States, favorable to your pretensions to the next Presidency. Death and some Siberian Missions may lessen the number of your competitors, and whatever may be the feeling of the United

States singly on the subject, there can be no doubt but that the united voice of continental America would elevate you to a station full of unexampled responsibility and of unrequited solicitude. I am persuaded, however, that you are yourself too national in your feelings, to give all the point which the people and Governments in the New States of Spanish America would wish to convey by their unqualified approbation of your conduct in relation to their supposed interests; since it has been made the occasion and the pretext for indulging in cold and unworthy feelings toward our Government, and extending, in a much greater degree than we could wish, even to our people and institutions.

I might refer you to Colonel Duane for detailed information with respect to the state of affairs here; and his opinions would be entitled to great consideration, having devoted many years to the acquisition of an extensive knowledge of the country, and in support of the cause which the people supposed they were maintaining. Being myself in the diplomatic service and, moreover, under the immediate eye of a statesman, who is characteristically known never to express more than he means to say, I may be excused from giving an opinion on the condition of things; but Colonel Duane, if he were to meet with you, would undeceive you with respect to many matters about which, he says, he has been heretofore under misapprehensions. He would tell you that though the county is separated from Spanish dominion and misrule, yet that Spanish duplicity in the Governors, and Spanish superstition in the people are but too painfully prevalent; while the hopes of the public councils are directed to Europe, and especially Great Britain, in the vain delusion, that it is by those powers alone, their interests can be promoted.

I need not say, dear sir, that any communication you may find it convenient to make me, will be peculiarly acceptable.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

LEXINGTON, August 28, 1823.

I received, my dear sir, your very obliging letter of the 14th instant, and I pray you to believe that I do not place less value on your friendship because you have nothing to communicate "more favorable to my prospects." On the subject to which you



allude, I assure you most sincerely I look with great calmness, and with a most perfect determination to acquiesce cheerfully in whatever choice the nation may make. It would be a poor compliment to our institutions, to say that their solidity, or the public happiness, materially depended upon any election that shall take place. I really think, however, that Virginia can not justify herself to the Union for the apathy which you say prevails there on the question. Judging, as I have done at this distance, from the "Enquirer" and other Virginia prints, I had supposed that great interest was felt and generally taken in its decision, and that there was even danger of her overstepping the line of cautious circumspection, which her leading politicians were understood to have marked out for her.

This indifference, you say, arises from the absence of any pledge that the great interests of the people of Virginia will be taken care of by any of the competitors for the chief magistracy. If, indeed, no such pledge is to be found in the principles, integrity, and characters, as heretofore developed, of either of the candidates, it is, I should think, quite too late in the day now for any pledge to be given or received. But, my dear sir, what interests have Virginia and the South separate from the Union? You have mentioned a single subject only, that of the encroachments of the Federal judiciary on State rights; and, as connected with this, the "broad doctrine now inculcated, that Congress has the right to extend, not to regulate only, the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts." On that subject I am entirely at a loss to conceive any peculiar interest in the State of Virginia, and the Southern States. All are equally concerned in the jurisdiction of the State sovereignties. All would be equally affected by Federal usurpation. But I must confess that it is the first time that I ever heard asserted such a doctrine as you say is now inculcated. The limit of the Federal judiciary is to be found in the Constitution, and Congress can vest in it no power which is not there found. If such a doctrine as you state is really attempted to be inculcated, you will find Kentucky now, as in the epoch of 1799, in spite of all your unkindness toward her, ready to co-operate with you in opposing it, and no man in the Union will be more prompt than I shall be to second the opposition. I can not suppose you to refer to the power that is claimed for the general Government, to give effect to its laws through its own judiciary. For, without that power, without Federal means to

effectuate the constitutional resolves of the Federal will, there is an end to the general Government—that is inevitable, if not instantaneous anarchy.

But, my dear sir, on this subject of the Federal judiciary and State rights, I mean to say a few words to you, in the spirit of Virginia independence, and in the frankness of sincere friendship. Has not Virginia exposed herself to the imputation of selfishness, by the course of her conduct, or of that of many of her politicians? When, in the case of Cohans and Virginia, her authority was alone concerned, she made the most strenuous efforts against the exercise of power by the Supreme Court. But when the thunders of that Court were directed against poor Kentucky, in vain did she invoke Virginian aid. The Supreme Court, it was imagined, would decide on the side of supposed interests of Virginia. It has so decided; and, in effect, cripples the sovereign power of the State of Kentucky more than any other measure ever affected the independence of any State in this Union, and not a Virginia voice is heard against the decision. The Supreme Court is viewed with complacency, and as a very different sort of tribunal from that Supreme Court which decided Cohans' case.

Again: of all the irregular bodies, none can be more so than a Congressional caucus at Washington. None have a more consolidating tendency. Indeed, it is espoused upon the principle of preventing the exercise of State or Federal rights through the medium of the House of Representatives. Yet the Virginia politicians (at least if we are to judge from the papers) warmly advocate the constitution of such a caucus. Will it not be said that they are influenced by the consideration, not of preserving unimpaired State rights, but of giving to the State power of Virginia the utmost effect of which it is capable? Or that of securing the election of the alleged favorite, who, without the instrumentality of such an assemblage, is in danger of losing the election? It is in vain to speak of the inconveniences of a warmly-contested election. They are incident to our system, and are happily provided for by it. And the transitions from a Congressional caucus to a pretorial cohort or hereditary monarchy, to escape from those vexations, are not so great as we might at first imagine.

I am aware that on two subjects I have the misfortune to differ with many of my Virginia friends—internal improvements

and home manufactures. My opinion has been formed after much deliberation, and my best judgment yet tells me that I am right. I have not time, nor would it be fitting as regards your comfort, now to discuss the policy or the power of fostering these interests. I believe Virginia and the Southern States as much interested, directly or indirectly, as any other parts of the Union in their encouragement. When the Government was first adopted we had no interior. Our population was inclosed between the sea and the mountains which run parallel to it. Since then the west part of your State, the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, and all the Western States, have been settled. The wars of Europe consumed all the surplus produce on both sides of the mountains. Those wars have terminated, and emigration has ceased. We find ourselves annually in possession of an immense surplus. There is no market for it abroad ; there is none at home. If there were a foreign market, before we, in the interior, could reach it, the intervening population would have supplied it. There can be no foreign market adequate to the consumption of the vast and growing surplus of the produce of our agriculture. We must, then, have a home market. Some of us must cultivate ; some fabricate. And we must have reasonable protection against the machinations of foreign powers. On the sea-board you want a navy, fortifications, protection, foreign commerce. In the interior we want internal improvements, home manufactures. You have what you want, and object to our getting what we want. Should not the interests of both parties be provided for ?

It has appeared to me, in the administration of the general Government, to be a just principle to inquire what great interests belong to each section of our country, and to promote those interests, as far as practicable, consistently with the Constitution, having always an eye to the welfare of the whole. Assuming this principle, does any one doubt that if New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the Western States constituted an independent nation, it would immediately protect the important interests in question ? And is it not to be feared that, if protection is not to be found for vital interests, from the existing systems, in great parts of the confederacy, those parts will ultimately seek to establish a system that will afford the requisite protection ? I would not, in the application of the principle indicated, give to the peculiar interests of great sections *all*

the protection which they would probably receive if those sections constituted separate and independent States. I would, however, extend some protection, and measure it by balancing the countervailing interests, if there be such, in other quarters of the Union.

I concur entirely with you in thinking that the north and east, but particularly New England, have laid, in a great measure, the other parts of the Union under contribution. And of all the ill-advised measures, of all the wasteful expenditures of public money, the Revolutionary pension list pre-eminently takes the lead. Never was there more public money spent, with less practical benefit. But who proposed it? Your own Monroe. I thought of it then as I think of it now; but opposition would have been silly and vain.

You will oppose my election, I suppose, in Virginia. I have no right to complain. Silence and submission are my duty. You will oppose me because I think that the interests of all parts of the Union should be taken care of; in other words, that the interests of the interior, on the two subjects mentioned, as well as that of the maritime coast, ought to be provided for. You will give your suffrages to Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams; and if Mr. Crawford or Mr. Adams be elected, I venture to predict that we shall find, either in his inaugural speech, or in the first message or speech (perhaps the latter mode of communication may be revived) to Congress, a recommendation of efficient encouragement to domestic manufactures and internal improvements.

I am afraid that you will think me in a very bad humor. Far from it. I repeat that I never enjoyed more perfect composure. My health, it is true, is extremely bad, and I am now confined at home by the endeavor to re-establish it. But it neither affects my tranquillity or gives me the spleen. In regard to the election, as to which I will make no professions of affecting an indifference, which I do not feel, my friends continue to be very confident; and my own opinion is that my prospects are not surpassed by those of either of the other gentlemen, still I am not unaware that all things are uncertain; and I therefore continue resolved to preserve my philosophy, my principles, and my conscience, be the event what it may.

Has not our friend Southard been rapidly advanced? He certainly has merit, and his friend, the Secretary of War, has discernment.

It would have given me great pleasure to see you, as it will to meet you any where again. Can you not run up to Washington next winter? To a close observer there will be a scene there exhibited worth surveying. Wherever you are, I pray you to be persuaded that my best wishes attend you.

P. S. I send you my effusions as they are poured out through a mercurial course, on which the doctors have put me; and wish no copy for others. I write for yourself alone.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 13, 1823

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been applied to by the amiable Madame de la Rue for a letter of introduction to my friend Mr. Clay; she is daughter of the celebrated Beaumarchais, whose name has been connected with the five years of our American contest; she is the wife of one of my faithful and zealous aides-de-camp in the National Guard; two motives which make it a very agreeable duty for me to present her to you.

Madame de la Rue has a claim upon the public treasury, long debated in Congress, the documents of which have been laid before you. It does not belong to me to anticipate your opinion in a matter upon which you have more data than I could offer; but I find a pleasure in contributing to gratify Madame de la Rue's wishes to be introduced to your personal acquaintance.

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PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

BLACK ROCK, November 17, 1823.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of September some days ago.

The singular results in our late elections, with the speculations on them in our newspapers, will show you the uncertainty of the ultimate vote of this State on the presidential question. The zeal and pertinacity with which Van Buren and his friends have pushed Mr. Crawford (who has no substantial popularity here) without any other argument in his favor than the necessity of *party discipline*, have disgusted the Republicans of this State, and produced great dissatisfaction and division in our ranks.

The cleverest fellow in our delegation is Dudley Marvin, a new member from Ontario, to whom I have given a letter of introduction to you. He was from New England, and educated a Federalist, but is a Republican in principle and practice, and has for some time been in the confidence of our party. He possesses a heart as well as a head of the first order. I hope you will notice him in *public* as well as in private, and I am confident your attentions will be amply repaid in the pleasure you will derive from his acquaintance.

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P. P. BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1823.

DEAR SIR,—In answer to your note of this evening, I beg leave to say, that I should regret exceedingly, as far as I am personally concerned, to give you the slightest difficulty in the arrangement of committees. My own individual wish would be decidedly to be on no committee; but as that might *possibly* give rise to some misconstruction, I now so far modify my wish as to desire to be put upon none whose labor is very great; and further, not to be chairman of whatsoever committee I may be placed on—above all, the Committee of Ways and Means I should most object to. Wheresoever your general arrangement may make it convenient to place me, I assure you in sincerity I shall be perfectly satisfied.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—A friend informs me that, at Richmond, my arrangement of the committees of the House of Representatives has been the subject of some animadversion, in consequence of Mr. Barbour, late Speaker, not being at the head of any committee. The truth is, that it was my intention to have appointed him chairman of one of the most prominent committees of the House, but he entreated me not to put him at the head of any committee, nor on any committee, which might require much of his time, as he wished to employ it exclusively in study. I should certainly not offer, even to a friend, any explanation of my official conduct in such a matter, if it were not to prevent misconception

of my motives in respect to a gentleman between whom and myself unfortunately some competition existed. I am sure if he were apprised (he is now absent from Washington) of the erroneous impression existing at Richmond, he would himself hasten to correct it. I have a full share of human frailties; but a want of consideration for a competitor, in relation to any object, does not, if I know myself, happen to be one of them.

Did you get a *lengthy* letter that I wrote you in August or September last?

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W. B. ROCHESTER TO MR. CLAY.

BATH, STEUBEN COUNTY, N. Y., December 20, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your election as Speaker, considering the majority, and that you were opposed by a professed friend of Mr. Crawford, has had the effect of making the few friends of the last-named gentleman, whom I have since conversed with, admit that he is not so strong a man throughout the Union as they had previously supposed. You were right in taking it; had you declined, you would have been charged with chaffering; indeed, Rufus King's paper, in New York city, has already, in substance, charged you with having graduated some of the first of your official acts (*ex. gr.* appointments of committees), with a view to serve private views. That editor, Mr. ———, is a sad fellow, for it is only about a twelvemonth since he avowed to me his preference of you, and ever since he has been *tôtis viribus*, for Adams!

The hollow apology which he made to me, was your publication disavowing any co-operation with Mr. Russell in his affair with Mr. Adams.

In answer to the inquiry in your favor of the 6th instant, whether I correspond with Mr. Van Buren, I reply affirmatively, though I have not as yet heard directly from him since his arrival at Washington.

I have just finished a hasty letter to him, which lies before me, and shall be forwarded by the same mail which takes this.

I repeat to you that Mr. V. B.'s preference will be of vast importance to his favorites in this State, let the choice be made as it may.

I am told your health has been poor, and as your duties are

doubtless arduous, let me once more beg of you to believe that I do not write with a view of extracting answers. I need hardly say that my letters to you are written for the indulgent eye of friendship only. I have not time to transcribe and to correct, but shall occasionally drop you a hasty scroll as the tide moves on.

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**MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.**

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1824.

**MY DEAR SIR,**—I duly received your obliging letter of the 18th instant. I am glad to hear of the probability of the recovery of Colonel Taylor's health. With respect to his opinions on the subject to which you refer, whatever they may be, they can not diminish that habitual veneration for him which I have ever cherished.

On the point of a caucus, in a spirit of perfect desperation, a continual effort is making to get one up. It will be defeated, you may rely, either by being voted down, in a general attendance of the Republican members, or by a resolution of a large majority of them not to attend. If they make one, it will be a faction—a cabal. My friends say, that on the score of mere expediency, they have no objection to a caucus which shall be composed of the Republican members generally; that they have no fears of the result of such a caucus; but that they have no idea of consenting to make part of a caucus in which they should act the part of mere *figuranti*, which would be the case if the friends of other candidates, who, it is well known, would not attend, should be absent. \* \* \* \* \*

With great regard, I am faithfully your friend.

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**MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.**

WASHINGTON, February 23, 1824.

**MY DEAR SIR,**—It is some time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you. In the interval, several events of importance have occurred. The miserable attempt at a caucus, you will have seen accounts of. Mr. Crawford never could have been



elected, but I venture to predict that the mere fact of seeking, by means of a caucus so got up, and so constituted, will destroy whatever prospects he ever had. Mr. Calhoun has withdrawn. This has been produced by events in Pennsylvania, evincing, beyond all doubt, the determination of that State to support General Jackson. The circle of competition is thus much circumscribed, and you may rely upon it, that you will have, as your next President, Adams, Jackson, or myself. You will have, in Virginia, to choose between these three evils. It is madness, it is perfect infatuation, to think, at this time, of any body else. Our intelligence from New York, continues to be favorable to the hopes of my friends. Still we shall have nothing absolutely decisive from that quarter, until time has elapsed to enable us to hear what the consequences there will be of the caucus. The present moment is one of great importance to me in Virginia. Now is the time to make a demonstration for me there, if ever. My friends accordingly, I understand, contemplate the formation of an electoral ticket for me, at Richmond, and think of putting you at the head of it, if you consent. Such a ticket, announced at this time, whatever may be its ultimate fate to Virginia, will have the very best effects out of Virginia.

As soon as I hear from New York, I will communicate to you. In the mean time, I should be glad to hear from you. Mr. Crawford's friends will make an effort as long as they adhere to him, to exclude me from the House of Representatives, in the hope that my Western friends will take him, if they can not get me. They utterly deceive themselves. If they accomplish that object, and bring him into the house with Adams and Jackson, to my exclusion, he *can not* be elected. As I have told you before, the north-western States will go for Mr. Adams, if they can not get me. They will vote for no man residing in a slave State but me, and they vote for me because of other and chiefly local considerations, outweighing the slave objections. On that you may depend. Mr. Adams, then, will have the six New England States, and three north-western States, with the chance (and the best chance), for New York (if I am out of the way), New Jersey, Maryland, to say nothing of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE

WASHINGTON, February 26, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—During your sojourn at home, I did not write you any letter except one, which I addressed to you some days ago, at Fredericksburg, with a direction to the post-master at that place, to forward it to you at Richmond, if you had gone thither. I hope it has safely come to hand. I am glad that you have returned to the metropolis. Inclosed, I transmit to you two letters which I have received to-day from New York, which you may return or destroy, after perusing the contents. Other letters, to other persons, have, from Albany, corroborated their statements, and represent, first that Mr. Crawford can not possibly obtain the vote of New York; secondly, that great dissatisfaction prevails at Albany, with such a caucus as was held here, and especially with the person nominated as Vice-President; and thirdly, that there is no contest in New York, but between Mr. Adams and me. Pennsylvania has gone inevitably to Jackson.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received the three last letters which you have done me the favor to write to me. On the subject to which they relate, there appears to be an eddy at this moment. We shall soon see which way the currents will break out. Information from every quarter assures us that the caucus here has impaired, instead of advancing Mr. Crawford's prospects. The convention at Harrisburg, no doubt, the day before yesterday, recommended General Jackson; and they probably forebore to make any recommendation of a Vice-President; or, if they did make any, I think it was Mr. Calhoun. At Albany they are probably looking to Harrisburg, and waiting for events. It is now believed, that the Senate of New York will reject the Electoral Bill, the committee of that body having made a report against it. But, rest assured, that all inferences derived from that fact in favor of Mr. Crawford are utterly fallacious. He can not obtain the vote of that State.

I concur with you in thinking that my friends at Richmond

and in Virginia ought to avoid, if possible, all misunderstanding with those of Mr. Crawford; and a temperate and conciliatory character would therefore be best to be given to any appeal made to the people in my behalf.

I have just heard that De Witt Clinton has arrived here. I pray you not to think it necessary to answer every letter which I may address to you. I should be glad to hear from you occasionally, and when perfectly convenient.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 14th. The ticket formed by my friends at Richmond, appears to me, upon the whole, to be extremely judicious; and its good effect elsewhere, I think I am not deceived in. The Senate of New York, has by a vote of seventeen to fourteen, postponed the Electoral Bill. The first and most certain effect of that note is to prevent Mr. Clinton from being a candidate; and I have no doubt that that was the principal object with the majority. If there had been a popular election of electors, he would probably have come out, and very likely would have obtained the vote of that State.

The course of Mr. Randolph's friends about Richmond surprises me. My conscience acquits me entirely of all blame toward that gentleman. Throughout all our acquaintance he has ever been the assailant. I have ever been on the defensive. The House of Representatives has ever taken part with me, and against him, in every collision that I ever had with him.

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JAMES MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, April 24, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have received a copy of your speech on "American Industry" for which I pray you to accept my thanks. I find in it a full measure of the ability and eloquence so often witnessed on preceding occasions. But while doing this justice to the task you have performed, which I do with pleasure as well as sincerity, candor obliges me to add that I can not concur in

the extent to which the pending bill carries the tariff, nor in some of the reasoning by which it is advocated.

The bill, I think, loses sight too much of the general principle which leaves to the judgment of individuals the choice of profitable employments for their labor and capital ; and the arguments in favor of it drawn from the aptitudes of our situation for manufacturing establishments, tend to show that these would take place without a Legislative interference. The law would not say to the cotton-planter, you overstock the market, and ought to plant tobacco ; and to the planter of tobacco you would do better by substituting wheat. It presumes that profit being the object of each, as the profit of each is the wealth of the whole, each will make whatever change the state of the markets and prices may require. We see, in fact, changes of this sort frequently produced in agricultural pursuits by individual sagacity watching over individual interest. And why not trust to the same guidance in favor of manufacturing industry, whenever it promises more profit than any of the agricultural branches ; or more than mercantile pursuits, from which we see capital readily transferred to manufacturing establishments likely to yield a greater income ?

With views of the subject such as this, I am a friend to the general principle of "free industry" as the basis of a sound system of political economy. On the other hand, I am not less a friend to the legal patronage of domestic manufactures, as far as they come within particular reasons for exceptions to the general rule, not derogating from its generality. If the friends of the tariff, some of them at least, maintain opinions subversive of the rule, there are among its opponents views taken of the subject which would exclude the fair exceptions to it.

For examples of these exceptions I take, first, the case of articles necessary for national defense. Second, articles of a use too indispensable to be subjected to foreign contingences. Third, cases where there may be sufficient certainty that a *temporary* encouragement will introduce a particular manufacture, which, once introduced, would flourish without that encouragement. That there are such cases is proved by the cotton manufacture, introduced by the impulse of the war and the patronage of the law, without which it might not for a considerable time have effectually sprung up. It must not be forgotten, however, that the great success in this case was owing to the advantage enjoyed in

the raw material, and to the extraordinary abridgment of manual labor by mechanical agency. Fourth, a very important exception results from the frequency of wars among the manufacturing nations, the effect of a state of war on the prices of their manufactures, and the improbability that domestic substitutes will be provided by establishments which could not outlast occasions of such uncertain duration. I have not noticed any particular reference to this consideration in the discussions which have been published, the greater cheapness of imported fabrics being assumed from their cost in times of peace. Yet it is clear that if a yard of imported cloth, which costs but six dollars in peace, costs eight dollars in war, and the two periods should be, as for the last two centuries taken together they have been, nearly equal, a tax of nearly one dollar a yard in time of peace could be afforded by the consumer, in order to escape the tax imposed by the event of war.

Without looking for other exceptions to the general principle restraining legislative interferences with the industrious pursuits of individuals, those specified give sufficient scope for a moderate tariff that would at once answer the purpose of revenue and foster domestic manufactures.

With respect to the operation of the projected tariff, I am led to believe that it will disappoint the calculations both of its friends and of its adversaries. The latter will probably find that the increase of duty on articles which will be but partially manufactured at home, with the annual increment of consumers, will balance at least the loss to the Treasury from the diminution of the tariffed imports; while the sanguine hopes of the former will be not less frustrated by the increase of smuggling, particularly through our east and north frontiers, and by the attraction of the laboring class to the vacant territory. This is the great obstacle to the spontaneous establishment of manufactures, and will be overcome with most difficulty wherever land is cheapest, and the ownership of it most attainable.

The tariff, I apprehend, will disappoint also those who expect it to put an end to unfavorable balances of trade. Our imports, as is justly observed, will not be short of our exports. They will probably exceed them. We are accustomed to buy not only as much as we can pay for, but as much more as can be obtained on credit. Until we change our habits, therefore, or manufacture the articles of luxury as well as the useful articles, we shall

be apt to be in arrears, to a certain extent, in our foreign dealings, and have the exchange bearing against us. As long as our exports consist chiefly of food and raw materials, we shall have the advantage, in a contest of privations, over a nation supplying us with superfluities. But in the ordinary freedom of intercourse, the advantage will be on the other side; the wants on that being limited by the nature of them, and on ours as boundless as fancy and fashion.

Excuse a letter which I fear is much too long, and be assured of my great esteem and sincere regard.

P. S. Mrs. Madison desires me to offer the proper return for the kind wishes expressed in your note introducing Mr. Ten Eyck, who with his companion made the time very agreeable which they passed with us.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 16th inst. I did not become acquainted with Colonel Gooch while he was here. An incident that occurred may serve to explain the charge to which you refer. It is the duty of the Speaker to admit stenographers. Mr. Stevenson said to me, "Colonel Gooch is here, and probably would like to take down the debates, etc., for the "Enquirer" during his stay, but I am not authorized to apply for his admission." I replied, if Colonel Gooch wants a seat within the hall, *bonâ fide* for that purpose, he shall be admitted; but that I could not consent to his admission merely to give him a comfortable place, without reference to the duties of a stenographer. Mr. Stevenson said he should advise him not to apply, etc. He did not make an application. I afterward understood that he complained; but I was also told that, after an explanation with Mr. Stevenson, he left here entirely satisfied with my conduct.

I inclose you the extract of a letter which has been sent me from New York, respecting a contemplated call of the Legislature. I have very little doubt that such a measure has been determined on, and will take place, unless the Governor changes his intention. If my efforts on the tariff have injured me in Virginia, they have benefited me in other quarters.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—The state of Mr. Crawford's health is such as scarcely to leave a hope of his recovery. It is said that he has sustained a paralytic stroke. His friends begin to own that his death is now but too probable, and that in any event he can no longer be held up for the presidency.

I conjecture that a visit which Mr. Van Buren and Governor Dickinson, of New Jersey, are about to make to Virginia, is connected with this circumstance, and that they are about to take measures for a fresh campaign. I thought, prior to my departure to-morrow, I would put you in possession of these matters.

Be pleased to make my best respects to Mr. Call, and believe me ever faithfully your friend.

## SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH TO MR. CLAY.

LONDON, June 3, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—This note will be presented to you by Mr. Stanley, a grandson of the Earl of Derby, a young gentleman who has already shown in Parliament talents equally brilliant and solid, and whom I can hardly be mistaken in considering as destined to perform a great part in the public affairs of this country. He is accompanied by three other gentlemen, one of whom (Mr. Wortley) I know and highly value, and the other two I know to be most respectable. I know that you will consider this first visit of such a body of English travelers to the United States as an event which ought to interest and gratify the friends of both countries. I hope that I may venture to ask your good offices in guiding the inquiry and aiding the observation of Mr. Stanley, and in procuring access for him and his friends to those individuals and societies which may afford them sufficient specimens of the great English commonwealth in which you perform so distinguished a part.

The enlightened curiosity of Mr. Stanley will direct his comprehensive understanding to your laws, and government, and manners; to the state of industry, wealth, and knowledge, and to the effect of all those on the virtue and happiness of the people

There is no one more able than yourself to aid him in so difficult a study. I intended to have taken the same liberty with Mr. Adams and Mr. Crawford. But I am so very much hurried (besides being indisposed) at this moment, that I am reduced to the necessity of requesting that you would introduce Mr. Stanley to them as holding the first place among those who are the hope of this country. After this sincere testimony to his extraordinary merit, it is, perhaps, presumptuous in me to add that I should consider their attention to him as a most pleasing mark that they have not forgotten the degree in which I have had the pleasure of enjoying their society.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, June 15, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I transmit you the inclosed just as I have received it. The person who writes it (and whose acquaintance I would like you to make, if convenient) became known to me at Columbus, in Ohio, in January, 1823. He traveled with Judge Burnett and myself from that place to Wheeling, and interested us both by the variety and extent of his information, particularly in regard to characters now on the stage. He subsequently manifested a good deal of zeal in my behalf, and has frequently written me letters, to which I have sometimes replied, respectfully but cautiously. If the communication from Mr. —— is to be considered in the nature of an overture, there can be but one answer given. I can make no promises of office, of any sort, to any one, upon any condition whatever. Whatever support shall be given to me, if any, must be spontaneous and unbought. I can not but believe that Mr. ——'s friend must have allowed his zeal to carry him further than was authorized.

We have nothing new in this quarter. All that we believed in respect to the favorable disposition toward me is well founded.

Be pleased to make my best respects to Mrs. Johnston.

N. B. The endorsement on the letter, supposed to be by Mr. Johnston, is—"Mr. —— wanted a foreign embassy."



MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, June 21, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 7th instant from Philadelphia, with the proclamation of the Governor of New York inclosed. I was of course prepared to expect that measure, the only effect of which will be, should the Legislature pass the proposed law, to place the vote of that State to some candidate other than Mr. Crawford.

We have nothing new at the West, where I find every thing to be as I expected. You will see candidates announced for election in this State for Mr. Adams, General Jackson, etc. This is the result of the absence of all sort of concert by means of caucuses, or other nominating appendages in Kentucky. Every body who chooses puts himself forward as a candidate. The State is divided into three districts, according to which it has given its electoral vote for many years past. No change was made in consequence of one of its own citizens being brought forward, because it was known that no change was necessary to insure him the entire vote of the State. Nor is there a county, parish, or a respectable neighborhood in the whole State, in which he would not obtain the majority over all competition. In Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as in Missouri, the result I believe to be equally certain. I shall go to Columbus to attend the Federal Court, which begins there on the second Monday in July. Should you write to me at any time after the receipt of this letter, and before the 20th of July, be pleased to address me at that place. I am anxious to see the indications, which will shortly be given at the South, of the dispositions of Mr. Crawford's friends, should he be withdrawn, of which I do not doubt, sooner or later. My interest, I think, will be benefited by his being continued to be held up for some time to come. The tariff fever will have then somewhat abated. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Johnston.

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LORD GAMBIER TO MR. CLAY.

IVER GROVE, June 29, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had great pleasure in receiving your very friendly letter by the hand of the worthy Bishop Chase, and in hearing of your well being from him. I have found him, as

you truly describe him, a learned, pious, and highly estimable clergyman; he passed a few days with me here, on his first arrival in this country, and I have had much agreeable communication with him since that time; he gains the esteem and affection of all persons with whom he has become acquainted, he is highly respected, and has been received with great kindness wherever he has gone, and I am happy to say he has been very successful in the important object of his visit in this country. I very much regret that he is under the necessity of returning so soon to his diocese; but he leaves an excellent Christian savour among the good and pious of our land. I hope we shall add more to the collection that has been made for the good and laudable work in which he is so piously and zealously engaged.

It is a cause of great satisfaction to me that so much success has attended the good Bishop's visit to this country, for I greatly rejoice on every occasion that in any way promotes mutual friendship and good will between the people of our two countries.

I feel very sensibly the kind and friendly expressions in your letter, toward me, and happy in every opportunity of assuring you of my high esteem and sincere regard.

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BISHOP CHASE TO MR. CLAY.

WORTHINGTON, October 14, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed, I fear, far beyond the proper period, forwarding to you the inclosed letter from Lord Gambier. My apology is the very sincere wish I have all along entertained of a personal interview, on the subject of which I presumed the letter treated, namely, his lordship's great regard for you, and the essential service, of which your letter to him, proved to me.

I wished also to see you (perhaps at the United States Court), that I might assign the reasons and obtain your pardon, for using your name as the umpire, in a certain deed of donation of my estate to the contemplated Theological Seminary, for the education of young men for the Christian ministry. As it is, I can only send you a copy of that instrument; and to it beg your favorable attention

The meeting of our Convention takes place, in Chillicothe, on the 3d of November next. Nothing of the kind could give me more pleasure, than to see you there, if business or the great importance to posterity of our plans should so incline you.

Your very sincere friend, Charles Hammond, who has been of such essential service in the great work of founding this Seminary will be there, and, as I trust, assist us with his most valuable advice. Pray communicate with him on the subject any thing which you think will do us good.

I take the liberty of sending you a letter addressed to Lord Kenyon, on the subject of my errand to England. Presuming you have seen what has preceded this, no apology is deemed necessary.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 21, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor under date at Philadelphia on the 27th of June, has followed me from Lexington to this place. I thank you for it. The position which it portrays of the condition of things in New York, compared with other modes of ascertaining its correctness, I should suppose faithful. It certainly offers every motive to animated and persevering exertion. I concur with you in thinking, that the appearance in my favor of two papers you have mentioned, as being willing so to come out, would be advantageous. On their part, it is perfectly voluntary. They are unbought. No imputation of that kind could possibly be made. None can be made against me, either of Clintonian or Federal taint. Or if such imputations were made they would not be credited by the unbiased or impartial, who must compose a large portion of the American population.

Before I came to this State, popular meetings in various counties had been held. Some have occurred since I entered it. The evidence derivable from their expression of preference among the presidential candidates, places beyond all sort of doubt the final result here.

I shall leave this place to-morrow, for Lexington.

J. S. JOHNSTON TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, August 19, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—There is little feeling in New England for Adams. The ultra Federalists hate him, the moderate feel indifference, the Republicans are not cordial. He is supported merely on sectional grounds. But strange—the ultras will join the radicals—the extremes meet.

General Lafayette has been received with distinguished honors, and departed this morning for Boston. His whole journey will be a procession. What a glorious reward! I shall leave here in a few days for Philadelphia, where I think it important to be.

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 MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, August 31, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Your obliging favor of the 9th inst., dated at Saratoga, and those subsequently at New York, have all safely arrived. They reached Lexington during my absence on a short excursion to one of our watering-places, from which I am but just returned.

I concur with you in thinking that, considering all the combinations that may arise, and the contingences that may happen, my friends ought to persevere in their support of me. That, I believe, is the course which they have determined on generally. And I think the six States heretofore supposed to be disposed to support me, may still be relied on. You have no doubt heard from Louisiana. Your Governor elect passed through Lexington, and I presume you will have seen him. The information derived from him and other sources, assures us of the unaltered state of Louisiana, although in the city of New Orleans, the Jackson ticket prevailed in the greater part. Those opposed to me in that State, admit a plurality of the Legislature to be for me, while my friends confidently claim the majority. What is most to be apprehended, is, that my friends in the West, or at least in some of the more doubtful States, may become discouraged by the little prospect of my being supported to any extent in the East, and especially by the statements in the "National Intelligencer," and other papers, according to which i

would seem that I have not a friend in the New York Legislature.

The anticipated coalition in New York, I should suppose was very probable, unless it should be prevented by the apprehension of the imputation of corruption, bargaining, etc. Perhaps there may be nerve enough to encounter all the odium of those imputations, considering the quarter from which they must emanate. If there be a majority of the Legislature who prefer either of two candidates to a third, there is surely reason in an equal division of its vote between those two. The effect of such a division would doubtless be to exclude the third from the House of Representatives, and it would lead to the election of one or the other of them most certainly. In the actual state of the circumstances of the election, New York would have two strings to her bow by dividing her suffrage, and more certainly secure influence in the new administration, than by risking her whole vote upon one of the candidates, since, if she were so to concentrate it, she could not be sure of effecting his election.

What about the Vice-President? Is New York desirous of electing Mr. Sanford? Has he any, and what interest there? In Ohio there is a strong disposition to elect a Vice-President from New York, and Mr. Sanford has been favorably brought forward there. Here, also, his name has been advantageously announced to the public, and there would not be the slightest difficulty in his obtaining the votes of both States, and probably of the other States inclined to give me their suffrages.

Be pleased to present my respects to Mrs. Johnston, and believe me faithfully and cordially your friend.

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J. S. JOHNSTON TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 1, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I now hand you the letter of General M'Clure which I promised you in my last, when I handed you the printed letter.

I purposely avoided seeing General M'Clure at Albany, satisfied it was better for Rochester to communicate with him than me, and that the objects and views of your friends are better accomplished by a corresponding committee. Besides, I was told your

friends were as firm and stanch as was necessary ; and, from the tone and tenor of this letter, I have no doubt. I will now write to all of them, and let them understand distinctly the views taken of the state of your interests in New York.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, September 19, 1824.

My DEAR SIR,—I received to-day your favor under date the 4th, with its inclosures, as I did your former letters, including General M'Clure's letter. I thank you for them. I have directed twenty copies of the circular prepared by the Kentucky Committee of Correspondence (which I have not seen), to be forwarded to you for distribution. Copies have also been ordered to most of our friends in Philadelphia and New York. Although I have not perused it, I presume, from the pen from which it issues, that it is well composed. An address from the same quarter has been written to Virginia, intended for that region, but so guarded as to do mischief nowhere, if it be published, which is to be anticipated. These papers will, I think, contribute to arouse and animate my friends. The remark which you make is but too true, that there has not been sufficient united exertion among them. Every thing is yet going well in the West. It is amazing to see the mistakes or misstatements made about it at the East. For example : Stratten was said to be elected in Missouri, and was claimed by the "Franklin Gazette" for General Jackson. No, says the "National Journal," although he is elected, we *know* he is for Mr. Adams. Now, it turns out that Scott is elected, and that Stratten declared himself for me.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, September 3, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I duly received your obliging favor of the 19th ultimo, under date at New York, transmitting a letter from Mr. Ingalls, from whom I had previously received a duplicate. I did not, however, answer his letter. Eight months ago, I supposed there would be no difficulty in my election as Vice-President, if

my friends had thought it advisable to press me for that office. It would now be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to effect that object, if it were desirable. My friends in the West do not attach any very great, perhaps not sufficient, importance to that station; and it would be, I apprehend, nearly impossible now to induce them to divert their support of me from the first to the second office. And if they could be prevailed on to do it, the electoral colleges would hardly be induced, by any possible exertion, to unite their individual suffrages on any other candidate for the Presidency. There could, therefore, be no support secured for me in the Atlantic States for the Vice-Presidency, if it depended on concert among my Western friends, in regard to the office of President. And consequently, if I received any, it must be spontaneous, without reference to the direction which my interest would take as to the Presidency. If my Eastern friends think proper to bring me forward for the office of Vice-President, I wish it distinctly understood, that it is their own movement, unprompted by me. If an idea were taken up that the office was sought by me, after all that has occurred, it could not fail to be injurious to me. It would be said to display a most inordinate desire for office, which I certainly am not conscious of feeling. It would not look well, in any respect, if it were supposed that I was instrumental in the attempt to elect me. It is certainly a high and dignified office, such as no American citizen could readily decline.

With respect to the movement in Massachusetts to which Mr. Ingalls refers, while I concur with you entirely in the state of public feeling in New England toward Mr. Adams, I do not believe that there is the smallest prospect of diverting the vote of Massachusetts from him. There may be some probability of such a diversion in other States of that section, but none whatever, I apprehend, in Massachusetts. Depend upon it, that local pride, if not attachment, will secure to each of the candidates the support of his own State, doubtless with more opposition in some instances than in others. It would, therefore, be an act of extreme indiscretion, justified by no motive whatever, for me, or for any of my friends out of Massachusetts, to say to Mr. Ingalls, and to those who are co-operating with him, that I am willing to give up all pretensions to the office of President, and to be contented with that of Vice-President.

By the by, it has been said here that a feeling is prevailing in

some of the Atlantic cities to make the Marquis Lafayette Vice-President. Such a disposition of the office would be highly creditable to the national gratitude, if it could be made without any constitutional impediment.

I do not anticipate much from the Philadelphia meeting. It is a little remarkable, that my support of the tariff has excited against me, in the South, a degree of opposition which is by no means counterbalanced by any espousal of my cause in Pennsylvania and other quarters, where the tariff was so much desired. Is this owing to the greater activity which the losing party almost always displays than the gaining?

I expect every day that the Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the Legislature of the State, will prepare their general circular, as suggested in my last. A copy of it shall be forwarded to you. Do you correspond with General Peter B. Porter? His residence is Black Rock.

I can not close without expressing to you my thanks for the zeal and interest which you manifest in my favor; nor without adding, that you have fulfilled entirely all my expectations as to the discretion which you would manifest.

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J. S. JOHNSTON TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 4, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I attended a meeting of your friends, to wit, Mr. Carey and son, Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Tilman, Mr. Wharton, Dr. Chapman, Dr. Godman, Mr. Edward Ingersoll, etc., to consult about the meeting of your friends. It was called without their knowledge. They determined to postpone the meeting until this day week. Mr. Carey consents to be chairman. A committee of correspondence will be organized, and delegates appointed. I have no doubt the meeting will be numerous and respectable. This State might have been secured at a proper time, and this State would have *secured you*. Your affairs have been trusted to providence. I send you two letters from Boston. I hope you have received General M'Clure's.

The friends of Crawford are still very anxious to make you Vice-President. Mr. Elliot often speaks of it; it is much a sub-



ject of correspondence among them. They count confidently upon most of your votes in that event. They say Gallatin would not be in the way.

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## MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, September 10, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—In respect to the Vice-Presidency, I wrote you some days ago. When my name was brought forward seriously, I resolved neither to offer nor to accept any arrangement in regard to myself, or to office for others. I have adhered to that resolution hitherto, and shall continue to abide by it to the last. I considered that I was and ought to be in the hands of the public, to be disposed of as it pleased. Most undoubtedly the office of Vice-President is one of high respectability and great dignity, preferable, in my opinion, to any place in the cabinet. If the acceptance of it were offered to me (I mean by the public having the right to tender it), I could not decline it; but I can not seek it, much less make any sacrifices of honor or duty to obtain it.

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## J. S. JOHNSTON TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 26, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have read with pleasure and with attention your favor of the 10th September. We agree in every particular with regard to the Vice-Presidency. You can not change your position, and your friends are not disposed. You must abide the issue. I have uniformly given the same reply. It was a strange idea of Crawford's friends to count on the Western States by your withdrawal. I have often explained that to them; they now see and feel the truth. The object of Crawford's friends *now* will be to put down Adams, and, if possible, to prevent his being returned, under the idea that his being withdrawn, the New England States will vote for him.

We receive General Lafayette to-morrow. The concourse of people here is very great. The preparations are very expensive and very grand.

I presume he will be received by both Houses in the center building.

There is no idea of making him Vice-President.

## MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, October 2, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 16th and 19th ult., with the Philadelphia address. I also received one or two preceding letters from you, which I have not before acknowledged the receipt of. \* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Holley, just returned from an Eastern trip, saw Mr. Crawford about a fortnight ago, at Fredericktown, on his return from the Springs. He says that his gait, articulation, and general appearance indicated most clearly the paralysis under which he has labored, and that he appeared to be much more infirm than Mr. Jefferson at the age of eighty-two, whom he also saw.

I thank you for your kind admonition about the uncertainty as to the pending election, and the utility of repressing a too great anxiety. I hope you will not, as you seem to anticipate, have any occasion for philosophical exertion on account of your own election. \* \* \* \* \*

I have some thought of passing through Virginia, and visiting Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Governor Barbour.

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TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ALBANY, November 17, 1824.

SIR,—I have taken the liberty to address you, as a known friend of Mr. Clay, for the purpose of stating to you, in a frank and unreserved manner, the course of conduct pursued by the friends of Mr. Clay toward those of Mr. Crawford, in the choice of presidential electors. I trust, for my apology, that the subject will excuse my addressing you, without the pleasure of a personal acquaintance.

You will probably have learned the result by the time this reaches you, and will also have learned that twenty-five Adams electors have been chosen by the co-operation of Mr. Clay's friends in the Legislature. It appears to me that a full explanation is due from the friends of Mr. Clay in New York, to the friends of Mr. Crawford in Virginia, for this course. It is true that the friends of Mr. Clay had a perfect right to choose between Mr. Crawford and Mr. Adams; but it is also true, that a majority of the friends of Mr. Clay were disposed to take up

Mr. Crawford as their second choice, if, from any unforeseen contingency, the former should be withdrawn from the contest. With this feeling they came to Albany, and the same feeling led them to go into caucus with the friends of Mr. Crawford, at the commencement of the session. They were resolved to support Mr. Clay, because they preferred him, and because they really knew that he was the choice of three fourths of the democratic party, among the people. This led them, in caucus, to assert his claims with great zeal and force. But numbers was the only reply they received. The friends of Mr. Crawford had a majority in caucus, and though neither party had the majority in the Legislature, they, the friends of Mr. Crawford, thought proper to insist that the friends of Mr. Clay should submit to their numbers, and meekly yield to them, instead of consulting their own judgment, and the voice of the State. This was resisted with becoming spirit, and the consequence was, that they were, in effect, expelled from the caucus. They were treated with the most insulting contumely, and threatened with the high displeasure of the set of individuals known here by the name and style of the "Albany Regency."

This unfortunate state of parties was, for some days, productive of no other result than an obstinate adherence, in the House, to the respective candidates. Neither party would yield, and the consequence would have been, that the vote of the State would have been lost. At length, symptoms of respect for public opinion began to be manifested in the ranks of the Crawford party, which alarmed the leaders so much that they determined to set their hopes upon the hazard of a die, and to drive the friends of Mr. Clay to the support of Mr. Crawford. The mode of appointing electors, by our laws, enabled them to make this desperate attempt.

Each House nominates thirty-six electors. They then meet to compare their lists. If they agree, the whole are, of course, chosen; if not, they proceed to choose, from the two lists only, by joint ballot. No name, not on one or the other list, can be voted for. Here, then, the leaders of the Crawford party rashly, and, according to my ideas of honor and rectitude, corruptly and wickedly, determined to vote for the Adams ticket in the lower house, so as to reduce the question to Crawford and Adams. A fouler and more dishonorable piece of management could not, in my estimation, be adopted. They did it, however, and the

consequence is as might have been apprehended. The friends of Mr. Clay, indignant at this baseness, voted for the Adams ticket on joint ballot, with the exception of seven Clay men on the Crawford ticket, and by this operation have prostrated the Crawford ticket, in this State, forever. They were forced into this course. They could not, consistently with their respect for themselves and for public opinion, pursue any other. The consequences must rest upon the heads of those who reduced them to that necessity.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant.

[It is thought proper to suppress the signature over which the above letter was written.]

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

HARDIN'S, NEAR CHARLOTTEVILLE, Virginia, November 26, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I felt, in your prompt public contradiction of the letter of Mr. Dayton, stating that my name had been withdrawn as a candidate for the Presidency, a new proof of your friendship, which I have ever so highly valued, and at the same time a self-reproach for my not having written to you since the adjournment of Congress. The truth is, that in the first letter which I received from you, after I reached home, you stated your intention to visit the watering places, and I did not well know where to address you; and the last which you did me the favor to write, was received but a few days before I sat out on this journey. I concluded, therefore, to defer the pleasure of writing you until I passed the mountains.

Your prediction has been well nigh verified as to General Jackson's taking the Western vote from me. My friends have prevailed over him in Ohio by only about seven or eight hundred votes.

Events on this side of the mountains have surprised me, particularly in New York, and North Carolina; in the former State especially. I know not the secret springs which have produced such a strange result as has occurred in New York. I have moved none of them. I know nothing but what we see in the public prints. From those it is evident, that, if the friends of Mr. Crawford and myself had all amicably co-operated, the vote of that State might have been secured to one or the other, or

been divided between us. I am uninformed of what prevented that contest.

I propose visiting Mr. Jefferson to-morrow, and afterward Mr. Madison. I shall remain a day or two with each of them, and expect to reach Fredericksburg on my way to the city of Washington, on the 2d or 3d of December.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—YOUR favor of the 29th October, addressed to me at Lexington, not finding me there, has returned and been duly received by me here. Events subsequent to its date render it unnecessary for me to say any thing in regard to Mr. Ritchie's communication about the Vice-Presidency. I have also received your obliging letter of the first instant. I had before learned the issue of the electoral vote of Virginia. I was prepared to expect it by all that I had previously observed. Two weeks ago a course might have been taken which would probably have prevented that result of the Presidential election now most likely to happen; and that was to have prevailed upon Mr. Crawford to withdraw, which might have been done, I should suppose, without mortification to his friends, by placing it on the ground of the continued precarious state of his health. As it is, I shall yield a cheerful acquiescence in the public decision. I should indeed have been highly gratified if my native State had thought me worthy of even a second place in her confidence and affection. The obligations and respect which I owe her forbid my uttering one word of complaint on account of her having thought otherwise.

Mr. Calhoun deserves all that you say of him. He is a most captivating man.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter by your son, and had great pleasure in furnishing him with a letter of introduction to Commodore Rogers.

I have also received that of the 21st instant, and will examine the claim to which it refers, with all the prepossessions which arise from your opinion, and my high regard to you.

The result in Louisiana did not surprise or affect me. There was much misfortune attending it nevertheless. \* \* \*  
We must not despair of the Republic. Our institutions, if they have the value which we believe them to possess, and are worth preserving, will sustain themselves, and we shall yet do well.

A bill passed the House of Representatives to-day (166 to 26) giving to Lafayette \$200,000 and a township of land.

## CHAPTER III.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1825 AND 1826.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, January 8, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—My position in relation to the friends of the three returned candidates is singular enough, and often to me very amusing. In the first place they all believe that my friends have the power of deciding the question, and then that I have the power of controlling my friends. Acting upon this supposition, in the same hour, I am sometimes touched gently on the shoulder by a friend, for example, of General Jackson, who will thus address me, “My dear Sir, all my dependence is upon you, don’t disappoint us, you know our partiality was for you next to the hero; and how much we want a Western President.” Immediately after a friend of Mr. Crawford will accost me, “The hopes of the Republican party are concentrated on you, for God’s sake preserve it. If you had been returned, instead of Mr. Crawford, every man of us would have supported you to the last hour. We consider him and you as the only genuine Republican candidates.” Next a friend of Mr. Adams comes with tears in his eyes,\* “Sir, Mr. Adams has always had the greatest respect for you, and admiration of your talents. There is no station to which you are not equal. Most undoubtedly you are the second choice of New England, and I pray you to consider seriously whether the public good and your own future interests do not point most distinctly to the choice which you ought to make.” How can one withstand all this disinterested homage and kindness? Really the friends of all three gentlemen

\* A playful allusion to a notable fact. It is all playful, though true.

are so very courteous and affectionate that I sometimes almost wish that it was in my power to accommodate each of them, but that being impossible, we are beginning to think seriously of the choice which we must finally make. I will tell you then that I believe the contest will be limited to Mr. Adams and General Jackson. Mr. Crawford's personal condition precludes the choice of him if there were no other objection to his election. As the only alternative which is presented to us it is sufficiently painful, and I consider whatever choice we may make will be only a choice of evils. To both of those gentlemen there are strong personal objections. The principal difference between them is that in the election of Mr. Adams we shall not by the example inflict any wound upon the character of our institutions, but I should much fear hereafter, if not during the present generation, that the election of the General would give to the military spirit a stimulus and a confidence that might lead to the most pernicious results. I shall, therefore, with great regret on account of the dilemma in which the people have placed us, support Mr. Adams. My friends are generally so inclined. What has great weight with me is the decided preference which a majority of the delegation from Ohio has for him over General Jackson. If, therefore, Kentucky were to vote for the General it would probably only have the effect of dividing our friends, without defeating ultimately the election of Mr. Adams. Three of the four States favorable to Mr. Crawford are believed to prefer Mr. Adams to the General. Virginia is one of them. I am inclined to think that nearly three-fourths of our delegation have yielded to the influence of these views, and will vote for Mr. Adams. My friends entertain the belief that their kind wishes toward me will in the end be more likely to be accomplished by so bestowing their votes. I have, however, most earnestly entreated them to throw me out of their consideration in bringing their judgments to a final conclusion, and to look and be guided solely by the public good. If I know myself, that alone has determined me. Your Representative is inclined to concur with us in these sentiments and views, and if they should meet your approbation, as I know he has great respect for your opinions, I would be glad if you would by the return mail address a letter to him to strengthen him in his inclination. Be pleased to show this letter to Crittenden alone.



## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—My position, in regard to the Presidential election, is highly critical, and such as to leave me no path on which I can move without censure. I have pursued, in regard to it, the rule which I always observe in the discharge of my public duty—I have interrogated my conscience as to what I ought to do, and that faithful guide tells me that I ought to vote for Mr. Adams. I shall fulfill its injunction. Mr. Crawford's state of health, and the circumstances under which he presents himself to the House, appear to me to be conclusive against him. As a friend of liberty, and to the permanence of our institutions, I can not consent, in this early stage of their existence, by contributing to the election of a military chieftain, to give the strongest guaranty that the Republic will march in the fatal road which has conducted every other republic to ruin. I owe to our friendship this frank exposition of my intentions. I am, and shall continue to be, assailed by all the abuse, which partisan zeal, malignity, and rivalry, can invent. I shall risk, without emotion, these effusions of malice, and remain unshaken in my purpose. What is a public man worth, if he will not expose himself, on fit occasions, for the good of his country?

As to the result of the election, I can not speak with absolute certainty; but there is every reason to believe that we shall avoid the dangerous precedent to which I allude.

Be pleased to give my respects to Mr. ———, and believe me always your cordial friend.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1825.

MY DEAR BLAIR,—I received this morning your very agreeable favor of the 17th instant. A letter from you is always refreshing; and I wish that I could entitle myself to expect them more frequently, by more punctuality and diligence on my part in our correspondence. My last letter informed you of the unctation that was unceasingly applied to me by all the returned candidates for the Presidency, or rather their friends. Since then I have avowed my intention to support Mr. Adams, under ac-

tual circumstances, and thereupon the oil has been instantly transformed into vinegar. The friends of —— have turned upon me, and with the most amiable unanimity agree to vituperate me. I am a deserter from democracy; a giant at intrigue; have sold the West—sold myself—defeating General Jackson's election to leave open the Western pretensions that I may hereafter fill them myself—blasting all my fair prospects, etc., etc. To these are added a thousand other of the most gentle and kind, and agreeable epithets and things in the world.

———, who are themselves straining every nerve to elect Jackson that the claims of the West may be satisfied and I be thereby pretermitted, are accusing me of acting on their own principles. The knaves can not comprehend how a man can be honest. They can not conceive that I should have solemnly interrogated my conscience and asked it to tell me seriously what I ought to do. That it should have enjoined me not to establish the dangerous precedent of elevating, in this early stage of the Republic, a military chieftain, merely because he has won a great victory? That it should have told me that a public man is undeserving his station who will not, regardless of aspersions and calumnies, risk himself for his country? I am afraid that you will think me moved by these abuses. Be not deceived. I assure you that I never in my whole life felt more perfect composure, more entire confidence in the resolutions of my judgment, and a more unshakable determination to march up to my duty. And, my dear sir, is there an intelligent and unbiased man who must not, sooner or later, concur with me? Mr. Adams you know well I should never have selected, if at liberty to draw from the whole mass of our citizens for a President. But there is no danger in his elevation now, or in time to come. Not so of his competitor, of whom I can not believe that killing two thousand five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans, qualifies for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the chief magistracy. I perceive that I am unconsciously writing a sort of defense, which you may possibly think implies guilt. What will be the result? you will ask with curiosity, if not anxiety. I think Mr. Adams must be elected, such is the prevailing opinion. Still I shall not consider the matter as certain until the election is over.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter of the 1st inst. Although my letter, to which it is an answer, was not intended for publication, I would rather that it should be published, and speak for itself, than that its contents should appear through the medium of Mr. Ritchie's representation of them. With regard to its publication, you will be pleased to do as you may think proper. All that I feel anxious about is, that the public should not receive an impression that it was my intention that it should be published.

My condition at this moment is most peculiar. The batteries of some of the friends of every man who would now be President, or who, four or eight years hence, would be President, are directed against me, with only the exception of those of Mr. Adams. Some of the friends of General Jackson, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Clinton, with very different ultimate ends, agree for the present to unite in assailing me. The object now is, on the part of Mr. Crawford and General Jackson, to drive me from the course which my deliberate judgment points out; and for the future, on the part of Mr. Clinton and Mr. Calhoun, to remove me as an obstacle to their elevation. They all have yet to learn my character if they suppose it possible to make me swerve from my duty, by any species of intimidation or denunciation. But I did not expect that my old friend Ritchie would join in the general cry. He ought to recollect that he is struggling for a man, I for the country—he to elevate an unfortunate gentleman worn down by disease, I to preserve our youthful institutions from the bane which has destroyed all the republics of the old world. I might have expected, from the patriotism of Thomas Ritchie, that he would have surrendered his personal predilections, and joined with me in the effort to save us from a precedent fraught with the most pernicious consequences. I am so far disappointed: I say it with mortification and regret. But all attempts to make me unite with him, to induce me to give up the defense of our institutions, that we may elect a sick gentleman, who has also been rejected by the great body of the nation, are vain and utterly fruitless. Mr. Ritchie ought to awake, should be himself again, and love Rome more than Cæsar.

I observe what you kindly tell me about the future cabinet. My dear sir, I want no office. When have I shown an avidity

for office? In rejecting the mission to Russia, and the department of war under one administration? In rejecting the same department, the mission to England, or any other foreign mission, under the succeeding administration? If Mr. Adams is elected, I know not who will be his cabinet; I know not whether I shall be offered a place in it or not. If there should be an offer, I shall decide upon it, when it may be made according to my sense of duty. But do you not perceive that this denunciation of me, by anticipation, is a part of the common system between the discordant confederates which I have above described? Most certainly, if an office should be offered to me under the new administration, and I should be induced to think that I ought to accept it, I shall not be deterred from accepting it, either by the denunciations of open or secret enemies, or the hypocrisy of pretended friends.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letters of the 6th and 8th inst. In the former was inclosed a ten dollar note, about which not one word was contained in your letters. Was it inclosed by mistake? or did you intend that I should apply it to some object for you? Be pleased to instruct me.

The “long agony” was terminated yesterday, and Mr. Adams was elected on the first ballot. Exertions to defeat, and even to defer the result, of the most strenuous kind, were made up to the last moment. Without referring to the issue of the election, the manner in which the whole scene was exhibited in the House of Representatives was creditable to our institutions and to our country.

I have not yet received the “Enquirer,” in which my letter has been published. It did not arrive to-day.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—When the subject of the offer of the Department of State to me was first opened to my congressional friends, there existed among them some diversity of opinion as to the

propriety of my accepting it. On the one hand, it was said that, if I took it, that fact would be treated as conclusive evidence of the justice of the imputations which have been made against me; that the House of Representatives was my theater; that the administration would want me there, if it should prove itself worthy of support, more than in the cabinet; and that my own section would not like to see me translated from the legislative hall to the executive departments.

On the other hand, it was urged that, whether I accepted or declined the office, I should not escape severe animadversion; that, in the latter contingency, it would be said that the patriotic Mr. Kremer, by an exposure of the corrupt arrangement, had prevented its consummation; that the very object of propagating the calumny would be accomplished; that, conscious of my own purity of intentions, I ought not to give the weight of a feather to Mr. Kremer's affair; that there would be much difficulty in filling the administration without me; that either of the other candidates, if he had been elected, would have made me the same offer; that it would be said of me that, after having contributed to the election of a President, I thought so ill of him, that I would not take the first place under him; that he was now the constitutional head of the Government, and, as such, I ought to regard him, dismissing any personal objections which I might have heretofore had to him; that I had, perhaps, remained long enough in the House of Representatives; and that my own section could not be dissatisfied with seeing me placed where, if I should prove myself possessed of the requisite attainments, my services might have a more extended usefulness.

On mature consideration, those of my friends who were originally averse to my entering the office, changed their opinion, and I believe they were finally unanimous in thinking that I ought not to hesitate in taking upon myself its duties. Those of Mr. Adams, especially in New England, were alike unanimous, and indeed extremely urgent in their solicitations. Several of Mr. Crawford's friends (Mr. McLane, of Delaware, Mr. Forsythe, Mr. Mangum, etc., etc.), and also some of those of General Jackson, in Pennsylvania, have expressed to me their strong convictions that I ought to accept. The opposition to my acceptance is limited chiefly to the violence of Mr. Calhoun's friends, and to some of those of Mr. Crawford and General Jackson.

From the first, I determined to throw myself into the hands of my friends, and if they advised me to decline the office, not to accept it, but if they thought it was my duty, and for the public interest, to go into it, to do so. I have an unaffected repugnance to any executive employment, and my rejection of the offer, if it were in conformity to their deliberate judgment, would have been more compatible with my feelings, than its acceptance.

But as their advice to me is to accept, I have resolved accordingly, and I have just communicated my final determination to Mr. Adams. I am not yet at liberty to communicate the names of the persons who will fill the other vacant departments; but I will say to you, that they will be Republicans. I entertain a strong belief, and sanguine hopes, that the administration will be conducted upon principles which will entitle it to liberal and general support. An opposition is talked of here; but I regard that as the ebullition of the moment, the natural offspring of chagrin and disappointment. There are elements for faction; none for opposition. Opposition to what? To measures and principles which are yet to be developed! Opposition may follow, it can not precede the unknown measures of administration, without incurring the denomination of faction. Mr. Adams is on his trial. Hear him, and then decide. This is the natural sentiment of every candid and impartial mind. He would not have been my President, if I had been allowed to range at large among the great mass of our citizens, to select a President; but I was not so allowed, and circumscribed as I was, I thought that, under all circumstances, he was the best choice that I could practicably make.

I received your kind letter of the 16th instant, and I am happy to find that your better judgment points to the course which I am about to take. I hope that, on further reflection, my other Richmond friends will probably unite in sentiment with you.

This is not written for publication in whole, or in part, but I request you to show it to Mr. Call, Mr. Leigh, and Mr. Ritchie, who will have the goodness to regard it in the same confidential light.

## J. J. CRITTENDEN TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, Feb. 15, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—We are all waiting with breathless impatience, to know the result of the Presidential election. It was rumored here a few days past, that a coalition had been formed between Jackson and Crawford; that New York, Virginia, etc., follow into its ranks; that it was bearing on irresistibly and triumphantly; and that you and Adams were its destined victims. The mail of last night, however, brought no confirmation of this terrible rising, and we are all settling down again into the opinion which has for some time prevailed here, that Adams is to be the President.

I have seen the abuse that has been heaped upon you in some of the newspapers, and your card in the "Intelligencer." I confess that I feel some apprehension for you. There are about you a thousand desperadoes, political and military, following at the heels of leaders, and living upon expectations, that would think it a most honorable service to fasten a quarrel upon Mr. Clay, and shoot him. And this card of yours, evincing such a spontaneous and uncalculating spirit of gallantry, will be a signal, I fear, for some of these fellows to gather about you, and to endeavor to provoke you to some extremity. For God's sake be upon your guard, at least, as it respects these subalterns. As for the abuse there has been heaped upon you, you may safely regard it as the idle wind that passes by. I expected to hear you vilified. You occupy too lofty and imposing a stand, to escape. You prefer Mr. Adams under existing circumstances, and for that you are calumniated. And so it would equally have been, had you announced your preference for either of the other competitors.

If, notwithstanding your support of Adams, Jackson should be elected, that circumstance would certainly embolden your comparatively few adversaries in this State, and enable them for a little while to excite some petty clamor against you. But no such thing can displace you from the hold you have on the pride and affections of Kentucky. If Adams is elected, and you will accept a station in his cabinet, all will be quieted in a moment. This is my view.

I think I can see the policy which dictates the charges which are now made against you of "going over to Mr. Adams." of

naving "made your bargain" with him, and of a thousand other horrible conspiracies, etc. It is intended to intimidate you, if possible, from the acceptance of the Department of State which they think Mr. Adams must tender to you, and where they tremble to see you. They wish to obstruct your passage to it by heaping up the way with all the falsehood and calumny they can create and invent. This is the real secret of the whole business, as I think. Whether I am right or wrong, I trust you will hold on your course unshaken and unaltered by all the calumny, falsehood, and scandal of your enemies. It will not be long before it will all recoil on themselves. I think it is due to yourself, to your friends here, and to the expectation and wishes of the State, that you should accept the office of Secretary of State, if it should be offered to you. Some few of your friends think your present station the more elevated and commanding one, and of course that you should retain it. Whatever may be its nominal elevation, its practical importance and power is not to be compared with that of the Department of State. The Chair of the House of Representatives is undoubtedly a very high and lofty station, but all its honors and advantages are of the abstract, fruitless kind, and I am now convinced that no man will live to see the incumbent of that Chair transferred at once to the Presidency. You best know, however, what course to pursue. That it may be a prosperous and happy one, is my earnest wish.

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W. CREIGHTON TO MR. CLAY.

CHILLICOTHE, February 19, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was gratified to learn by the mail of this morning that the long agony is over, and particularly that the contest was terminated on the first ballot. A protracted ballot could not have failed to produce great excitement, both within and without. Here there is entire acquiescence. The inflammable materials artificially excited in Pennsylvania and New York, will soon spend themselves. Thinking it probable, in the event of Mr. Adams' election, you might be invited to the administration, the question propounded in your letter of the 7th instant, is one on which I have thought a great deal this winter, and have endeavored, with the feeble lights I possess, to view it in all its ulterior bearings. Necessarily ignorant of many circum-



stances that may exist at Washington that may have a bearing *pro* or *con*, my opinion is, if the offer is made, you ought to accept. This opinion is formed, regardless of the scurrility and abuse that the election has given rise to. If a man could suffer himself to be driven from his purpose by means like these, he would always be at the mercy of the profligate and unprincipled. In the expression of this opinion, it is taken for granted that Mr. Adams will pursue a liberal policy, and embrace within its scope the great leading policy that you have been advocating. By uniting with such an Administration, you could not be charged, by the most fastidious, with a dereliction of principle for place.

I could not, within the compass of a letter, detail my reasons for the opinion expressed, and therefore shall not attempt it. Should the invitation be given, your friends in Ohio will acquiesce in whatever decision you make.

Will our friend Cheves be invited to the Treasury?

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the gratification to tell you that all my information from the West bespeaks a satisfied state of the public mind, in relation to the result of the late election. In Ohio the approbation of it is enthusiastic. In Kentucky, too, the expression of public opinion evinces general acquiescence.

I transmit to you, inclosed, two letters, which are from Crittenden and Creighton, two of the most discreet men in Ohio and Kentucky. Be pleased to show them to Mr. Pleasants.

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JOHN TYLER TO MR. CLAY

CHARLES CITY, March 27, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—In the midst of the numerous accusations which have of late been urged against you from different quarters, and from none with more acrimony than from the seat of Government of this State, I have deemed it proper, and in some measure called for, to make known to you that one of the million at least, still regarded you as I am satisfied you deserve to

be regarded. Instead of seeing in your course on the late presidential question aught morally or politically wrong, I am on the contrary fully impressed with the belief that the United States owes you a deep debt of gratitude for that course, resulting as it did in the speedy settlement of that distracting subject. Believing Mr. Crawford's chance of success to have been utterly desperate, you have not only met my wishes (which would be to you of little concern), but I do believe, the wishes and feelings of a large majority of the people of this your native State. I do not believe that the sober and reflecting people of Virginia would have been so far dazzled by military renown as to have conferred their suffrages upon a mere soldier—one acknowledged on all hands to be of little value as a civilian. I will not withhold from you also the expression of my approval of your acceptance of your present honorable and exalted station. To have refused it would have been to have furnished your enemies with fresh ground of objection. Against an insidious and malicious attack you courted an investigation not only before the Representatives of the people, but by accepting the office, before the Senate, and gave just evidence of your purity by your readiness to encounter your accusers, supported as they were by the virulence and intemperance of party feeling on the part of some of your very judges. For a time the tide may run against you, but when the ferment, excited by the feelings of the day, shall have subsided, and men shall regard things with unprejudiced eyes, your motives and your acts will be justly appreciated and the plaudits of your country will await you. This is not the language of flattery to one lifted high in authority. As an American citizen I claim to be your equal. It is the voluntary offering of truth at the shrine of patriotism, and is called for by the circumstance of our having been, in times past, fellow laborers in the same vineyard of our common country, although I was at the time an unprofitable servant. When one, however, is assailed by unjust reproaches, the expression of confidence from a quarter even the most humble and the most retired can not but be acceptable. It is under the influence of this feeling and of this belief that I have thus ventured to address you.

I pray you to accept assurances of my sincere regard and unshaken confidence.

## CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, April 4, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your address to your former constituents; and, as it was franked by you, I presume I am indebted to you for it. I have read it with great pleasure as well as attention, and am gratified at the full and complete view you have given of some matters which the busy world has been employing itself upon. I required no evidence respecting the charge made by Mr. Kremer, nor should I have required any had I been unacquainted with you or with the transaction, because I have long since ceased to credit charges destitute of proof, and to consider them as mere aspersions. The minuteness of detail, however, will enable your friends to encounter any insinuations on that subject which may be thrown out in their hearing. More of this may be looked for than any hostility to you would produce. There is unquestionably a party determined to oppose Mr. Adams at the next election, and this party will attack him through you. It is an old, and has been a successful stratagem. No part of your letter was more necessary than that which respects your former relations with that gentleman.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 6, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—From your letter of the 5th instant, which I this day received, I perceive you are at home, and not at Richmond, to which I had transmitted to you one of my addresses to my constituents. The favorable opinion entertained of it by such early and valuable friends as yourself and Nicholas, is highly gratifying. Among other similar testimonies from Richmond, I have received, from the Chief Justice, a very satisfactory letter. Prior to the publication of my address, Mr. Tyler wrote me a letter, approving of my course (since he believed Mr. Crawford to have been out of the question), and declaring, in strong terms, his unabated confidence in me. From all quarters, in short, information is constantly pouring in upon me, in every form, evincing general and hearty approbation of my late public course. My triumph will be, as it ought, complete and entire

over the base confederacy against me. As to Forsythe, he certainly advised me, in unqualified terms, to accept the Department of State. I myself attached no particular importance to his opinion, though I supposed others might. He was with me on the 30th or 29th of last month, had a long conversation, in the course of which he praised my address, and, *entre nous*, gave in his adhesion. I have no curiosity to see his letter. I understand him thoroughly. He did not mention one word about his letter to you, or his correspondence with you. What could he say to me?

I share with you in your grief for the death of Mrs. Randolph. I have known her from my earliest youth. She deserved all that you have so well said in behalf of her memory.

I find my office no bed of roses. With spirits never more buoyant, twelve hours work per day are almost too much for my physical frame. An entire harmony as to public measures exists between Mr. Adams and me.

I return you Nicholas' letter.

P. S. Was ever any thing so silly as for Eaton to publish his correspondence with me? I am greatly deceived if he has not come out worse than he stood before.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, April 7, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am obliged to you for a copy of your address to your constituents. It has been widely circulated here, is universally read, and highly commended. I have heard but one opinion as to its general merits. Some think that part which relates to Mr. Kremer's letter, and the incidents connected with it, was an unnecessary labor, at least so far as regards the state of public opinion this way. That transaction seems to have made no impression here. The part of your address which sets forth your reasons for preferring another candidate to General Jackson is composed, in my opinion, with great skill and ability, and I have no doubt it will produce a very strong effect. It is a very good case, very ably managed.

We are very quiet in this quarter. There is very little dissatisfaction, and no disposition, that I discover, to opposition.

With almost all there prevails a very good spirit ; and the exceptions are not important, from weight of character or influence.

I have heard nothing, since I left Washington, respecting the English mission. If any thing has occurred, not improper for me to know, I should be glad to learn it from you at your leisure ; and I shall be gratified also to hear from you on other subjects and occasions.

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JUDGE STORY TO MR. CLAY.

SALEM, April 8, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for the copy of your address to your late constituents, which you have been pleased to send me. I read it with great interest and satisfaction. As a vindication of your character and conduct, it was to me wholly unnecessary, for I have never entertained the slightest doubt of the perfect correctness of the motives of your vote in the recent presidential election. I have considered it as a new proof of your integrity, independence, and firmness. Pardon me if I add, that if your vote had been other than it was, I would have found it somewhat difficult to have reconciled it with your known public opinions on subjects intimately connected with executive duties.

I have no doubt that the address will meet with general approbation, I do not say among warm partisans of other candidates, but among reflecting, considerate men of all parties. In this part of the Union it has received unqualified praise, and has given a new luster to your public fame.

I hope you may long live to enjoy the confidence of the nation, and to remain a blessing to the country ; and I beg you will do me the favor of numbering me among those who cherish with the sincerest pleasure every expression of public regard toward you.

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LEWIS CASS TO MR. CLAY.

DETROIT, April 14, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have just finished the perusal of your masterly address to your late constituents, and I can not refrain from expressing to you the high satisfaction it has afforded me. It is a

triumphant refutation of the vile slanders which have been propagated respecting the motives of your conduct in the peculiar circumstances in which you were recently placed. You may safely commit your character to the judgment of your countrymen, and of posterity. They will not fail to award you full justice.

I must ask your indulgence for this almost involuntary tribute to your claims and services. So strong is the impression which your appeal has made upon me, that I could not restrain this expression of my feelings.

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PRESIDENT HOLLEY TO MR. CLAY.

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, April 18, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for a copy of your address to your late constituents. It appears to me to be able, frank, and satisfactory. Your immediate friends did not need such a communication to keep them from yielding to the calumnies which were heaped upon you for the independent and magnanimous course that you pursued in regard to the election of the President. The publication, however, will, I am convinced, do great good, or rather has done it already. There is but one sentiment upon the subject in this vicinity, so far as comments have reached my ears. All are satisfied with the facts and the reasonings. I have no doubt that there are some among us, who would be better pleased, if you had not defended yourself, or if you had made your statement with less calmness, judgment, and ability. This number can not be great.

I have just read the correspondence between yourself and Mr. Eaton. I am blinded, or it was weakness in him to publish it. He has left the community to believe that he was concerned in Kremer's conspiracy, even to a greater extent than might otherwise have been supposed. He appears to begin with a demand for explanation, which is given only in reference to the first letter, and ends the correspondence without obtaining any satisfaction upon some of the most material points, and with new evidence fastened upon him of connivance, and indeed of active exertions in the base affair. I at first regretted to see Mr. Eaton's name in your address, but he has now shown himself worthy of reprobation from the community.

## MR. CLAY TO GENERAL GAINES.\*

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1825.

SIR,—Having met with General Brown to-day, and fearing that I might not have the pleasure to see you, I requested him to make a communication to you respecting an incident which occurred in the President's house a few days ago. Upon calling at your lodgings this morning I was unfortunate in not finding you at them. The incident to which I allude is this: Upon leaving the President, with whom I had been engaged in official consultation, I unexpectedly met, on coming out of his receiving-room, at the door of it, in the adjoining room, General Brown, yourself, and a young gentleman, Mr. —, to whom, as your aid, I was introduced by General Brown. Both the meeting and the introduction were entirely unexpected by me. Upon being presented to Mr. — I walked up to him and offered him my hand in my usual manner, which he declined receiving. I remarked nothing offensive in his countenance, but he distinctly evinced an unwillingness to reciprocate that mode of salutation. Attaching no particular virtue to the touch of his hand, I turned off and left the room. Upon reflection on the occurrence, it appeared to me that if the young gentleman designed an affront to a total stranger, he could not have possibly selected an apartment of the President's house, at the very door of his receiving-room, and within the hearing, if not in the view, of the Chief Magistrate, to give the affront. I had a right, therefore, to conclude that he had some cutaneous disease with which he was unwilling to infect me, or that, as he kept his hand inclosed in his coat or waistcoat, that some newly-established etiquette forbade the ancient and unfashionable mode of salutation. But on my return from the office to my lodgings yesterday afternoon, I perceived your visiting-card, unaccompanied by that of any other person; from which I have supposed that I may have misconceived the intentions of Mr. — and that he really meditated offering me an insult. Upon that supposition this note is addressed to you, with the sole object that you may impress upon the member of your family, to whom I refer, the utility of the

\* This letter was sent to General Gaines, at his lodgings in the city of Washington, on the day of its date, but he had left it, and the letter was never transmitted to him.

observance of urbanity as a necessary part of the discipline for which the American army, generally, is so eminently distinguished.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your favor of the 27th. I did not know that the extract published by Mr. Pleasants was from a letter written by you. The same thing has been told to me by several, and, among others, by Mr. Wilson Allen, of the Bowling Green, and Colonel H. Mercer. I think you ought to take no notice of the contradiction of Mr. Ritchie. Your name is not before the public as the writer of the letter. If it were, you might be considered as pledged to sustain the assertion. Mr. Allen told me that Mr. Crawford's warmest friends in Fredericksburg, after seeing him, admitted his incompetency for the office. I think I would let it stand where it does. We ought to make great allowances for chagrin and disappointment. I wish Mr. Crawford could have been seen at Richmond. Mr. Van Buren told me that they had committed a great error in not withdrawing him in May last, on account of his want of health.

From all quarters, the testimony which I get, public and private, of the public approbation of my late conduct, is full, complete, and triumphant. They are preparing in Kentucky to give me an enthusiastic reception. But you see they will not let me alone. Ingham has just made his appearance, and I wish he would write by the league instead of the yard. The next shot will be from McDuffie, or from Nashville, or from both.

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JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, May 10, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 29th March, inclosing one directed to Mr. Schaffer, acknowledging, on the part of the House of Representatives, the receipt of his excellent portrait of our good friend, General Lafayette, presented to that body. This letter I delivered to Mr. Schaffer on the 5th instant, and at the same time intimated to him, in such terms as could in no



way compromise the House, that you had been restrained only by the advice of General Lafayette and his son, from making a movement toward a more suitable return for that valuable present. Mr. Schaffer expressed his entire approbation of the course which had been recommended by his friends, and assured me that the acknowledgment had been made in the manner most agreeable to his feelings and wishes.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, September 2, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of the 29th ultimo, and thank you for the friendly expression of sympathy which it contains. Our late affliction\* was rendered still more severe by the circumstances under which it occurred. I did not yield to the urgent calls of duty here, until I had the strongest assurances from the attending physician that there was no danger. And, after leaving Lebanon, the first information I received of the sad event which occurred there, reached me, when I was within about twenty miles of this place, through the "Intelligencer."

I received, perused, and now retain Judge Duval's letter. His wishes in behalf of his son will be considered; but the fact that he has one son a governor under the general Government and another holding a captain's commission (this latter now applying for another appointment), will operate somewhat against his success.

You must feel gratified that our old friend Troop has finally concluded to abstain from surveying the Creek lands, and of course that all danger is dissipated of disturbing the public peace.

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PRESIDENT KIRKLAND TO MR. CLAY.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, September 22, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor of informing you, that the government of Harvard University did, at the last Commencement, in expression of their sense of your professional and general attainments, and your distinguished character and standing, confer on you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

\* Death of a daughter.

The diploma will be made out and sent to you. In the hope of your favorable consideration of this token of our respect, I have the honor to be, etc.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, September 28, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—Under another cover I send you what has occurred to me on the subject of our trade with England. The object of this is, to express my sympathy for your domestic calamity, and to offer my congratulations on the welcome so ardent and so universal, which seems to have greeted you among your fellow-citizens of the West. The same kindness of feeling which has been expressed in that quarter, exists, I believe, in other places. I have been through New York in the course of the summer, and I found almost every where, a hearty approbation, and every where else, at least, an entire and not uneasy acquiescence, in regard to the events of last winter, and to your own agency in producing those events. In New England, with here and there a little expression of spleen from the disappointed, the great majority of the people have the best disposition toward the Government, in all its parts. Our ability in Congress is not so great as it might have been, and as it ought to have been. But that evil admits of no immediate cure.

You must allow me to admonish you to take care of your health. Knowing the ardor and the intensity with which you may probably apply yourself to the duties of your place, I fear very much you may overwork yourself. Somebody (was it not an Austrian minister?) on being asked how he could get through so much business, replied that he did it by repudiating two false maxims, which had obtained currency among men; that, for his part, he never did any thing to-day, which he could put off till to-morrow; nor any thing himself, which he could get another to do for him. Without following his example strictly and literally, I still think you ought to be a good deal governed by the same rules, especially the last.

## MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, October 12, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I have received two letters from you, and several packets from the Department of State, concerning the contents of which I have thought it advisable to wait until I could have the pleasure of conferring personally with you. There is in my mind but one objection to the appointment which you suggest, and that is perhaps removed at least by the authority of respectable precedent. Although detained here longer than I had intended, I still purpose to be with you, at the latest, by the 25th instant.

I inclose, addressed to you, thirty and ten blank patents signed by me, received yesterday from Dr. Thornton, for my signature.

I pray you to present my kind respects to Governor Barbour, Mr. Rush, and Mr. Southard, from each of whom I have received letters, which perpetual motion has prevented me from answering.

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 JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, October 13, 1825.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter sent by the Brandywine, and most sincerely sympathize with you and Mrs. Clay in the sad calamity you have suffered in the loss of your dear little daughter. She had attained that age at which children are particularly interesting, and in the absence of her sisters, would have been for many years an agreeable companion to her mother. These, however, are misfortunes which it pleases Providence to inflict, and for which time and resignation are the only remedies. It has, perhaps, been fortunate that this melancholy event has been succeeded immediately by the variety of traveling, and the occupation attendant on forming a new establishment. These serve in some degree to divert the mind from its afflictions, and to blunt the edge of misfortune.

General Lafayette has arrived in good health at Lagrange, and I sincerely hope he will wisely avoid any interference in public affairs, and content with the honors he has received in the United States, will pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 28, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am the more anxiously waiting for the packet of the 1st instant, as an account of your having been sick, since my departure, has appeared in the French papers. Yet there are evident inaccuracies in the report. Now I must hasten these lines to the Cadmus, which sails on the 1st November. I have written to the President, sending him an article of the *Journal des Debats*, which may interest him and you. I also tell him a few words of what I have heard respecting the affairs of Greece, upon which I have seen nothing to alter my opinion. I came directly from Havre to Lagrange, and have been very friendly received by the people on the road, and here, on my arrival. Ministerial and court people have either kept aloof, or acted foolishly to their own damage. I have been only four days in Paris, to see several friends, and do not intend returning to town before the first days of January. The mass of the nation is quiet and industrious, though dissatisfied with the measures of the Government, and the incroachments of nobles and priests. I found Mr. Brown much better than I expected, indeed, almost quite well. Mr. Sheldon is better, also, and has wisely, I think, determined to nurse his health in Paris, rather than go to *ennuyer* himself in the South, while his time here is usefully employed. Mr. Somerville has been very sick; I hope he will be soon on his travels. Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay and family. Receive those of my children and Le Valleur.

## THEODORE WYTHE CLAY\* TO HIS FATHER.

LEXINGTON, November 11, 1825.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I received yours with great concern for the deep distress in which our great loss [death of Eliza and Mrs. Duralde] must have thrown both yourself and my mother. I have not the power of deriving any consolation to myself, and have not, therefore, the means of offering you any. I would gladly render you happy by any sacrifice in my power.

\* Theodore Wythe Clay, the oldest son, has now (1855) been in the Lunatic Asylum, at Lexington, over twenty years.

As I advance in years I feel the value of a relation more and more, because they must and should be the best friends. I hope, however, that you may not suffer your spirits to be too much depressed, for it is an inevitable effect that the health is thereby impaired; and that of yourself and my dear mother, by these repeated shocks, is more and more necessary to our happiness.

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## ALBERT GALLATIN TO MR. CLAY.

BALTIMORE, November 14, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—No one can be more sensible than I am, both of the importance of laying the foundation of a permanent friendship between the United States and our sister Republics, and of the distinguished honor conferred on the persons selected to be the representatives of our glorious and happy country at the first Congress of the Independent Powers of this hemisphere; but, without affecting any false modesty, I can not perceive that I am peculiarly fitted for that mission, either by knowledge of the language, things, or men, of South America, or by being known to them. My personal objection has already been stated. I had none, whatever, to a sea voyage, or to embarking from an Atlantic port. On the receipt of your friendly letter of the 11th, I had further private inquiries made from one thoroughly acquainted with the country, as if the object had been a commercial establishment, and without my name being mentioned. The result of these, and the decided opposition I would have to encounter in my family, compel me, though with great reluctance, to persist in declining the appointment. I will preserve a grateful sense of your's and the President's favorable disposition in my favor; and I beg you to accept my thanks for your friendly conduct toward me on this occasion.

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## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, November 25, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—This letter will find you in the full occupation of Congressional business, and although your duties as Speaker are over, there will be enough for the Secretary of State to do. I am ever anxiously waiting for news from the United

States, and particularly from Washington. My American habits have been so happily renewed in the blessed thirteen months I have passed on your side of the Atlantic, that I can not easily submit to an interruption in these communications. Let me hear from you as often as you can.

You have but too melancholy motives to sympathize with the cruel anxiety I have had lately to experience; one of my granddaughters, the third daughter of George, has been on the eve of death. She is now out of danger. How often and how feelingly I have thought of you and Mrs. Clay you will easily conceive. I was gone to town, and expected to see Mr. Brown the next morning when a courier, announcing the dear girl's situation, recalled me suddenly to Lagrange. I suppose he has more than me to write about European politics. Indeed the politics of the Republican hemisphere, until this is greatly mended, appear to me the principal business of mankind.

I much wish to know what answer you have had to your South American and Mexican communications respecting the Congress of Panama, and who has been sent as minister from the United States to that momentous meeting where his good and honest advice will, no doubt, prove highly useful. They say the Empire of Brazil has been invited also to send a minister to Panama. I wish it might be to give Don Pedro a passport to Europe; for I apprehend this Brazilian spot will be a focus of European intrigues until it has adopted the Republican form of Government.

While British publications speak of their half recognition of American independence, as if no such feat of liberalism had ever existed elsewhere, the French Government are wavering between a sense of public discontent at their backwardness and their ridiculous notions of legitimacy; and when lately they thought of grasping at something like a *mezzo termine* on the part of Spain, they have been momentarily discomfited by a change in the Spanish ministry. Such is the diplomacy of Europe, and the fitness to have an American era of foreign as well as interior policy. However, an invisible current must soon wash away those difficulties.

Notwithstanding the quarreling spirit of the Grecian chiefs, and abuses attending a long interruption of national Government, there is an admirable heroism in the resistance of that people and a moral obligation to every liberal man, or body of men,

to give them encouragement and the assistance which special situations can allow. The British Government is, as usual, under a conflict of interests opposed to each other, and wants to obtain, as cheap as possible, the first place in the poor career of European liberalism. While French committees are sincere and eager in their concern for the cause of Greece, the Tuileries holds a connection, most unpopular in France, with the Egyptian despot. The rumor of very peculiar acts of benevolence from the American squadron and Commodore Rogers in behalf of the Greeks, which has produced no party complaint that I know of, has in the enlightened and liberal part of the world added to the popularity and dignity of the American name. What has really passed I do not know, but very much lament the illness of Mr. Somerville which possibly keeps him in Paris. I have pressed him to come to Lagrange to refit himself, and from there pursue his journey; but when he will be able to support this short ride to our country residence I can not yet say. He is, however, a little better, as he himself writes to me, and you will no doubt get from him a later and more positive account. Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay, to the President, to your colleagues, and all other friends in Washington as well as to their families. George and Le Valleur beg to be respectfully remembered. Be so kind as to forward the inclosed letters; and remember me to your own family, present and absent, and believe me forever your sincere friend.

I have received, before I left the United States, communications from my old comrades of the Connecticut and Massachusetts lines, intimating the purpose to present Congress, during this session, with a petition relative to the manner in which old accounts have been settled in their very interesting claims on their country's bounty, and also respecting the interpretation given in 1820, to the pension law of 1798. At all times I would have taken the most lively interest in their behalf, but now loaded as I am with the munificent bounty of Congress, I am more than ever anxious to hear they have had cause to be satisfied. There are few survivors; any thing done for them would, I hope, be gratifying to the people, and you know it would have an excellent effect abroad.

Mr. Connel returns to England by way of Liverpool. He will talk with you of several claims upon Europe, namely, that of Antwerp which he had been commissioned to pursue. I have

seen M. and Mme. De la Rue. They know you are of opinion that Congress might with all propriety, and without hurting any person, instead of taking it for granted that the President is enlisted to introduce this French claim in the negotiation, express a positive vote upon it, and indeed I don't see any objection to express what every one considers as being already understood.

Here is a bundle of letters which, with proper confidence in your goodness, I beg you to forward.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.\*

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1825.

If Virginia is to designate a Senator upon the principle of opposition to the administration, let that Senator be Mr. B. Giles. He would be a real friend, though a nominal enemy. I mean that his indiscretions, always great, and now greater than ever, would benefit more than his hostility would injure. But I should hope that no such principle would govern the choice. I should be delighted to see Governor Pleasants here, or General Tucker, or Mr. C. Johnson. Of the latter I know personally but little; but the accounts I have always had of him are highly favorable. It is of no great consequence, in respect to the success or movement of the Administration, who may be sent. The judgment which the public will form of it, depends upon its measures. And one Senator out of forty-eight can not, in that view of the matter, be very essential. You will hear with pleasure, that our harmony, in the cabinet, continues without the slightest interruption, and that we have daily testimonies of increased strength and confidence.

The President has acceded to the wishes of several of the new American Republics, that the United States should be represented at Panama. Our friends need have no fears of our contracting there unnecessary or onerous engagements, or menacing the peace or neutrality of the country.

There is a treaty now going on in this city with the Creeks, with prospects of a successful issue.

\* We observe that Judge Brooke generally signs his name Francis Brooke—sometimes Francis T. Brooke. Mr. Clay also writes it both ways. Having begun as Francis Brooke, we shall continue it.



## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, December 10, 1825.

Although no direct information from you, my dear friend, has confirmed the fatal report communicated to me for the first time by Mr. Brown and your sister, I but too well know I have again to sympathize with you in a most heavy calamity. I have also to mourn for myself. It was impossible to have formed an acquaintance with the most valuable daughter you have lately lost, to have been favored with her friendly welcome and affectionate attentions, without feeling a deep and lively personal regret. I condole most tenderly and mournfully with you, my dear friend, with Mrs. Clay, and the whole family so cruelly visited of late, and want words to express what I feel on the lamentable occasion.

A similar kind of misfortune has been very near attending me. My granddaughter, Clementine, the youngest daughter of George, has passed several days in a hopeless state; she is now recovering. I was then thinking of a former, although a late loss. Far was I from suspecting what new blow had fallen upon you.

I have no heart to talk with you of other matters. The President will receive a letter from me. My son and Le Vallour share in my sad feelings, and beg to be remembered most affectionately.

I have written to the President that Mr. Somerville expected to proceed slowly toward his destination. Mr. Brown, whom I have just now seen, gives me a much more sad account than what I had received from poor Somerville himself.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, January 22, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—No letter from you, since your last most lamentable loss, and you can not write to a more sympathizing friend, has yet reached me; but I have heard of you and Mrs. Clay by your sister and Mr. Brown. We have been here on the edge of a similar affliction, and I am sure you will feel with me at the not-expected recovery of my granddaughter. Poor Somerville, after a long and painful lingering, has breathed his last at Auxerre, on his way to Italy; he hoped, while the physicians had no hope of him. Mr. Brown will inform you of the meas-

ures taken to secure his papers. He has expressed the affectionate wish to be buried at Lagrange, which was received with our best gratitude and respect, and, after consulting the public officers of the United States in Paris, executed in the properest manner we could, ignorant as we were of Somerville's religious persuasion. It was thought the parish cemetery, where two of my grandchildren are interred, was the proper spot, and I am taking measures, by an exchange, to annex it to the grounds of the farm. You easily will guess what title I would like to mention in the inscription. But it can not properly be done until you find no inconvenience in it. I have every day lamented an unavoidable delay. Every circumstance confirms me in that opinion.

Although the interior politics of Russia have been kept in the dark, two points seem to be ascertained: that Nicholas is the definitive Emperor, and that a plan to obtain constitutional guaranties had a great share in the late commotion at Petersburg. The Holy Alliance has received a blow. It is said another disappointment awaits them from the bad health of Emperor Francis, whose son, more of a fool than his father, which amounts to complete idiotism, is pretended to hate Metternich, the great counter-revolutionary intriguer. I believe the bad situation of the Greeks has been exaggerated, even by well-meaning persons. There is in the revolutionary spirit of freedom an elasticity which is seldom well appreciated. On no European power they can confide. But posterity, and it will begin immediately after their success as it would begin immediately after their fall, can not fail to give full credit to every honest measure taken in their behalf. I am very anxious to hear the name, or names, of the mission to Panama, and have with much pleasure heard of a Republican success over the imperial troops of Brazil. I more and more am confirmed in my eagerness to see the monarch of Brazil removed from his American throne.

Adieu, my dear friend. My best respects wait on Mrs. Clay and family.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—In answer to your friendly inquiries, contained in your letter of 18th instant, respecting my health, I have the satisfaction to say it is improving. From the commencement

until about four weeks ago it was very good. I was then attacked with influenza, which, after one recovery, has been renewed, and I have been a good deal reduced, especially in the relapse. I think I have no organic defect in my structure, and I therefore indulge the hope of a speedy return to health.

As to the Panama mission, it has encountered much delay and a good deal of opposition in the Senate, owing principally to the actual composition of that body at present. There are some fifteen or sixteen Senators determined to oppose the administration at all events, and that measure especially. There are eight or ten others whose private feelings are inimical, but who are restrained by the state of things at their respective homes. When these eight or ten unite (and they are disposed to lend to the regulars of opposition all the collateral countenance they can, without committing themselves), with the others, together they form a majority. The delay which has occurred in the Panama affair has been produced by a majority thus compounded; and the expedients to which it has resorted, to procrastinate the decision, will surprise the country, if it is ever allowed to know them. Nevertheless, it is confidently believed that a majority of the Senate will finally oppose the mission. It is understood they are to act on it to-day, and they may probably get through it this week, though that is by no means certain. In the House, and with the country, the administration need not desire to be stronger than it is. As to the peculiar condition, at this time, of the Senate, you can well imagine the cause.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, February 28, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 13th December is the last I have received from you. I know your avocations, but whenever you have time to drop a few lines, they will be received with the grateful feelings of patriotic interest and personal friendship.

My hopes of Greece have not been disappointed. They still fight, and often conquer, abandoned as they have been by all, and attacked or betrayed by many of the Christian powers. It seems now that England regrets not to have been more generous

before an unforeseen and extensive conspiracy in Russia may make it a matter of necessity for Emperor Nicholas to wage war against the Turks. The Western powers would like to patch up some arrangement favorable to the independence of Greece, that they may not be dependent on the Russian empire. I wrote to you some private exertions were taking place, from only one part of the French Greek Committee, in favor of Duke d'Orleans' second son. Now the Duke himself does not deny it, but I doubt his obtaining a sincere support from the Court of the Tuileries. Under those circumstances I did more lament the misfortune that has deprived poor Somerville of the pursuit of his mission, and I wish a respectable American squadron may appear again in those seas. My notions of the moral influence of the people of the United States are lofty and extensive, I confess ; but at least I would sadly regret if it were not fully exercised at the Congress of Panama, and in every concern of South America, it would be, in my opinion, leaving the field to the intrigues of European monarchy and aristocracy. Nor can I be easy until the throne of Brazil is no more.

Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay and family, to the President and family, to your colleagues in the cabinet, to all friends. Receive those of my son and Le Vallour, and believe me forever your affectionate sympathizing friend.

Will you please to forward the inclosed to our young Tennessean friends.

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LORD BEXLEY TO MR. CLAY.

GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON, March 9, 1826.

SIR,—Having some time ago been informed, by Bishop Chase, that you would permit small parcels of the periodical publications of some of our religious and charitable societies, for his use, to be occasionally addressed to you, I have taken the liberty, by the favor of Mr. King, to consign two small packages, containing a few Mohawk Prayer Books and some Reports, to your address for the Bishop.

I can not forbear taking this opportunity of expressing my sincere pleasure that a statesman in your eminent situation should be the friend of that excellent man ; and I can not conceive a purer or stronger bond of union between our countries than that

which is afforded by the co-operation now so happily established between them in religious and benevolent pursuits. I am sure you will find the patronage you afforded them not only an honor to your Government, but a source of sincere and increasing satisfaction to yourself amid the cares and labors of an official life; and which you will hereafter reflect upon as not among the least important of the services which your talents and character have enabled you to render to your country. I have the honor to be, Sir, with every sentiment of consideration, yours, etc.

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## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, March 27, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I am writing to you by the packet I shall only in these lines introduce to your acquaintance General Narvaez, a member of the Colombian Senate and of Bolivar's military family, who after having brought over the treaty with Great Britain, and paid a visit to Paris, is returning home through the United States. There he will witness the superiority of Republican Institutions over the half civilization, at best, of the European countries. May he also, and his fellow inhabitants of the south be convinced that from American diplomacy alone they can expect honest advice and sincere sympathies.

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## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your kind letter of the 12th instant. Prior to my going out on the affair to which it refers, the only letter I wrote about it was addressed to you, and put into the hands of General Harrison, to be forwarded on a contingency which did not happen. In that letter, which he still retains, I briefly assigned the reasons which determined me on the course I took. The circumstances which most embarrassed me was the opinion which is entertained by some, as to the state of Mr. Randolph's mind. But I thought I ought not to be governed by that opinion which was opposed by the recent act of my native State electing him to the Senate. As for the future,

it must be left to itself. Most certainly I should reluctantly engage in any similar affair.

Will you not come and see us this session? I should be glad if you would come up and pass some days at my house. On Wednesday next I expect some company to dine with me, as I generally do on that day of every week. Suppose you be of the party, and take your lodgings with me? My family is very small, and we have several spare bed-rooms.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY

PARIS, March 29, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are anxiously waiting for the arrival of two New York packets. I hope they will bring me some lines from you. At all events I will know what is going on at Washington and other parts of the United States, a food to my mind, a consolation of my heart, which has become more than ever necessary to me. I am happy to think the Panama mission is now on its way. I believe it of high moment for the welfare of South America and Mexico, for the prospects of mankind, and for the dignity of the people of the United States, that they preserve and exert the moral influence to which they are so justly entitled.

This letter accompanies an offer presented to you of the collection of General Foy's speeches, which have the additional merit of being a compliment of the national subscription in behalf of his children. The conduct of the people in that circumstance has been marked with feeling and propriety. The editors are men of remarkable talents.

The European newspapers, your correspondence with the American ministers, leave me but little to say on political topics. I am by this same opportunity writing to the President, and think it needless to repeat my observations. Present my best respects to Mrs. Clay and family, remember me to our friends, and receive the sincere wishes, in which my companions heartily join, of your affectionate friend.\*

\* It should have been mentioned before, that all Lafayette's letters to Mr. Clay are in English, which will account for the modes of expression found in them.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, April 28, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not by the last packet heard from you, or the President, or any of the public men at Washington, which I readily explain on account of your pressing avocations in these Congressional times. Mr. Brown writes, no doubt, to you. Mr. Dodge, consul at Marseilles, contemplates going from New York to the seat of Government, which is a very good channel of late information. I shall therefore confine myself to expressing my satisfaction at the result of a debate which has given me much anxiety, as you know nobody sets a greater value than I do on the moral influence of the United States, for their own sakes, for the sake of the new American Republics, for the sake of mankind, the general cause of which, the Government model, whenever they allow themselves to act, is called to further. I wish the commissioners may not have been too long detained.

My anticipations relative to the heroic resistance of the Greeks, have not been disappointed, but unless European policy, I mean that of their Governments, finds a selfish interest in rescuing them from the efforts of the barbarians, nothing is to be expected from the feelings of the Holy Alliance, Great Britain included. In the meanwhile, we have the joyful account of a complete repulse of Ibrahim Pasha, from the shattered walls of Missolonghi.

Present my most affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay, to the President, and both families, to your colleagues, to all friends at Washington. I have had a visit of the gout, which had very properly refrained from interrupting my enjoyments on the sacred beloved ground of the United States, but am now much better.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, May 28, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—My affection and regard for you are sure, and, I hope, anticipated pledges of the interest I take in every thing where you are concerned, and it were superfluous to expand on my feelings, which, I know, are not to you a matter of doubt.

Your official correspondent and good brother gives you regular accounts of political matters on this side of the Atlantic. I have already communicated my private observations on the strange and portentful contrast that exists between the liberal sentiments, the improving good sense of the people on this continent, more particularly in France, and the bold, but, I expect, imprudent encroachments of power and priesthood on the actual state of civilization. This anomaly is very striking in the dispositions relative to Greece. It appears that Great Britain and their continental partners have succeeded in tampering with the co-religionary movement of the Russians. The British commander of the Ionian Islands has boldly invited the heroic population of Missolonghi to surrender to the Turks, which amounts to the massacre of every man, the rape of every woman, and the conversion to Mohammedanism, if not the death, of every child, prisoners of war in their hands, while a scanty supply to the starving garrison, or at least the starving women and children, was so very easy a matter. On the other hand, renegade officers, protected by the French Government, have assisted in reducing that unfortunate population who have resolved to blow up, along with their enemies, such part of themselves as could not fight, and devote the other to destruction, among the havoc they made in the barbarian ranks of the Austrians. I shall only say that nothing can exceed or equal the infamy of their conduct. In the meanwhile, the popular feeling in favor of the Grecian cause has never been so warm and so general. Their adversaries are branded with the most poignant reproaches. Collections are going on, supplies are sent. The people of France, the ladies of Paris, and successively of every town, are acting a conspicuous and useful part in their behalf. I see in an English paper that some stipulations have been made at Petersburg in favor of Greece. But although public opinion is much excited, I question even this dilatory interference. I need not tell you, my dear friend, that I have been anxiously waiting for the arrival of the two private New York frigates, and persisting in the opinion that the presence of an American squadron on those seas would afford honorable opportunities, consisting with the rules of neutrality, to render essential services. And, indeed, such I have found the popular feeling in the United States. Such is now the general feeling in Europe, that every service rendered to those people would be looked upon with very favorable constructions.



I see in the papers that a Penitentiary is to be erected in the District of Columbia, under the control of the President; and I remember with pleasure the conformity of our ideas respecting the deviations from the late system of reformation, and namely the prevalence of solitary confinement that was contemplated at Philadelphia. Not that I object to solitary cells, not only as a transitory punishment, but also as a great improvement to separate the prisoners at night, a time when they spoil each other. I only think that in day-time they ought to be together in a certain number, which is susceptible of very useful modifications. I intrude upon this matter because I believe this is a good opportunity for the United States to give one more example, among so many, to the rest of mankind.

Permit me to put under your cover a letter to Mr. Skinner, inclosing one to Mr. Cormick and the Report of the Agricultural Society of Paris, with their very advantageous opinion about a new plow which I had been desired to present to their examination. Here is also a letter to my Memphis friends.

Present my best respects to Mrs. Clay and family, to the President and family, to your colleagues and other friends in Washington. I have been long suffering from the gout, and depend on the country air and country occupations to make me quite well. Part of my family are still in town, namely my daughter-in-law, who is one of the female collectors for the Greeks.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, June 8, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are glad to learn, through the papers, that you have been able to leave the city for a little visit into Maryland, as it gives us reason to hope that you have recovered from your recent indisposition.

You will have noticed Mr. Lloyd's resignation. I did not expect it at this moment, although I was apprised of his wish to leave the Senate as soon as he could. It was with difficulty he was persuaded to attend the last session. The Legislature being now in session, his place will be immediately filled. I incline to think that the appointment will fall on Mr. Silsby. It has been intimated to me, indeed, that a different arrangement *might*

perhaps, be made, if I should approve it ; but my impression at present is against it, and I believe for very good reasons.

Mr. Silsby you know. He is entirely well disposed, and is a well-informed merchant and a respectable man. It is not likely he would take much part in the discussions of the Senate ; but would bring a good deal of useful knowledge into the body, and might be entirely relied on to support all just and proper measures. According to general usage here, a senator would now be appointed for six years, commencing next March, at the end of Mr. Mills' present term of office ; but I think it probable enough, that having to fill the vacancy, occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Lloyd, now, the Legislature may choose to postpone the other election to the winter. If the choice should come on now, I understand Mr. Mills will be re-elected. If postponed, it may be a little uncertain, it is said, as some suppose our Governor has an inclination for the place. There are here, in the Legislature and out, a few very busy persons, who are hostile to the administration. They have no system, but act, in every case, *pro re nata*, and content themselves with the general principle, applied in all cases, and indiscriminately, of opposing. They will probably support Mr. Lincoln against Mr. Mills, from an idea that Mr. Mills' appointment would gratify the friends of the President, or is a thing arranged by his friends, although Mr. Lincoln is known to be equally friendly. Some embarrassment may happen from this source, very possibly ; but I trust it can be overcome.

I have great pleasure in assuring you that nothing can be more correct or more decisive than public opinion in this part of the country, in regard to the various transactions of the last session.

The sentiment of the people is exactly what you would expect and wish it to be.

In New Hampshire the Legislature meets next week. The two senators will doubtless be present on that occasion, and we are looking with some interest to see whether Mr. Woodbury and the editor of the "Patriot" (publisher of the laws!) will be able to bring the Legislature and people of that State to their way of thinking.

## GENERAL JESUP TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1826.

SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I called this morning on Mr. Randolph, for the purpose of delivering your note. Previous to presenting it, however, I thought it proper to ascertain from him whether the information you had received, that he considered himself personally accountable for any attack upon you, was correct. I accordingly informed him that I was the bearer of a message from you, in consequence of an attack which, you had been informed, he had made on your private as well as public character, in the Senate; that I was aware of the fact that he could not be made accountable elsewhere for any thing said in debate, unless he chose himself to waive his privilege as a member of that body. Mr. Randolph replied, that the Constitution did protect him, but he would never shield himself under such a subterfuge as the pleading of his privilege as a Senator from Virginia; that he did hold himself accountable “to Mr. Clay,” but considered that he (Mr. Clay) had first two pledges to redeem. One that he was bound to fight any member of the House of Representatives who had acknowledged himself the author of a certain publication in a Philadelphia paper; the other, that he stood pledged to establish certain facts in regard to “a great man,” whom he would not name. He added, however, that he would receive no message from Mr. Clay which was not in writing. I replied that the only message I had was in writing; that I had not been authorized by you to enter into or receive any verbal explanations, but that I had done so on my own responsibility, because I thought it proper to do so. I then presented him the note. He read it, and informed me that he would send, by a friend, a written answer to it, or he would send the answer by me, if I would take it. I observed that it would be better to send it by a friend, to which he assented.

## GENERAL JESUP TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I inclose a copy of the paper which I read to you to-day; it was drawn up with a view of being presented to you,

within half an hour after your note had been presented to Mr. Randolph. It contains the substance of my interview with that gentleman.

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GENERAL JESUP TO JAMES B. CLAY.\*

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 4th instant. You owe me no apology for writing to me on any subject; certainly not when the matter relates to your late father.

I have never seen Garland's book, but the statement which you understood him to have made, that Mr. Randolph, in the duel with your father, did not fire at him, is entirely incorrect. In that affair, when the parties came upon the ground, Colonel Tatnal, the friend of Mr. Randolph, having won the choice of positions, placed his principal in that which he preferred, and I placed your father opposite to him, distant ten paces. The other party, having the choice of positions, gave me the word. Mr. Randolph desired to know how I would give it when the parties should be ready. I repeated it. He desired to hear it again. While I was repeating it the second time, his pistol was discharged, whether by accident or not I was then in doubt, but I was soon satisfied that the discharge was accidental. Your father called to me—"It was an accident—I saw it." The parties resumed their stations, and exchanged shots, Mr. Randolph's ball striking a small stump in the rear of, and nearly in line with your father, and his ball cutting Mr. Randolph's pantaloons near the knee, and passing through his coat. The parties again took their stations, and the word was given by Colonel Tatnal—your father fired at Randolph, his bullet passing again through Mr. Randolph's clothes; the latter raised his pistol and fired in the air, exclaiming at the moment, "Mr. Clay, I came upon this ground determined not to fire at you, but the unfortunate discharge of my pistol, after I had taken my position" (and I think he added, "with the circumstances attending it"), "for a moment changed my mind." They sprang forward as if by a common impulse, and grasped each other by the hand, each expressing the pleasure he felt that the other was unhurt.

A statement, prepared at the time and signed by the friends of the parties, was published, giving an account of the whole

\* It is thought proper to put this letter in this place, though of a later date.

matter. I have duplicates of all the correspondence, carefully packed among my private papers. I will open them, and have them copied for you, as soon as I shall find time to examine them. The other set of the papers, I have understood, was placed by Colonel Tatnal in the hands of Mr. Randolph's half brother, the late Judge Henry St. George Tucker, of Virginia, and was soon after destroyed by fire when his house was burned.

I will examine Garland's book, and take such public notice of the part to which you refer as truth and justice may seem to require. With respect and regard, I am, etc.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

LEXINGTON, August 2, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—My visit home has been altogether highly gratifying. Far from any abatement, there is an increase in the number and ardor of my friends, who have given me the strongest testimonies of their attachment. From Missouri I learn that Scott's prospect of re-election is promising. Cook's is unattended with any doubt. Senator Reed writes me from Mississippi in great confidence of his re-election, upon the distinct ground of supporting the Administration. In Ohio and Indiana things could not look better. I think we may assume, first, that the Western States, whose delegation voted for Mr. Adams, will continue to support him; and secondly, that Mississippi will probably be added to the number. You will have heard of Gurley's re-election, and rumor says that Brent has also succeeded.

I shall set out on the 11th for Washington viâ Kanawba. I go that route to take advantage of the Virginia Springs, to improve my health, which just begins to feel the benefit of absence from my office. Mrs. Clay will probably go through Ohio to see James, and we shall meet at Washington, where we are very anxious again to join our friends. I may halt a few days at the White Sulphur Springs, and therefore shall not probably reach Washington till early in September.

You will have seen the tragical end of Beauchamp and his unfortunate wife. We live in an age of romance. Ask Mrs. Johnston if the story might not be wrought up into a fine popular tragedy, one similar to George Barnwell?

Mrs. Clay joins me in the communication of cordial regards to Mrs. Johnston; and I add assurances of my sincere friendship to yourself, etc.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, Va., August 24, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived without accident the day before yesterday, and after remaining about a week at it, for the use of the mineral waters, I propose resuming my journey about the 1st of September, and hope to reach the city the 10th or 12th. My health has improved on the journey, although I have not been able to secure all the tranquillity and abstraction from crowds which is necessary to its re-establishment; for they have invited me to a public dinner at Lewisburg, and not being able to assign any sufficient reason for declining it, I have accepted it. The administration has many friends in this quarter of Virginia.

There is much company at this place, but it shifts as frequently as the dramatis personæ of a theater. It is chiefly from the Southern States.

I am driving a gig-horse, which, though not so fine or showy as your finest carriage-horse, I am inclined to think might answer as a tolerable match for him.

With my best regards to Mrs. Johnston, and the hope of seeing you both very soon, I am truly your friend.

P. S. Mrs. Clay was to leave Lexington on the 22d inst., to proceed to the city, by the Ohio route, and I expect will reach you about the time that I shall.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, August 28, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was disappointed, on my arrival here, in not having the pleasure of meeting you; but I received your obliging letter, accounting for your absence. I have made a short halt for the use of the waters, which I have already found of some benefit. I shall resume my journey on the 1st of next month,

and will, perhaps, reach Orange, by the way of Charlottesville, on the 8th or 9th. I purpose remaining a day or two there, with Governor Barbour, if at home, and Mr. Madison. I should be delighted to avail myself of your kind invitation, but that must depend upon information which I may hereafter receive, as to the necessity of my presence at my post. It will be very gratifying to me if I can render any service, which I will not fail to endeavor, to your friend, Mr. Carter.

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MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

QUINCY, September 12, 1826.

DEAR SIR,—I duly received your kind letters of the 25th and 30th of July, and of the 12th ultimo, all from Lexington, which I have hitherto deferred answering, from an uncertainty where a letter would meet you. But supposing you would, about this time, reach Washington, I, two days since, inclosed to you a letter from the Governor of New York, with other papers, on a subject requiring at once mature deliberation and prompt decision.

I learn, with much concern, that your health did not derive, from your visit home, so much benefit as you had anticipated. I hope the tour to the Springs will have more favorable results. Your apprehensions with regard to Mr. Anderson were but too well founded. The public have lost in him an able and useful officer. The Panama Congress, it seems, have adjourned to meet in the neighborhood of the city of Mexico.

Your letter of instructions to Mr. Gallatin has been forwarded by me to the Collector of the Customs at New York, to be forthwith transmitted. Mr. Poinsett's treaty with Mexico has all the articles stipulating the delivery of criminals and fugitive slaves, which Mr. Gallatin thinks may be objected to. We shall have an opportunity, by the reference of the Mexican Treaty to the Senate, of ascertaining their views in relation to these subjects, and, probably, in season to give further instructions to Mr. Gallatin, before the termination of his negotiation.

I think that, unless some unforeseen emergency should indispensably require my return to Washington earlier, I shall be there between the 15th and 20th of next month, about ten days later than I have, until recently, expected.

## LORD GAMBIER TO MR. CLAY.

IVER GROVE, September 20, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Edward Thomson, the son of an esteemed and intimate friend of mine, being about to proceed to the State of South Carolina, will pass a little time at Washington, on his way from New York. I beg your permission to introduce him to your countenance and protection. You will find him, should he have the honor of presenting himself to you, to be an intelligent, well-informed young man, of most respectable character, and worthy of your notice. Any friendly office that you may please to honor him with, will be very gratifying and obliging to me.

I was happy to hear, from my nephew, Mr. Charles Gambier, who visited Washington the beginning of the present year, of your health and well-being. Most cordially do I wish you a continuance of the same, with the addition of every other blessing that may conduce to your present and everlasting happiness; being, my dear sir, with unfeigned esteem and regard, your faithful friend.

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## DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, October 13, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—The subject of the recent British order is exciting some little attention, as you will have observed, in the commercial cities, and there are those, doubtless, who would embrace this, as they would any opportunity, to find fault.

Mr. Lloyd has probably written you in regard to it. He feels more than a common share of interest on the occasion, as he recommended negotiation in preference to meeting the English proposition by an act of Congress. It may be well, perhaps, that some little statement, made at Washington, would appear, for the satisfaction of the public. I would not intimate that there is, in this part of the country at least, any dissatisfaction; but I see attempts are making, in New York and other places, to produce an impression that the national interests have, in this instance, been overlooked.

As to the general course of political affairs, we have nothing of much interest in this quarter. Our elections take place next



month. In some districts there may be personal changes, but nobody will be proposed on the ground of opposition, nor any body chosen who is suspected, on good grounds, of being inclined to join the opposition. Some few, perhaps, may be chosen, who profess friendship, and who will yet fly off on the first, and on every close question, according to the example of last winter. But, on the whole, the great majority from this quarter will be well inclined, and steady in their course. The Jackson paper in this city (for we have also a Jackson paper), seems to occupy itself at present very much with Mr. Everett. Mr. Everett, however, is likely to be re-elected with great unanimity. I think, my dear sir, without intending a compliment, that your speech at Lewisburg has done real service. It was happy and excellent, even for you, both in matter and manner. We all rejoice here—I mean all who do not fear that you were born to prevent General J. from being President—in the improvement of your health; and you must allow me to express my most anxious and earnest hope that you will not overwork yourself the ensuing session and winter. What can not be done without the sacrifice of your health must be left undone, at whatever expense or hazard. I have often thought of suggesting to you one practice, if you have not already adopted it, which I have found very useful myself, when my own little affairs have occasionally pressed me; that is, the constant employment of an amanuensis. The difference between writing at the table and dictating to another, is very great. The first is tedious, exhausting, debilitating labor; the last may be done while you are pacing a large room, and enjoying in that way the benefit of an erect posture, and a healthy exercise. If I were you I would not touch a pen, except to write my frank. Make the clerks do all that clerks can do, and for the rest dictate to an amanuensis. I venture to say, that if you once get accustomed to this, you will find your labor greatly lightened.

I have had the pleasure of hearing from several Kentucky and Ohio friends during the summer; and have had much gratification in learning the favorable state of opinion in those important states. The only incident to be regretted much, in the West, is the loss of Cook's election. His friends must remember him, and sustain him, in some public service, according to his merits.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 28, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. BROWN who is in the city, Mr. Gallatin, whom I had the pleasure to see for two days, give you French and English news, with the reports from other parts of Europe. I have therefore very little to say, and what should I say but that the British and the Continental Cabinets are patching up every gap from which liberty and equality might pop out on this side of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the public mind is making slow progress, and at the end of a chapter, too long I fear, things will definitely come to rights.

I have given the President an account of my conversation, sought on their part with the last commissioners, from Hayti to this Government, the main point of which was to tell me that one of the American objections to the acknowledgment of their independence, might easily be removed, as they might even now assure you that the privileges complained of as a kind of vassalage, were not, at any rate, to last more than the time fixed for the payment of the stipulated money.

Permit me to inclose a letter to the President, containing the application of a lady, a packet for Mr. Graham, relating to my landed concerns, and one to my dear friends Fanny and Camilla Wright, the elder of whom had but lately recovered from a very alarming fever. I would much like to have your opinion of their philanthropic experiment.

I beg you to present my best respects to Mrs. Clay and family, to remember me to our friends, particularly Governor Barbour to whom I will have the pleasure to write by the next packet. Here is the copy of a letter I have received from General Bolivar. It has been published in France, as well as my letter from Washington, at the request of M. Madrid, the Colombian agent to this Government.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have occasion for all possible indulgence from my friends, on account of my irregularity in acknowledging and answering their esteemed favors. They will do me great

wrong, if, in any case, they attribute my silence to insensibility to the value of their letters. I perceive from yours of the 7th inst., that you feel that I had neglected answering some of your prior letters. I must plead guilty, and ask for mercy. I am glad to learn that the message takes well at Richmond, or rather, that it is only objected to because it is without fault. Political prospects are good every where, to the North, East and West, and I think less gloomy in the South. In Kentucky, an Adams representative has been sent from one of the two Jackson districts, vacated by the death of their members, and my confidence in the support of that State to the administration, and in the reelection of Mr. Adams is entire. In Pennsylvania, the Governor comes out in his message in support of the administration, and sanctioning the late election of President. In New York, the great body of both parties is with us, and I verily believe that if the electoral law should even remain unaltered, Mr. Adams will obtain every vote.

I invite your attention to the documents (of which I will forward a copy by the mail), concerning the colonial question. I think we have put Great Britain unquestionably in the wrong.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have yielded to the wish that I should write in behalf of Mr. Taylor, but a great deal too much weight is attributed to my recommendation, and I fear that the bank will hardly be prevailed on to deviate from their practice of sending out a cashier educated under their own eye.

From all recent indications at Richmond, we are to conclude that Mr. Ritchie has succeeded in putting a majority of the General Assembly in the honor of a permanent opposition to the general administration. I regret it extremely, not more on our account here, than on that of Virginia herself. It is consoling that every where else, things are going well, and the final issue is perfectly certain. Mr. McKinley, the new Senator lately elected in Alabama, is believed to have brought with him good dispositions toward the Administration. In that branch of Congress where it was weakest, it is now entirely safe.

## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, December 29, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—After having passed a very pleasing summer in this rural abode, we have been lately afflicted with a sad calamity, the death of Louis Lasteyrie (husband to my daughter Virginia, and father to four children), whom we have lost after a cruel illness of two months. You are but too well acquainted with the feelings of family mournings, and will sympathize in our regrets. The so very strange murder of Doctor Brown has given me much pain, not only from motives of friendship to his brother and other relations, but on account of my personal acquaintance with him and his amiable family.

You are now in the midst of Congressional debates. I much wish they may relax of the unusual bitterness that has marked the last session. The choice of Mr. Poinsett to the Congress of Panama has afforded me great pleasure, as he well knows the concerns of South America and Mexico, including those of Guatimala, and will be a good adviser of the Republican measures, as well as a guardian against European influence. How do you find Mr. Canning's assertion in the British Parliament that he, Mr. Canning, has called to existence the new Republics of the American hemisphere? when it is known by what example, what declaration, and what feelings of jealousy the British Government has been dragged into a slow, gradual, and conditional recognition of that independence.

Gallant Greece is still struggling against the Ottomans and Egyptians; whatever has been the revolutionary tone of the British prime-minister, and in spite of the counter-revolutionary ultraism in France and Spain, it is well understood between all Governments in Europe, that a general commotion might carry them on a ground not very favorable to the interests of aristocracy and despotism; so that as long as they can keep the nations within the bounds of ancient institutions, or at best, of old and new octroyed charters, they will ever ultimately find means to patch up every political question that may annoy European slumbers.

Among the several publications relative to Lagrange and its inhabitants, which I have found in the papers of the United States, there is one that I am prompted to notice, as you will have, at Washington, frequent opportunities to contradict it

The writer, with a kind intention, I don't doubt, but under a complete mistake, asserts that I am assailed by Americans in Europe, with demands for money. Happy I would be, to be sure, of an opportunity to oblige friends in distress. But those opportunities have not been offered.

Be pleased, my dear friend, to present me very affectionately to Mrs. Clay, your family, the President, Mrs. Adams and family, your colleagues in the cabinet, General Brown, Commodore Morris, General Bernard, Mr Graham, and all other friends at Washington. Be pleased also to take care of the inclosed letter, and believe me forever your affectionate friend.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.\*

ON BOARD THE STEAMBOAT, NEAR YORK TOWN, October 18, 1824.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your kind congratulations and affectionate letter are new testimonies of those sentiments which I am proud and happy to have obtained from you, and which are most cordially reciprocated. I am now on my way to the anniversary meeting at York Town, and shall from there proceed to Norfolk, Richmond, Monticello, Montpelier, and again to Washington, where I intend to await the meeting of Congress. It is my fond determination to visit the Southern and Western States, and I anticipate the pleasure to find myself under your friendly roof at Ashland. But it can not now be before I have met you at Washington, where every motive of propriety, respect, and gratitude demand my early visit to the members of both Houses, whose unanimous invitation has called me to the most honorable and gratifying enjoyments in which the human heart can delight. I am happy to think that the time is not far removed when I shall have the pleasure to present you in person the expression of my high regard and most sincere affection. My son desires his sincere acknowledgments and respects to you.

\* This letter, from Lafayette, was mislaid, and is out of its proper place as to date.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1827.

#### DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

JANUARY 1, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—After company went out last night, and I had packed up my trunk, I sat down and read your letter through. Probably, I should have voted against any further publication; but I am now fully satisfied this will do good. The statement is clear, and the evidence irresistible. I am satisfied, upon my conscience, that the whole business originated with General J. himself; whether through mistake, or from intention, I do not say.

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#### MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 26, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 24th instant. You will have since seen the late Convention with England, which has been communicated to Congress, and published. A great and somewhat general mistake has prevailed in respect to the extent of the claim which existed on Great Britain, on account of slaves, and other property, taken away or destroyed. The claim, on the part of American citizens, arises out of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, which stipulates, "All territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war, or which may be taken after signing this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other public property, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications

of this treaty, or any slaves, or other private property." The parties differed about the meaning of this clause, and referred their dispute to the Emperor Alexander. He decided it in favor of the United States, and a Tripartite Convention was concluded at St. Petersburg, to give effect to this decision. The mixed commission (composed of Messrs. Jackson and Cheves), was created to execute that commission; but they could not agree, and the late Convention, by which the United States agree to accept, in behalf of the claimants, a gross sum, was substituted to the commission.

Now it is evident, from this narrative, that the new Convention could only provide for that class of complainants who were comprehended in the first article of the Treaty of Ghent. Government, in fact, was only an agent or trustee for that class. If you go back beyond the Treaty of Ghent, perhaps one class of persons who had their property taken away or destroyed, during the late war, has as much equity as another. But the treaty did not provide for any but one class. To that limited extent, Great Britain has always been dissatisfied with the stipulation and the interpretation put upon it. Government, now, can do no more than see that the class provided for shall have the benefit of a most fortunate provision made for them in the treaty. It can not undertake to divide a fund, intended exclusively for that class, among those who are, unfortunately, not comprehended in the Treaty of Ghent. If it were to go out of the treaty, where would be the stopping-place?

A board will probably be created by Congress, during the present session, but its duty will be restricted to a fair execution of the Treaty of Ghent, the Imperial decision, and the late Convention. The average value fixed by the mixed commission, and the definitive list sent to it from the Department of State, in pursuance of the Convention at St. Petersburg, will govern the new Board; and it will belong to that to decide, under the limitations stated, upon all cases thus presented to it, and upon the sufficiency of the evidence by which they are made out.

Should there be a surplus in the fund, Congress alone possesses the power to dispose of it.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I send by this mail the copies of the British Acts of Parliament desired.

It is a subject of deep regret with me (and I beg you to say so to Governor Tyler) that his friendly letter to me, on the occasion of my vote in the House of Representatives, on the late Presidential election, should have been used to assail or annoy him. In any casual allusion which I ever made to that letter, it was far from my intention that it should have been made instrumental to his prejudice. The truth is, that it is one of a hundred similar letters which I received, about the period of its date, from all quarters of the Union, and from some of the most distinguished men in it. I have heard that the letter was inadvertently (and certainly with no unfriendly purpose toward the Governor) spoken of by a Mr. Clarke, a lawyer of Winchester who had been, a few days before, with me, and to whom I expressed, what I certainly felt, much gratification with his election and stated that I had the satisfaction to believe that Governor Tyler did justice to the motives which had influenced me on the above memorable occasion, as he had addressed to me, at the time, a letter couched in the most friendly terms. I understand that Mr. Clarke incidentally spoke of this conversation, not recollecting that a printer was by, who felt himself at liberty to make the matter a topic in his next paper.

Whether it was in this way or not that it got out, I can not tell. It may have been in some other manner; for there is an espionage prevailing which spares no privacy, and which, unless checked, must destroy all confidence.

Tell the Governor that he must not take the matter much at heart; to recollect how much I have borne, and with what philosophy and fortitude. Tell him, moreover, that we shall certainly prevail, and that I do not even despair of our native State. When he comes here, no one entertains the idea that he will renounce any of the great principles of his public action, and least of all, that by which he judges of men and things as they are, and not as passion, party, or prejudice may represent them.



## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—The volume of the British Acts of Parliament, containing those which General Taylor desires, is in possession of the clerk of the House of Representatives. We have not been able to get it back, and I fear may not in time for the use of the General. But if I can regain it, I will send it by mail for his use.

I do not wish you to write to Governor Tyler. It will do to speak to him when you see him. I should regret very much if he feels hurt about the letter. I can only repeat, that any allusion which I made to it in conversation was far from any design to prejudice him, or any expectation that it should get into the public prints. I hope, on the other hand, that he has not permitted himself to attribute to me the violation of any confidential correspondence. His letter had nothing confidential in it. It was public in its nature, public topics were treated of, and it was addressed to a public man. It was spontaneous, and therefore more prized by me. We have no news.

## PORTER CLAY\* TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, February 22, 1827.

DEAR BROTHER,—Your favor of the 3d instant came to hand in due time, and I heartily thank you for the valuable inclosures, particularly your speech before the Colonization Society. Your views upon that subject have my most hearty concurrence, and I pray Almighty God may bless the institution with his approbation, and make it the means of extending the light of his glorious Gospel into that benighted land; that Ethiopia may stretch out her hands to God, and the isles of the sea be made to rejoice in the fullness of his free salvation. You are right when you say that “God may convert that which has been our great sin into an extensive blessing to that people”—not that we should be encouraged to do evil that grace may abound; God forbid: for how then should God judge the world? But that we through his all-wise providence should get to himself a revenue of glory by that which in us was originally wicked.

\* Mr. Clay's brother, a Baptist minister, since dead.

## JAMES MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, March 24, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—After your kind offer, I make no apology for inclosing another letter, which I wish to have the advantage of a conveyance from the Department of State. Its object is to obtain from Mr. Gallatin a small service for our university, and that with as little delay as may be.

While I was charged with the Department of State, the British doctrine against a neutral trade with belligerent ports, shut in peace and open in war, was examined at some length, and the examination published in a stout pamphlet. I have been applied to by several friends for a copy, which I could not furnish, nor do I know that they are attainable, unless obsolete copies should remain in the Department. If this be the case, I should be thankful for the means of complying with the application.

Mrs. Madison joins in offering to Mrs. Clay and yourself assurances of cordial regards and best wishes.

## HENRY CLAY JR. TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, March 27, 1827.

DEAR FATHER,—Since I last heard from you, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, with Margaret Ross, have been here. They remained but a day or two, and seemed delighted with the place. From them I learned that you were well, and that Theodore is going as a bearer of dispatches to the Congress of Panama, likewise, that it is your intention to visit Kentucky some time in May, but they do not inform me whether my mother goes with you or not. Should you come to the determination of leaving Washington, I should be extremely happy to see you here. The lakes will then be open, and will afford you a speedy and pleasant route. Worthington will be very little out of your way, and by calling, you will gratify James. \* \* \*

## MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I am glad to learn from your letter, dated at Wheeling, that you had safely advanced so far on your journey. I will attend to your wish about the note to your speech, so far

as it is practicable. Since you left us, the city has been very quiet. From Albany, our friends write in a tone of confidence, as to ultimate success, about which, I think, they can hardly be mistaken. The developments of the "Intelligencer" have produced great effect in that quarter, and from other parts of Pennsylvania than those which you visited, our information still runs in a favorable current. They tell this anecdote of Buchanan. At a tavern in Harrisburg, where he was electioneering, he remarked that he "had heard much of changes from Jackson to Adams, but could see nobody that had changed." A member of the Legislature, from Meadville, who was present, replied, "Yes, sir, here are eleven members of the Legislature, all of whom were the friends of General Jackson, and now are the friends of Mr. Adams. And I will tell you why—because the administration is right, and the opposition have been defeating the best measures."

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ALBERT GALLATIN TO MR. CLAY.

LONDON, May 3, 1827.

SIR,—Mr. Colquhoun, the agent of the Hanse Towns in London, called on me yesterday, and informed me that the city of Frankfort having given her consent to that measure, the Hanse Towns had appointed Mr. Rumph their Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, special minister to the United States, with power to negotiate a treaty of commerce, that he had accepted, and intended to sail from Havre for America, in the middle of August.

Mr. Colquhoun also said that he was charged by the city of Hamburg, to obtain from me a communication of the answer I might receive from my Government, to the note of Mr. Sieveking, which I had transmitted at his request. I said that, having informed that gentleman that I had no authority or instructions on that subject, he had sent me this note in question, as an unofficial paper, that I had transmitted it as such, and that, under these circumstances, I did not think it probable that an answer would be made by my Government to that communication. The Government of the Hanse Towns is very economical; the sending a minister abroad, is for them an extraordinary measure, and as three months will elapse before Mr. Rumph's intended de-

parture, I suppose they would wish to know whether there is a reasonable prospect of his succeeding.

It appeared to me, from the general tenor of the conversation, that not only are the Hanse Towns anxious of concluding a treaty of commerce with the United States, on account of its immediate advantages, but that they believe that it will have a tendency to increase the consideration in which they are held, and to strengthen the tenure on which they hold their situation of independent Republics. I said, of course, nothing that could commit my Government, but adverted in general to the liberal commercial policy adopted by the United States, and to their friendly disposition and feelings toward the free commercial cities of Germany. It is not probable that you will have any difficulty with them, as relates to either commerce or navigation, as generally understood. But you are undoubtedly aware that they are very narrow and selfish, as regards merchants residing within their own precincts, and that they may be unwilling to grant to citizens of the United States, who might be desirous of forming commercial establishments in any of those cities, the same privileges which foreign merchants indiscriminately enjoy, in common with our own citizens in the ports of the United States where they reside.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, May 25, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I took the liberty of sending you a few days ago, a copy of some speeches, etc., of mine, which have been recently published in Philadelphia, and which I hope you will have safely received.

Have you read the accounts about the execution of the six militia-men at Mobile, early in 1814? I think the Nashville Committee are entitled to the public thanks for bringing that matter to light. I had a vague impression about it, but I had really put it in the large class of doubtful reports. The Committee have undeceived me; and I think if they favor the public with many more similar disclosures, they will serve most effectually the cause they have espoused. What has become of the eloquent pen of Algernon Sidney? I think the case of

these poor deluded militia-men furnishes a theme on which it might be employed with as much instruction and benefit as when it was formerly exercised with such powerful influence.

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## MR. CLAY TO COLONEL RUTGERS.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—Long accustomed to regard you as one of the fathers of the Republican church, to which we both belong, I hope I shall be excused from that circumstance, if I am not authorized by our acquaintance, in taking the liberty of addressing this letter to you.

You have felt too deep an interest and had too much agency in the public affairs of our country to admit of your beholding with indifference what is now passing, or to allow you to forbear from giving, while you are spared among us, the benefit of your matured counsels. And I am greatly mistaken in the estimate I have made of your judgment and character, if you can approve the conduct of the opposition to the General Administration, or the object, or the means which they are employing to accomplish that object, of supplanting Mr. Adams and electing General Jackson.

During the administration of the father of our present Chief Magistrate, I was too young and too poor to take any part in the public councils; but I, nevertheless, had very decided opinions, to which I gave all the effect I could in private circles, against some of the prominent measures of that administration, and what I believed to be its tendency, if not the ultimate aim of some of its principal supporters. But I could not allow myself to transfer my dislike of the Administration of the father to the person and public character of the son, who, I firmly believe, after an acquaintance with him of more than twenty years, to be sincerely attached to our free institutions, and to the general cause of liberty. When, therefore, the only alternative presented, on a late occasion, to my choice in the House of Representatives, was between him and General Jackson, who appeared to me to possess no other than military pretensions, I could not doubt the side on which duty and safety lay. Far from regretting the choice which I then made, I should make it again, under similar circumstances, and I must ever think that the election

of General Jackson at that or any other time, would be a most unfortunate event for this country. I accepted a place in the Administration from a full conviction that it was a duty I owed myself, after the flagitious attacks made upon me, one object of which was to intimidate me, and under the unanimous advice of all my Congressional friends.

If there be one characteristic which, more than any other, distinguishes the Republican party, and of which, more than any other, they may be justly proud, it is their devotion to liberty and to the guarantees for its preservation which experience and reason demonstrate to be necessary. Does not the history of all nations and of all times prove, that the greatest danger to freedom is from mere military men? With this light before them, can the Republican party, if they are faithful to their own principles, and desirous to perpetuate to their posterity that liberty which they themselves enjoy, lend themselves to the election of a chief magistrate, who possesses no other qualification than that of being a successful military commander? I thought they could not, and yet believe that they can not.

It would be a great satisfaction to me to find that the opinions which I have now expressed receive your approbation. But whether I am so fortunate or not, I hope you will do justice to my motives in communicating them, and in addressing you at the present period, and at the same time be fully persuaded that I have the greatest respect and veneration for your character.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 2d instant. You ask me if I am going to Kentucky soon, and if I can be spared. I am compelled by my private business, and particularly by that of the estate of my deceased friend, Colonel Morrison, of which I am the only acting executor, to go to Kentucky, and I shall leave this city for that purpose on the 10th instant. It is my intention to return by the 1st of August. I shall leave the business of the Department in such condition, that I do not believe that any prejudice to the public will arise from my absence.

## RICHARD RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just read Lord Grey's speech, and can not resist the desire I have to send it to you. You will recognize in it sentiments I have expressed as regards Mr. Canning and the new States. If Earl Grey had been better informed, he would have said that it was you who did most to call them into being. I say this in no idle spirit of praise, having always, abroad and at home, expressed the opinion that, next to their own exertions, the South Americans owe to you more than to any other man in either hemisphere, their independence, you having led the way to our acknowledgment of it. This is truth; this is history. Without our acknowledgment, England would not have taken the step to this day. This is my belief. I give Mr. Canning no credit for the part he acted. It was forced upon him by our lead, which he never had the magnanimity to avow, but strove to claim all the merit for England, or rather for himself. He esteems civil and political liberty no more than Lord Londonderry did, though circumstances have made him appear to be somewhat more their champion. That our public should be inclined to rejoice at Mr. Canning's present triumph, is, I think, the effect of his character not being understood among us. Certainly, as regards the United States, he has been, of all British statesmen, the least disposed to do us justice; yes, truly, the least of any that ever we have had to deal with, without a single exception. Forgetting, if we can, all that he has said of us, let us take his acts; for was it not he who disavowed Erskine's arrangement, which, had it been sanctioned in England, might have prevented a war? Was it not he who in 1823 infused the unfriendly tone into that long negotiation at London, almost refusing to listen to nine out of ten of our claims, obviously just as most of them were? And was it not he, who, in 1826, most abruptly closed the West India trade against us, upon pretexts the most unexpected and flimsy? I could make the list longer, but that I should make too long a letter of it, having intended to do nothing more than send you Lord Grey's speech. I know how high you rate his speeches. Mr. Canning never liked the United States or their institutions, and never will, his Liverpool speech, and the conclusion of his late dispatch, not-

withstanding. He will watch all our steps with a sharper and more active jealousy than perhaps any other English statesman living. Of all their public men, we have the least to expect from him.

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HENRY CLAY JR. TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, June 24, 1827.

DEAR FATHER,—I arrived here last Thursday, the 21st, and have already been examined, and, I am glad to add, have been admitted. Yesterday we came into camp, and I am now in my tent, sitting on my knapsack and writing on my chair. I am better pleased than ever with the Academy. I was well received by the officers on my return, and now start with the prospect of success hereafter—am delighted with the hardships accompanying a military life, but still give the civil the preference. My duties will prevent my writing more, although I had intended to have written a long letter concerning the discipline and course of study in use here. Give my respects to all my relations and friends. Tell Cousin Nannette that I am daily expecting an answer to my letter which was written before I left Washington.

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BARON DE MAREUIL TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, June 30, 1827.

SIR,—At the moment when I am about to depart, permit me to add to my official communications of this day, some more particular expression of the sentiments which I bear away with me, and the better part of which is assured to you. I have often regretted that conversation was not more easy between us, being persuaded of the interest and pleasure which you would have been able to throw over it, and eager as I would have been to make myself understood in those things of which the pen can not treat, but in which the heart and spirit may find satisfaction. I hope, however, that I may not have been misunderstood by you, and that I have made an impression upon you akin to that which you have left on me.

The extensive and beautiful tour which I have just finished has much increased my admiration of North America. I have



regretted that I was not at Black Rock, and that I was unable to deliver, in person, to General and Mrs. Porter, the recommendations with which you honored me. Madame Mareuil begs that Mrs. Clay will be pleased to accept her adieus and compliments. I venture to add my homage, and to beg, Sir, that you will accept, at the same time, with my thanks for the welcome treatment which I received from you during my residence in Washington, the assurance of the invariable sentiments of high consideration which I have professed for you.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, July 24, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your reply to General Jackson's letter is admirable, and has been most favorably received every where, at least on this side the Alleghany. It places the General in a position where he can not remain. He must move, in some direction; and, whatever movement he makes, will either embarrass his friends, or still more embarrass himself. I have a suspicion that the respectable member of Congress is Mr. Buchanan. If this should turn out so, it will place him in an awkward situation, since, it seems, he did recommend a bargain with your friends, on the suspicion that such a bargain had been proposed to them on the part of the friends of Mr. Adams. I am curious to see how this matter will develop itself.

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FRANKLIN LITCHFIELD TO MR. CLAY.

PUERTO CABELLO, COLOMBIA, July 30, 1827.

SIR,—I do myself the pleasure to transmit to you a case, containing the bust of President Bolivar, which is a most perfect likeness of this great South American statesman. This is the first copy ever taken of him in this style, and was lately executed by an Italian, at the city of Caracas, and I beg of you to accept the same in my name, as a token of respect for your disinterested and patriotic eloquence, displayed on the floor of Congress, in defense of the rights and independence of the native country of this distinguished liberator. Mr. Royal Phelps, Jr., is charged with the delivery of said bust, in person, and if you

have no objections, I have requested him to have a portrait painting taken from it, *in oleo*, by one of our first artists. I have also requested Mr. Phelps to make several inquiries of you relating to my consular duties, and beg of you the favor to communicate to him your views frankly.

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SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD TO MR. CLAY.

WAYNESBOROUGH, August 8, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—You have set the whole world in commotion—never did one speech produce such an effect. It meets almost universal approbation, and with the wise and good there is no exception. I think they praise it too much, good as it is—a little envy, you know, is sometimes pardonable. I am informed that General J. has given an answer to your letter—shall see it in the morning at Staunton. It is said to be mild, and to give up B. as the man.

I am satisfied that a rapid change is taking place in this State, and my hopes that even Virginia will be with us have been confirmed; they grow stronger every day. I find many men with us whom I looked upon as aliens. You may depend that I shall endeavor to encourage the process which is going on. Can not you give me some good news at the White Sulphur?

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, August 12, 1827.

These few lines, my dear friend, are intrusted to Mrs. Shaw, a daughter of General Greene, and Mrs. Greene, her niece and cousin, who have passed with us most of the time of their sojourn in Europe, and who have inspired my family and myself with the sentiments of highest respect, warm affection, and every wish for their welfare. Mrs. Shaw will go to Washington, in pursuit of a claim on British compensation, and I beg you to favor her with your kind advice; both ladies, as our intimate friends, will tell you more about Lagrange and its inhabitants than I could do in a long letter. I have written to the President about my family and election concerns; Mr. Brown gives you

an account of public affairs. I shall therefore content myself with requesting my respects to Mrs. Clay, remembrance of me to your family, colleagues, and other friends, being most truly and affectionately, etc.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor from Waynesborough. I should be very glad if I could participate with you and Mr. Southard in the pleasure and benefit of the Springs. My health is, however, not bad.

I hope you are not mistaken in the good effect of my Lexington speech. Mr. Buchanan has presented his communication to the public; and although he evidently labors throughout the whole of it to spare and cover General Jackson, he fails in every essential particular to sustain the General. Indeed, I could not desire a stronger statement from Mr. Buchanan. The tables are completely turned upon the General. Instead of any intrigues on my part and that of my friends, they were altogether on the side of General Jackson and his friends. But I will leave the statement to your own reflections. I directed a copy to be inclosed yesterday to Mr. Southard. It must confirm any good impression produced by my speech.

Tell Mr. Southard that his children are much better, and that he need not entertain any fear about them.

With my best wishes that you may both realize much benefit from the mineral waters.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON, August 19, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have only imperfect accounts from some of the Congressional districts in Kentucky. These authorize the belief that Metcalf, Trimble, and Clarke are re-elected. And so far as I learn, the Administration tickets have generally prevailed in their districts. Captain Byers appears to have declined, and Beatty and Morris were elected without any great struggle. The inclosed letter from Mr. Robertson, late

Speaker of the House of Representatives, on his return home from Harrisburg, would justify the hope that Mr. Crittenden is elected, and Mr. Walton defeated by the Administration candidate in his district; but I do not think we ought yet to count upon these auspicious results.

The city has been extremely hot since you left us; but, for the last two days, the heat has been tempered by misty weather. I think you have made a lucky escape. I should find it very lonesome, if the occupations of business did not constantly engage me.

My best respects to Mrs. Johnston; and I pray you also to communicate them to Mr. and Mrs. Madison, and to Mrs. Cutts.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, August 22, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—My letter to Colonel Johnson was not important, and the delay in its transmission is of no moment.

You speak very modestly of recent events, in which you have borne so distinguished and so successful a part. I can not think General Jackson will ever recover from the blow which he has received. Your speech at Lexington, in point of merit, as a clear and well stated argument, is certainly at the head of all your efforts; and its effects on public opinion have not been exceeded by those of any political paper, I may almost say, within my recollection. Buchanan is treated too gently. Many persons think his letter candid. I deem otherwise. It seems to me he has labored very hard to protect the General, as far as he could without injury to himself. Although the General's friends this way, however, affect to consider Buchanan's letter as supporting the charge, it is possible the General himself, and the Nashville Committee may think otherwise, and complain of Buchanan. I should expect this, with some confidence, if they received the letter a little earlier than they may have seen the turn which the Atlantic editors have attempted to give it. As these last have pretty generally agreed to say that the letter does support the General, the Nashville commentators, if they see the example in season, may be disposed to follow it. I do not yet learn what answer comes from that quarter to your speech.

## R. P. LETCHER TO MR. CLAY.

LANCASTER, August 27, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 9th instant came to hand last night. The one by Mr. A., I received a few days since by private hand, from the county of Harlan. With your letter of the 9th, Mr. Buchanan's response to the hero was received. This answer is well put together. As they say, in Connecticut, "there is a great deal of good reading" in Buck's reply. It is modest and genteel, yet strong and conclusive. I am truly delighted with the manner in which B. has acquitted himself. I really feared and believed he was placed in such a dilemma, by the General, that he could not extricate himself with any sort of credit. But he has come forth victoriously. I am greatly gratified with the result, and must believe it will have a happy effect upon the Presidential election. It is impossible it should turn out otherwise. Virginia, after this, will not—can not support the General. I never had the least hope of Virginia until now.

I presume Buck's reply supersedes the necessity of any reference to the conversation in my room. I am glad of it.

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 MR. CLAY TO MR. ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, August 30, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday your letter of the 23d instant. After its date you must have received other dispatches from the Department of State, transmitted by Mr. Gallatin. From them you will perceive that he did not take the two points, proposed by the British plenipotentiaries, for reference to his Government, but for his own consideration (see his dispatch No. 87), and that he afterward decided to reject them, and gave to the British plenipotentiaries two written arguments, one relating to the point respecting the Commercial Convention, and the other to that respecting the North-western Boundary (see his dispatch No. 88). In this state of the case the matter stands. It does not appear that the British plenipotentiaries had, in consequence of that determination of Mr. Gallatin, refused to renew the Convention of 1818; but that, on the contrary, they had again taken the subject of the North-western Boundary into consideration. So the affair, I understand, was left on the 14th of July, 1827, when

Mr. Huskisson was compelled, by indisposition, to withdraw from the negotiation. It was expected that Mr. Grant would be substituted for him (see Mr. Gallatin's dispatch No. 96).

Under these circumstances, shall I instruct Mr. Gallatin to accede to the British demands on the two points referred to? I shall await your further directions, founded on the dispatches which must have been received by you subsequent to the date of your letter. Shall I confer with the other members of the Administration who may be here?

I am inclined to think that the British Government may waive both points. I should be sorry that the negotiation should break off on these points, but there will be still another year to go upon. As to the discrimination between rolled and hammered iron, I am inclined to think the weight of the argument is with the British; but Congress has at least twice decided otherwise. You will recollect Mr. Baldwin's argument, which, however, I think, was refuted by that of Mr. S. Canning.

On the other point, we should, by consenting to the restraint which the British Government wishes to impose against our military occupation of any part of the territory on the north-west coast, come into direct collision with the House of Representatives. What shall we lose if that part of the Convention is not renewed? What danger shall we encounter? None, unless from our own acts. What shall we gain by the renewal with the British modification? What danger avoid? None. We shall only have tied those hands by a treaty, which we may keep still without it. And it will be the Executive who will have co-operated in fastening the hands of Congress.

I do not think that we ought to be hastening any settlements beyond the Rocky Mountains. We ought to do nothing more, in my opinion, there than may be necessary to preserve our rights for posterity.

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MR. BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

BARBOURVILLE, August 30, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—The inclosed paper was delivered me yesterday by a servant, who immediately disappeared on its delivery; so that I know not from whom it comes.\* Yet the information it

\* Mr. Clay endorses the envelope thus: "Supposed to be from T. J. R." The result will be found on pages 174, 175.

contains, and the anxiety manifested by the writer, induce me to transmit it by the earliest opportunity afforded by the mail.

Mad as R—— is, I can scarcely believe he will move in the subject. But surely you can have no difficulty in deciding, should he do so, to treat his call with contempt.

If you have any thing new, let me hear from you.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Wednesday Morning, August 28.

DEAR SIR,—I should be wanting in common gratitude toward Mr. Clay, for the interest evinced by him in Mrs. Randolph, if I did not make every endeavor to apprise him in time of a piece of news which came to my ears yesterday afternoon.

I happened to go to Charlottesville, and there heard of the piece in the "National Journal," and that Colonel Randolph had left there, intending to take the Richmond stage of yesterday afternoon, on his way to Washington, determined that he would make Mr. Clay fight him. He was exceedingly exasperated, and, as you know, is capable of any violence.

The northern stage had already been gone several hours, when this news was communicated to me, and my first impression was that Colonel Randolph had gone in that. After a good deal of painful perplexity in endeavoring to fix on a course which would reconcile my duty, as a member of this family, to Mr. Clay, with necessary secrecy (for were it ever to come to his ears, or even suspicion, that I had taken this step, the consequence would be an immediate explosion against me), I determined on riding down to Barboursville in the night. Having ascertained that you were probably there, and supposing that you could possibly send off a messenger by the same stage, to Mr. Clay.

Having ascertained that he was to go to Washington viâ Richmond, I changed my plan. I inquired at the Post-office how far the northern stage went that night. Came home, wrote a hasty letter to Mr. Clay, inclosed it in one to Mr. Wirt (to avoid having it known in the neighborhood that any letter had been written under such suspicious circumstances to Mr. Clay), on the back of which I desired any one of Mr. Wirt's family to open the letter—sent it off by a confidential servant. This morning he brings me back the letter, with the disheartening intelligence that the stage, instead of stopping for the night at the house

where I was informed at the Post-office that it put up, had left there an hour or two before sunset.

I should myself ride to Barboursville this morning, but for the certainty of this visit becoming known in the neighborhood, and thus bringing on consequences which would, in the present state of the family be deplorable to them, independently of any anxiety which I may, or may not entertain to avoid his ire on my own account.

Were you, sir, in Washington, I should desire you to be on your guard, for you are an object of deadly aversion.

This is written for no eyes or ears but yours and Mr. Clay's. Burn it, if you please, as soon as read.

In great haste, yours with grateful respect,

On second thoughts, I obliterate my name, that you may answer to any inquiries, the letter is anonymous, and also without any date as to place.

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**THOMAS M. RANDOLPH TO MR. CLAY.**

WASHINGTON, September 1, 1827.

SIR,—Upon what I think sufficient ground, I believe that you have, several times since the month of December, 1824, made use of expressions, insulting in their purport, and injurious in their consequences with regard to me.

I believe that by such expressions, and by unjust representations, you occasioned that conduct toward me from the Department of War, which defeated the object of my mission to Florida, last winter.

Lastly, I believe that you are the author of the piece in the "National Journal" of last Saturday, August 25th, in which such abusive language is used toward me.

With respectful feelings I call upon you to declare whether my belief be well-founded, or not, in each of the cases stated.

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**MR. CLAY TO THOMAS M. RANDOLPH.**

WASHINGTON September 1st, 1827.

SIR,—Mr. Wheaton having delivered to me this day a letter from you, in which you have called upon me to declare whether your belief be well-founded or not, in each of the cases therein



stated, I take much pleasure in saying, First, that I have no recollection of having before or since the month of December, 1824, made use of any expressions insulting in their purport, and injurious in their consequences with regard to you; Secondly, that I am fully persuaded you labor under an entire mistake in supposing that, by any expressions or representations of mine, the Department of War was induced to adopt a line of conduct in respect to you which defeated the object of your mission to Florida last winter. I had no agency in your appointment, nor had I any thing to do with the relations which subsequently arose between the Department of War and yourself. I remember to have heard with satisfaction of the appointment about the time it was made, and I assure you that I could not possibly have entertained any other wish in regard to your mission, but that it should have been attended with full success; and, Thirdly, so far from being the author of the piece to which I understand you to refer, in the "National Journal," of the 25th ult. (the piece under the editorial head), I had not even read it, until since I have received your note. The paper is generally left at my house before breakfast, and I do generally throw my eye over it, but the number containing the article in question, was either not left as usual, or was not seen by me.

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MR. CLAY TO GENERAL HARRISON.

WASHINGTON CITY, September 6, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—A speech of Mr. Senator Branch, of North Carolina (of which I transmit you a copy herewith), has been recently published as having been delivered by that gentleman on the occasion of the Senate's confirmation of my nomination to the office which I now hold. It is brought forward to impugn a statement contained in a speech which I delivered in July last, at Noble's, near Lexington. In the course of an argument, which I urged against the improbability of any such overtures having been made, as General Jackson stated himself to have received from my friends, I contended that if they had been received, General Jackson was bound, when, as a Senator of the United States, he was required to act upon the nomination, to have disclosed them to the Senate, and to have moved the ap-

pointment of a Committee of Inquiry ; and that it was especially incumbent on him to have adopted that course, as it did not then appear that any other Senator knew of the alleged overtures. I observed that I had requested a Senator of the United States, when my nomination should be taken up, to ask of the Senate the appointment of such a committee, unless it should appear to him to be altogether unnecessary ; and I added that I was afterward informed, "that when it was acted upon, General Jackson, and every other Senator present, were silent as to the imputations now made ; no one presuming to question my honor or integrity."

Although it can not be regarded as material to the validity of the argument, as urged against General Jackson, whether Mr. Branch did or did not make a speech in opposition to my appointment, I am desirous that in the statement of any matter of fact made by me, even on a collateral or unimportant point, there should be perfect accuracy ; or that, if a mistake has been committed, it should be rectified. You will, I think, recollect, that I desired you, as my friend, with much earnestness, to ask from the Senate the appointment of a Committee of Investigation into Mr. Kremer's charge, if, from the course the nomination should take in the Senate, it should appear to you to be at all necessary ; that you afterward informed me that nothing had occurred to render the appointment of such a committee necessary, and that you had, therefore, forbore to ask it. The Senate acted, as usual, with closed doors, and, consequently, no one was present but the members and the officers of the body. The injunction of secrecy was removed after the decision upon the nomination.

After the publication of my speech at Noble's, upon seeing a statement in some of the public prints that Mr. Branch had addressed some observations to the Senate, in opposition to my nomination, an indistinct recollection occurred to me that you did inform me that no Senator but Mr. Branch had said any thing on the subject of my appointment ; that he made a few remarks, which were but little attended to, and which appeared to produce no impression. I think you did not state, particularly, what they were, for, I am quite sure, if you had mentioned that Mr. Branch had assigned the reasons which he now puts forward, a more distinct and durable impression would have been made on my mind. It would, however, have been too late, at that time, for me to have applied to the Senate for the appoint-

ment of a committee, if I had even thought it to be necessary, as the Senate had finally acted upon the nomination.

My object in addressing this letter to you being to obtain from you a statement, according to your recollection, of the above transactions, so far as you had an agency in them, I shall be very much obliged to you to furnish me with a reply as soon as may be convenient.

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FROM MR. CLAY'S MOTHER, ELIZABETH WATKINS.

WOODFORD, KENTUCKY, September 13, 1827.

MY DEAR SON,—Your kind favor of the 14th of August last, by mail, came safe to hand a few days ago. I feel glad that you have got again to the bosom of your family, and found them all well. Rest assured, my son, I have been a great deal worse since you last saw me than I was when I had the pleasure of seeing you. I am still very low. I can make out to walk across the house with the help of a cane, or some one to help me. I feel to-day somewhat better, having had a good night's rest. My cough is not as bad as it has been. Your aunt Moss is very poorly, and has been for two or three weeks; also, her son Philip is very low; at present, there is very little hope of their recovery. Mr. Blackburn has been very poorly, but is getting better, so that he is able to attend to his business. Your sister is well. As to your brother John, I have not seen him for two weeks; I expect him in a few days; he was quite well when he left me. Mr. Watkins still enjoys his usual health, but much worn out by attending on me, both night and day. Mr. Watkins joins me in love to you and Lucretia, and the rest of the family. Pray, my son, write me when convenient: and that God may bless you all, is the sincere prayer of your mother.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON, September 14, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of yesterday, and thank you for the agreeable intelligence which it communicates. If we can succeed in the coming Maryland elections, in the Delaware election, and in that in the city of Philadelphia, our cause

will again be put in good heart. From Kentucky my late information is more encouraging. The partial defeat in the Congressional elections has aroused our friends, and they think it will ultimately have a good effect. Letcher says he is more confident than ever of our cause prevailing. I think the exultation on the one side, and the depression on the other, will be found to be without any sufficient ground, and that it will be temporary.

I am glad that you conversed with Markley. It may be necessary for him to come out in the end with his statement, though I think that not necessary till we hear from the Hermitage. At the last date I saw from Nashville, Buchanan's statement had just reached there.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 21st instant, with its inclosure. Mr. Southard on his return from the Springs, brought home with him high spirits and good health, and communicated to me all interesting occurrences on his journey. The result of the Kentucky elections, though in some respects to be regretted, ought not to be regarded in the discouraging light in which it is. It should be recollected that they took place before Mr. Buchanan's statement reached the State, and before the extensive circulation of the speech which you and Mr. S. too highly extolled. Many local and other causes had also an inauspicious effect, which it is believed will not operate in future. Notwithstanding all circumstances the Legislature, in both of its branches, is decidedly friendly to the Administration, and of those who actually voted for members of Congress, there is a considerable majority for Mr. Adams. This happened by the Jackson members being elected, in several instances by small majorities, and the Adams, either without competition, or by large majorities. My letters speak with good confidence on the final vote of the State. Mr. Letcher writes that his confidence is greater now than ever.

As to Mr. Ritchie's boastful statement, that is all a *ruse de guerre*. My belief is that Mr. Adams will be re-elected and with ease. I speak of course with all the diffidence which one

ought to feel when expressing himself on such a subject. It is a part of the system of the friends of General Jackson to make demonstrations—speak boldly—claim every body and every State, and carry the election by storm. The circumstance most to be deprecated is that this system has too much success in dispiriting our friends. You ask my opinion as to the project of a convention in Virginia to nominate, in January next, electors for Mr. Adams. It appears to me to be an excellent project, and one that can not fail to have good effect, even if it should not succeed. It will take by its novelty, and it will command respect by its fairness.

There is a great portion (I believe a majority) of the population of Virginia opposed to the domination of the Richmond party. That majority is kept down by the principle of representation, according to territorial division, instead of population. The election of electors is the only election in Virginia in which that principle does not prevail, and in which the decision is according to numbers, without regard to counties. There is reason to believe that the greatest strength of the Administration in Virginia is where there are the greatest numbers, and consequently it will be manifested in the vote for electors. This is, or will be known, and the desire of pulling down the Richmond influence will stimulate many to the greatest exertion, and may operate, in numerous instances, to induce men to discard their preference for General Jackson, in order to defeat the party of the metropolis. In every view of the matter I think it of the first importance to push the plan. You are to have the first meeting, I understand, at Fredericksburg. There should be great exertion to make it respectable. So matters strike me. I thank you for the opportunity of perusing my letter of 4th February, 1825. I think its publication would have good effect. Perhaps it had better be deferred a little while. You could take it with you to Richmond; show it to Pleasants, and he could, at a proper time, publish it by your permission. When published, it ought to be accompanied with the explanation of the first paragraph; that my letter to you of the 28th January, 1825 (the letter referred to in that paragraph) had found its way into the "Enquirer" where it was not correctly represented, owing, no doubt, to the erroneous information of its contents received by the editor; that you wrote to me expressing regret that it had been the subject of newspaper animadversion, and hence my

letter of the 4th February. I return the letter, having retained a copy. Are you coming here, as Southard (now absent) told me was possible? or are you going shortly from home? If you come, pray come at once to my house, where there is always a bed for you. I have been a little indisposed; and I have some thoughts of an excursion of a week or ten days, to get out of the dust of the office and the smoke of the city. I know not whether I shall be able to get off; but if I do, I have a thought of a little tour, first to Harper's Ferry, and then round by Mr. Monroe's, and probably to your house. I beg you not to mention my visit in this respect—first, because I do not know that I can execute it; and second, if I should, I desire to go as much *incog.* as possible.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 10, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—Having accidentally missed the last opportunity to answer your most valued favor, August 10th, I avail myself of the next packet to offer my affectionate thanks, and request, as much as the pressure of business allows it, the very high gratification of your correspondence.

Your diplomatic accounts from Europe have little to say, and although a member of that House, by courtesy, called Representative, I am not the wiser, nor shall I be the more useful for it. A dissolution of the House is much spoken of. The ministry are recording the new electoral lists, in consequence of a late bill mingling the vote of election with the duties of juror, to which, however, some additions have been made. As the public mind is progressing, and several willful errors have been forcibly rectified, a liberal opposition can not fail to be more numerous. The question with Government is, whether they will this year meet a larger minority, with a seven years' new lease, or hereafter risk to have a majority against them, or at least a stronger opposition than that to which, in case of dissolution, they must now submit.

The account of the funeral of Manuel having been indicted before an inferior tribunal, and our speeches on his tomb making a part of the impeachment of the publishers, it became the duty of Messrs. Lafitte, Dechiness, and myself, to claim our share in the trial, which we could not obtain. But a judgment of the

court, very properly and liberally worded, has acquitted the selected objects of the accusation. An appeal from that decision to the Superior Court, has, it is said, taken place.

The intervention of three great powers in the affairs of Greece seems to promise a respite, although it has not prevented the arrival of an Egyptian fleet, and a body of soldiers. There is, however, some good in the notifications made by the French and English admirals, impeding further progress. The mediation has been accepted by the Greeks. The Ottoman Porte hitherto refuses it. So far they oblige the mediators to commit themselves a little more, and, if they are sincere, the Porte must yield at last. It is obvious to every looker-on that those powers are jealous of liberty, of complete emancipation, and jealous of each other. If any body can play the difficult game, it must be Capodistria, who is now on his third station, that of Paris, before he proceeds to the Presidential chair. He unites in his person an exclusive coincidence of happy circumstances. After he has managed those discordant elements, there will be other discordances to be managed at home, for which he also seems to be the proper and exclusive man. Upon the whole, the existence of Greece is rather more secure than it has been of late.

I have received a letter from our friend Poinsett, and can not but observe with him the general and especial attempts that have been lately directed against the peace, harmony, and institutions of the Republican States of South America and Mexico. It is very natural to see the Republican minister of North America a butt to those monarchical and aristocratical factions. That the impression is given from Europe is not, I think, to be questioned. But I have received with deep regret the part of your letter alluding to a man whose glory, great talents, and hitherto experienced patriotism I have delighted to cherish. Several painful informations had reached me, which, all together, and many more beside, could not weigh so much with me as your own sense of the matter. I beg you to continue to write on the subject, and on every matter relative to public concerns, to my friends, and particularly to yourself, who know my old, grateful, and sincere affection.

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 party 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 above-mentioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of a confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple unqualified question respecting your electioneering guests, and your intended vote. Your answer was, that in your opinion, the actual state of the health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, and that you had concluded to vote for Mr. Adams. Such was, if not the literal wording, at least the precise sense of a conversation which it would have been inconsistent for me to carry further and not to keep a secret, while a recollection of it, to assist your memory, I should not now deny, either to you, as my friend, or to any man in a similar situation.

Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay. Remember me to all your family, and to our friends in Washington. I will write by the same packet to the President.

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————— TO MR. CLAY.

[The following proposal to Mr. Clay, from the State of New York, dated October 22, 1827, over a signature which we think proper to suppress, is indorsed in Mr. Clay's hand as follows "I was shocked by the proposal in this letter, and need not say that it was impossible to comply with it."]



What I would now beg leave to suggest for your consideration is, the propriety of addressing me a letter on that subject, of the date of November, 1824, about the time we met to choose electors, and after your return to Washington. It might be so worded as to be in answer to my inquiries on that head, which, with your liberty, I would publish. It would be a knock-down argument against your bitter enemies. It is at you the fatal blow is aimed, and not Mr. Adams; if they succeed against you, they well know that Adams will inevitably fall with you. He would become an easy prey, and could not stand a moment.

I trust you will not be offended at my suggestion, whether you approve or disapprove of it, when I assure you that I am actuated through motives of friendship—a friendship, sir, that can not easily be shaken. Should you think proper to make the communication, it shall be sacred.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 20th inst., and most truly do I participate in the wish which it expresses, that it was practicable for us to have a personal interview.

On the affair of the V. P., it was understood at the last session, that at the one now near at hand the friends of the Administration should bring together and compare the public opinion prevailing in the respective quarters of the country, as to the proper individual to be selected, and that measures should then be adopted to give effect to it. As for myself, I have no wish one way or the other about it, so far as I am personally concerned.

On the subject touched in your letter—the propriety of an address from the Convention about to assemble at Richmond—I concur with you entirely as to its expediency. The occasion calls for it. It will be expected from the enlightened men there assembled. And the public will be disappointed if it be not able, patriotic, and striking. There are so many members of the Convention more competent than I am to suggest what should be its character and its contents, that I will only barely take the liberty of hinting, that it should make a peaceful appeal to the

uniform devotion of Virginia to the cause of human liberty, and to the providing of all possible guarantees of its preservation.

Then I should think you might awaken the magnanimity of Virginia. She has had four Presidents; the North but two.

Is it not her true interest to evince that she is not actuated by selfish ambition?

The influence of Virginia can only be preserved in this Union by numbers or by moral power. The first she has not. The last she has; and what augmentation of it would she not produce, by making the present generation feel, and posterity own, that she had thrown herself into the military crevasse which is letting in a fatal current, threatening to sweep all before it? Should the election of Mr. Adams be secured by the aid of Virginia, to her weight distinctly would it be attributed. She would then be the primary power.

These hints are respectfully suggested. They might be much extended; but I have neither time to enlarge them, or to throw them into the form of a regular composition. I am acquainted with Mr. Semple. He is ardent in the cause, but thinks that he can aid more effectually by indirect than direct exertion

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON, November 26, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—Shortly after my arrival in this city in the fall of 1824, to attend Congress, and before the commencement of the session, I conversed with you freely on the subject of the Presidential election more than once. I think one of these conversations was after I had seen Mr. Crawford, on whom I called the next day after that on which I reached the city. In the course of these conversations I fully expressed to you my views and opinions as to Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford, and General Jackson, and stated for which of them I should vote, if I was called upon to decide between them. I shall be greatly obliged if you would state, in writing, the purport of these conversations, or of any other which I had with you in November or December, 1824, in reference to the Presidential election. It is proper to apprise you that I may make a public use of the statement.\*

\* The answer to this note not being found, was probably published as intimated it might be.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, November 29, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for Mr. Giles' book, and him for writing it. I care not how widely he diffuses my Tariff speech. I believe its principles will stand the test of the severest scrutiny. I hope, however, that General Taylor will now publish his speech. I understood from him that he had come under some promise to do so.

The two parties are beginning to assemble in great numbers, and we shall, doubtless, have a full house on the election of a Speaker. The contest will be close, and if luck did not seem to be running somewhat against us at this particular period, I should say Mr. Taylor will be chosen.

The rumor of the day is that Chilton is elected in Kentucky by twenty-seven votes.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 2d instant. Mr. Sergeant informed me that he would, in answer to a letter from Mr. Call, put your Committee in correspondence with the contemplated convention at Harrisburg, etc. General P. B. Porter, who, as a member of the Legislature, will be at Albany from the first of next month to some time in April, and will be a very suitable person to correspond with. I will obtain some other names hereafter.

We were beaten in the Speaker's election. The truth is, that Mr. Taylor was heavy to carry, and the burden could not be well thrown off. Had some person been run on our side free from the objections applicable to him, the difference would not have been greater than two or three votes, but would still, perhaps, have been against us. Now that the Opposition have obtained the Speaker, I suspect that both he and they are greatly embarrassed as to the use which ought to be made of their triumph. If an opposition complexion is given to the committees, they assume all the responsibility of public measures. If another character is stamped upon them, it will be a virtual admission that no change of measures is desirable.

If any allusion is made in the public prints to Mr. Johnston's favorable opinion of the Panama mission, I hope the fact will be put on incontestible ground.

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MR. RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

DECEMBER 18, 1827.

MY DEAR MR. CLAY,—Your invitation and Mrs. Clay's to your winter evenings, got to my hands this morning, and I have passed it to my wife's. She will be most happy to be with you, as often as in her power. For myself, I am a slave, a very slave, the charter of whose present existence cuts him off from all and every such indulgence, even though tendered by "Your Excellence," as Kit Hughes would say. In truth, I am so galled, so whipped up, so ground down, morning, noon, and night, and night, noon, and morning, by being head overseer, and journeyman too, of the octogenarian department, that I was forced to make a vow and covenant on the first day of the session, not to break bread out of my own house (and miserable brown stuff it is that I break there just now), by day or by night till the session is over, if it lasts till doomsday, and we know that it is to last almost as long. This is a hard fate to undergo, and for one who likes good cheer, and has always been accustomed to it, moderately at least; yet it is to be my fate without mitigation, unless perchance I should ever break its bonds by darkening the threshold, once in awhile, of "our worthy little master" over the way. As to our most potent sovereign lords and masters upon the hill, they would scourge me to death, you know, or flay me alive, if I do not mind their business; so the only way in which I, or mortal man like me, can compass that, and mind all the other treasury business to boot, big and little, which never stops (including a daily quantum of the most horrible parts which I never should have had to mind if our said lords and masters had deigned to grant me the humble boon I once asked of a little more clerical aid at the desks of my superannuated beureaus), is by digging and fagging by night as well as by day. This is the long and short of the story. By leading this anti-social life—hard penance as it is—I shall hope to flounder through the session without being impeached; and if God spares me till it is over, as good Christians should say, I

will resume good fellowship with you and others once more I trust. But, till then, farewell to evening parties all, farewell to dinners; farewell to such dinners, even, as yours, to which, when bidden, I have never heretofore said nay—to all, farewell. Othello's occupation's gone!

I have forced an answer upon you, and a long-winded one—though the requisition is scratched out from your kind billet.

## CHAPTER V.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1828.

#### CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, January 5, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the copy of your address on the charges made against you respecting the election of President, which I have read with the more pleasure because it combines a body of testimony much stronger than I had supposed possible, which must I think silence even those who wish the charge to be believed.

With sincere wishes for the improvement of your health, and with real esteem I am, dear sir, yours, etc.

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#### JAMES MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MOTPELIER, January 6, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received the copy of your address politely forwarded to me. Although I have taken no part in the depending contests, and have been led to place myself publicly on that ground, I could not peruse the appeal you have made without being sensible of the weight of testimony it exhibits, and of the eloquence by which it is distinguished.

Having occasion to write to Mr. Brougham [since Lord Brougham] on a subject which interests our University, I take the liberty of asking your friendly attention to the letter which I inclose. I hope it may find an early conveyance from the Department of State, with dispatches about to be destined for London. Should this not be the case Mr. Brent will save you the trouble of giving the intimation, that a duplicate may seek some other channel. It is desirable that the letter should reach Mr Brougham with as little delay as may be.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to learn that you are indisposed and suffering much pain from a swelled knee ; but I hope you will soon get over it.

I congratulate you on the proceedings of your Convention. I was particularly gratified that you were made its President. I hear the most flattering accounts of the address to the people which the Convention has adopted. Although I am eager to see it, I have not yet had an opportunity of perusing it. But I am prepared, in advance, to make my grateful acknowledgments for the friendly notice which is taken of me. I am rendered quite happy by the kind feelings which have been coteremporaneously expressed toward me by my native and adopted State.

The address of the Convention in the latter, I send you herewith, and after you have done with it I will thank you to hand it over to Pleasants, who may possibly think proper to publish it, or parts of it, in "The Whig." All, I hope and believe, will yet go well. The new year has been characterized by many cheering incidents.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 18, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor of the 14th instant, prior to which I addressed a short letter to you at Richmond.

The proceedings of your Convention have been seen here with the greatest satisfaction. They are all marked by wisdom and discretion. The address is admired by every body, and fully realizes the high expectation which we formed when it was understood who was to compose it.

The duty assigned you as to the communication to Messrs. Madison and Monroe, is very delicate ; but it appears to me that, by giving them beforehand sufficient notice of your intention hereafter to make an official communication to them, you have adopted the most prudent course. I am apprehensive that they will decline, which I should very much regret. If they do, it will be very desirable that it should not be done in such manner as to injure our cause

Our news from the West is very cheering. Ohio is beyond all doubt safe. So is Indiana, and I think Illinois. Our friends in Kentucky are very confident of success, as is exhibited by a proposition in the Legislature, proceeding from them, for a general ticket. It was not decided when I last heard from Frankfort.

Southard has just returned from Annapolis. I have not yet seen him.

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MR. VAUGHAN TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your loan of the message of the Governor of Maine, and as I am still disappointed of being able to procure a copy of it through the newspapers, I take the liberty of asking your permission to keep your copy. If you can not conveniently allow me to do so, I will return it immediately.

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JAMES BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I regret much as an apparent evidence of neglect the non-arrival of my letter to you and Colonel Mercer, in time. I intentionally delayed writing till the last moment, under a high hope of giving you some determinate information of the person best to present for the Vice-Presidency; but it was still in time for the period proposed by Colonel Mercer for his departure. Your own just views made the accident of no consequence. Here and every where your proceedings have been most favorably received. You did nobly. If Virginia is not mad beyond cure, she will yet be saved. We are in high expectations of Pennsylvania. Sergeant speaks with great confidence. In fine our prospects are evidently brightening. We are looking with intense curiosity as to Madison's course. The Opposition are in difficulty with their resolution of inquiry as to abuses—the friends of the Administration challenge them to proceed. If they recede they will be obliged to admit that the slanders of profligacy are groundless. If they proceed they will find the most economical Administration of the public affairs since the



establishment of the Government. — is a man just from the woods, and his resolution was for mere home consumption. One of his political associates warned the house, that young doctors always killed their patients. That the parties were too equal to admit of experiments—and he should not be surprised if by this tampering — killed them. Let me hear from you occasionally.

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## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 2, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to learn by your letter of the 31st ultimo, that you have continued to be afflicted with the complaint in your knee, but as you proposed going to Richmond (where I address you), I hope you have by this time recovered from it.

Our late information from Albany is highly encouraging. The partisans of Clinton and V. B. are beginning already to display their suspicion and jealousy of each other; and my correspondents assure me that there is very little prospect of a union between them to nominate a P. and V. P. In the mean time, it is stated that a powerful reaction has taken place throughout the State.

I shall be glad to have the earliest information of the decision of Messrs. Madison and Monroe, as to their names continuing on the electoral ticket.

Should you be able to execute your intention of visiting this city, I pray you to come at once to my house, where we have plenty of room for such accommodations as we shall take pleasure in affording you. It would add to Mrs. Clay's gratification and my own, if you would bring Mrs. Brooke with you.

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## MR. CRAWFORD TO MR. CLAY.

WOOD LAWN, February 4, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—Inclosed is a letter for Mr. Poinsett, our minister in Mexico, which I will thank you to forward to Mr. Poinsett, with as little delay as is consistent with your convenience. The object of the letter is to obtain from him some of the productions of Mexico, which will probably succeed in the

Southern and Western States. Perhaps an intimation from the Secretary of State on this subject may be productive of good effects.

I hope you know me too well to suppose that I have countenanced the charge of corruption which has been reiterated against you. The truth is, I approved of your vote for Mr. Adams, when it was given; and should have voted as you did, between Jackson and Adams. But candor compels me to say, that I disapproved of your accepting an office from him. You ought, I think, to have foreseen that his administration could hardly fail to be unpopular. Those who knew his temper, disposition, and political opinions, entertained no doubt upon the subject. By accepting the office of Secretary of State from him, you have indisputably connected your fortunes with his. And it appears to me that he is destined to fall as his father did, and you must fall with him. This State could not have been driven under the banners of Jackson by any other course of measures than that pursued by the Administration toward it. Mr. Adams' general measures, although very exceptionable, would not have ranged the State under Jackson's standard. Mr. Adams has professed to consider the Federal Government limited by the enumerated powers. Yet he has recommended to Congress to erect light-houses to the skies—a recommendation utterly inconsistent with the idea of the Government being limited by the enumerated powers. This recommendation, it appears to me, can be supported by no other construction than that Congress can do any thing which is not expressly forbidden by the Constitution. The whole of his first message to Congress is replete with doctrines which I hold to be unconstitutional.

Present my respects to Mrs. Clay, and accept the same yourself.

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MR. CLAY TO MR. CRAWFORD.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 4th instant, and I will take pleasure in having forwarded the letter which it inclosed, to Mr. Poinsett, with the first public dispatches. I should not hesitate to intimate to him my wish that he would comply with your request for the Mexican seeds, etc., if I were not per-

suaded that it would be altogether unnecessary for me to second any expression of your desire to him. Our country needs much the multiplication of the products of the earth, as well as of industry otherwise applied, and he deserves well of it, who will introduce a new, or more successfully cultivate an old article of agriculture.

I do, my dear sir, know you too well to suppose that you ever countenanced the charge of corruption against me. No man of sense and candor—at least none that know me—ever could, or did countenance it. Your frank admission that you would have voted as I did, between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, accords with the estimate I have always made of your intelligence, your independence, and your patriotism. Nor am I at all surprised or dissatisfied with the expression of your opinion that I erred in accepting the place which I now hold. When two courses present themselves in human affairs, and one only is pursued, experience develops the errors of the selection which has been made. Those which would have attended the adoption of the opposite course, can only be matter of speculation. Thus it is in the case referred to. We see, or think we see, distinctly, the errors of the alternative which I embraced. But are we sure that, if I had chosen the other, I should not have been liable to greater hazard, or more animadversion? The truth is (as I have often said), my condition was one full of embarrassments, whatever way I might act. My own judgment was rather opposed to my acceptance of the Department of State, but my friends, and let me add, two of your best friends (Mr. McLane, of Delaware, and Mr. Forsyth), urged me strongly not to decline it. It was represented by my friends that I would get no credit for the forbearance, but that, on the contrary, it would be said that that very forbearance was evidence of my having made a bargain, though unwilling to execute it. The office, they thought, was an office of the nation, not of the actual Presidential incumbent, and I was bound to look to the good of the country, and not to regard any personal objections which I had to him. Can you, who have contributed, said they, to the election of Mr. Adams, decline the Department of State? Will you not be charged if you do, with having co-operated in the election of a man, of whom you think so ill, that you will not serve in one of the highest places in the public councils with him? Even if he should be wanting in any of the requisite qualifications for the

station to which he has been elevated, you are the more bound for that very reason to accept, in order to endeavor to guard the country against any danger from his mal-administration. Your enemies have sought by previous denunciation to frighten you. They do not believe that you have acted otherwise than from motives of the purest patriotism; but they wish to alarm you, and prevent you from entering the Department of State.

These, and other similar arguments were pressed on me, and after a week's deliberation, I yielded to their force. It is quite possible that I may have erred, and you may be right in predicting, as a consequence of my decision, that, being identified with Mr. Adams' administration, if he falls, I also shall fall. Should such be my fate, I shall submit to it, I hope, with the fortitude of a philosopher, if not with the resignation of a Christian. I shall at least have no cause of self-reproach, for I will undertake to affirm (and I appeal with confidence to Him who knows best the human heart, for the truth of the affirmation) that, throughout my public life, in the many trying situations in which I have been placed, I have been guided exclusively by the consideration of the good of my country. You say that I ought to have foreseen that Mr. Adams' administration could hardly fail to be unpopular. I certainly did not foresee that the tree would be judged of, otherwise than by its fruits. But the popularity of a particular course or proceeding (although I will not pretend that I have been altogether regardless of it), has not been the deciding motive with me of my public conduct. Is the measure right? Will it conduce to the general happiness, and the elevation of the national character? These have been always my first and most anxious inquiries.

I had fears of Mr. Adams' temper and disposition, but I must say that they have not been realized, and I have found in him, since I have been associated with him in the Executive Government, as little to censure or condemn as I could have expected in any man. Truth compels me to say that I have heartily approved of the leading measures of his administration, not excepting those which relate to Georgia. I have not time, if I had ability, and it were necessary, to vindicate them. But, my dear sir, I must invoke your frankness and justice to reconsider the only exceptionable measure which you have specified, that of his recommendation of light-houses to the skies. It is not the metaphor, I presume, but the thing (an observatory)-

which has provoked your censure. And can you justly censure Mr. Adams for a recommendation which almost every previous President had made? If there be no power in the general Government to authorize the erection of an observatory within the limits of a State, is there none to sanction its location in this District? The message, I believe, was silent as to the place where it should be built. But I will dwell no longer on public affairs. I should not have touched the topic but for your friendly allusion to it. I turn from it with pleasure to the recollection of our amicable relations. Whatever you may have thought, or may have been sought to be infused into your mind, my friendly feelings toward you have never ceased; and, although our correspondence has been interrupted four or five years, I have always entertained a lively solicitude for your welfare, and availed myself of every opportunity to inquire particularly about your health and situation. I have heard with unaffected pleasure of the improvement of your health. That it may be perfectly re-established, and that you may be long spared for the benefit of your family, and the good of your country, is the sincere wish of your faithful friend and obedient servant.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of yesterday is received. General Porter had been ill and absent from Albany. He had returned, however, and I have a late letter from him. All accounts concur that the political effect of Mr. Clinton's death will be favorable to the Administration; and intelligence generally from that State, especially from the western portion of it, is very cheering.

I really do not know (and who does?) what Mr. R. means by his allusion to my letter addressed to you. I do not think there is any necessity for you or myself saying any thing on that subject. As to a statement of a conversation which he represents himself to have held with me, he has been so contradictory in the House about it, that, although my first impression, when I heard of it, was to have authorized a counter-statement, my friends think it is not worthy of such a notice. If I take any of it, I shall do it in some other way, and at a future day.

I have a curious but friendly letter from Mr. Crawford, in

which he says he never countenanced the calumny against me ; that he would have voted, as I did, between Jackson and Adams, etc. I have answered it in the most friendly terms, combatting, however, some of his opinions.

The inquiry in the Senate of Kentucky has terminated with the adoption of resolutions friendly to the Administration and myself. My friends there claim a decided and triumphant victory.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 25th instant is received. The House of Representatives of Kentucky having been limited to an adjournment on a fixed day, when the resolution came to it from the Senate, there was not time to act on them, and it adjourned without taking them up. My friends there think we have gained a great victory. It will possibly lead to some further publications that may render it more decisive. The general ticket has passed, so that the entire vote of Kentucky may, I think, be now anticipated.

Mr. Crawford's letter to me has been seen by several of my friends, and has been spoken of, I understand, generally in this city. I should regret that the subject should get into the newspapers, but with that exception I do not know that I ought to object to its being mentioned. It is not confidential ; and, in my opinion, does Mr. Crawford as much credit as it does me.

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FRANCIS BROOKE TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, February 28, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received answers to my circular from Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe, which you will see in "The Whig" next week. They decline to accept the appointment, as was apprehended, though with the expression of sentiments, if not perverted, rather flattering to the friends of the Administration. The fact is, that they have used an expression susceptible of construction more favorable to General Jackson than was intended. They speak of the high estimation in which they hold both of the candidates, which may be interpreted now, and not then, as was intended.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was prepared to anticipate the declension, communicated in your letter of the 28th ultimo, of Messrs. Madison and Monroe, to stand on your electoral ticket. I regret that there should be any thing ambiguous in the terms which they have employed to express their refusal, though in that, also, I am not much disappointed. It will, for the moment, produce a bad effect, but I am persuaded that it will soon pass off. Our prospects are better, at this time, than they have been for many months.

You will have seen the allusion made in Kentucky to a correspondence between Mr. Blair and myself,\* and the defiance that has been thrown out as to my allowing the publication of it. I have a copy of the letter, on which reliance is placed. It is written in a style of playfulness, and friendly familiarity, which constitutes the only objection I could possibly have to its publication. I shall let them go on making confident assertions in regard to its contents, and perhaps I may hereafter cause it to be published. With honorable men, it will do me good rather than harm. By the by, this is not a bad time to have the letter published which you did me the favor to submit to my inspection, last fall.

At present, we have no messenger to send abroad. We rarely employ one to go to France or England, on account of the great regularity of the packets. I will bear in mind your wish concerning your nephew, should an occasion arise to dispatch a messenger.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 8th instant. If you do not, I do, feel the attacks on you, because I fear that they are the effect of our long-standing friendship. Their effect is less, it is true, considering the quarter from which they proceed. Pleasants, of "The Whig," has not the merit of first evincing a thorough knowledge of that being, Mr. ——. Mr. Jefferson long ago understood him, when he made an allusion to

\* For this correspondence see pp. 109, 111.

the same physical defect. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves, in reflecting that such a *thing* should be capable of inflicting any pain.

I wish my letter to you of February 4, 1825, could be drawn out; but how is that to be done? I have a copy of mine to Blair, mentioned by you, and although there is a playfulness, not to say levity, about it, which renders it, perhaps, unfit for the public eye, I do believe that good, rather than evil, would attend its publication. The difficulty, and the only difficulty, with me, is, whether I ought to lend my sanction to such a violation of private intercourse, and whether, after yielding to it, there would not be other and further efforts and insinuations to deceive public credulity? If I authorize its publication, I do not think the time has yet arrived when that ought to be done. I will, if I do not forget it, send you hereafter a copy of the letter.

Since the publication of my address, I have received a large mass of additional evidence, to the same tenor. Some of it is as strong as, if not stronger than, any which is now before the public. Ought I to publish it? I am afraid, on the one hand, of teasing the public, and on the other, of omitting any thing that is due to the occasion.

You are assailed for the first time seriously. May I take the liberty of suggesting that you should not allow this wanton attack to affect you, in the smallest degree? Above all, you should not permit yourself to use one expression, or to perform any act hastily. An unsullied character of more than threescore years duration, can surely successfully withstand the imbecile assaults of a miserable creature.

I will send you a copy of the report of the committee respecting the six militia men.

I am sorry for Leigh, quite as much on his as on public account. The gratification of private antipathy will never be allowed, before God or man, as a sufficient motive for the neglect of patriotic duty. Unless he fears R—— more even than he hates Mr. ——, the world and his own conscience will both condemn him.

Our accounts are truly encouraging. From New York the current of favorable intelligence is steady, unchecked, and such as to justify a confident anticipation of our success. The Kentucky prospects, too, are good; and if, as I believe, we shall succeed there, we shall owe our good fortune, in no small degree, to our Virginia friends.



## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 24, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 20th instant. I had previously seen in the Whig my letter to you of the 4th of February, 1825. It is believed here that its publication will do good.

I am glad that you do not allow yourself to be affected by the calumnies of Mr. ———. Here, I assure you, they do you no prejudice, and create no other than a feeling of detestation toward the author. “The Whig” has found out his sensitive part, and if man ever forfeited all claim to commiseration, on account of a physical misfortune, and justified the allusion to it by the wanton and unprovoked attacks which he makes upon others, Mr. ——— is that man.

I hope you will not fail to visit us in April. I think you would pass a week or two here very agreeably, and you are so near home that half a day will at any time take you there. Southard and Taliaferro are my next door neighbors, so that at my house you would be in the midst of your friends.

The general aspect of our political news continues good, especially from Kentucky and New York.

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 REV. ISAAC BARD TO MR. CLAY.

GREENVILLE, Kentucky, March 27, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—I know you will not think it strange if an unknown friend should address a letter to you. Have you not given yourself to your beloved country, devoted yourself to her cause, and may not the citizen claim you as his property and inheritance? If so, why should an humble citizen be shy and stand aloof from him whom he has long loved and admired?

Will you be so kind as to indulge me in some desultory remarks? When I was pursuing my education in Lexington, I first heard you deliver an oration at the laying of the cornerstone of the Hospital. As a student and a boy I was much pleased. Once on Poplar Row, on the pavement, I met you and there were none else on the whole street, and you spoke to me so politely and friendly, it, though a little thing, made no small impression. The next time I saw you was when I was on at

College and the Divinity School, you passed through Princeton, sitting by the driver on an outside seat of the stage, spoke to Mr. Wm. Warfield, who was with me coming up street. To say the least, the way you spoke to him (an acquaintance) impressed me that you, in no ordinary degree, were a man of friendly feeling, of openness and urbanity of manners.

But it is not merely the pleasing qualifications and attractions of private character, your eloquence and ratiocination, the boon of God, but your political course, and those important national principles of internal improvement, smiling on rising Republics, that enhance you in the approbation and give you such a scope in the affections of your fellow citizens. You have already established an imperishable reputation. A wreath of evergreens encircles your brow, and will entwine around your name while time shall last. Your reputation, the storms of persecution have tried to carry away; but it is built on a basis that moldering ages can not waste. Ethiopia will remember your colonization efforts. South America and Greece will couple your name with liberty and independence. Your Tariff speech of 1824 has opened the eyes of the American people, and they will not forget you. Roads, and canals, and manufactures, in fine, the American system, will hail you as their founder and father. Sir, if I understand flattery it is stating what is false; but I believe I am telling the truth. Truth that is already written in American history—written in the hearts and affections of the American people, more indellible than letters engraven on adamant.

For many years I have read with pleasure your speeches and observed your public course. I have witnessed with heart-burning and disgust the vituperation and slander of ambitious, wicked men. In private conversation I have often pleaded your cause and that of the President, and of your policy. I approve heartily of your course. When my friend told me that Mr. Adams was President, and you had voted for him, a sudden exultation of joy flashed through my bosom.

We (of Greenville) had a large number of your defenses printed at Russelville, and I have spread them from my store far and wide (for I am a merchant and Presbyterian preacher). Be assured they are operating powerfully. It is the best antidote against lying and slander that has ever been used. Many of the Jackson men of this county (Muhlenberg) have turned completely around. We are decidedly Administration here, by a very

large majority. I hope you and Mr. Adams will not be discouraged, but keep up good spirits.

In writing you this letter I mean no more than an expression of my friendship for you, my country, the prosperity of the nation, and the welfare of civil and religious liberty. I am in the habit of praying for you in secret and in public. If I have any interest at the court of Heaven, I have tried to make it for you. Think; they did n't say, at Hopkinsville, they knew I was an Administration man from my prayer, as I prayed for the President, etc. But it is not a cause I am ashamed or afraid of; for if even "Old Hickory" should be elected, we will not give up you. You must come next. You are consecrated to your country and you are ours.

Permit me to say, I have named my first-born son Henry Clay Bard. I did it for two reasons: 1. As a mark of affection and friendship for you; 2. That your character might stimulate him to worthy deeds.

Will you be so good as to give my respects to Mrs. Clay. Will you be so good as to give my respects to the President, Mr. Adams. Tell him I pray for him and his Cabinet. May God bless Mr. Clay. May God bless the President. May God guide and direct him and his counselors. May you all fear God, pray to him, keep his "commandments that it may be well with you."

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was much disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing you. Having understood from Mr. Maury that you would certainly be here on a particular day, I even made arrangements to get some friends to meet you at dinner.

I transmitted to Mr. Call copies of my letter to Mr. Blair, which have formed the subject of newspaper animadversions, and requested him to send them to some friends in Richmond. I will thank you, also, to look at them.

I send herewith copies of Mr. Crawford's last letter to me, and my answer, which, after having perused them yourself, you will be pleased to exhibit confidentially to such of the gentlemen who saw Mr. Blair's letters as you may think proper.

Our news from Kentucky is very good.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1828

MY DEAR SIR,—Your two favors of the 4th and 6th instant, reached this place during my absence on a trip to Philadelphia for the purpose of obtaining medical advice, which I am happy to inform you was favorable.

I can not object to Mr. Tresslitt's speaking of the contents of the letter which you showed him, though I do not desire at present that they should be published.

I will endeavor to procure and forward the documents you request.

I regretted much that the considerations to which the President felt himself bound to yield, did not seem to him to admit of the appointment of our friend T——. New York has not, in the person of any citizen of that State, a single representative at this place, in any one of the high executive offices. Judge Savage is a man of undoubted qualifications, and standing high in the esteem of the people in that State. Under these views, the President thought he ought to be appointed, and his appointment has given very great satisfaction.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sent the documents to you by mail requested in your favor of the 20th instant. My intention is to leave this place in about a fortnight on my contemplated journey, which I propose taking through the valley of Virginia, by the White Sulphur Springs, and thence by the Crab Orchard to Kentucky. I shall not return to the city until late in July, or early in August. If I do not then find myself entirely re-established, I will go to some of the sea baths.

The last appointments of the President have given general satisfaction, as far as I have heard. I do not think that a better arrangement could have been made. We shall lose no strength in the Cabinet by the introduction of Porter.

Our information from Kentucky continues to be very encour-

aging. We must be greatly deceived if Metcalfe should not be elected by a respectable majority.

I hope you were pleased with the address of our friends in Congress to the people, on the prospects of the election.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of 2d instant. My health remains pretty much in *statu quo*. I do not anticipate any considerable improvement of it until I commence my journey, which I propose doing about the 15th instant. I shall go through Virginia, but by what route I have not yet positively decided. I think I shall go to the mountains by the shortest.

I have prepared a letter to the Central Administration Committee of Kentucky, in answer to one received from it on the subject of Amos Kendall, and his correspondence with me. I think some letters from him which I have authorized to be published, will fully establish his infamy.

I am not preparing, nor shall I prepare, any answer to the address of the Jackson Central Committee of this place. My opinion is, that it is unworthy of notice from me. But I shall probably publish, by way of supplement to my former address, a mass of testimony which has since accumulated on my hands, and I may publish it without comment. I have also addressed a letter to Kentucky to a friend (which he is authorized to publish), respecting my private affairs, which will relieve my friends from any anxiety on that account.

Judge Savage declined the office of Treasurer, and it has been given to General Clarke, late Treasurer of Pennsylvania, who was turned out by the Jackson party last winter, because he is a friend to the Administration. There is some reason to hope that circumstances will hereafter admit of something being done for your friend.

I regret that I have no copies of Mr. Burgess' two speeches, which I have never seen.

## DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, June 8, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will have seen some proofs of the prevailing sentiments, on public subjects, in this quarter. The best possible feeling was indicated at the meeting on the 5th. I do not mean in regard to myself, but on general subjects, and in respect to others. The toast in which you were named was received with the most enthusiastic applause. I do not think I have ever seen, in Boston, a meeting comprising so much character, talent, influence, and respectability. I hope it may do good.

One objection, my dear sir, which I have to writing to you, is, that your courtesy and kindness lead you always to answer me, and I feel that it is wrong, in the present state of your health and of your engagements, to impose any new duty, though it be a trifling one, upon you. I will really take it as a greater proof of friendship and confidence, if, how often soever I may write, you will forbear all reply, unless when there is something which you wish to say.

## MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

NEWMARKET, June 25, 1828.

DEAR SIR—At the moment of my departure from Washington, I received two letters (one from Duralde and one from Dupuy) recommending Mr. Gibson, editor of "The Argus," as Surveyor of the port of New Orleans. I had not time to consult with you and Mr. Bouligny, and directed the letters to be laid before the President. I have no wish on the subject but that a competent person should be appointed—one who is not tainted with Jacksonism, and who may be agreeable to friends. Will you confer with Mr. Bouligny on the matter?

We are now about one hundred and twenty miles from the city. My horses stand the journey better than I do. The heat is excessive. I shall stop a few days at the White Sulphur Springs, in Green Brier, where a letter, put into the post-office the day you receive this, or the next, would overtake me.

My best respects to Mrs. Johnston.

## DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, July 7, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am in hopes this will find you in Kentucky, in good spirits and renewed health. If you are as well as we wish you, this way, you need be no better. A strong manifestation of kindly feeling toward you, personally, has very generally appeared in all the numerous celebrations of the 4th instant, in this quarter of the country, which have fallen under my observation. As far as I can judge, the general aspect of things is favorable.

## P. B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—Notwithstanding I have been overwhelmed with business in the office, ever since you left here, I would have written you sooner, but that, from the accounts which Mrs. Clay has given me, at different times, of your progress, I calculate that you will not reach Lexington sooner than this letter.

For the first ten days of my official labor, or, rather, *reconnaissance*, I found myself located in a field so entirely new and strange, that I could not move a single step without encountering some serious obstacle. I have now become familiarized to a small extent of ground, over which I move with tolerable ease, but my horizon is yet extremely circumscribed. I hope, however, to be able, by great assiduity, gradually to extend it.

I call, almost daily, on the President, who treats me with great kindness. His health and spirits have, I think, both improved since you left us.

## RICHARD RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, August 3, 1828.

DEAR MR. CLAY,—Although I have had little or nothing to say, I should, at least, have dropped you a line since you went away, if only to tell you that we are all alive here; but you have been whirled about so from post to pillar, that I have not known where to aim a letter at you. You have been bargaining all over the land, no doubt. No sooner have I heard of your being

at one place, but the next mail has fixed you at another, and the third somewhere else again ; but now that you are in Lexington, I may hope that you will remain at moorings awhile.

First and foremost, I am glad to learn that your health is better. Next, I congratulate you on the issue of the Louisiana election, hoping that you will follow suit in old Kentuck.

The President sets out for the North to-morrow. He expects to be gone a couple of months. I am highly pleased with our new colleague, General Porter. If I do not mistake, there is a fine mixture of suavity and energy in him. The former is very apparent and attractive ; you would come at the latter, I suspect, as soon as you get below the surface.

Adieu. Be sure you bring good tidings from Kentucky, or we will give you no welcome on your return.

P. S. August 4.—Hearing to-day that you are expected to leave Lexington on the 10th, and not being sure that this will reach you there, I will just fold it up to wait your arrival.

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MR. CLAY TO DR. R. PINDELL.

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1828.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I observe that some of the Jackson party in Kentucky, for the purpose of withdrawing public attention from the alleged connection between General Jackson and Colonel Burr, have gotten up a charge against me of participation in the schemes of the latter. I have not myself thought it necessary to notice this new and groundless accusation ; but, prompted by the opinions of some of my friends, and actuated also by the desire to vindicate the memory of an inestimable but departed friend, who fell in the military service of his country, I communicate the following statement, which you are at liberty to publish.

Public prosecutions were commenced in the Federal Court of Kentucky, against Colonel Burr, in the fall of 1806. He applied to me, and I engaged as his counsel, in conjunction with the late Colonel John Allen, to defend him. The prosecutions were conducted by the late Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, a man of genius, but of strong prejudices, who was such an admirer of Colonel Hamilton, that, after he had attained full age, he (Colonel



D.) adopted a part of his name as his own. Both Colonel Allen and myself believed that there was no ground for the prosecutions, and that Colonel Daviess was chiefly moved to institute them by his admiration of Colonel Hamilton, and his hatred of Colonel Burr. Such was our conviction of the innocence of the accused, that, when he sent us a considerable fee, we resolved to decline accepting it, and accordingly returned it. We said to each other, Colonel Burr has been an eminent member of the profession, has been Attorney-General of the State of New York, is prosecuted without cause in a distant State, and we ought not to regard him in the light of an ordinary culprit. The first prosecution entirely failed. A second was shortly afterward instituted. Between the two I was appointed a Senator of the United States. In consequence of that relation to the General Government, Colonel Burr, who still wished me to appear for him, addressed the note to me, of which a copy is herewith transmitted. I accordingly again appeared for him, with Colonel Allen; and when the grand jury returned the bill of indictment not true, a scene was presented in the Court-room which I had never before witnessed in Kentucky. There were shouts of applause from an audience, not one of whom, I am persuaded, would have hesitated to level a rifle against Colonel Burr, if he believed that he aimed to dismember the Union, or sought to violate its peace, or overturn its Constitution.

It is not true that the professional services of either Colonel Allen or myself were volunteered, although they were gratuitous. Neither of us were acquainted with any illegal designs whatever of Colonel Burr. Both of us were fully convinced of his innocence. A better or braver man, or a more ardent and sincere patriot than Colonel John Allen never lived. The disastrous field of Raisin, on which he fell, attests his devotion to his country.

The affidavit of a Mr. John Downing has been procured and published, to prove that I advised him to enlist with Colonel Burr, and that I told him I was going with him myself. There is not one word of truth in it, so far as it relates to me. The ridiculous tale will be credited by no one who knows both of us. The certificate of some highly respectable men has been procured as to his character. His affidavit bears date on the third, and the certificate, on a detached paper, on the fourth instant. I have no doubt that it was obtained on false pretences,

and with an entire concealment of its object. I was at the period of the last prosecution preparing to attend the Senate of the United States at the seat of Government, many hundred miles in an opposite direction from that in which it afterward appeared Colonel Burr was bound. So far from my having sent any message to Mr. Downing, when I was last in Lexington, I did not then ever dream that the malignity of party spirit could fabricate such a charge as has been since put forth against me.

It is not true that I was at the ball given to Colonel Burr in Frankfort. I was at the time in Lexington. It is not true that he ever partook of the hospitality of my house. It was at that time a matter of regret with me that my professional engagements, and those connected with my departure for Washington, did not allow me to extend to him the hospitality with which it was always my wont to treat strangers. He never was in my house, according to my recollection, but once, and that was the night before I started to this city, when, being myself a stranger in this place, he delivered me some letters of introduction, which I never presented.

On my arrival here, in December, 1806, I became satisfied, from the letter in cypher of Colonel Burr to General Wilkinson, and from other information communicated to me by Mr. Jefferson, that Colonel Burr had entertained illegal designs. At the request of Mr. Jefferson, I delivered to him the original note from Colonel Burr to me, of which a copy is now forwarded, and I presume it is yet among Mr. Jefferson's papers. I was furnished with a copy of it, in the handwriting of Colonel Coles, his private secretary, which is with my papers in Kentucky.

This, my dear doctor, is a true and faithful account of my connection with Colonel Burr.

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LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

LAGRANGE, October 28, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—The critical time of Presidential election is now come; the busy time of the session is coming on; yet I know you ever have a thought to spare for your affectionate friend on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Brown, whose excellent lady, to our inexpressible gratification, is now in much bet-

ter health, keeps you informed of European political news. The Russians have met with more difficulties than was expected. It is said that mistrusts relative to the suppressed conspiracy have somewhat added to them. Mahmond is a spirited sultan. Yet at the long run the power of Russia is considered to have the better chance, unless the influence of England and Austria succeed in patching up a peace during the winter. Amid these broils and intrigues, France is acting a noble part quite the reverse of the Spanish Expedition, a contrast which has been observed by Ibrahim Pacha himself in his conversation with the French Generals. The session will not open until the 20th of January. Some particular points we wish to obtain have been stated in a public dinner at Meaux, an account of which I inclose. There are some others that will be mentioned; but while the present ministry are less advanced in their own liberalism than we wish them to be, they find at court a heavy drawback in their endeavors to move on the popular road. Some progress, however, is made.

Mr. Cooper is now on his travels; his late publication will give to European readers more correct notions of the United States than are found in most books on that matter, and yet I hear it is criticised in America as being too complimentary to his own countrymen. I don't find it is so, and while foolish slander is propagated in almost every British publication, don't think that feeling, or rather profession of humility, to be seasonable.

I understand Mr. Cooper has resigned his Consulship of Lyons. The emoluments of the station do not allow a special mission from the United States. I am told applications have been made in favor of my friend Mr. Bradford, a New Yorker, nephew to Mr. Philip Hone, late mayor of that city, and I hope I don't break upon my determination, not to solicit preferments, when I tell you that Mr. Bradford, whose intimacy with us has given me full scope to know him well, is one of the best, most sensible, and noble-minded young gentlemen I ever met in my life. He is universally beloved.

Be pleased, my dear sir, to remember me very respectfully and affectionately to Mrs. Clay and family.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, November 9, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 7th as I did the previous one, inclosing a letter from Mr. Spotswood. I need not say that it would have afforded me much satisfaction if I could have gratified this gentleman with the appointment to the vacant clerkship in the Department of State. But Mr. Trist came recommended to me by so many powerful considerations, of ample qualifications, a knowledge of foreign languages, etc., the necessity of his appointment to the personal comfort of Mr. R., that I could not decline appointing him. In his behalf, I declined appointing a brother-in-law of the President, who was urged on me.

I can give you no satisfactory news about the election. The most discouraging aspect of our cause is that it is necessary that we should succeed in five or six disputed States to insure Mr. Adam's election. It will be wonderful if we do not fail in some one of them. The same mail that carries this letter will take you some information from New York, which will enable you to make an approximation. My solicitude about Kentucky is extreme.

Have you read my Russell correspondence? I am deceived if the publication of it does not essentially benefit me. I wish, after the smart of the election is dissipated, that Pleasants would republish it.

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 MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

WASHINGTON, November 13, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 6th instant. From the information which it communicates, and that which I derive from other channels, there is reason to apprehend that the vote of Kentucky has been given to General Jackson. Without that event, there is but too much probability of his election. To this decision of the people of the United States, patriotism and religion both unite in enjoining submission and resignation. For one, I shall endeavor to perform that duty. As a private citizen, and as a lover of liberty, I shall ever deeply deplore it. And the course of my own State, should it be what I have rea-

son to apprehend it has been, will mortify and distress me. I hope, nevertheless, that I shall find myself able to sustain with composure the shock of this event, and every other trial to which I shall be destined.

You kindly promise me the suggestion of your ideas as to my future course. I shall await it with anxiety, and shall receive and deliberate upon it in the friendly spirit by which I know it will be dictated.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 11th instant, from which I am very sorry to learn that a late political event has produced on you so serious an effect. It is certainly not very agreeable, and, though feared, was not expected by me. It is undoubtedly calculated to weaken our confidence in the stability of our free institutions. But we ought not to allow this, or any other of the ills of human life, to deprive us of hope and fortitude. For myself, I declare to you most sincerely, that I have enjoyed a degree of composure, and of health too, since the event was known, greater than any I experienced for many months before. I shall continue at my post, honestly and faithfully discharging my duty, until the 4th of March, when I shall surrender my trust to other hands, which I hope may serve the public with more success—with more patriotic zeal they can not. In my retirement to Ashland, I shall find tranquillity, and whatever my future situation may be, I shall continue to employ my best exertions for the preservation and perpetuation of those great principles of freedom and policy, to the establishment of which my public life has hitherto been sincerely dedicated. I believe the other members of the Administration, including its head, will, in their respective spheres, calmly exercise equal diligence, till the arrival of the same period.

A most wild and reprehensible suggestion has been made by some anonymous correspondent of the Editors of "The Intelligencer," whose letter is published in their paper of this day, to defeat the election of General Jackson, by the Electoral Colleges, or some of them, taking up a new candidate. Nothing could be more exceptionable than such an attempt at this time.

It would be a gross violation of the pledge which has been implied, if not expressed, in the choice of all the electors. Calamitous as I regard the election of General Jackson, I should consider the defeat of his election, at this time, by any such means, as a still greater calamity.

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CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, November 28, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—In consequence of my inattention to the post-office, I did not receive your letter of the 23d till yesterday afternoon. I need not say how deeply I regret the loss of Judge Trimble. He was distinguished for sound sense, uprightness of intention, and legal knowledge. His superior can not be found. I wish we may find his equal. You are certainly correct in supposing that I feel a deep interest in the character of the person who may succeed him. His successor will, of course, be designated by Mr. Adams, because he will be required to perform the most important duties of his office, before a change of administration can take place.

Mr. Crittenden is not personally known to me, but I am well acquainted with his general character. It stands very high. Were I myself to designate the successor of Mr. Trimble, I do not know the man I could prefer to him. Report, in which those in whom I confide concur, declares him to be sensible, honorable, and a sound lawyer. I shall be happy to meet him at the Supreme Court as an associate. The objection I have to a direct communication of this opinion to the President arises from the delicacy of the case. I can not venture, unasked, to recommend an associate justice to the President, especially a gentleman who is not personally known to me. It has the appearance of assuming more than I am willing to assume. I must, then, notwithstanding my deep interest in the appointment, and my conviction of the fitness of Mr. Crittenden—a conviction as strong as I could well feel in favor of a gentleman of whom I judge only from general character—decline writing to the President on the subject.

## P. GUAL TO MR. CLAY.

TACUBAYA, November 20, 1828.

ESTEEMED SIR,—I take the liberty to recommend Colonel Belford Wilson, a son of the illustrious friend of America, Sir Robert Wilson, to your attentions and civilities. This gentleman, after having conducted himself admirably well among us, returns now, with honor, to the bosom of his country and family. As he first thinks of visiting those States, I assure you that I will be very grateful for any demonstration of regard which you may have the goodness to bestow on him.

It is with particular pleasure I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurances of the ancient esteem and respect for your person, with which I am ever your affectionate and obedient servant.

## MR. CLAY TO H. NILES.

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 22d. The insuspicious issue of the election has shocked me less than I feared it would. My health and my spirits, too, have been better, since the event was known, than they were many weeks before. And yet all my opinions are unchanged and unchangeable, about the dangers of the precedent which we have established. The military principle has triumphed, and triumphed in the person of one devoid of all the graces, elegances, and magnanimity, of the accomplished men of the profession.

Our course is a plain one. We must peaceably submit to what we have been unable to avert, firmly resolved to adhere to our principles, and to watch over the Republic like faithful sentinels. We should especially avoid gratuitous propositions of support to the new Administration, or, on the other hand, a rash and precipitate opposition. Many of our friends have got under the hostile standard. We should endeavor to recall them to their duty by kindness. A blind and precipitate attack would produce union where now there is nothing but the elements of discord.

I thank you and Mrs. Niles for the high compliment you

have lately paid me. It is a better evidence of the fidelity of your friendship than of your discretion, at this time. With my best wishes for the mother and son, I remain your friend.

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J. J. CRITTENDEN TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, December 3, 1828.

DEAR SIR,—Though recent occurrences have a good deal depressed my spirits, my principles forbid me to despair. I have yet a strong confidence “that truth is omnipotent, and public justice certain,” and that you will live to hail the day of retribution and triumph. Your political enemies render involuntary homage to you, by their early and spontaneous apprehensions of your future elevation, and your friends find their consolation by looking upon the same prospect. The combination that has been formed against you will dissolve—its leaders have too many selfish views of personal aggrandizement to harmonize long; your friends will remain steadfast, bound to you more strongly by adversity; you will, of necessity, be looked to as the great head and hope of the great mass that constitutes the present Administration party. This is the spirit already visible here, and I am sanguine of its final result.

What an excellent philosophy it is which can thus extract good from evil—consolation from defeat! But enough of it.

You will, of course, go on with the Administration to the last moment, as though Mr. Adams had been re-elected, and with all the good temper and discretion possible. But what then? That you should return to your district, and represent it again in Congress, seems to be the general wish and expectation of your friends here. It is certainly mine.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, December 16, 1828.

MY DEAR FATHER,—When last in Washington, I mentioned to my mother that it would be in my power to be absent from West Point during the two months of the next encampment. and intimated that it would be highly agreeable to me to visit



Kentucky. My feelings on this subject still remain the same, but I must confess that I am not very eager to go, all things being considered. For if I am to remain in the army, it will be of the last importance to me to enter as honorable a corps as possible, and this may, in some measure, be influenced by my going, for it is but reasonable to suppose that my mind will be somewhat estranged from study. You will perceive that I am beginning to lose all other ambition than that of being an honest man. A professorship of mathematics in some college, or, lastly, a post in the army, are all that I now aspire to. My talents, I am forced to coincide with you in what I have long supposed to be your opinion, are not above mediocrity. This presents to me an insurmountable obstacle to the profession of law; for in this profession there is no medium. A good lawyer and a great man, a poor lawyer and a contemptible man, are synonymous terms.

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## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 26, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,—Having nothing to offer you from this place, I am anxious to learn from you what is passing at Richmond. Here we are in a political eddy, the currents from which will not break out and show themselves until about the Ides of March. There is nothing but vague speculation in regard to the intentions of the President-elect, with which it is not worth while to trouble you. Toward the bottom, indeed, there is some movement in the water already, but it does not show itself upon the surface. It is said that a good deal of jealousy is felt, and in private circles sometimes manifests itself, among the partisans of the Vice-President and the Governor-elect of New York.

I get a great many letters from all quarters, conveying strong sentiments of unabated confidence and ardent attachment. I am frequently, too, favored with the advice of friends of a directly opposite tenor. One tells me, for example, that I should retire from public life for two or three years; while another is equally positive that I should forthwith return to the House of Representatives. I have as yet decided upon no course for myself, and shall decide upon none until my return to Kentucky. In the meantime, I should be glad to be favored with your opinion, and that of other friends whom you may think proper to consult.

Mr. Madison's letters are sought after with great avidity. They have produced much effect, and I think are likely to produce much more. This is evidenced by the violence of some of those who are opposed to the Tariff. You will be shocked when I tell you that one of them, and one, too, from Mr. Madison's own State, I have been told, said that he ought to have died, or that he wished he had died, five years ago.

But to return to Richmond. What will be done with the Convention question? What is the tone of party spirit? Is it a proscription there, as in some other places?

## CHAPTER VI.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1829.

MR. CLAY TO FRANÇOIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I perceive from your letter of the 5th instant, at St. Julien, that you had not then received one which I addressed to you at Richmond, where I presume it is now awaiting your return.

We are here absolutely without any thing new or interesting. Congress is in no disposition to do business. The present Administration is winding up their public affairs, originating no new measures, and endeavoring to turn their stewardship over to their successors in the best state possible. In respect to the purposes of the new Administration, or rather the intentions of the President-elect, nothing seems to be known here. We have vague speculations only in place of positive information. Washington, therefore, is not at present the source of news. We must look to other quarters for it. And accordingly we have been turning our attention toward Richmond. There appears in your Legislature to be so many projects in regard to the basis of the representation in your Convention, that we are at a loss to conjecture whether any thing or what will be done.

As far as I can learn (and on that subject a good deal of information reaches me), there is a good spirit prevailing among our friends every where. They seem to be generally impressed with the belief that our true policy, at present, is to do nothing but look on; that they ought to avoid alike hostility or professions of support toward the new Administration; that until it begins to act, there are no means of judging what its course will be; that in the mean time, holding fast to all our principles, and keeping constantly in view the danger to civil liberty of the predominance of the military spirit, we should preserve stout hearts,

and be prepared to act, under contingences, according to the impulses of a generous patriotism.

Whether I ought to be brought out, and when, must be left exclusively to my friends. This latter point, supposing the first affirmatively settled, is one of great delicacy. Precipitancy and tardiness should be equally avoided. The public wants tranquillity after the late agitation. To present formally candidates for the succession, before the President-elect enters on the duties of his office, would be premature and offensive to the quiet, that is, the larger portion of the community. It would be otherwise if the candidates of the Jackson party were announced.

Where Jacksonism has prevailed, and secured majorities in the Legislatures of the different States, those majorities are more inimical to me, at this time, than majorities in those Legislatures ever will be hereafter. They have been elected under an excitement, and I have remarked always that the representatives of the people, when so elected, are ahead of the people themselves in reference to that particular excitement.

It will be time enough, upon my return to Kentucky after the 4th of March, to decide whether I shall remain in private, or again seek to enter public life. I should be glad to know your views, and those of other friends, on that point. I presume there will be no difficulty in my return to the House of Representatives, if I should permit myself to be a candidate.

The health of Mr. Southard has been bad throughout the session. He is now confined to his house, but I hear is better to-day. Without, perhaps, there being any cause of immediate apprehension, I think his situation is one full of anxiety to his friends and connections.

Do you not mean to visit us? I need not say that I should see you with great pleasure, and although this city presents less attractions than usual at this season to the ladies, we should be most happy to see Mrs. Brooke also with you at my house.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, January 21, 1829.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I have received your letter of the 14th instant. By it all my fears are quieted; and I can now look forward to something honorable. You can hardly conceive of a

more wretched state than that in which I was before this letter was received. I have always had an inclination for the law, which arose from an entire conviction that it was the path which led to distinction. When, therefore, it was first proposed to me to come to West Point, I thought that I saw all my hopes blasted forever, and, though I desired to acquire the education given here, yet I must confess to you that I looked upon my stay at this place with a kind of horror. But now that I see that your intentions have all along been in unison with my wishes, I feel sensibly how much I have erred in the supposition, too hastily formed, that you purposed that I should become a member of the army. Feeling as I now do, I can not but beseech you to forgive me for the uneasiness which my but half-suppressed discontent must have caused you.

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RICHARD HENRY LEE TO MR. CLAY.

LEESBURG, January 23, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—When I last enjoyed the honor of your company, I took the liberty of asking the favor of you, to prepare for me a list of all the treaties negotiated by yourself and by our foreign ministers, during your occupancy of the State Department. You were kind enough to promise me the enumeration I desired. I am obliged to you for the call of my attention to the principle you mentioned, so favorable to our navigation interests, and for the history of its introduction into our later treaties.

Permit me to obtrude again on your attention, so far as to beg that, amid the various and important business constantly engaging your mind, you would not forget the memoranda I want. You will add to the favor, if you will attach a note to the name, etc., of any treaty, noticing any novel principle contained in it, and elucidating the history and the intention of its introduction, and its actual or probable effect upon our national interests and national relations.

In composing the history I took the liberty of telling you I intend to write, if I have the leisure and opportunity of writing, I shall devote no small portion of it to the first Department under the Executive, and to the labors and character of its head. I say this, my dear sir, without any purpose of flattery or courtier-like spirit (my Republican spirit is above this), but because

its concerns and the character and labors of its officer, of the period I shall be writing of, belong to the history and glory of my country. When I again have the pleasure of seeing you, I will take the liberty of submitting it to you, whether it would be your wish that an historian, if thought adequate to his task, should take any notice of the false and malicious imputations cast upon you and Mr. Adams, of intrigue and corruption. For myself, I am inclined to think that to notice them would be beneath the dignity of history and of your characters.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Ten days confinement from a severe indisposition produced by cold, has delayed my answer to your favor of the 14th inst. I am now better, though I still feel much debility from the attack.

I should be extremely gratified to be able to accept for myself and Mrs. Clay your kind invitation to visit you and Mrs. Brooke, at St. Julien, but I regret that it will not be in our power to avail ourselves of it. At the season of the year when we shall return to Kentucky, that is, about the 10th of March, we have no alternative but to proceed to Wheeling or Pittsburg. The roads on every other route will be then almost impassable. From the present time, until the period of our departure, we shall be constantly occupied with winding up my official business; with packing up, sending off, and disposing of furniture; and with other arrangements for the journey.

I should be very much pleased to visit Richmond. It would afford me much satisfaction to see my friends, and I doubt not that there are many of them that would be happy to meet me. But I must own to you frankly, that I should not expect to derive any political benefit from such a visit. The contest has been too recent, passions have not yet sufficiently abated, prejudices are yet too high and strong, to make me an acceptable guest at Richmond, where a large majority of the Legislature is of an opposite faith from that which I profess. I should, undoubtedly, find among that majority much of the courtesy which characterizes our native State. I should even now and then,

find a friend, but the great mass would be animated by a spirit, positively, if not bitterly hostile. You must have remarked what I have often observed, that when a particular popular current prevails, the representatives of the people elected under its impulse, are in advance of the people themselves in violence. It is on this principle that I am inclined to think that the Jackson majorities in the Legislatures, this winter, are more adverse to me than they will probably be at any future time.

With respect to any movements in regard to the successor of General Jackson, I believe I have already said to you that I think it would be premature now to commence them. The next six months—the next six weeks—may develop important events, and shed brilliant light upon our path. At all events, I do not wish that our friends should disturb the public in the enjoyment of that tranquillity, of which, after the late violent agitation, it has so much need. As to the danger which some apprehend, of the separation and dispersion of our friends, I do not participate in their fears. The same principles which have guided them heretofore, will continue to unite them together. In every demonstration which has been made during the present winter (witness the Senatorial elections in Ohio, Delaware, Maine, etc.), they stand firm and unshaken.

Should any thing occur to me prior to my departure for Kentucky, as being expedient to be done, in relation to the Presidential succession, I will communicate it to you.

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JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, February 13, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am happy to find that you have borne your disappointment and loss of place with so much true philosophy. If you have lost your office, you will regain your health and improve your fortune, and therefore I think you may felicitate yourself on the result. I hope, as you love a little agitation, you will obtain a seat in the House of Representatives, where your weight of talents will be felt, and where, by resuming your cheerfulness and former popular manners, you will again fill a high place in the esteem of the nation. The outs have acted wisely in resolving not to set up opposition until the new Administration shall have done something which merits opposition.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received the last letter which you did me the favor to write me, and I have since received the publication relating to the Tariff, to which it refers. From the course which that business is taking in your Legislature, I apprehend that a majority will oppose itself to the opinions of Mr. Madison.

After a great deal of speculation in relation to the new Cabinet, an arrangement of it is now spoken of with great confidence. If that be executed it will consist of Mr. Van Buren for the State Department, Ingham for the Treasury, Eaton for the War, Branch for the Navy, Berrian for Attorney-General, M'Lean to continue Post-master General, or to be put upon the bench of the Supreme Court; and, in the latter case, Colonel Johnson, of Kentucky, to be appointed Post-master General. Van Buren has, from the first, run upon all the tickets for the State Department, and I conclude, therefore, that he will be appointed. I was at first incredulous as to the other persons spoken of as Secretaries; but I have been compelled at last to believe that they are, at least at this time, designed for these respective places.

I should be glad to hear from you after the decision of the Tariff resolutions in your House of Delegates. Let me know if there is any diminution in the number of those who have heretofore opposed the power. From your silence in your last letter, I infer, as I had anticipated, that the tone of the Jackson portion of your Legislature, with two or three exceptions, is decidedly hostile to me.

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 FRANCIS BROOKE TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, February 23, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hasten to answer your letter of to-day. The intelligence it gives of the proposed Cabinet had reached here on yesterday, and filled the Jackson party with consternation. Some affect not to believe it, and some few to palliate it; you will see the vote on the Tariff, the minority has increased from forty-nine to seventy-five, and would have been higher but for the absence of some members. You have not drawn the intended inference from any letter. There can be little doubt



that a large portion of the Jackson party are favorable to you, at least, this is my information from every quarter. I think the people must say with Hamlet, "Look at this picture and look at that," and for this only has been the mighty strife. I confess I am myself disappointed. I thought General Jackson, if he could not get splendid talents and information, at least would have brought around him great moral worth, as those who have least of it are not insensible to its value. Feeling must have superseded this instinct. I think that now his future course will not be doubtful. He must put himself into the hands of the Secretary of State, who will be *de facto*, President, etc.

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## LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, March 8, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—A precious book, beautifully bound, and containing several of your admirable speeches, has been lately presented to me, by your excellent brother, Mr. Brown, as a new token of your friendship. That it has been received with every sentiment of affection and gratitude I need not, I know, to assert, but I want to express, and so I want to add that while I am happy to acknowledge your personal kindness along with your public eloquence, there is one speech, strongly tinged with both, which although not recorded in the book, as it relates to a more private object, shall ever be engraved in my heart.

Four days are now elapsed, my dear friend, since you have been restored to a life of repose; it will probably not last long, and I anticipate the approaching time when you will be returned to Congress, and probably to the Chair of the House. I hope the intervals will be consecrated to the restoration of your health, above which, and also above every thing that concerns yourself and family, I beg you to give me frequent and minute information. They become the more necessary to me as we are going to lose Mr. and Mrs. Brown, a loss that is deeply felt by every American on this side of the Atlantic, by none more than by me, and my family who are attached to them by every tie of gratitude, affection, and respect. Mrs. Brown's health is now better than when they took the resolution to return home. We have been much alarmed on her account; it is now over, as to danger, and a few days ago she looked quite well. But all the

particulars relative to her health she, no doubt, gives to her sister, and these lines will go by the same opportunity. Packets now run three times in the month. Miss Brown, who lives with them, is a most amiable young lady.

Of the affairs of Europe you have, in your official capacity, heard a great deal, and much of them is to be found in the public papers. It appears the two great despots of the East will try the fortune of war. The conduct of the French Government has been liberal and disinterested. Not so with the rulers of England; they strive to contract the limits and independence of Greece. Their connections with Don Miguel, and late behavior at Terceira, have roused a general cry against them. The American stars have lately lighted on a dextrous and honorable private attempt, of which I feel very proud. Austria is as bad as ever. Italy deserves the leaden inquisitorial yoke. It is impossible for Spain and Portugal to go on as they are now governed. The downfall of the Villele administration, and a better choice of deputies which occasioned it, has set the interior affairs of France on a somewhat improved line of march. But very slow, timid steps indeed. Far even from what could be done within the so very limited circle of an *octroid charter*. Yet, I think it a duty to assist in the little progressive good that can be obtained.

On reading again your observations on our Colonization Society, of which to have been chosen a Vice-President is to me a great honor, and a most highly valued gratification, I have thought you will employ some of your time of leisure in promoting the most important object that it remains, in my opinion, for our part of America finally to obtain. The settlement of Liberia may in future times civilize Africa, and facilitate a gradual abolition of slavery. I have seen with much pleasure that measures of the kind were talked of for the District of Columbia. You know that while I feel, as much as any man, the cursed evil entailed upon America by Great Britain, I am not insensible of the immense difficulties, but think that if an incessant attention, in the Southern States, to that momentous object of self-interest as well as of humanity, is directed that way, means may be found out consistent with prudence and possession, to limit, lessen, and perhaps, in time to eradicate that only obstacle to Southern improvements, that only objection to the example proposed to the world in the superior state of American civilization.

I am told our friend Mr. Adams intends to remain with his family in the District of Columbia; if you see them, and your former colleagues in the Cabinet, remember me very affectionately to them all. Present my best respects to Mrs. Clay and family.

My son requests me to present his best respects. Le Vallour is now a partner in a bookselling firm under the name of Malzer & Co., Faubourg, St. Germain, where he has settled his family and himself. You know that M. David, one of the first statuaries in the world, and the first in Paris, member of the Institute, etc., has presented Congress with a marble bust, made on purpose to be offered as a tribute to them. It has been much admired by the artists of Paris.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not written you very lately, because having nothing to communicate which the papers did not contain, I did not wish to make you pay postage for the thousand rumors with which this city has been filled. Among the official corps here there is the greatest solicitude and apprehension. The members of it feel something like the inhabitants of Cairo when the plague breaks out; no one knows who is next to encounter the stroke of death; or which, with many of them is the same thing, to be dismissed from office. You have no conception of the moral tyranny which prevails here over those in employment. It is, however, believed that the work of expulsion will not begin till after the adjournment of the Senate.

It is said that Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, is to be appointed an auditor, and Tom Moore minister to Colombia!

I take my departure to-morrow. My inclination at present is not to return to the next Congress, but I shall reserve a final decision of the question, for a consideration of all circumstances, after my return home. The major part of my friends, whom I have consulted, think a seat in the next Congress inexpedient. Among them all the best spirit prevails, and high and confident hopes are cherished by them. Every movement of the President,

though dictated by personal resentment toward me, conduces to my benefit, especially his Kentucky appointments.

Let me hear often from you, and believe me ever your devoted friend.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WHEELING, April 1, 1829.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—W. C. C. Claiborne having decided rather suddenly to throw himself on board a steamboat about departing for Louisville, I have only time to say that we reached this place the day before yesterday, nine days after you, in good health. I found here your letter, informing me of your journey, etc. The same snow that you left on the mountains remained, and smoothed our passage over them, although it rendered us somewhat uncomfortably cold.

My journey has been marked by every token of warm attachment and cordial demonstrations. I never experienced more testimonies of respect and confidence, nor more enthusiasm. Dinners, suppers, balls, etc. I have had literally a free passage. Taverns, stages, toll-gates have been generally thrown open to me, free from all charge. Monarchs might be proud of the reception with which I have been every where honored.

The work of proscription has commenced at Washington and elsewhere. Our poor friends, Cutts, Watkins, and Lee, are among the sufferers. Editor Hill has succeeded the first, Editor Kendall the second, and Major Lewis the last. So we go.

Let me hear from you, and often, I entreat of you, for no one feels more warmly actuated in the welfare of you both than your constant friend.

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MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

MERIDIAN HILL, WASHINGTON, April 21, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 12th instant, inclosing a letter to you from Mr. Child, with your answer, has come to hand. The letter to Mr. Child has been forwarded to him as you desired.

I have no design or wish that old party distinctions should be revived, and do not believe that they will or can be. A struggle

by certain individuals of the old Federal party to recover the ascendancy they had lost, may render a reaction of the Republicans necessary for their own defense ; it can be necessary for no other purpose of which I am aware, and I have no wish to fortify myself by the support of any party whatever.

The objection there appears to me to be against applying the denomination of Federalists to the opposers of protection to manufactures and internal improvement is, that I believe the fact to be otherwise. The old Federalists were generally friendly to those interests. Washington was pre-eminently so. The remains of the Federal party now are divided upon those questions, as they are upon all others of present political interest. They have now no public principle peculiar to themselves.

The Federalists have generally supported the measures of the two last Administrations. Those Administrations have adopted and practiced upon many of their favorite opinions. Most of the New England manufacturers are Federalists, and would hardly be gratified by the application of their names to their opponents.

The composition of the new Administration indicates the intention to conciliate the South. Perhaps means will be found also of propitiating the West. New England will not be a favorite ; nor, it would seem, will Virginia ; but there is now no propensity to opposition in either.

You will have time, between this and next August, to fix your opinion, whether it will be advisable for you to come to the House or not. I have no doubt your presence here will be salutary. But whether, at the present Congress, a seat in the House would conduce to your health or comfort may admit of doubt.

Wherever you may be, you will have with you my respect and esteem.

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RICHARD HENRY LEE TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—From a late paper, I learn that you and your family have arrived at home, without accident. Permit me to express to you the pleasure this intelligence has given me.

I was chagrined, that through misinformation of the time of your departure from this city, I did not enjoy the friendly privi-

lege of presenting to you the parting assurances of my respect and remembrance. I felt this circumstance so much, that I determined to take the earliest opportunity of presenting them to you, which I do now, when they are as strongly entertained.

No one, my dear sir, of your friends and fellow-citizens, has traced the course and incidents of your return to Kentucky with more interest and gratification than myself. "I will not despair of the American Republic" while I observe the redeeming and purifying leaven which yet remains in her citizens. It is essentially diffusive, and will yet leaven the whole mass. It is not the frothy effervescence of sordid interest and ignorance, but the genuine risings of enlightened and fearless patriotism. To drop all figure, the gloom in which you left us here was dispelled by the events of your journey. I rejoiced in the testimonials of the confidence and gratitude of the country, so generously and enthusiastically offered you. They have cheered more than half a million of freemen, who, as you truly observed, are not surpassed by any body of men on earth, in civic virtues and intelligence. I was cheered with them, not only because they prove the sense of justice to be strong and fearless, but because they give us reason to hope that by concentrating all our efforts upon a statesman, we may yet be able to bring back the people to a just estimate of civil services, civil qualifications, and civil freedom.

Mr. Adams (whom I have lately seen, in fine health and spirits) has very much gratified his friends by his letter to the citizens of New Jersey. The irony of the last paragraph was keen, and just toward him, who, on such an occasion, had the indecorum to charge him with corruption and abuse of office, and to libel half a million of his fellow-citizens. The truth and faithfulness of the portraits Mr. Adams has so glowingly drawn, have struck the public with a force which has exceedingly annoyed the unwilling beholders, whose eyes could not be altogether turned away from the brilliant colors and the striking resemblances. That letter has blistered the tribes of error in all their gradations.

I can not but hope, my dear sir, that in considering your own plans and views, and the wishes of your friends and fellow-citizens, you may decide that your duty requires you to appear again in public in the House of Representatives. Aside from all public views, which you are best able to take and correctly to

weigh, it would afford me great gratification to be able to renew the personal intercourse with which you honored me.

You have said, that "the country needed repose." However true this may be, *I know* that it is contemplated in Virginia, in less than two years, to accept your pledge to serve your country, which will be signified by public meetings, the number and character of which will be impressive to others, and imperative upon you. I expect to return to my native State in two years, and to mingle my efforts in giving impetus to these movements.

I once mentioned to you my design of writing a History of the Administration of Mr. Adams. My relation, Mr. Fendall, had anticipated me. He will execute this just and grateful task, while we will compare our views and unite our researches.

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FRANCIS BROOKE TO MR. CLAY.

St. JULIEN, April 29, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I may now congratulate you on your safe arrival with your family at Lexington, and on your triumphal journey from Washington to your peaceful home. The unsolicited and unbought respect and affection of numerous bodies of your fellow-citizens, must much enhance the feelings with which a consciousness of having discharged faithfully your duties to your country inspires you, and give an example to others which will stimulate them to do the like, in despite of the slanders that may annoy them.

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MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

MERIDIAN HILL, WASHINGTON, May 2, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your obliging letters of the 16th and 19th ultimo, the latter covering a copy of my correspondence with the New Jersey Committee, printed upon satin. I am happy that my letter was satisfactory to you, and I have learned that it has been generally gratifying to our friends. There was a testimony due from me to all the members of the late Administration, and in a special manner to you. No better opportunity could have been afforded me to give it than that presented me

by the New Jersey Address, and I availed myself of it with pleasure.

The Catholic Question has assumed in England an aspect entirely new ; and is presenting appearances quite unexpected. Brought forward in Parliament by the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, carried in the House of Commons by a majority of more than two to one, it is almost doubtful whether it will yet overpower the cry of "No Popery" in the House of Peers, among the people, and with the king. Mr. Gallatin, who is here, and called upon me a few days since, thinks it will pass the House of Lords by a small majority.

May 11, 1829.

I was interrupted in the writing of this letter by information of a domestic calamity, of which you will have seen some account in the newspapers, and which has disqualified me for the time even for the performance of some of the duties of social life. The loss of my eldest son has been followed by an aggravation of the infirm health of his mother, and by an effect upon my own spirits, calling for more than the consolations of philosophy.

Mr. Southard, before he left this city, had met with an affliction similar in its nature, though not equally severe, in the loss of his youngest daughter. He has returned home, and, I have learned, is recovering his health. Mr. Rush has sailed for England.

I expect to leave this place toward the close of this month. I have no intercourse with any member of the Administration, and am a silent observer of passing events.

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JOHN L. LAWRENCE TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, May 2, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—Since our separation at Gottenburg, I have had but few opportunities of presenting myself to your remembrance, except in the way of recommending to your notice, personally or officially, some whom I deemed worthy of it. Let my motive excuse me for now obtruding on a subject, immediately relating to yourself, but interesting to the nation at large.

A report reached us on the 30th ult., that a duel had been



fought in which Mr. Pope was your antagonist, which terminated fatally to you. Although it came in so questionable a shape as to warrant disbelief, it filled the minds of our worthiest citizens with apprehensions of its truth. Idle as the arrival of successive mails has proved the rumor to be, it has forced the community to reflect, most seriously, on the consequences that would flow from the reality, and has created feelings, of which, I am sure, you will not be regardless.

In looking for relief from the evils, actual and prospective, to which an inconsiderate admiration of great military talent has exposed the country, the eyes of the largest portion of the intelligent and reflecting turn to you, as the instrument of our deliverance. From you, therefore, duties are manifestly owing of higher obligation than any purely personal. It is undoubtedly difficult to repress the sensibilities of an honorable mind smarting under wrongs, and goaded by their repetition; but the effort is noble in itself, and is imperatively demanded by your present relations to your fellow-citizens. The sentiment, that in a crisis like this, all private considerations should yield to our regard for the national welfare, is one to which you are pledged by repeated declarations. I submit, whether you have not thus offered the guarantee of your personal reputation, that no matters merely affecting yourself shall tempt you to endanger the public cause?

It is not my intention to enter into prosing remarks on duelling, or to say that it never ought to be resorted to. Your own affair at Washington was perhaps unavoidable, situated as you then were. But your position has materially changed with the times, and brings a corresponding change of obligation along with it. Public sentiment would now condemn what then it might excuse or even approve. The honest prejudices of the people exact from you a homage which need not before have been accorded. In a large section of the Union the practice is regarded with horror. In our own, where the pistol has been as fashionable and as fatal as elsewhere, appeals to it, as the arbiter, have become absolutely disreputable. Even in those States where duelling is yet countenanced, I apprehend that it is a necessary recourse only when one's character for personal courage might suffer by declining. This motive can not operate in your case. Were your worst enemy required to pronounce on that point he would probably censure you for being too chivalrous.

Besides the considerations above stated, there is another demanding much attention. The new Administration is essentially belligerent; and without a corps of sharpshooters its arrangements would seem incomplete. It might, peradventure, be imagined by some self-constituted legion of honor, that your removal from "this world of woe" were a meritorious service! If it be understood that you are to take the field whenever an adversary gives occasion, you may make up your mind to successive hazards of your life, until the catastrophe shall be accomplished.

I have been thus plain, perhaps I ought to say abrupt, on this subject, because I have seen and felt how intimately it is connected with the best hopes of the country. A repetition of apology is needless to one of your own frank disposition. On that disposition I rely for permission to add my confidence, that if similar reports shall hereafter reach us, we may at once stamp them with discredit and denial.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 12, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 29th ultimo is duly received. I must refer you to the public prints for the incidents of a journey which, though performed at an unpleasant season, and over bad roads, was full of gratification, on account of the testimonials of esteem, public and private, by which it was attended. On Saturday next I am to attend a public dinner, which promises to be the largest ever given in this State.

I have been much occupied, since my return, with repairs to my house, grounds, and farm. As far as I have yet been able to learn the state of public feeling and sentiment toward me, it is far from being unfavorable, except with a few of the most violent of the Jackson party. Many of them have come out openly for me, and several of the most prominent of them in this district have communicated their wishes that I would offer for Congress. I could not only be elected with the most perfect ease, but I have reason to believe that there would be no opposition from any quarter whatever. The public, nevertheless, confiding, perhaps, too much in my judgment as to what is best to be done, is entirely disposed to acquiesce in any resolution I

may take. That which I have adopted, is, to offer for no office at present, and until I can see more distinctly than I do now how I can be useful, but to remain in private life, attending to the care of my private affairs, and the re-establishment of my health. I was consulted repeatedly to know if I would serve in the Legislature, but I thought it best to decline.

There is enough in passing events, God knows, to alarm, to arouse, and to urge to the most strenuous exertions; but, if I were to put myself forward, my motives and my actions would be questioned, and perhaps the reaction so desirable would be retarded, instead of being accelerated. Others, I think, had better take the lead, who stand in attitudes less likely to excite passion and prejudice. Above all, we must rely upon the reflections and convictions among the Jackson party themselves. Already they begin to repent, that is, many of the better portion of them. Pride restrains them from denouncing openly, with their mouths, an Administration which they detest from their hearts. As time elapses, and new events are developed, they will take courage, and finally concur in restoring the civil rule.

I have not determined to return to the practice of my old profession, and nothing but necessity will compel me to put on the harness again. That I hope to be able to avoid.

I must request that you will keep me informed of all that relates to your Convention, its composition, etc., etc.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, May 19, 1829.

MY DEAR FATHER,—You caution me against remitting my efforts in my present pursuits, in my eagerness to enter upon the study of the law. I hope, and at present feel confident, that I shall preserve my rank in my class. The course of studies of his year is by no means so difficult as that of the last, or of the coming year. I now find time to attend to some studies which I believe will be useful to me when I commence the study of law. I am reading Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. I take much interest in it. The subjects treated of are such as would present themselves continually to a man's mind in our country of laws and of free inquiry. The style of the work is very dif-

ferent from the general style of the French, for it is both concise and comprehensive.

I shall be with you by the 1st of July. Remember me to our friends.

P. S.—I would be glad if you would send me an application by you for a furlough for me. I believe I have not mentioned this to you before, although it ought to have been done, for by a regulation of the Academy, it is required that the application of the parent or guardian should be handed in, together with that of the cadets, on the 1st of June.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, June 2, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have lately purchased in Washington County, Pennsylvania, fifty full-blooded Merino ewes, the choice out of three hundred, part of one of the finest flocks in the country, which belonged to the late Mr. R. W. Meade, whose persecution and sufferings were so well known in Spain. The choice was made by a friend of mine, himself one of the largest sheep owners in Pennsylvania, and one of the best judges that I know of. There are about sixteen or eighteen lambs with them, and I suppose an equal portion of rams. I expect them all at Maysville in the course of eight or ten days, on their way to my residence.

It is my intention to let a few of my particular friends have about a dozen of them, at reasonable prices. If you wish any of them you may have your choice of an ewe with the ram lamb belonging to her, at \$25 for both. Should you decide to take them, you may show this letter to Messrs. January & Co., as their authority for delivering them to you.

Is there not danger, my dear sir, of an adverse result to the Congressional election in your district? I fear it, and I hear perhaps some things that you do not. There is much dissatisfaction among our friends in Bourbon, as I regret to learn. They think that they are entitled to the member. Can you not devise some plan to collect and concentrate public opinion in behalf of one candidate of the party of our friends? There is no one in the district that I should be more happy to see elected than yourself; and I hope, if you continue to offer, that you may

be. But if it be impracticable, from any cause, perseverance might display resolution without leading to any good issue. Perseverance indeed, without success, might lead to the worst consequences to yourself and to the district. It might give a permanently unfriendly character to the district. Such I have several times observed to be the effect of divisions elsewhere among our friends.

There is always danger, which I trust I need not guard you against, of the opposite party practicing deception in regard to the prospects of candidates among their opponents.

I pray you, my dear sir, to appreciate the friendly motives which have dictated these observations, to which you will give just so much weight as they deserve.

Under all circumstances and every contingency I pray you to believe me sincerely your friend.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, June 7, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been mortified by the late movements in Bourbon, in bringing out Mr. Marshall for the House of Representatives, lest you might suppose that when I wrote to you a few days ago, I had some knowledge that they were in contemplation. Such a supposition would be very far from the fact. I had no more knowledge or information about them, when I wrote that letter, than the man in the moon. I had indeed understood from Mr. Marshall himself, that he would not be a candidate, and I was well pleased with that decision, because I believed it to be in conformity with the best interests of his family. And now I have no doubt, indeed I have heard that he had been brought out, most reluctantly on his part, in consequence of the state of things to which I alluded in my last, as existing in Bourbon.

I derived information of that state of things, principally from Mr. Rain, the sheriff of Bourbon, and Mr. Spiers, who were at my house the day after the dinner at Fowler's garden. They both represented the dissatisfaction in Bourbon, among our friends, to be very great, because a candidate was not selected from that county, and they both concurred in expressing the belief that they could not be prevailed upon to rally at the polls

on any candidate out of Bourbon, Mr. Rain expressing that opinion with more, and Mr. Spiers with less, confidence. I urged them to support you. They said that they hoped some measure would be yet adopted to collect the sense, and unite the exertions of our friends throughout the district. I of course supposed that that measure would be some such as was adopted last year. I went to Madison on Tuesday last, and it was not until my return on Thursday, that I learned what had transpired in Bourbon.

I have thought these statements due to our long and warm friendship, and I hope they will be received in the spirit in which they are made.

I have not yet heard of my sheep having been started.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

LOUISVILLE June 26, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I quit this city with much regret, on account of my not seeing you. The trial of young Wickliffe, fixed for Tuesday next, and the preparations incident to it, oblige me to go. I have, during four days, been in constant expectation of your arrival. I am informed by rumor only, of your being on board the *Hibernia*.

I have not time to enter into details on public affairs. Unless my friends are greatly deceived, there is not a particle of doubt about the disposition of Kentucky to support me, and although it is too early to draw the line between those who are for, and those who are against me, we have reason to hope the friendship of the majority of the next Legislature.

I should be extremely delighted to see you at Ashland. Can you not visit us? If not, do let me hear from you.

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MR. VAUGHAN TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I return you my very best thanks for the promptitude with which you have executed my commission, and procured for me a genuine Kentucky rifle. I shall hope to receive it about the time of the meeting of Congress, if not before. I find the opportunities of sending any thing from Washington

to Kentucky by private hands rarely occur. I have long had in my possession, the portrait of a spaniel dog, lithographed by a very young boy, the son of our friend Christopher Hughes. Among many copies which he sent to me to distribute among his friends at Washington, was one for Mrs. Clay. To send it by the post would be to risk spoiling it. Do suggest to me some means of forwarding it.

I have a letter from Christopher Hughes, dated the 10th of May, when he was waiting with anxiety to know his fate, whether he was to be *envoyé* or *renvoyé*. I am very sorry to know that by this time he must be aware that he is to be superseded by Mr. Preble, and I do not yet hear what other appointment he is likely to get.

Mr. Ouseley is to embark on the 8th, at New York, for England, with the first statement on the part of the United States, respecting the Boundary Question, referred to arbitration. I think the statement well done.

I am glad of an occasion of opening a communication with you. You will be glad to know that I am perfectly satisfied with the conduct and feelings of the present President, in all communications which I have had with his Government, as British minister.

I leave it to others better informed than myself, to tell you the news of Washington. I am glad to find that you justly appreciate the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, in carrying through the Catholic Relief Bill. The difficulties were insurmountable for any other man.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Clay and all your family, not forgetting Johnny, believe me ever yours, etc.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, July 9, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received and have attentively read your favor of the 26th ultimo, with the inclosure, the address to the voters of the Second Congressional district. I entertain no doubt that you have correctly represented the purport of your interviews with Major Allen, and that you have been unjustly dealt by on account of them.

I view with inexpressible regret the state of things in your dis-

trict, and I should be most happy to learn that any mode had been adopted to concentrate on yourself, or any other friend, the votes of those who concur in their political principles. Can no such mode be fallen upon? Is it not yet practicable to convene persons together from all parts of the district? Of what avail to the present candidates, on the same side, can it be to persevere, with the certainty of defeat before them all? How will the honor of any one of them be vindicated by such a course? Defeat can neither gratify friends nor the candidate himself. It may display his resolution, but it can prove nothing else. Most certainly neither of the candidates can feel gratified by being the instrument (should such be the result) of the failure of his competitor on the same side.

The existing state of things can afford pleasure to none but our opponents. They alone will profit by it. And I fear that it may lead, in your district, to pernicious consequences permanently.

I have not seen nor heard directly from Mr. Marshall since he was announced. I believe him utterly incapable of deception; and I therefore feel confident that he has been brought out contrary to his wishes; for he told me in April that he had no desire whatever to be a candidate. I do not know him, if he would not concur in any honorable expedient by which a member can be returned favorable to those views of national policy which both he and you entertain.

But I must leave this painful subject, fearing, I confess, that owing to the unhappy divisions among friends, we are destined to add another to the long catalogue of defeats, from the same cause, which we have sustained within a few years.

I have been disappointed in not receiving the Merino sheep, which, I presume, have been kept to be sent when the weather is somewhat cooler. You shall be advised of their arrival.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, July 18, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter of the 8th instant, under date at Maysville, and I perused with great satisfaction the information and reflections it contains. Although I have an aversion to some long letters, it does not extend to that, and you would greatly oblige me by frequently writing me similar



ones. I agree with you in most of the reflections which you have communicated. The elements undoubtedly exist for a serious, if not doubtful struggle, at the next presidential election. I believe with you, that, on certain contingences, General Jackson will be again brought forward. But whether he should be or not, if the party that elected him can be kept together, in any considerable extent, it will be formidable, whoever else may happen to be taken up. The next session of Congress will, I think, greatly add to the dissolvents of that party which are now operating. Whatever the President may say or recommend in his message to Congress, his friends in the body must divide on certain leading measures of policy. Each section of it will claim him as belonging to it, if he should be silent, and a quarrel between them is inevitable. On the contrary, if he speak out his sentiments (probably the safest course for him, whatever they may be), he must throw from him all of his party who are opposed to his sentiments, and those thus cast off, must, sooner or later, attach themselves to the party which has all along been adverse to the General. If, for example, he comes out for the Tariff, the South leaves him, and will try another change, if it can effect it, of the office of chief magistrate. If he comes out in opposition to the Tariff, there will be such an opposition to him in the Tariff States, as must prevent his re-election.

The worst course for those who were opposed to his election, and are now unwilling to see him re-elected, is that he should declare himself unequivocally for the Tariff. The best course for them is, that he should come out clearly against the Tariff. In the former case, it would be difficult to detach, in sufficient numbers, the friends of the system from him, and make them comprehend the expediency of supplanting the head of an Administration favorable to their views. This was done in the case of Mr. Adams, but that was an exception, from various causes. In the latter supposition it would not, I think, be at all difficult or impracticable to unite the friends of the Tariff, and place at the head of the Administration one who would promote their policy. In short, I think matters have come, or are rapidly tending, to such a state of things, that those who are in favor, or those who are against certain measures of policy, must govern. Masks must be cast off, and the real color and complexion of men and their opinions must be seen.

In respect to my future personal movements, I hope so to cou-

duct myself as to satisfy my friends. I appeared for young Wickliffe with some reluctance. I would have avoided doing so, if I could have avoided it honorably. But the case had such a triumphant issue, that I have been greatly benefited by it, in this State, instead of being injuriously affected.

I will write you after the result of the August elections is certainly known. Prospects continue very good, but they are better for the State Legislature than for Congress. In Chambers' late district you saw what they were. Mr. Marshall has declined, but Beatty's election is still regarded uncertain.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, August 26, 1829

MY DEAR SIR,—The result of our Congressional elections was not as favorable as might have been, owing to bad arrangements. Beatty was beaten by a majority of only twelve, owing to Bedinger's perseverance as a candidate, and his own want of tact. In Tom Moore's old district our triumph is complete.

In both branches of our General Assembly we have large majorities, bordering upon two thirds in each, of friends of the late Administration. The majorities friendly to me are still larger.

Ought our Legislature to do any thing, and what, at the ensuing session? Let me know your opinion, and that of our friends in your quarter.

It may adopt either of two courses: Make a direct nomination, or, avoiding that, limit itself to an expression of undiminished confidence and attachment, and a discrediting of calumnies, etc., etc. What is best? Or is it best to embrace neither course?

My health continues good. Mrs. Erwin remains at Ashland, but I shall accompany her to Russellville about the 10th of next month.

My affectionate regards to Mrs. J.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, September 5, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—My friend Mr. Ewing informs me that he sent my sheep on the 26th ultimo, from his residence, near Washington, in Pennsylvania, in the care of a man whose name he has

omitted to mention. They were to proceed by land, and were expected to travel at the rate of about fifteen miles per day. If no accident has happened, they ought to be at Maysville about the time this letter reaches you. I will thank you to take measures to secure a knowledge of their arrival, so that you and Mr. Foreman may make choice of the ewe and ram lamb which I have reserved for each of you. Should you prefer not to take the dams of the particular lambs which you may choose, you are at liberty to take other ewes, without lambs, in lieu of them. As the weaning-time is at hand, I thought this option might be agreeable to you. This letter is an authority for the selection which you may make, as well as your friends.

I received your favor in regard to the unfortunate issue of the election. You have no friend who more sincerely regrets it than I do; but as that is now unavailing, I hope, with you, that it may lead to no lasting consequences of a nature to be deprecated.

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ALEXIS DE SARCY\* TO MR. CLAY.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1829.

SIR,—To address you directly through the mail is hazardous, and as I have information to communicate which I deem of importance as well to you personally as to the country, you may expect in a few days to hear from me, under cover to some friend in Lexington. In that dispatch you will learn the mode of communicating with me.

There is a Virginian at present residing in Franklin, in Louisiana, a Dr. John N. Field, he is an active zealous friend to you, and has influence which he uses freely; he receives "The Focus;" send him "The Reporter." The cause derives benefit from his efforts.

---

HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, September 18, 1829.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I received your favor of the 3d instant. I am glad to be able to write, in answer to a portion of it, that I am not only satisfied about West Point, but, in fact, am so well persuaded that advantages closely connected with my fu-

\* An assumed name.

ture welfare may result from the continuation of my academic course, that nothing would now induce me to leave this place. My dear father, your kindness and indulgence have convinced me that I have greatly erred, and that I can not too soon ask your forgiveness of my offense. When I wished to act in direct opposition to your decided advice, by not returning to West Point, my unwillingness to return did not arise from any obstinacy of opinion as to the utility of the course of this school, but merely from a sanguineness of success which so often leads young men to suppose that they are as competent to contend against the difficulties of the law, at eighteen years of age, as they will be at any future time. However, all this has passed by, and I am now completely submissive. You tell me that you wish me to receive your opinions, not as commands, but as advice. Yet I must consider them as commands, doubly binding, for they proceed from one so vastly my superior in all respects, and to whom I am under such great obligations, that the mere intimation of an opinion will be sufficient to govern my conduct.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASELAND, September 5, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received both your favors of the 11th July and 4th ultimo, to which I should have sooner replied, but for my absence from home, and that I did not suppose there was any urgency in my transmitting a reply.

On public affairs, I have but little to say in addition to what you will find in the public prints. The result of our election to the Legislature of Kentucky, gave a decided majority, beyond all doubt, to our friends, in both of its branches. The people of the State would, to-morrow, give a different decision from what they did in November last, upon the same state of the question on which they then acted; that is, a contest between the same parties. The manner in which the power of patronage has been exercised, has dissatisfied thousands who voted for Jackson. There is a large class of his supporters who now avow that their opposition was to Mr. Adams, and not to me. This same distinction is taken in other Western States. I have every reason to be satisfied with the state of things in Kentucky. Whether any measures, in relation to myself, will be adopted at

the next session of our Legislature, and if any, what its character may be, will depend upon intervening events, and upon consultation among my friends after they assemble at the seat of Government.

I hardly know what to say about your land near Madisonville. It would afford me much pleasure to render you any assistance in my power, but I am afraid to assume any direction about it, lest I should not be able to do what might be necessary. The land is remote from me, and it would be as difficult for me to attend to the tenanting or processioning of it as it would be for you to perform the same operation on a tract of land in Franklin or Pittsylvania. I have great confidence in Triplett, and I think when you hear from him, he will account satisfactorily for his silence. My personal acquaintance in that quarter is very limited. I shall set out, in a few days, on a trip to Russellville, and perhaps I may meet with some one, during the performance of it, who may give me useful information in regard to your land, and I will bear the subject in mind, so as to make inquiries when opportunities shall occur. But I must advise that you would rely more particularly on some one residing nearer the land than I do. If it has no intruder upon it you are in no danger. But if there be any person settled on it claiming under an adverse title, it may be necessary for you to adopt measures, by bringing suit, or otherwise, to prevent the operation of the law of this State, commonly called the Seven Years' Limitation Law. According to that law, a peaceable and undisturbed possession, during seven years, under a title derived from the State, protects the occupant against any outstanding adverse claim. I need not tell you that the validity of the law is controverted; but it is wise not to be obliged to depend upon that plea exclusively. Pray remember me affectionately to Mrs. Brooke, and believe me ever cordially your friend.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, October 5, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received with great thankfulness your several interesting communications from Northampton, which shall be returned as you desire. I have also received your last favor, without date, from Washington. I have perused with great

attention these several letters. The contents of some of them are highly curious.

I envy you your pleasure at Boston. How much should I have been delighted, if I could have shared them with yourself and Mrs. J.

I have just returned from my dreaded tour to the southern part of this State. I went as far as Hopkinsville. Mr. and Mrs. Erwin, and four or five ladies from Mississippi, accompanied me to Russellville. From that point they proceeded to Nashville. The tour was full of gratification. Every sort of enthusiastic demonstration of friendship and attachment, on the part of the people, was made toward me. Barbecues, dinners, balls, etc., etc., without number.

I have been really in danger of that gout with which I have been threatened by some of the Jackson party. And tell Mrs. J. that if I had a younger heart, that also would have been in danger amid the blaze of beauty in the State of Green River. I thought the men, and women too, would devour me. I devoured many of their good dishes at their numerous festivals.

In spite of all my prudence, which nobody, I am sure, will question, I was forced to speak often and long. At Russellville, and Hopkinsville, I spoke upward of three hours together, to at least three thousand persons at each place. My addresses were never better received by all parties, nor were they ever more satisfactory to myself.

Things could not be expected to be more favorable in Kentucky than they are at this time. I entertain not a particle of doubt of there being at this moment a decided majority for me against all and every person whatever.

From what I hear, the Legislature will do something at the next session, to testify its regard for me. What that will be may depend on subsequent events. But something will be done. Should things remain pretty much as they now are, it may not, and I think, ought not to be a nomination. We ought not to take upon ourselves the responsibility of a premature agitation of a certain question. Still, events at Washington may possibly occur early in the winter, to render necessary, and to justify that measure. I think our friends may place all reliance on Kentucky, and on the discretion of the next general assembly.

Present me affectionately to Mrs. J., whose leisure I hope will permit her often to write me during your abode at Washington.

## MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, October 8, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Will you think of the suggestion contained in the inclosed letter, from a very worthy and intelligent friend, formerly in Congress, and send it to Niles, or some other complacent person to act upon, if you do not disapprove it?

I have nothing to send you from this quarter. In Kentucky and I believe generally in the West, we have every reason for encouragement.

I shall go to the last (I must sincerely hope) of the public barbecues in this State next week. That is in Mercer, to which I am invited by a majority of Jackson men. You know Mercer is the center of our State and Tom Moore's headquarters. If my addresses should satisfy me as well as those did at Russellville and Hopkinsville, it will do good.

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 JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, November 1, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will see by the papers our safe arrival announced in the unusually short passage of twenty-four days, during which time we enjoyed fine weather, excellent accommodations, and good society, in a splendid packet with an obliging captain. Mrs. Brown suffered throughout the voyage from seasickness, but I am happy in assuring you that her general health, if not materially improved, is certainly not impaired by the voyage. We have been received with the most flattering attentions by the respectable inhabitants of the city.

Be so good as to write to me in Philadelphia and let us know how you are, and what you are doing. They say here that many are anxious to make you President. Are you not tired of the troubled ocean of politics, or will you again launch into the busy strife? I hope my poor bark is once more safe in port, and it is not my intention again to meddle with politics unless driven to it by ill usage or persecution, which I do not now apprehend.

Be so good as to present our love to Mrs. Clay and all our dear relations. We are impatient to see them, but find Mrs. Brown's health too delicate to bear the journey.

## D. MALLORY TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, November 2, 1829.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of meeting your friend Mr. Johnson, the Senator of Louisiana, a short time since, and during our conversation, which related mostly to you, he advised my writing to you “fully and freely.”

You have known me a great many years, and during this long period of time, I think I can boast of having possessed your confidence to a flattering extent, considering my humble pretensions to influence. You have often honored me with your approbation, and have at various times given to my views and opinions attention and respect. If I have not succeeded in all respects to the extent my vanity and zeal had projected for your interest, I have the approbation of numerous acquaintances that industry and attention have not been spared to accomplish these views.

I have but recently returned from a visit to several of the New England States, and my information is certainly cheering as it relates to you. In Boston, during a stay of nearly two weeks, I had various and highly interesting communications made to me on the state of public opinion. The result of these, and numerous others made at other times and in other States and places, is, that there is scarcely a doubt but that nearly all the States north and east of this will join heartily in your nomination. The excitement on this subject in these sections of the country is much greater than I had supposed. We can securely rely on Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont, and if by any casualty the “hero” is out of the question, no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the other two.

The wish is very general that you should visit them during the ensuing summer. I do not, however, consider a visit to them half so important or politic as a visit to New York. Some time previous to the late Presidential election, while I had the honor of a seat in the City Convention, I introduced a resolution expressive of a wish that a committee should be formed to invite you to the city. At that time, and since, but one opinion prevailed. It was unanimous among our party, and much good was anticipated by such an event. If it was deemed so important at that period, it surely is much more so now.

Mr. Johnson informed me that he believed it was your inten-



tion to visit General Porter next season ; if so, I trust you will not refuse us the gratification of a visit. Indeed, it will do much good. Thousands of people are anxious to see you, and among them are many leading and influential men.

I wrote to Mr. Smith, the editor of "The Reporter," a few days since, on the subject of a likeness of yourself, which I am about publishing from the portrait by Wood : will you do me the favor to request him to answer as early as his convenience will admit of it. I shall feel greatly honored and obliged by an early reply from yourself.

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MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—On my return here from the North a few days since, I received your letter of the 23d October, written at Frankfort, and inclosing the printed copy of Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Breckenridge of 12th August, 1803. It corresponds in opinion with his letter to Mr. Dunbar of nearly the same date, which had been published before.

The sacrifice of principle, by Mr. Jefferson, in sanctioning the assumption by Congress of the power to do that which he thus acknowledges could rightfully be done only by an amendment to the Constitution, is destined to produce consequences from which I turn my eyes.

I have written a reply to the Confederate Appeal of Mr. Giles' auxiliaries ; but have hitherto forborne to publish it. The friends to whom I have communicated it are not altogether agreed as to the expediency of its immediate publication, and I have cheerfully postponed it for the present. When published, I shall not fail of transmitting a copy of it to you.

I offer you my warm and sincere thanks as well for your condolence as for your congratulations. I have had the pleasure this day of seeing Mr. Clarke, and of hearing from him the entire re-establishment of your health. I saw Mr. Southard last Saturday at Philadelphia, and rejoiced at meeting him quite recovered both in health and spirits. Mr. Brown is also at Philadelphia ; but my stay there was so short I did not see him. I heard that Mrs. Brown's health was much improved.

MR. VAUGHAN TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Clark has delivered to me the rifle, and it seems to me to be, in workmanship, most perfect; and I am as well pleased with it as any child you ever saw with a new toy. Mr. Clark and Mr. Letcher have promised to teach me how to use it, and it will not be my fault if we have not a field-day very soon.

Gratified, as I feel, by your kindness in executing the commission which I took the liberty of giving you, to procure for me a genuine Kentucky rifle, which you have so admirably executed, it is very painful to me to be obliged to accompany my thanks with a severe scolding. Your friends tell me that they were specially instructed by you (in diplomatic phrase) not to allow me to reimburse you, through them, for the heavy expense which my commission has brought upon you. This is too bad, and makes me very restless. The only way in which you can soothe me is by telling me what article you want, or would covet, from England, as I shall have time to get it out before your friends return to Kentucky, after the session of Congress. If you will not make choice of something useful, I shall be obliged to send you some article which may prove very useless and very unacceptable. Exercise, therefore, your frankness, and pray put me in a way of executing a commission for you, in as acceptable a manner as you have just executed one for me. I shall ever be proud of the rifle as a memorial of your friendship.

I have not any public or private news to send you. I rejoice at the termination of the war in Turkey, and the opening of the commerce of the Black Sea has pleased all the world. As to politics at Washington, you will know better than I do what is the state of them. Congress has opened, it appears to me, in a perfect calm.

I have been lately out of spirits, on account of the death of a brother, who was younger than myself, and who was a clergyman of exemplary life and character, and who has left behind him a widow and thirteen children.

Mr. and Mrs. Johnston, Messrs. Letcher and Clark, and some others, your friends, are to dine with me on Christmas day, when we shall drink your health.

My kind regards to Mrs. Clay, and to Johnny.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, December 25, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 12th instant. I shall leave here for New Orleans, from the 16th to the 20th of next month, and I purpose remaining there until early in March. There will be time for a letter to reach me after you receive this, if you write by the next mail. Tell me how I can serve you while there—who is to be soothed, who to be won, to secure your next election. Whatever I can do on that subject, with propriety, shall be done.

Will you do me the favor to place the endorsed letter for Hughes in a train for reaching him? Poor fellow! he has met with most unkind and most unjust treatment.

With the compliments of the season to yourself and Mrs. Johnston.

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 MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, December 31, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 20th instant, under cover to Major Tilford, and franked by Judge Clarke, came safe to hand; and I thank you for the views and information which it communicates.

There is the best and most friendly disposition prevailing so far with our Legislature at Frankfort. They are disposed to do any thing right and politic; but, from what I learn, I presume nothing will be done but to present an argumentation-report in favor of the Tariff and Internal Improvements, in which will be embodied some friendly expressions concerning me. The Governor gets along without difficulty. Much good spirit exists in regard to the State's doing something for its own improvement; but the great obstacle is the want of means, and the want of union as to objects to be first undertaken.

I am busy in making preparation for my intended voyage to New Orleans. I purpose leaving home in less than a fortnight, about the 12th of next month. I regret to find that my expected visit there has already excited more expectation than I would have wished. I have heard nothing of General Van Rensselaer. I am afraid that the frightful state of our roads has deterred him

from making his intended detour. I shall lament this the more, because I think we should have arranged it to descend the river together.

P. S. Should you address me, as I hope you may, while I am at New Orleans, your letters put under cover to Nicholas Bertrand, Esq., Shipping-port, Kentucky, would quickly reach me.

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REV. JOHN S. BARGER TO MR. CLAY.

DEAR SIR,—I could not conscientiously drink to you a toast, but I indulge the hope that you will permit me to offer to Almighty God an humble prayer for the Hon. Henry Clay.

May God the Judge who “putteth down one and setteth up another” reward you with the confidence and highest honor of your happy country, for whose glory you have so arduously and faithfully toiled. May your labors for your country’s glory be at least equaled by your competitor and surpassed by your efforts to secure your Maker’s favor and to proclaim your Saviour’s renown. And having faithfully served your country and your God, may you largely and forever share with his saints the honors and kingdom of our common Saviour. Amen.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1830.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, January 12, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your Alma Mater is a petitioner to Congress. The affliction which has recently occurred, presents her in that posture. Transylvania University was the first temple of science erected in the wilds of the West. Do not these circumstances give some claim to the charity of a generous Government? If you think so, will you say one friendly word in behalf of the application?

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REV. WM. HAWLEY TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Permit me to return you my humble but sincere thanks for the very able, interesting, and I trust, useful speech in favor of the Colonization Society, which you have given to the public, a copy of which I received yesterday.

I had read it the day before in the "National Intelligencer" with a pleasure and satisfaction I will not attempt to describe. Not a word is out of place, nor is there a sentence too much or too little. The whole subject is presented in so clear a light and happy arrangement that he who runs may read and understand the object, the importance and the usefulness of the institution. The appropriate manner in which you have introduced the subject of Christianity and exhibited the powerful operation and extensive effects which would be produced by the successful accomplishment of the objects of the Society, in a religious point of view, will, I doubt not, command the united approbation of all denominations of Christians, and insure their cordial co-operation.

Our anniversary takes place next Monday and I hope to succeed in having this speech placed on the pages of our Report ; for it ought to be in the hands of every man, woman and child, throughout the country.

In your retirement from the honorable, but arduous situation, which you recently occupied, I hope your health has improved, and that the subject of religion, which you so eloquently advocate, and which my feeble endeavors to impress on your mind may have failed to accomplish to the extent of my wishes, will now occupy that portion of your time to which it has so powerful and just a claim both as it regards this world and that which is to come. In this world true religion sweetens all our joys, mitigates all our sorrows and eventuates in preparing us for the death of the righteous, and for those mansions of bliss prepared by the Saviour of the world for all those who truly love and obey him.

You have my earnest prayer that your life may be long preserved to your family and to your country, and that you may yet receive her highest reward for the many useful services you have rendered the Republic, and finally obtain an unfading crown of glory at the right hand of God.

Mrs. Hawley unites with me in affectionate regards to Mrs. Clay and yourself, and I beg you to accept the assurance of my very high esteem and respectful consideration.

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ALEXIS DE SARCY TO MR. CLAY.\*

February 11, 1830.

It will not be in my power to meet you so soon as I expected, but you may rest satisfied that all goes well. Be true to yourself, be discreet, and there is nothing to apprehend. Say nothing about Mr. Adams, nothing in allusion to him ; the reasons assigned in your speech, not long since, for accepting office under him, were injudicious. It will be impracticable for me to be in Kentucky earlier than May or June.

\* This note, and the following extract from a long letter of bold advice, are written over an assumed name, Alexis de Sarcy, but the writer appears to have been well-known to Mr. Clay, and a sort of Mentor. How he was entertained in this capacity, is not known. See another note from same, page 241.

## ALEXIS DE SARCY TO MR. CLAY.

SIR,—You are reputed to possess judgment, tact, a deep and correct knowledge of the human character, and a self-possession that never falters. I am not disposed to controvert the opinion, yet I think if you are to be judged by the events of the last five years, your claim to these qualities must be denied. During that period, you have committed errors so palpable and gross, that no man so distinguished could have been betrayed into. It might be ungracious, as well as unnecessary, to notice all the blunders of that time, but you will permit me to mention one, that remarkable one, your defense of yourself against the charge of “bargain, intrigue, and management.” Had you avowed a bargain, instead of denying, explaining, and defending, I am grossly mistaken in the character of the American people, if you had not sustained your popularity at its highest flow. If, instead of your letter to your constituents, and all your other letters and speeches and sayings, and the sayings of all your friends, you had promptly declared that your vote for Mr. Adams was the result of a bargain, of a pledge on his part, to support the American system and internal improvements, while General Jackson’s silence, reserve, and affectation of offended dignity at being approached, left you, the founder of the system, and all its other friends, in doubt as to the policy of his administration upon these subjects—that this consideration, added to your other objections to the General, had decided your course upon that question, and that you accepted the Department of State under the influence of the same motives, to aid in extending and supporting the system, with a determination to resign and oppose the Administration, if Mr. Adams played false—that it was the operation of such considerations which induced you to disregard the recommendation of the Kentucky Legislature, and offer yourself a victim on the altar of your country, as General Jackson had himself done in declaring martial law at New Orleans—had you done this, my life on it, the newspaper clamor would have been hushed, that prolific theme been removed, and your adversaries confounded. It is over! How shall we repair the loss and correct the evil?

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

NEW ORLEANS, February 27, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your several letters addressed to me in Kentucky, and at this place, have been received. Owing to the Ohio river being closed by ice, I did not receive the former as early as they would have reached me by land. That obstruction being now removed, and boats daily arriving from Louisville, I shall receive the letters of my friends with more regularity, during the ten or twelve days that I propose yet to continue in this city. Except the two short excursions to Mr. Goniot's and Mr. Millegan's, I have not been out of the city and its immediate neighborhood. I have been treated throughout with the greatest respect and attention. Some of the more prominent Jacksonians, especially those who are expecting offices, keep at a distance; but all others, embracing many of that party, have been extremely civil. I have been invited to public dinners at Memphis, Vicksburg, Fort Gibson, Natchez, and Baton Rouge, but I have declined all, except that proposed at Natchez.

I have been often with your friend, Judge Porter, who I think worthy of all the fine things you have said of him to me. I like him extremely, and hope that our acquaintance will leave impressed upon him toward me the same sentiments of esteem and friendship which I feel for him.

I shall expect eagerly Mr. Webster's second speech on Mr. Foote's resolution, of which your letters and those of other friends have communicated such flattering accounts. The triumph which he enjoyed was a noble one. I fear his resolution against Duff Green was premature, and dictated by a chafed and proud spirit, indignant at his vile misrepresentations. His ninth Thermidor has not, I fear, yet arrived.

I have been agreeably surprised to find the opinion in favor of the Tariff so general and so strong in this State. You must not be surprised to find yourself shortly instructed by the Legislature to support it. From what I learn, at least two thirds of the Legislature, if not more, are in favor of it; but they have great difficulty in collecting and keeping the members at Donaldsville.

Duralde has declined being a candidate for Governor, at a moment when, they tell me, his election would have been certain, if Roman had declined, and probably if he would not. He did



not wish to produce divisions among friends, and really cared nothing about the office.

My best respects to Mrs. Johnston.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ON BOARD THE CALEDONIA, NEAR BATON ROUGE, March 11, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will perceive, from the inclosed, that my anticipation has been realized. You will now be at liberty to pursue your own judgment in relation to the great measure referred to. On that subject two grounds will naturally suggest themselves to you, as forming a justification for your future course: 1st, the will of your constituents; and, secondly, that you will not assist in disturbing an established policy.

I expect to reach Natchez to-morrow morning, and I shall remain there until Sunday the 14th, when I shall ascend in the George Washington.

All parties tell me that your re-election is safe. I think you were wise in declining being a candidate for the office of Governor. Roman, I believe, will be elected. I think it the interest of our friends to unite on him. There is a good prospect of our returning those friends to the House of Representatives; and yet I am not without fears that we may lose the majority in your Legislature. The city of New Orleans is the pivot; and it is extremely difficult there to animate our friends to proper exertion. It will be well for you to come here after the close of Congress. My cordial regards always to Mrs. Johnston.

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MR. DURALDE\* TO MR. CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, March 18, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, by the return of William Claiborne, your letter of the 14th instant. I was glad to hear that Henry, so far, had been a good boy, and had given no trouble to those around him. I shall feel greatly relieved when I hear of your safe arrival at Louisville.

Your friends here feel grateful toward the people of Natchez

\* Son-in-law to Mr. Clay.

for having treated you so kindly during your short stay among them.

The resolutions concerning the Tariff, which passed the Senate unanimously, have also passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, there having been but seven dissenting votes.

Unless a very great change should take place, I have no doubt but that A. B. Roman will be elected Governor of this State in July next.

Mr. Thomas Hart, who is the bearer of this, will give you the pocket-handkerchief you had left at Donaldsonville.

Present my best respects to Mrs. Clay, and to the rest of the family, and remember me to my dear, dear little Henry.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

FRANKFORT, March 25, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I reached this place this morning from Louisville. My passage from Natchez in the George Washington comprehended all the agreeable circumstances. Nothing could surpass the warmth of my reception in Mississippi. Both parties attended the dinner and ball at Natchez, and they vied with each other in their testimonies of respect. I had the satisfaction to make the acquaintance of Drs. Duncan and Mercer, with both of whom I was much pleased.

I believe that I have not heretofore said to you, that I found in Louisiana an unanimous and strong opposition to the acquisition of Texas. Your brother is disinclined to offer at the next election for the Legislature. I endeavored to overcome his repugnance. I think he ought to be there, where he might essentially serve you. He has an excellent standing in the House. General Thomas will beat Ripley with ease for Congress, if those two only offer.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, April 6, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 14th ultimo transmitted through a friend. It discloses a state of public affairs at Washington, both curious and mortifying. Your ac

counts and conclusions are substantially concurred in by other friends who write me. If the incompetency of the President could be manifested to the public, I have no doubt, with you, that his re-election would be impracticable. But how is that to be done? How, especially, will that large portion of it which contributed to place him where he is, be made to believe his unfitness?—particularly when majorities in both Houses continue to support all, even his most exceptionable acts?

I say, continue to support them. For I infer, from what I have seen, that the principle of removal, in its most odious form, has been sanctioned by the majority. What does the Senate believe will be thought of its dignity and independence, in after time, when it will sanction (as in the case of the Treasurer of the United States) the removal, without cause, of a high public officer, whose appointment it only a few months before approved? Does it imagine that the miserable sophistry of that pliant tool, Felix Grundy, will justify it? According to him, the Senate can not look beyond the mere question of fitness of the person nominated; the President acts upon his responsibility, and there is no remedy but in impeachment! Does he not see that he strips the body of one of its most important constitutional functions—that of operating as a check upon the executive? Does he not see that the Senate, after making itself a particeps with the President in a dangerous and pernicious proceeding, will be a very unfit and unsafe tribunal to arraign him before for that identical proceeding?

The consequence, I fear, will be, of this approbation in both houses of the worst acts of the President, that the Jackson portion of the public will be lulled into security, and believe that all is right. In this point of view, I have thought it of much importance that, when any great principle was involved (such as the appointment of editors, or removals without cause), the Senate would show itself worthy of the esteem which it once enjoyed, by putting itself against the evils to be dreaded.

You perceive no effect, at a distance, from the state of things which you describe at Washington. Witness the result in New Hampshire.

If Mr. Calhoun really intends to set himself up in opposition to General Jackson, I should begin to think there was a prospect of some division that might lead to beneficial results.

Do not imagine from any thing that I have said that I at all

despair of the Republic. I only fear that the day of soundness and sanity is more distant than you believe.

Mr. Chilton's last letter on the comparative expenditures of the two Administrations, like his first, will do good.

I shall not disappoint my friends in remaining still. I shall remain more than ever at Ashland, the occupations of which I relish more than ever.

Duralde writes me that the Tariff resolution, which I informed you had passed the Senate of Louisiana unanimously, has passed the House with only seven dissentients. I sent you a copy of the resolution, which I hope you received.

I heard nothing more, after I wrote you, of Waggerman's opposition to you. I hope it will not take place. Our friends were very confident of your success, but you should go home after the session. Duralde thinks Roman will be elected Governor.

I will thank you to remit me the amount you may receive from Mann, in a check of the office of Discount and Deposit, at Washington, on the Bank of the United States, at Philadelphia. My warmest regards to Mrs. Johnston.

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WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO MR. CLAY.

STEAMBOAT TELEGRAPH, NEAR MAYSVILLE, April 11, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I would have written to you immediately upon my arrival in the United States if I had not heard that you had gone on a visit to New Orleans, to inform you that I had forwarded your letter to General Bolivar, from Bogota, and that I had received a note from him acknowledging its reception and adding that there "was no answer." Herewith I send a pamphlet which I have lately published, in which you will find a letter addressed by me to the same distinguished character, to which also he did not think proper to reply. I could have inserted many interesting circumstances which I omitted from the fear of injuring persons who still remain subject to the power of the Colombian Government.

Accept for yourself and family my best respects.

MR. CLAY TO REV. JAMES E. WELCH.

ASHLAND, April 17, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your very friendly letter of the 5th instant, and to thank you for the information which it contains, and for your kind endeavor to vindicate me from the aspersions to which I have been exposed on account of my public conduct. I have almost daily proofs of the general conviction which prevails of my having been wronged; and I have full confidence that my fellow citizens will ultimately render me perfect justice. These good feelings were strongly manifested toward me during a late visit I made to Louisiana. Every where I was received with warmth and cordiality, and, in some instances, with enthusiasm. When the passions lately so strongly excited, shall subside, and the people come to reflect on the past, and to reason upon the promises made by or for the successful Presidential candidate, and the shameful violation of all of them at Washington, they can not fail to come to right conclusions.

I met Colonel Drake to-day and delivered him your message, as I will endeavor to recollect to do to the other gentlemen mentioned by you.

Accept my best wishes for the success of the cause in which you are engaged, and for your individual prosperity.

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 DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have heard with great pleasure of your safe arrival at your own home, after your interesting trip down the great river; and we all enjoyed, as sincerely as you could have done, the tokens of regard and affection which the good people manifested toward you at the various points of your tour. More than all, it was gratifying to hear from Mr. Poinsett such excellent accounts of your health.

\* \* \* \* \*

The President means to be re-elected. He has meant so all along. Seeing this, Van Buren has been endeavoring to make a merit of persuading him to do so, on the ground of its being necessary to keep the party together. Calhoun is more than

half reconciled to it from two considerations : first, he hardly feels as confident as he has done, of his own present strength ; second, he regards the chance of succession, in seven years, as pretty important. If any thing should prevent General Jackson from being a candidate for re-election, my hopes would now be exceeding strong of beating both Van Buren and Calhoun. How it will be expedient for us to act, in case the present incumbent should actually be candidate again, we can better determine hereafter. My own firm belief is, that if we were to let the Administration, this session and the next, have their own way, and follow out their own principles, they would be so unpopular as that the General could not possibly be re-elected. I do not mean by this, that we should let them disturb the Tariff, or injure any other existing interest ; still less that we should, in the slightest degree, vote or act against our own principles. All these being safe, and all existing interests preserved, I still think if we leave to them to decide on new measures of internal improvement, etc., according to their own will, they will soon find what the sense of the people is. But I forbear further talk.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, April 19, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 8th instant. I returned from Louisiana about three weeks ago. My visit to that State and to Mississippi, was full of gratification. Not a single painful incident occurred. Every where my reception was warm and cordial, and sometimes enthusiastic. The Legislature of Louisiana paid me a compliment, the more estimable because it was spontaneous, and without previous concert. When I unexpectedly attended it, the whole body (Speaker and all), without distinction of party, rose to receive me. While I was in that State, its Senate passed unanimously a resolution in favor of the Tariff, which has since been concurred in by the House of Representatives, with only seven dissentients. Nothing could have surpassed the cordiality of my reception and entertainment at Natchez. At one of the largest public dinners I ever attended, I found myself in the midst of about equal numbers of both parties. A Jackson man sat on my right, an Adams man on my left. From all that I learned, I should think that the vote of

Louisiana would certainly be given me against any one, and that of Mississippi against any one but Jackson. Against him also, if he continues, during the next two years, to lose his popularity there in proportion to his loss this last year.

As to the state of things at Washington, you are probably as well, if not better informed than I am. My friends, prior to the recent nomination in Pennsylvania, were sanguine, extremely sanguine, of success. They represent great animosity as existing between the partisans of Calhoun and Van Buren, inso-much that each party prefers me to the other; and that there are not thirty members of Congress who desire Jackson's re-election.

Events which may have already happened, or which may occur in the course of the residue of the present session of Congress, will throw great light on the future. If the three great States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, should unite on any particular candidate, opposition to that candidate will be unavailing, in all probability. If there should be no such union, Jackson himself or either of the two prominent members of his party, may be beaten. Of the prospect of the supposed union, you can form as correct a conjecture as I can.

Meantime I assure you, most sincerely, that I feel myself more and more weaned from public affairs. My attachment to rural occupation every day acquires more strength, and if it continues to increase another year as it has the last, I shall be fully prepared to renounce forever the strifes of public life. My farm is in fine order, and my preparations for the crop of the present year, are in advance of all my neighbors. I shall make a better farmer than statesman. And I find in the business of cultivation, gardening, grazing, and the rearing of the various descriptions of domestic animals, the most agreeable resources.

I presume your new Constitution will be adopted. It has incorporated in it some very exceptionable elements of aristocracy. I should, nevertheless, vote for it, if I had a vote, as being, with all its defects, preferable to the old Constitution. I am curious to learn those anecdotes occurring at Richmond, which you are afraid to intrust to the mail. I think a letter communicating them, put under cover to the Honorable R. P. Letcher, at Washington, would reach me in safety. I have never been able to comprehend Mr. Madison's course. At a distance, it appeared to me marked by some inconsistency, which I regretted.

Mrs. Clay unites with me in best regards to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, April 24, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Upon my return home from New Orleans, I found here your two favors of the 28th December last, and 6th ult. Although I met a vast accumulation of correspondence and of business, I should have immediately answered your letters but, to tell the truth, for my desire to see the issue of the elections in your Legislature. My anxious looks were directed toward Richmond, on account of yourself especially, and other friends. The papers have at length brought the intelligence I desired, and I offer you my cordial congratulations on your election, which, under all circumstances, is as honorable as I hope it will prove satisfactory to you. You are not, I remark again, appointed President of the Court, but, considering every thing, I do not think you should be mortified or even regret that the choice and the responsibility have fallen on a younger man. It would have given me inexpressible pain if I could have believed that your friendship to me, which has been of such long duration, and such great value, had affected you injuriously.

Important events at home and abroad have happened since I last wrote you. These changes in Europe are so rapid that we have scarcely time to speculate on one before it is succeeded and supplanted by another. You will have heard probably by the time this letter reaches you, the decision of the question of a general war in Europe. I regret that such a war now seems to me almost inevitable. That regret will be diminished if we can remain at peace. But if there should be a general war, embracing England, she will make every endeavor to involve us in it. Such a purpose was openly avowed to me by men high in authority, when I was in England, on the contingency supposed.

Among the incidents at home, the correspondence between the President and Van Buren, is perhaps the most important occurrence during the late session of Congress. I think it lowers them both, although confining our consideration to the parties to the controversy, Mr. Calhoun must be allowed to have obtained the advantage.

What course he may take in respect to the next election I am uninformed. From the knowledge I possess of his character and disposition, I believe he will be regulated altogether by his



estimate of the probability of successful opposition to Jackson. If he thinks he can be defeated by himself or another, he will oppose his re-election directly or collaterally, according to circumstances. If he believes he can be defeated by no one, he will support his re-election, make a merit of a magnanimous sacrifice of his sense of his wrongs, and endeavor to enlist the gratitude and sympathies of the Jackson party to elevate himself hereafter. In any event, we can not fail to profit by the controversy.

Mr. Crawford's conduct, in respect to myself, surprised me. That he should, at the very period of holding such language toward me as he did in his letters, have been addressing letters to others containing the most improper expressions, betrays great duplicity. But, after his letter to me of March, in the last year, ought we to be surprised at any thing he may do? I have never written to him since I received that letter, nor do I desire any correspondence with him again. I shall not, however, permit the publication of his letter of March. It could only be justified by some public good, and I see none that it would accomplish. The public feeling of Louisiana in regard to the President is all that we could desire. Not a doubt can be entertained of the vote of that State by any one acquainted with it. There have been numerous changes, and some of very influential individuals. In Kentucky, both parties are preparing for a vigorous campaign. Our friends are confident of carrying majorities both in the General Assembly and in the House of Representatives. I was so greatly mortified with the issue of our last August election, that I am unwilling either to indulge or inspire hopes. I can not, however, but believe that nothing but a corrupt and most extensive use of money can defeat us. Of that there is some reason to fear.

As to the issue of the contest generally, my opinion remains the same that it has been for the last eighteen months. If Jackson loses either New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, he will be defeated. If he unites the votes of all three of those States, he will succeed. And I have generally supposed that the degrees of probability of loss to him of those States were in the order in which I have placed them. If I am right, he is most certain of Virginia. Of course I am unable to estimate the effect upon her of recent transactions, especially the correspondence and votes of your Senators.

The movement in Philadelphia is strong and encouraging. It remains to be seen whether it will be seconded in other parts of the State. I am afraid it will be. In New York some progress has been made toward effecting an union of the various parties opposed to the present Administration, but the problem is yet to be solved whether such an union can be accomplished.

The whole case presents one encouraging view. Jackson has lost, is losing, and must continue to lose. If the ratio of his loss hereafter shall equal what it has been in the two last years, he will be defeated.

I am much pressed to visit the north this summer; and although my judgment is opposed to any journey having a political object, or which might be construed into such an object, I have been somewhat shaken in my resolution by the great anxiety manifested. But I believe I shall resist it, and remain in Kentucky, where (will you believe it?) I am likely to make an excellent farmer. I am almost tempted to believe that I have heretofore been altogether mistaken in my capacity, and that I have, though late, found out the vocation best suited to it.

I received from our friend Call a very kind letter, and I have to request that you will ask him to consider this equally intended for his eye and your own. It has been a long time since I heard from him, but I see nobody from Richmond of whom I do not inquire about him; and I learn from all that he retains generally his good spirits, and his attachments with great constancy; of mine to him and you I pray you both to be fully persuaded.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, April 30, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 13th instant, communicating the rejection of Hill, and your expectation that Kendall will follow the same fate. This latter anticipation, from what others tell me, I apprehend, has not been realized. I attach some consequence to the rejection of these men. Who is the uncertain Senator? Is he from Indiana? If he be, it is to be attributed to his approaching election. If my information from that State be correct, he need not fear the issue, unless he proves treacherous to our cause.

I observe that you regard the movements of Harrisburg and Albany as putting Jackson in nomination. They may bear that interpretation, but they are also susceptible of another. The terms in which the two caucuses express themselves do not necessarily import the presentation of Jackson as a candidate. May not the movements be regarded as a stratagem of Van Buren to gain time, to disconcert his rival, to concentrate the Jackson party upon himself, and to come out, at a suitable time, as a candidate?

Ask Mr. Webster to show you a letter which I wrote him a few days ago, stating a proposition which I received from Mr. Crawford, and be pleased to regard that matter as strictly confidential, resting between you two. Mr. Crawford, supposing him to be in the secrets of Van Buren and his faction, does not appear, on the 31st of March, to have suspected that Jackson would be a candidate.

You inform me that my friends contemplate taking some decisive measures in regard to me, before they separate. I shall acquiesce in whatever decision they may make. If Jackson should be a candidate, and can unite upon himself the three States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, opposition to him will be unavailing. If either of those States can be detached from his support, I think he can be beaten. Whether that be practicable or not, you have better means, and are otherwise more competent to judge, than I am. \* \* \*

The disadvantage of delay, if we mean to act, is the uncertainty in which our friends among the great body of the people, are left. Already I have been frequently spoken to, and sometimes have been written to, to know if I am a candidate. Of course I give but one answer, which is, that I shall never present myself as a candidate.

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G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, May 4, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—The appearance of our friend, General Van Rensselaer here, within a few days, and some other incidents, have induced me to write you a few lines, before a contemplated voyage to Europe takes place. I was exceedingly pleased with the cheerful accounts General Van Rensselaer gave me of your

health, spirits, and well-deserved popularity at the West and South. The value of my political attachment to you consists in its disinterestedness. Having no selfish views, I am not obliged to seek selfish connections. Independent of my ardent wishes for the prosperity of the whole human race, I have lived too long here, and been too nearly and dearly connected with the United States to see with indifference its best interests the sport of irresponsible men, who owe their distinction to the temporary delusion of popular favor, and who know not how to vindicate their claims to distinction, in the eyes of men of sense and honor. My intercourse with you has always been very frank. I may never see you again, though I hope I shall. Wherever I am, I shall be most happy to see the Government of this country in your hands. I have been long satisfied you are the man America wants.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

LEXINGTON, May 4, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I received to-day your favor of the 29th ult. I had received from Mr. Yates a similar letter to that which he addressed to you, which I immediately answered, communicating all the information I could give him upon the subject to which it related. I therefore now return his letter to you, with the accompanying papers.

There is not the smallest ground for the intimation which you have received of Mr. Van Buren being disposed to decline in favor of Mr. Calhoun. On the contrary, there is the greatest animosity prevailing between these two rivals and their respective partisans. The late movements at Harrisburg and Albany, are well understood to have been prompted by Mr. Van Buren, to arrest the progress which Mr. Calhoun was making with the Jackson party, and I have no doubt that they are not to be taken as evidence that Jackson will ultimately be a candidate.

It is impossible that any reception could have been more warm and cordial than that which was given me below.

I am very busy farming, to which I am becoming every day more and more attached.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, May 9, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favors of the 28th and 29th ult. I do not think that the object of Colonel Benton and Colonel Hayne, in detaching the West from New England, has been at all promoted by their speeches on Foote's resolution. It has been well understood, and I think has entirely failed. However extensively their speeches have been circulated, they have not been so widely or so generally read as Mr. Webster's, and his triumph in that matter has been complete. Great aid has been afforded to him by the speeches of Mr. Sprague and Mr. Holmes. We are waiting anxiously, however, to see yours, and I hope you will not omit to send me the proof-sheets promised by you.

I am rejoiced at the passage in the House of Representatives, of the bill for the Maysville road. I sincerely hope you are correct in your anticipation of the concurrence of the Senate. The South will of course be opposed to it. If, as I hope, the New England Senators shall generally vote for it, there will be a fine commentary upon Colonel Benton's text. We shall then be able practically to know who are our real friends. Give my respects to our friends from New England, and tell them not to deprive us of the benefit of this weapon. The road, considered as a section of one extending from the Muskingum or Scioto, through Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Gulf of Mexico, is really of national importance. We observe that the New England delegation well entertained the measure in the House, and we trust that similar support will be given to it by her senators.

I have much information from both ends of the State of New York. It substantially corroborates the letters which you sent me. There seems to be perfect chaos in that State, and no one now can see what will come of it. If the friends of the late Administration, the workingmen party, and the anti-masons, should unite, they will compose a majority. Is it not probable that they will? The anti-masons will bring out Granger. I should think that the friends of the late Administration would support him against Troop or Foote; and even supposing those parties only were to co-operate, Granger would be elected.

By the time of the close of the Tariff debate, which Mr. McDuffie, I suppose, has precipitated, you will have a clearer view

of the whole ground. Its effect can not fail to widen the breach between the sections of the Jackson party.

I have entire confidence in the discretion of my friends as to the course which they may mark out. If Mr. Calhoun should be announced as a candidate, it will be clear. If not, the question will be as to the consequences of delay, or immediate action. The first part of it (delay) involves a consideration of the discouragement or separation of our friends which might ensue, and the second the concentration of all the fragments of the Jackson party upon Jackson, which might be the result. I shall be glad to hear from you soon.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, May 10, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received to-day your favor of the 30th ult., with the first part of the proof-sheets of your speech, which I have perused with much satisfaction. The editor of "The Reporter" promises to publish it in his next week's paper. With the candid its views will be regarded as large and liberal, and its vindication complete.

I regret Hendrick's course. It was not necessary to secure, but may endanger his re-election. He was already distrusted in his State, but was forgiven, or rather there was a disposition to overlook his course, in consideration of the circumstances under which he was placed. But if he votes for the printers, I think it probable he will be abandoned.

I am very anxious, as you may well suppose, about the passage of the Maysville bill. I hope our New England friends will not desert us in that measure. Their support of it will be worth a thousand of Benton's speeches.

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MR. VAUGHAN TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have procured for you from England a single-barrel gun, and with a percussion-lock, after having consulted with our friend Letcher, who was of opinion that you would prefer it to the common lock. You will find in the case

containing the gun a plentiful supply of percussion caps. In consequence of Judge Clark informing me that an opportunity offered of sending the gun to you, I sent it yesterday to his lodgings, and I trust that it is already on its way to Kentucky. I only hope that you will be as well satisfied with it as I am with the excellent rifle which you have presented to me, and which I am proud to have, as a memorial of your friendship.

It is expected that this session of Congress will close on the 31st instant, and I shall take the opportunity of sending to Mrs. Clay the lithograph print of a dog, executed by the son of Christopher Hughes, by our friend Mr. Clark or Mr. Letcher, and which has been due to her for so long a time.

I am happy to infer from what I read in the newspapers about your movements, that your health is very much improved. It will give me great pleasure to meet you again, and, with kind regards to Mrs. Clay and Johnny, believe me, etc.

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MRS. ERWIN (ANNE B.) TO HER FATHER, MR. CLAY.

SHELBYVILLE, May 15, 1830.

I HASTEN, my dear father, to answer your kind letter of the 1st, and to assure you that mamma and yourself can not desire that we should be with you more than we both wish it. Mr. Erwin always spoke of our joining you early in the summer, but his father being compelled to go to Georgia in a few days, he now feels himself obliged to remain here until he returns. We shall, however, be with you the last of July or early in August, and I hope we shall not then be separated for a great while, as we shall be guided pretty much by your movements.

I am happy to hear that you have been so good as to purchase us a pair of horses, as we are now without a good pair, intending to purchase when we should be in Lexington. As we shall not want them until then, you will please keep them for us. The pony you speak of has, I presume, been raised on the farm; it will, therefore, be doubly prized by me. Mr. Erwin wrote you, I believe, that he had sold your horses. I enjoyed a great many good rides from them, as we had just then purchased a servant who proved to be an excellent carriage driver, besides being a very good boy in other respects.

Mr. Erwin and his friend, Mr. Denton, arrived on the 10th

four or five days earlier than I expected them. They were not so fortunate as I was in getting up all the way by water, but they were detained at the mouth of the Cumberland, and then had a most tedious trip by land to Nashville.

I was a little surprised to see, by the last papers, uncle Porter Clay's marriage announced, although I presume it was a very suitable match, so far as age is concerned.

My little children have grown very much since you saw them. Henry now talks quite plain, and James runs about every where, and begins to say a few words. He has fattened so much since we have been here that he is becoming quite a beauty, at least, for his opportunities, not having any to inherit from either side of the house.

Father Erwin requested me to remember him affectionately to mamma and yourself. Mr. Erwin joins me in love to all the family both in town and at home. Believe me always, my dear father, your devoted daughter.

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PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

BLACK ROCK, May 23, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have noticed, with great satisfaction, the accounts of the numerous demonstrations of confidence and respect shown to you by the people of the South, during your late tour; and I feel equal pleasure in assuring you that the same sentiments that animate your Southern friends, are entertained, and I trust in a still higher degree, by the citizens generally in the Northern States; and that these kind and partial feelings have been, and still are, constantly increasing, as opportunity is afforded for comparing and contrasting the professions and acts of the present men in power, with those of their predecessors.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 23, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 10th instant was safely conveyed to me through the friendly channel to which you committed it, and I have perused its contents with much interest. The project of Mr. Van Buren, and his partisans in Vir-



ginia, of attaching that State to his support upon the ground of an overthrow of the Bank of the United States, I should suppose was frustrated, for the present, by the events which have occurred at Washington, on that subject. The President's message, in referring to it, committed two radical errors: First, it was premature; and in the second place, he brought forward a rival institution, far worse than the Bank of the United States can be supposed to be by its most violent enemies. A comparison has been naturally made between the two institutions, and the result of it has been every where the same. The reports of the two committees of Congress have been widely circulated, and have confirmed the unfavorable impression which that part of the message produced, when it was first published. It is too soon yet to entertain, much less decide, on the question of the renewal of the charter. We have yet to acquire the experience of five years, which may bring about important developments. The national debt will, in the meantime, be paid, the duties reduced, etc., etc.

I have no intention of visiting the North, or any other place, this season, with any political object. I am urgently solicited to go to almost every quarter of the Union. If I were to yield to these entreaties, I should be perpetually traveling. My own judgment is decided, that I ought to go nowhere for any political purpose, but remain at home. Should I make any excursions this summer, they will relate entirely to business or to my health.

I have received a most singular letter from Mr. Crawford, of which I beg, however, you will speak to no one, as I can not but think, from the nature of the proposal which it contains, it indicates some want of self-possession. He says, that he perceives from the papers, that Mr. Calhoun, Van Buren, and myself, will be run for the next Presidency; that his friends also think of bringing him forward; that no one candidate would be elected; but that, if the contest be limited to the three first, Mr. Van Buren would be finally elected by the House of Representatives; that I should not get a vote in New England, which would support Mr. Van Buren; and that all the South would go for Mr. Calhoun. Therefore, he proposes that I should not be brought forward, but support him, whereby he would get the votes of all the Western States, which, with the aid of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Delaware, New Jersey, and probably

Maryland, with some few other States, would secure his election. Then, he says, I would, of course, come again into the cabinet, and finally succeed him! He intimates that his friends may make a similar proposal to Mr. Van Buren, but he prefers that I should accede to it. He supposes that General Jackson will not be again a candidate. I have not answered this most extraordinary letter, which bears date the 31st day of March last. I shall not answer it. I could not answer it in terms consistent with the friendship which I once bore to Mr. Crawford.

I think Mr. Calhoun has sealed his fate by his recent vote for Kendall. He had previously boasted to some of my friends that he had constantly adhered to principle; that he would still pursue it, and that he disapproved the system of proscription, and the appointment of editors, etc. Now it so happens, that a finer opportunity could not have occurred to test the sincerity of these declarations. Kendall was a printer, and, besides, a man of unenviable character. Yet, Mr. Calhoun's casting vote saved him! I knew, weeks before the nomination was decided, that it depended upon Mr. Calhoun's vote; and, knowing him as well as I do, I stated to some of my friends what the issue would be. It is remarkable that, weeks before the event, Kendall wrote to some of his Frankfort correspondents, that, if the Senate was full, it would be equally divided, and that he would get Mr. Calhoun's vote. This fact ought to be generally known.

I perceive that your new Constitution is adopted. I noticed the provision in relation to the judiciary, both on account of the principle which it involves, and as it affected you. I most sincerely wish you may be re-appointed; and, considering the stability which has generally characterized your State, I presume you will be. If you submit the question to the consideration of those who best know you, they will be unanimous for your re-election. Twenty years hence it will be time enough to talk of old age, and its too frequent concomitants.

I have received several copies of the new edition of Algernon Sidney sent me by Mr. White. I wish that the principles which they so eloquently illustrate and establish, could be every where diffused. Bolivar appears to be reading us a lesson on the same subject, which ought not to be lost. I hope you approved of my letter to him, recently published.

As to the other publication to which you refer, I can not so well judge as you can, as to the most fit time of its appearance.

I should, however, think that it would not be too early after the adjournment of Congress.

I can not return this letter through the channel that you sent yours, for an obvious reason.

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MR. CLAY TO EDWARD EVERETT.

ASHLAND, May 6, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your favor of the 26th ultimo. I had intended, this summer, to visit Black Rock, Saratoga, and New England. But I believe I shall decline it. I expect here my daughter and some friends from Louisiana, to pass some time with me, and that consideration, together with the interest which I now, more than ever, take in my farms, and the various occupations to which they give rise, will keep me here. I am at the same time very grateful to yourself and other friends in New England for the desire to see me there. I reciprocate, cordially and sincerely, all their friendship; and I have no doubt, if circumstances admitted of my going there, that I should every where find warm hearts and kind treatment. There is not a spot in the Union that I should visit with more pleasure; and I should be distressed if I did not hope that I may have that satisfaction at some not distant day. Whenever I shall be able to realize it, I will not fail to embrace your friendly invitation.

I perceive by the last papers that Mr. McDuffie has at length opened the whole subject of the Tariff. Well, so much the better. The question was not to be avoided long, and I think our friends could not have met it at a more fortunate time. I presume you have read a capital little pamphlet reviewing Mr. Cambreleng's report. Ask our friend Mr. Johnston how it happened that the adhesion of Louisiana to the Tariff, which took place at the last session of its Legislature, has been nowhere published in the Eastern papers?

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MR. CLAY TO EDWARD EVERETT.

ASHLAND, June 16, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter of the 18th ultimo. I regret that the hope there expressed of defeating the Indian Bill was not realized. I have received and read with

much profit and satisfaction, the speech you delivered on the occasion. It is much sought after, and I am sorry that more copies were not sent here. But two, that I know of, have reached us, and they have been in constant circulation. Mr. Smith will republish it as soon as he can get rid of the mass of matter upon the all-engrossing topic of the day—the President's course on Internal Improvements.

As to the Indian measure, I think our efforts should now be directed to the rejection of treaties negotiated in pursuance of that abominable law, and to the withholding of appropriations to carry it into effect. With that end, its flagitious character, the disgrace which it would bring upon our name and nation, and its enormous expense, should be spread fully before the people. We shall do much, I trust, in this quarter; public meetings of the people are getting up in various places, at which spirited resolutions, on both the above subjects, will be adopted.

The opposition founded on the inherent injustice of the Indian Bill will be increased here, in consequence of the expense which it occasions, being one of the pretexts for the course pursued in regard to Internal Improvements.

The veto will also be assailed here, not for the purpose of destroying it, but so to amend the Constitution as to require only a majority of all elected instead of two thirds of each house. Such an amendment is, in my opinion, proper; and if it be thought so by you, can you not aid us? I have concluded, after much consideration, that it is inexpedient for me to leave home this summer, except to go where business calls me. I should have been truly glad to have visited my friends at the North. My heart is with them. But waiving the matter of personal inconvenience, I am convinced that the public effect would not be good. I hope you will make this decision acceptable among the circle of your acquaintances.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are all with the foot in the stirrup, and are not leaving in a very composed state. The passage of the Indian bill, and the rejection of the Maysville Turnpike bill, have occasioned unusual excitement. The quarrel, yesterday, between Stansbury and others who voted for the bill, and Polk,

Bell, etc., was very warm. There is more ill blood raised, I should think, than would easily be quieted again.

We think all recent occurrences have been quite favorable, and that the present prospect is cheering. We have had no formal meeting. After much consideration, that idea was given up. We found it difficult to assemble a few friends without giving offense ; or a great number without the danger of attracting too much notice. We have had, however, a very full and free interchange of opinions, for the last three weeks, and are all harmonious in purpose and design, and in good spirits. We incline to think no formal nominations at present advisable, though friends press us to such a measure from divers quarters of the country. It has seemed to us, on the whole, that a formal nomination would not be popular enough in its character and origin, to do good. It would be immediately proclaimed to be the act of your friends acting at your instance. It would excite jealousies on the one hand, which are now fast dying away, and on the other, check discontents and schisms among our opponents, from which much is now to be hoped. Such is our view.

I am much pressed to assent to a nomination of you by the Massachusetts Legislature now in session. But to this I steadily object, on the ground that every body knows we are perfectly safe and strong in Massachusetts, and a nomination there would only raise the cry of coalition revived. It has seemed to me the proper scene for the first formal action is Maryland. Her Legislature is elected in October. Our friends have the utmost confidence they will carry the State. Indeed there can be little doubt of it. In that event, the Maryland Legislature, next December, will occupy a position from which they can speak to advantage. Without detail, you will see, I think, at once, many advantages in a nomination from this quarter. None could be more favorable, unless it be New York, or Pennsylvania, neither of which, I fear, is as likely to be so soon ready for it.

I hope you will think that, under all circumstances, we have done wisely in doing nothing. If you run against General Jackson, there will be an election by the electors ; and, as you justly state, General Jackson will be chosen, unless either Virginia, Pennsylvania, or New York can be detached from him. Of the three, I have, at present, most hope of New York, and least of Virginia. Late occurrences will strengthen General Jackson in

Virginia, and weaken him much in Pennsylvania, and perhaps also in New York. I am in hopes that "working men," "anti-mason," and "anti-auction men," etc., etc., will break down the regency. This we shall know in October. If it should turn out so, New York will then open a very fair field. For myself, I reckon on recent events as having insured us Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana. This is one very good breadth. South of it I look for nothing but Louisiana, every thing north of it is worth a contest.

I hope your friends at the West keep a steady regard to Missouri. I am told there is a good chance, or some chance, of Mr. Barton's re-election. This is matter of very great importance. Nothing, indeed, is more momentous to the country than the approaching election of Senators to the next Congress.

On the whole, my dear sir, I think a crisis is arriving, or rather has arrived. I think you can not be kept back from the contest. The people will bring you out, *volens volens*. Let them do it. I advise you, as you will be much watched, to stay at home; or, if you wish to travel, visit your old friends in Virginia. We should all be glad to see you at the North, but not now. You will hear from the North, every town and village in it, on the 4th of July. Parties must, now, necessarily, be started out anew; and the great ground of difference will be 'Tariff' and Internal Improvements. You are necessarily at the head of one party, and General Jackson will be, if he is not already, identified with the other. The question will be put to the country. Let the country decide it.

I had intended to say a word about myself, but it would be to make a long letter still longer. When I came here it was my purpose to follow your example, and to vacate my seat at the end of this session. Events have suspended the execution of that purpose. How I shall think of it when I get home, I do not know.

I pray kind remembrance to Mrs. Clay, and beg to assure you of my unaltered regard and attachment.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, June 8, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are all shocked and mortified by the rejection of the Maysville road and other events occurring at the close of the late session. Meetings of the people are contem-

plated in several counties in this quarter, to give expression to public sentiment and feelings. At those meetings it has been suggested that the public sentiment may be expressed in terms of strong disapprobation of the act of the President. 2d. In favor of Internal Improvement. 3d. Disapproving Mr. Bibbs' conduct and recommending to the Legislature his recall. 4th. Approbation of Mr. Letcher, particularly, and of the other members who voted with him. 5th. Against the nullifying doctrines of the South. 6th. Against the re-election of Mr. Rowan, because he supports them, is opposed to Internal Improvements, and the Tariff, in opinion, and has supported the most obnoxious nominations. 7th. Proposing an amendment to the Constitution, substituting a majority of all the members elected to Congress, instead of two thirds, to pass a bill returned by the President. This is right I think, on principle. Your own reflections will suggest the immense advantages that we shall derive from supporting this amendment, while our opponents will oppose it. It is thought by my friends that these public meetings will furnish suitable occasions for making a nomination for the next Presidency, and recommending to the next Legislature to second and support it. They urge that this will be a popular measure, and not one of caucus agency. That the nomination connects itself naturally with the question of Internal Improvements. That the time has come. That Congress having adjourned, no counter-acting measure can be adopted by members of Congress at Washington. That other States look to Kentucky for the first movement. That it will have good effect on the August elections. That it can do no harm, and may do much good, etc. I think there is much force in these suggestions. Will you have a meeting in Macon? If you do it will have beneficial consequences that there should be as many meetings as practicable in adjoining counties. Let me hear from you; and believe always that I am with constant and cordial regard yours, etc.

P. S. My opinion is that, with powerful, bold, and decided action, much may be made of the events of the moment.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

LEXINGTON, June 14, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—Not knowing for some time past where to address you, I have omitted to write; but your letter from Washington of the 5th instant having informed me that you will be at Louisville, I commit this letter to the chance of reaching you. I regret that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you here.

I am perfectly contented with the course my friends took at Washington, and I think it was the wisest.

The decisions of the President in respect to Internal Improvement have produced great effect in this quarter of Kentucky. The larger number of all who supported Jackson, in the circle of my immediate acquaintance, have left him. Few but desperate leaders remain to him. Measures have been devised, and are now in a train of execution, to give expression to public sentiment. It is contemplated to disapprove of the exercise of the Veto, the Indian bill, etc, and to propose an amendment of the Constitution, requiring only a majority of both Houses of Congress (of all elected to each) to pass a bill returned by the President. I think such an amendment right, and I attach much importance to the discussion which it will provoke.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, June 16, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received both your late favors of the 4th and 6th instant. In regard to Mr. Crawford's strange letter, I could not answer it without violating the regard I once had for him and the respect due to myself, and therefore I did not answer it. I think his proposal was insulting and derogatory. I do not apprehend that the injury to me, which you fear from my silence, can accrue; 1st, because he says in his letter—"Do not suppose that I feel any solicitude upon the subject of the letter. I feel none. But supposing from what I have seen in the public press that you may feel some, it occurred to me that the most certain mode of gratifying that feeling was to adopt the course which I have suggested. If you should be of a different opinion, let the matter rest where it is, and there will have been no harm done. On the contrary, should you concur in the sugges-



tion I have made, I will be happy to hear from you as soon as leisure will permit." This, you will agree, is a strong manifestation of *sang froid* and disinterestedness. But it also evinces that no answer was expected in the event of my disapproval of the proposal, which he seems to have anticipated as possible.

In the second place, I have communicated the contents of the letter, in confidence, to a sufficient number, to protect me against the presumption of any assent of mine, from my silence. Besides, there will be no sort of evidence, direct or collateral, of such assent. It seems to me, that when a base proposition is made, as I regard this, the most proper treatment of it is silent contempt.

As to publishing his letter, although I feel no objection of honor or of confidence which forbids it, I incline to think that under all circumstances it had better not now be done. Mr. Crawford is not, nor likely to be, formidable. His friends, though few of them were mine, are generally respectable. Their feelings would be affected. He has been high in public confidence. Ought that to be shown as having been misplaced, especially as he may not be in his right mind?

In regard to Blair's letter, I took some time ago public ground, from which I think I ought not to recede. I stated that I would not publish it, at the instance of Mr. Amos Kendall, but that it might be seen by any gentleman, and it was seen by many, and by him, though not of that number. The infamous story is now stale, and it can not be revived, even by Thomas Ritchie. I long since resolved to say nothing more to the public about it. I feared indeed that some portion of it [the public] may have considered me to have manifested too much sensitiveness concerning it. Such, I am sure, would be the judgment of many, if I were, in any form, again to present myself to the public respecting that matter.

Great sensation has been produced in this quarter about the President's course relative to Internal Improvements. Public meetings of the people, in various places, are about to be had, at which spirited resolves, etc., will be passed. They mean to attack the Veto, by proposing an amendment of the Constitution, requiring only a majority of all elected to each branch of Congress, instead of two thirds of a house, to pass a returned bill. Such an amendment I think right. If Congress pass a bill on their own reasons, and again pass the same bill, after a full con-

sideration of the reasons of the President in opposition to it, the bill ought to be a law. The policy of proposing such an amendment, in the present condition of parties, is obvious. If our opponents agree to it, it will be adopted. If they oppose it, we shall get the weather gauge of them. Will you mention this matter to Pleasants? As he and others of my friends in Virginia approve of the recent exercise of the Veto, there may be some objection in espousing an amendment of the Constitution, which has been suggested by what we deem an abuse. But if, on principle, you should agree with us that the amendment is proper, it might be supported by you without reference to the late exercise of power.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

CAMP EATON, July 4, 1830.

MY DEAR FATHER,—The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated here on yesterday. From peculiar considerations I again appeared before an audience of between four and five hundred, and was once more eminently successful. At the dinner given by the corps, at which about one hundred invited guests were present, the wit and eloquence of the sons of Kentucky were toasted with applause. But the toast of Mr. Skinner, the editor of "The American Farmer and Turf Register," "The orator of the day, in the language of the turf, blood will show itself," drew forth enthusiastic cheers. Do not accuse me, my father, of too broad an exhibition of vanity. I confess that I, in common with all my fellow-men, am subjected to that besetting sin of the human race. But I have thought that, to you, a candid expression of my sentiments would be far more acceptable than any affected air of indifference that I might force from my self-love.

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MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

COLUMBUS, July 19, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging favor of the 13th instant, and, at the same time, the paper containing the proceedings of the meeting in Macon. I perused the preamble and resolutions with much satisfaction. They appear to me to be

very appropriate and judicious. I find but one sentiment prevailing here in respect to the late popular movements in Kentucky, and that is, that they are very proper, must do good, and can do no harm. It was well enough, for a certain time, to leave the other party to its own divisions, but that time is now passed. The fact can not, and need not be concealed from that party, that an opposition will be made to the re-election of its chief. So far as that fact will prevent the creation of divisions in its ranks, that consequence will attend it whether we act or not; and by not acting, I apprehend, more loss among our friends than gain among those of the other side.

I have seen here many persons from New England and New York, as well as all parts of this State. Mr. Creighton has just got home, after having made the tour of the former, passing from the city of New York to Buffalo. Without troubling you with the details, the information derived from all these sources is highly encouraging. I shall leave this place in a few days to return home by the way of Cincinnati.

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BARON DE KRUDENER TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, August 16, 1830.

SIR,—I can not depart from this country without taking leave from you, and offering once more to you my thanks for the uncommon kindness which I experienced from you during the first part of my residence in this country, and through which, this stage of my diplomatic career, in America, was made so pleasant, so easy, and so honorable to me. The Emperor has granted me a permission to leave my post. I should certainly not have availed myself of it with so much eagerness had circumstances not interrupted the relations in which I had the honor of standing with you. At the time when these circumstances occurred, they were considered by me as a very untoward event. But these disagreeable views of the past have been changed into future prospects of such brightness, that it remains only for me to praise the divine Providence, and to admire its splendid interference in the affairs of your nation.

Having notified my departure to Mr. Van Buren, and considering myself now as a mere traveler and spectator, I feel no remorse in expressing to you my decided partiality, and my hope

of seeing the Presidential chair, and the Federal Government, restored by you to their former dignity. You know, my dear sir, enough of my independence of mind to be convinced that this language is dictated by no other feelings than those of conviction and sincerity.

Accept, sir, my best wishes for your personal and political prosperity, and the expression of my devotedness and great respect.

I beg to be remembered to our common friend, the excellent Mr. Letcher.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, August 17, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 20th of July. A letter, purporting to have been written by Mr. Jefferson to some manufacturer in Massachusetts, has been recently published in the "Literary Subaltern." It first caught my eye in the public prints, when I was recently on my way to Columbus, and I confess to you that I then had some doubts of its genuineness. They arose from two considerations, one of which was that it uses the terms American system, the first application of which, within my recollection, to the Tariff, was made by myself in my published speech on that subject in 1824, posterior to the date of the letter. The other was, that, although it bore a strong resemblance to the style of Mr. Jefferson, I thought it spoke with more explicitness in relation to the election to the Presidency of myself, than he would permit himself to do, in respect to any person. I communicated these doubts to General Vance at Columbus, and to one or two other friends, before I saw the authenticity of the letter questioned in the public prints. I had even thought of indicating my suspicion to the public in some form; but then I did not know but that the letter might be genuine; and if it should prove to be so, my calling it in question would seem very strange. I therefore remained silent. Subsequent occurrences have tended to strengthen instead of removing the doubts. And I now fear that Mr. Southworth (with whom I have no personal acquaintance, although I think it probable I may have seen him) has acted improperly. He had before given me several occasions to regret his intemperate zeal.

Under these circumstances, ought I to do any thing? Or to leave him to get out of the scrape as he can?

One thing has occurred to me, about which I wish to trouble you. The late Colonel T. M. Randolph, about three years ago attributed to Mr. Jefferson some very disparaging opinions of me, and published them. I knew they were inaccurate at the time. I know that Mr. Jefferson entertained friendly and favorable opinions of me, although I did not know the extent. And I know that Colonel Randolph greatly misrepresented the purport of a conversation between Mr. Jefferson and me, in his presence, and in the presence of Governor Metcalf, who, although I have never spoken to him about it, I am sure would contradict Colonel Randolph.

Shortly after the appearance of Colonel Randolph's statement, I received from his son, Thomas J. Randolph, a letter of which the inclosed is a copy, addressed to me spontaneously. I could make no use of it during the life of the father, for obvious reasons. After his death, I obtained from the son permission to use it as I pleased, although I have never availed myself of it. I observe that the statement of Colonel Randolph is again relied upon to obviate the effect of the Southworth letter. Now, it has occurred to me, that it may be useful to publish Mr. T. J. Randolph's letter; and if you think so, I would be glad that you would obtain his second permission to publish it. It might then be stated in "The Whig," or some other paper, that it had obtained a copy of the letter, with authority to publish it. I should prefer, if published, that it should not appear as my act or to be done at my instance.

The publication of this letter will destroy the effect of Colonel Randolph's statement, and prove that Mr. Jefferson entertained friendly sentiments, although not the extent of them.

Our elections are just over, and have secured us a majority of not less, on joint ballot in the Legislature, than twelve, and perhaps eighteen. They show that there is about five thousand in the whole State against Jackson, which would have been swelled to from ten to fifteen thousand, if the direct question of the next Presidency had been before the people. Our majority in the Legislature would have been thirty, but for the operation of local causes, divisions, and the impossibility of making the Presidential question every where bear on the election. Mr. Rowan will be permitted to retire.

The results in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, so far as we have yet heard from them, are still more favorable. Benton's re-election is considered certain.

P. S. Should you decide to publish the letter of Mr. T. J. R., perhaps, it will be better to make no allusion to the letter of Mr Southworth.

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PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

BLACK ROCK, October 6, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—This cursed anti-masonry embarrasses every thing, and defeats all attempts at systematic operation against the common enemy. Of one thing, however, I can assure you, which is, that you personally, as well as the leading measures of policy which you have so powerfully and conspicuously advocated, are visibly and rapidly gaining ground in every part of our State; and I am now much inclined to believe that, if we had, two months ago, started a candidate for Governor under the banner of Clay and the American system, we should have succeeded.

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MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, October 9, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I have just been favored with yours of the 22d ultimo, inclosing a copy of your address delivered at Cincinnati. Without concurring in every thing that is said, I feel what is due to the ability and eloquence of the whole. The rescue of the Resolutions of Kentucky, in '98 and '99, from the misconstruction of them, was very apropos; that authority being particularly relied on, as an ægis to the nullifying doctrine, which, notwithstanding its hideous aspect and fatal tendency, has captivated so many honest minds. In a late letter to one of my correspondents, I was led to the like task of vindicating the proceedings of Virginia in those years. I would gladly send you a copy if I had a suitable one. But as the letter is appended to the "North American Review" for this month, you will probably have an early opportunity of seeing it.

With my thanks for your obliging communication, I beg you

to accept assurances of my great and cordial esteem, in which Mrs. Madison joins me, as I do her in the best regards which she offers to Mrs Clay.

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## J. S. JOHNSTON TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, Tuesday, October 19, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have been greatly shocked to-day by the sudden and unexpected death of Mrs. Brown. She expired about eleven o'clock, without the slightest pain or suffering, and probably without any consciousness of the approaching event. The disease which has proved so instantaneously fatal was water in the chest, which had been gradually increasing and rendering her respiration more difficult. The collection of water burst and extinguished life in a moment. She drove out on Saturday as well as usual; saw several of her friends on Sunday evening, and did not retire until eleven. Monday she was not so well, and for the first time kept her room; she slept well Monday night, and until late in the morning; had her breakfast at nine; said she was much better, and would dress and go down stairs. Mr. Brown went to the reading-room as usual. Doctor La Roche was with her ten minutes before, and left her without apprehension. She expired so easily, that Miss Brown supposed she had fainted. Mr. Brown has been greatly distressed. They had just established themselves in their new house. Mrs. Brown supposed she had the asthma, and that she might live as her father had done for many years. On Saturday she selected a lot to build on. This event, painful as it is to Mr. Brown and his friends, is most happy for her in the manner of it. She has been spared all the anticipations of death, which she seemed to put far away from her.

All the arrangements are made for the funeral, which will be numerously attended. Mrs. Brown is a great loss to the city, and her death has made a great sensation. I returned last evening from Boston.

I have been with Mr. Brown this evening, and he is more composed. Miss Susan will write Mrs. Clay as soon as she can; in the mean time they both request me to write you, which I have done in great haste.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, November 1, 1830

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received several letters from you, which I should have acknowledged, had I known where to address you. The last, from Philadelphia, communicates the death of Mrs. Brown, an event which has filled us with affliction, although we were not altogether unprepared to expect it. To Mr. Brown it must have been irreparable. They had lived so long together, and entered so entirely into each other's pleasures, pursuits, and habits, that I fear he will hardly ever recover from the shock. He ought forthwith to leave Philadelphia and travel.

I have received a confidential communication that Senator Barnard has renounced Jacksonism, and, at a time when he may deem suitable, will exhibit evidence of his renunciation. I put you in possession of the fact that, if true, you may not be unapprised of it. Should it prove correct, the change may neutralize the loss of Marks, which, I suppose, is inevitable. We shall gain, I think, one Senator in Kentucky; and there being now two to elect in Illinois (Mr. M'Lean is dead), if we are in good luck, we shall gain at least one there. On the other hand, I fear, from all that has reached me, Barton may not be re-elected. Ohio will re-elect Burnet, or some other friend. Indiana will re-elect Hendricks, or some less equivocal friend. On these data you can estimate the probable state of the Senate.

Should the elections to the Legislature terminate favorably in New York (as some friends calculate), you may possibly get a friendly Senator there. Of that you will be able to judge by the time this letter reaches you.

Upon the whole (let the issue of the New York election be what it may), I think the campaign of this year has not closed discouragingly. Great faults have been committed, but they are not exclusively confined to our side. In this State, the proposed Convention will take effect, and one of its best results, I hope, will be to guard us against future *faux pas*.

My best regards to Mrs. Johnston.



## NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, November 3, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have purposely delayed answering your favor of the 11th of September, until I could speak with some degree of confidence as to the course which will be adopted in reference to the subject of it. In the mean time I have read repeatedly and with renewed interest, all your remarks, proceeding, as I know they do, from one who, with ample materials of information and great sagacity in employing them, gives the result of his reflections with a sincere desire to serve the institution. For this, in any event, you will accept my grateful thanks.

After keeping the subject long under advisement, in order to observe the latest development of facts, I am now satisfied that it would be inexpedient to apply at present for the renewal of the Charter. My belief is, from all that I have seen, and read, and heard, that there is at this moment a majority of both Houses of Congress favorable to a renewal; and, moreover, that the President would not reject the bill. The temptation is therefore great to take advantage of a propitious state of feeling like this. But then the hazard is not to be disguised. A great mass of those who, if they were obliged to vote at all, would vote favorably, will prefer not voting if it can be avoided, and the dread of responsibility, the love of postponement, and the *vis inertiae* inherent in all legislative bodies would combine to put off the question during the approaching short session. To pass both Houses and be rejected by the President—to be rejected in either House, to be postponed in either House, to be brought forward in any shape, and not be finally and favorably acted upon, are degrees of evil—but the mildest of them, a great evil, much to be deplored, and to be avoided, if possible. My impression, then, is, that nothing but a certainty of success should induce an application now. To this I am the more inclined, because time is operating in favor of the Bank by removing prejudices, and diffusing a general conviction of its utility.

Having made up my own mind on the subject, I am gratified that this, which is the first expression I have made of this opinion, should be communicated to you, whose views have so largely influenced my own. It will always afford me great pleasure to receive the benefit of your further suggestions on this or any other subject, being with great respect and regard yours, etc.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

ASHLAND, November 14, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—The same information communicated to you, and which is contained in your letter of the 5th instant, respecting the rupture between two high officers, has come to me from Nashville, pretty directly. I think, therefore, it may be presumed true. I should not be surprised if Jackson should denounce the nullifiers in his next message, and mount that hobby to regain his popularity. But what will—what can the Vice-President do? South Carolina is rather too contracted a position for him to start from. Besides, he is not very secure in that. It appears to me that Van Buren has completely out-manuevered him.

In regard to the attempt to turn out Duff, I can supply you with some facts which may throw light upon the object. Blair, of "The Kentucky Argus," is now on his way to Washington, with his family, to set up a new paper, and it is highly probable that the alternatives which the Jackson party mean to offer you, are Duff and Blair! Will not their division admit your friends appointing some respectable editor? If not, I think it will be most expedient for them to present such an editor, and adhere to him to the last, without mixing in the contest between the above two.

The divisions in New York have led, I perceive, to the issue that might have been anticipated: the triumph of the Jackson party in all the elections.

I believe I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that Poin-dexter dined with me, and that he talks like an independent man, who felt that he was denounced, and was resolved to cling to principle.

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 MR. CLAY TO JOHN BAILHACHE.

ASHLAND, November 24, 1830.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 18th inst., communicating a very full and satisfactory account of your late election, and of the causes which led to its results. Upon the whole, we have much reason to be satisfied with those results, although we may regret that our friends in the reserve did not bestir them-

selves more. On the subject of the operation of Anti-Masonry on the interests of our cause, respecting which you request my views, I will explain them very frankly.

The leaders of Anti-Masonry are in the pursuit of power; the great body of their party are endeavoring to remove what they honestly believe to be a great evil. The former would desire power, without regard to the means of acquiring it; the latter seek it only as an instrument of effecting their paramount object. To accomplish this object they believe, and their leaders industriously inculcate the belief, that a change of the administration of the actual Government (whether general or State) is necessary. Hence, in the Western reserve, and in Vermont, where our friends are in the majority, the Anti-Masons connected themselves with the Jacksonians to get hold of the Government, and to dispossess those who possessed it. For the same reason, in New York and Pennsylvania, when the Jackson party was in power, the Anti-Masons sought a coalition with our friends. If this coalition was not complete, and if the Anti-Masons did not succeed, it was not their fault.

I think it may be assumed that whenever Anti-Masonry is in the minority, it will seek a connection with any other party, which, in the same place, is also in the minority. This will account for the various and apparently conflicting directions which it takes. It is only an apparent inconsistency, for the object every where is the same, the acquisition of power.

In this respect, Anti-Masonry does not differ from any other party, for the natural tendency of all the divisions of a minority, is to cohesion. This will generally take place unless it is counteracted by some stronger feeling or sentiment than that of hatred to those in power, as was the case with a portion of our friends in the late New York election.

I do not know that it is to be regretted that the Anti-Masons did not succeed in Pennsylvania and New York. If they had been successful, they would probably have brought out an Anti-Masonic candidate for President. Still, if I had been in New York, with a right to vote, I should have given my suffrage to Granger. I will not now trouble you with the reasons.

I regret that the failure of Mr. Granger is so well ascertained to have been, because our friends about Albany, and in the river counties, would not concentrate on him. Unless this circumstance should produce an alienation between our friends and the

Anti-Masons, I should think we will ultimately obtain their support, for the following reasons:

1. It is in conformity with the general nature of minorities, already noticed, that they should vote with us, if they have no candidate of their own party.

2. They agree with us as to the American System.

3. They have been violently assailed in New York by the Regency.

4. They believe that, although I am a Mason, that I have no bigotry, and that I have no very great ardor for the institution.

5. General Jackson has, as they think, persecuted them, which they believe I should not do, as most certainly I should not.

I can hardly believe that they will now present a Presidential candidate, although they still talk about it. Immediately after the election in New York, Mr. Ward (the editor of the "Anti-Masonic Review") told a friend of mine that they could not support me, and would present a candidate of their own, etc. The next day he called on that same friend, and informed him that the Executive Committee of the Anti-Masons had resolved, 1st. That the late election in New York had shown that they could not directly support me: 2d. That it be recommended to the convention at Baltimore, to nominate an Anti-Masonic candidate; and 3d. That the papers of the party in New York, be advised to abstain from attacking me, and to conciliate my friends.

If there be an Anti-Masonic candidate, I am inclined to think that it would operate in Pennsylvania and New York, more against General Jackson than me, should we both be the candidates, while in your State, it would operate more against me than him. In that contingency, should our friends in New York and Pennsylvania unite with the Anti-Masonic party, Jackson would probably lose one or both of those States, in either of which cases I think he would be defeated.

What I think not unlikely, is, that this time two years hence, the Anti-Masonic party will present in New York a candidate for Governor, without any electors for President and Vice-President, and that our friends will offer these, without any candidate for Governor. Upon that supposition, if there be concert between the two parties, each would succeed in its object. I do not know that any such arrangement has ever been thought of. None such has ever been suggested to me, and I infer it only from the natural operation of causes.

I am inclined to think, upon the whole, that a conciliatory course on our part, toward the Anti-Masons, is wisest. There is no occasion for our friends to attack them. Let us leave that to the Jackson party.

We shall have some trouble about a Senator, though I yet think we shall succeed in the election of a friend. I have been pressed of late to offer. Mr. Adams' example is quoted. But both my feelings and judgment are strongly opposed to my return to Congress. Nothing but a contingency, which I sincerely hope may not arise, would overcome them.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, December 20, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,—I believe I am in arrears to you, and that I omitted to answer your last, in which you requested me to say something on French affairs. Events followed in such rapid succession, that I had no time, except to put in a flying shot, which seemed to me hardly necessary. I sincerely hope that the work, so gloriously begun, will be happily consummated. They have two dangers: the first, in retaining a Bourbon on the throne, which they thought ought to be done to conciliate foreign powers; and the second, the humane desire to screen the former ministers from punishment. It would have been better to have suffered the law to proceed against them, and to have forborne the offer of the project of abolishing capital punishments until it had pronounced its sentence. It would have been better not to have mixed the two subjects together, or not to have given color to such an imputation. After their conviction, if convicted, I think it would have been easier to have commuted the punishment for banishment, or some other milder form. As to Belgium, the rock on which I feared the French Government would split, they appear to me to have acted discreetly. Belgium will ultimately go to France, unless a totally new way of thinking has taken place since I was there.

But I did not commence to write you now on French affairs. Perhaps, before my letter reaches you, some new and important turn may have taken place in them.

My object was to say to you, that I go in a day or two to New Orleans, to pass a portion of the winter there with Mrs. Clay, and to request you to let me hear from you at that city.

I am extremely anxious to know how your Legislature disposes of the Judiciary, or rather, Judges. In these late times of political trouble and strife, nothing has distressed me so much as the suffering of my friends, and I have feared that they would make a victim of you on my account. Do let me know what may be done.

The political events of the year, taken altogether, are not discouraging. Except in Maine and New York, they justify strong hopes of the future. And in New York, so far as the election of Governor was concerned, it is far from certain that the issue should be regretted.

In this State, the Legislature has not yet appointed a Senator. Our friends are in good spirits, and count upon success. But the vote will be a close one, owing to the fact that five or six members, opposed to the Administration, believe themselves pledged to vote for a Jackson Senator. It is not impossible that no election will be made this session.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, December 20, 1830.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I have just learned with certainty by your letter, that you and my mother are going to New Orleans. You will find there such a reunion of friends and relations, that I am sure you can not fail to spend a very agreeable winter. Would that I formed one of your party, but next to enjoying your society myself, is the pleasure I feel in knowing that you are re-established in health and spirits, and surrounded by your friends.

In regard to study, an object has presented itself to my view, and I eagerly pursue it. My perseverance and assiduity in this pursuit, may perhaps be to my prejudice in others, but still I am willing to give up excellence in every other department of knowledge, to attain an honorable rank as a speaker. I am well aware that a general acquaintance with the whole circle of arts and sciences, and in fact with every branch of human knowledge, is indispensable to the accomplished orator, and this I shall endeavor to acquire, without weakening or confusing my mind by too abstracted an attention to minutiae. I am glad that you are improving Ashland. I have a kind of filial affection for it, which seems to increase with my years, and distance from it.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CORRESPONDENCE OF 1831 AND 1832.

MR. CLAY TO ———.

NEW ORLEANS, February 16, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—I found, on my arrival in this State, a general alarm pervading it in respect to the attack meditated on the Tariff, and which had been actually commenced in the House of Representatives. The people of Louisiana, an excellent race, and greatly attached to the Union, contemplate the success of that attack as involving their utter ruin. If, say they, we had remained a colony of France or Spain, our productions, and especially our great staple, would have been protected, in the parent country, against the rival productions of foreign colonies. And shall we, as an independent State, a member of this great Republic, fare worse than if we had continued a distant colony?

I must confess that they have made a convert of me, and have fully convinced me of two propositions: 1st. That the repeal or reduction of the present duty on foreign sugar would totally disable them from continuing the culture of the cane; and 2d. That all parts of the Union would partake of the distress which would be certainly inflicted on them.

Most erroneous impressions prevail, in other parts of the Union, as to the profits upon capital invested in sugar plantations. It happens to this business, as to all others, that now and then a planter, by the practice of the greatest economy, by a favorable season and the concurrence of fortunate circumstances, makes a large profit. These rare instances become the theme of general conversation, and hence it is rashly inferred that all the planters are growing rapidly rich. The conclusion is just as unwise as it would have been prior to the Tariff of 1824, to argue that the cotton manufacture was prosperous because that at Waltham was

doing remarkably well. These cases of good fortune are neutralized by others of an opposite character. For example (and the instance is by no means singular), a planter, whose acquaintance I have formed, who is remarkable for his intelligence, and his accuracy and great attention to business, has, in partnership, an estate which cost upward of \$220,000. His partner, a skillful and diligent manager, resides on the estate. Minute and regular accounts are kept of their receipts and expenditures. They sold last year their crop, and, after deducting all expenses, the nett sum of \$800 remained to be divided between them!

But it is not on these extremes, on either side, that the statesman should be guided in adjusting his measures to the wants or necessities of a community. His conclusions should be drawn from the average profit deduced from a view of the entire branch of business, which his duties call upon him to consider. Proceeding upon this principle, I am persuaded, from all I have seen and heard here, that Mr. Senator Johnston, in his late excellent letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, in assuming as the average rate of profit upon capital employed in the culture of sugar cane, from five to six per cent. rather exceeds than falls short of the true standard. It is evident, then, that the Louisiana planter, if he were not protected by the existing duty, could not sustain a competition with the sugars of foreign colonies. They would compel him to abandon the business; and the repeal of that duty would be almost as fatal to him as if Congress were to order the dykes to be razed from Point Coupée to the Balize.

But if Congress, after having by its whole course of policy during a long series of years, inspired confidence in the inhabitants of this State as to the permanency of protection, and thereby invited them to invest their capital in their present pursuit, could overwhelm them in irretrievable ruin, their sufferings would not be confined to themselves, but would extend to every other part of the Union. If manufactures in any country deserve protection because of the home market which they create for the productions of the industry of other classes, the sugar planter of Louisiana is equally entitled, for the same reason, to protection. The seven or eight hundred sugar plantations in Louisiana are, in fact, but seven or eight hundred great manufactories. The raw material is, it is true, produced on their plantations by the cultivation of the earth, but it is only produced to be there manufactured also into sugar and molasses. As consumers of the



objects of the industry of other classes, the Louisiana planters are even more important than manufacturers exclusively employed in fabrication ; for they neither make their food, nor their clothing, nor their implements of labor, all of which they purchase from other States. Nay more, their very laborers themselves, in consequence of the institution of slavery, are chiefly brought from other States. Manufacturers, strictly so called, on the contrary, either make their own clothes, or their implements of labor, or both.

I had no adequate conception, prior to my present visit to this State, of the extent of this dependence of the Louisiana planter upon other States for his necessary supplies. He draws from them his flour, bacon, pork, beef, the greater part of the Indian corn fed upon his plantation, his carts, axes, spades, plows, hoes, steam-engines for his sugar-house, stone-coal, boilers, horses, mules, cattle, the clothing of his slaves, whisky, and a great variety of small articles. These are obtained principally from Pennsylvania and the Western, Middle, and Northern States. His slaves, annually in great numbers, are brought from Virginia and Maryland.

Let us suppose the market for these various articles to be suddenly cut off, the inevitable consequence of the repeal of the duty upon sugar, and am I not correct in saying that every part of the Union, in this view of the subject, would be deeply and sensibly affected by the destruction of the business of the Louisiana planter? Every article which I have enumerated would immediately fall in price, and no section of the Union would be altogether exempt from the consequences of a measure so disastrous.

Would they be compensated by any permanent reduction in the price of sugar, the illusive object sought by those who, in aiming to repeal the duty, would lay the ax at the root of the prosperity of this interesting State? It is confidently believed not. The present low price of sugar is attributable to the competition which has been produced between the West Indian and Louisiana planter. The eighty or one hundred thousand hogsheads which the latter annually throws into the general consumption have diminished to that extent, the demand for the produce of the former, who has been consequently compelled to reduce the price. This has obliged the Louisiana planter also to reduce the price, and he has found himself sustained only by the

possession of the home market, the principal part of which is given him by the existing duty. If that duty were repealed, and if Louisiana continued permanently to produce the quantity which she now annually yields, undoubtedly there would be a permanent reduction of price. But the effect of a repeal of the duty would compel the Louisiana planter to abandon cultivation of the sugar cane. Absolute ruin would attend him if he continued to prosecute it. Then what would happen? The eighty or one hundred thousand hogsheads now contributed by Louisiana would be withdrawn from the general consumption. A demand would ensue for eighty or one hundred thousand hogsheads more of the production of the West Indies. This demand would speedily augment the price, and the probability is, that it would rise to what it now is, or nearly so. It may be argued that when, after falling, the price should again rise to the present rate, the Louisiana planter would resume the cultivation. But this admits of several satisfactory answers. In the first place, if he was now out of the business, he probably would not embark in it, such are the discouragements produced by low prices and the dread of a change of public policy. He continues the business because he is in it, has built his houses, made his canals and ditches, established his manufactory, consisting of mills, steam-engines and boilers, and effected all his other arrangements with a view to his present pursuit. Supposing that abandoned; supposing all these arrangements overturned, and his plantation appropriated to the cultivation of cotton, rice, or any other article, it would not be so easy, under the temptation even of a high price of sugar, to return to the planting of cane. The establishment of a sugar plantation, with all its manufacturing and other apparatus, is not suddenly accomplished, but is a work of long, patient, and arduous industry. Finally, he could not fail to reflect that the encouraging price of sugar, for the moment, resulted from the absence of Louisiana competition, and that, whenever this returned, a depressed and ruinous state of the market would be inevitable.

Other views of this interesting question might be taken, but I will content myself with noticing only an additional one. If the cultivation of the sugar cane be abandoned, the labor now employed in it must be directed to some other object; and that object undoubtedly would be cotton. But this article is already produced in excessive quantity. Would it be wise in Congress,

by curtailing the pursuits of the people of the United States, to compel a large portion of their industry to seek employment in a business already overdone? The effect would be most injuriously felt in Tennessee, the northern parts of Alabama and Mississippi, the upper parts of Georgia and South Carolina, and generally those districts of the cotton region which are the least adapted to the production of that staple.

I found the sensibility of the people of this State, on my arrival here, greatly excited on another subject. Shortly after the cession of Louisiana, an act of Congress required all the inhabitants to register their titles to lands granted to them by the previous governments, and denounced, as a penalty for a neglect to comply with this law, that the proprietors should not be allowed to use their unregistered titles in any court of justice. The object at which Congress aimed was a proper and legitimate object, it being to discriminate between the public domain and private property; but it may now be well doubted whether the means were not rigorously and disproportionately severe. Many, from no disrespect whatever to the Legislature, but from a perfect confidence in the security of their titles, resulting from ancient possession and complete grants, and strengthened by a positive stipulation in the treaty of cession guaranteeing their property, omitted to register their titles. Many, from ignorance of the law, promulgated in a language not their own, also omitted to register their titles. An opinion has prevailed among the bar, that in the case of perfect titles, the ceremony of registry was unnecessary.

Notwithstanding this state of conscious security, the lands of many of the ancient proprietors, who never dreamed of danger, have been thrown into the market. Sales have been actually made, in several instances, of plantations which have been in cultivation from fifty to one hundred years; and the first knowledge of them which the unfortunate planters acquired was a notice from the speculator, not to remove, at their peril, any thing whatever from the plantation. A church even, long dedicated to public worship, has been actually sold! The interposition of the Executive has, I understand, been in vain invoked. I do hope that that of Congress, to which the Legislature has appealed, will be afforded, and that some efficacious remedy will be provided.

What that remedy should be, Congress is most competent to

decide. The effect of the introduction to the proprietor of the use, in courts of justice, of his title paper, is a forfeiture of his land. But is not that punishment altogether too severe, and disproportionate to the offense, if offense it can be called, of non-registration? Especially when that was never contumacious, and in most, if not all, instances proceeded from ignorance of law or language, or forgetfulness. It seems to me that some mode might have been adopted to discriminate between the public and private lands other than that of obliging the inhabitants to register their titles, already recorded in the archives of preceding governments, under the pains and penalties of forfeiture of their estates. Had they committed the crime of high treason, under ancient law, the punishment, as to their estates, would not have been greater; but even the crime of high treason, in the mitigated spirit of modern institutions, does not draw after it a forfeiture of the culprit's estate. It may indeed be well questioned whether the act of Congress is not repugnant to that amendment of the Federal Constitution, which forbids a man's property to be taken from him without due process of law.

I do not know the extent of the evil which I have depicted. I have understood that perhaps one third of the plantations from Point Coupée down the Mississippi are in that condition. This, you know, comprises the best and longest settled, as well as the richest part of the State. And what aggravates the misfortune is, that the omission to register has been chiefly on the part of the Creole planters, affording a strong presumption that it has proceeded from ignorance of the American laws and language, the American planters having most generally taken the precaution to comply with the law.

Thus threatened with the loss both of their lands and their produce, it is astonishing how patiently this good people bear up under their afflictions. Complaints there are among individuals, but neither the Legislature nor any public assembly has, for a moment, forgot its loyalty to the Union, or its respect to the public authorities. We have no menaces of violence, no charges of the oppression and tyranny of the majority, no threats to execute the powers of nullification. They appear to abide in perfect confidence that, when their condition is fully understood, in the general family council, right and justice will be done them. That they may not be disappointed I sincerely pray.

## RICHARD RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

YORK, Pennsylvania, April 14, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—Is there no way in which, without doing violence to whatever opinions or feelings you may have as respects masonry, or without offending that institution, you could conciliate to a fair and reasonable extent the good will of Anti-Masons, between this and September? I am sure that, in this State, there are many, very many, of the latter, who notwithstanding what is said in the newspapers, ardently desire to give their support to you, for the sake of the great public objects and principles inseparably interwoven with your name, and which they fear the permanent prostration of, should General Jackson be re-elected. I throw this out again, not to put you to the trouble of a reply, but only for you again to think of it, in conjunction with discreet friends in the West. You will do, I know, now as always, what duty, honor, and true patriotism require. With the direct aid of Anti-Masons, we should carry your banner to a glorious victory, even if we do not without.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 1, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—Prior to the receipt of your favor of the 17th ultimo, I had written you a long letter, which I hope will safely reach you. I infer from your last a determination to accept your recent appointment. I think you ought to accept it, and I should regret that you did not. Under all circumstances, it was an honorable testimony. I share with Messrs. Johnson and Leigh in their disappointment in not getting Mr. Stanard on the bench; and I concur with them in the superiority which they assign to him over his successful competitor.

We live in an age of revolution. Who could have imagined such a cleansing of the Augean stable at Washington? a change, almost total, of the Cabinet. Did you ever read such a letter as Mr. Van Buren's? It is perfectly characteristic of the man—a labored effort to conceal the true motives, and to assign assumed ones, for his resignation, under the evident hope of profiting by the latter. The "delicate step," I apprehend, has been taken, because, foreseeing the gathering storm, he wished early to

secure a safe refuge. Whether that will be on his farm, or at London, we shall see. Meantime, our cause can not fail to be benefited by the measure. It is a broad confession of the incompetency of the President's chosen advisers, no matter from what cause, to carry on the business of the Government. It is a full admission of that unfitness of those advisers for their respective stations, which the whole country felt when they were first selected. And if, as I presume, Ingham and Branch were dismissed, or compelled to resign, further dissensions must be sown in a party on the verge of dissolution.

Nor can the injury to his cause be repaired by any successors to the vacant places, whom the President may call around him—certainly not by those whom rumor designates. Edward Livingston to be Secretary of State—a recorded defaulter to an enormous amount—the reviler of Jefferson, whom he pursued in his retirement with a malicious and vexatious suit—a man notoriously destitute of all principle. Louis McLane to be Secretary of the Treasury—a man who glories in his federalism, to be appointed by the Republican party—one whose degrading supplications, at the Court of London, for a worthless privilege, must have disgusted every man who was not insensible to the honor and dignity of his country.

I expressed, in my former letter, my conjectures as to the course of Mr. Calhoun. Late events, tending to show the great probability of the defeat of Jackson, may now determine him to take bolder and firmer ground against the President. The occurrence at Washington is certainly not intended or calculated to subserve Mr. Calhoun. The rumored successors will all be adverse to him. I understand that Judge Smith was one of the advisers of the President in respect to the recent change, and he will advise nothing which can promote Mr. Calhoun's views. Thus situated, the Vice-President may declare, or cause himself to be declared, a candidate, or aid, without such declaration, any and every opposition to the President. Unless I am deceived as to his strength, he will not be a candidate himself, but will push forward, most probably, Judge McLean. I observe a hint of such a purpose, on the part of his friends, in "The Whig." I long since learned that there was (what shall I call it?—a bargain?) between the Judge and Mr. Calhoun, an understanding that he of the two was to be supported who could command the greatest probability of success.

I observe what you state, as to the impression, in regard to my constitutional principles, which Mr. Ritchie has made on the Virginia public ; but I can not concur with you as to the utility, at this time, of any publication about them, from myself, in any form. If I am not now understood by the public, nothing that I could say, during the pendency of a warm canvass, would make me intelligible, and I must submit to any misconception of me which may, unfortunately, prevail. I need not say to you that my constitutional doctrines are those of the epoch of 1798. I am against all power not delegated, or not necessary and proper to execute what is delegated. I hold to the principles of Mr. Madison, as promulgated through the Virginia Legislature. I was with Mr. Madison then ; I am with him now. I am against all nullification, all new lights in politics, if not in religion. Applying the very principles of Mr. Madison's famous interpretation of the Constitution, in the Virginia address, I find in the Constitution the power to protect our industry, and to improve our country by objects of a national character. I have never altered my constitutional opinion which I ever entertained, and publicly expressed, but that in relation to the bank ; and the experience of the last war changed mine, and almost every other person's, who had been against the power of chartering it. Such are my views, but I will not consent to any publication of them, under existing circumstances, if I were even sure of achieving the conversion of my old friend Ritchie, who, by the by, knows them perfectly well.

I adhere to my opinion, that there is no sufficient public reason, at this time, for publishing Mr. Crawford's letter. I should be glad that that of Mr. T. J. Randolph could be published, without any direct agency of mine ; but if it can not be so published, I must acquiesce.

What am I to do with the perpetual importunities to visit the North, etc., etc.? My judgment is against all and every excursion for, or which might be fairly construed to have in view, mere political effect. But I should like to be fortified or corrected by the opinion of yourself and other Virginia friends.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, June 4, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received both of your favors of the 15th ult., from Richmond, and of the 26th from St. Julien. I should be very happy to meet you in August at the White Sulphur Springs and Lewisburg; but I believe I shall find it necessary to remain this summer in Kentucky. My private affairs require some portion of my time. I have several Executorships also to close, and I wish to avail myself of the leisure I can command this summer to settle them.

I regret that I have not a copy of the pamphlet of Mr. Livingston to which you refer. I will endeavor to procure one from New Orleans. Lately I have seen extracts from it, in which the author speaks very harshly of Mr. Jefferson.

I should be very glad if you could obtain the consent of Mr. T. J. R. to the publication of the letter, but I fear his apprehensions will lead him to withhold it.

Can you not, when at Lewisburg, extend your journey this far? I should be delighted to see you here, and beg you will come, if it be possible.

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 MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, June 4, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 31st ultimo, with the newspaper communicating the death of our friend Colonel Rochester. I offer you my sincere condolence on that afflicting event. To his family and numerous friends it is no small alleviation that he lived to a ripe old age, honored and beloved, and dies with the deep and general regret of all who knew him, as the "Rochester Gazette" truly testifies.

I congratulate you on the improvement in the price of wool, and the consequent encouragement to the cultivation of sheep. I received for my common wool, unwashed, 33 cents, and was offered 62 for my merino, washed on the back of the sheep.

A lame ram of mine was left the summer before the last with, I think, a Mr. Foreman, in your neighborhood, and I have never since heard of him. Will you be good enough to apply for the ram, if living, and use him this fall if you want him?



## HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

WEST POINT, June 21, 1831

DEAR FATHER,—I have favorable news to give you in regard to myself. I have finished my examination and have graduated second; and in the engineer corps. You know that it is the highest honor conferred upon graduates to be admitted into the engineers; and one not often conferred upon the heads of classes.

General Scott is President of the Board for this year; you know he is your warm friend, and consequently mine. I have received from him many manifestations of the kindest attention to my interests. He wishes me to be stationed in New York, should I remain in the army. If you should advise me so to do, I shall be employed on the fortifications of New York Bay and Harbor. In the mean time I deem it proper to say that my talents remain the same as before this honor, and I believe I may say my inclinations also.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, June 23, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 12th instant. I believe I have answered all your previous favors, although my last, at the date of yours, had not, I suppose, reached you. In that I informed you that I could not visit Lewisburg. It would have afforded me very great satisfaction to have been able to visit it, on account of yourself and other friends whom I should have met there, or at the Springs; but it will not be in my power. Can you not come here, when you will, at Lewisburg, have penetrated so far to the West? I assure you that we would give you a warm and cordial reception, if you would visit us; and I hope you will be able and inclined to do so.

I am sorry to have troubled you with Mr. T. J. Randolph and his letter. Certainly their prudence is much to be admired. As it is but a small affair, I beg you to desist from the pursuit of it, if you encounter any further obstacle. I am not insensible to the value of the good opinion of his grandfather, as I desire indeed to deserve and possess that of all men. His father bore evidence, which was widely promulgated, of an unfavorable opinion entertained of me by his grandfather. He voluntarily contradicted it in a private letter to me. During his father's

lifetime, from considerations of delicacy, I did not desire the publication of the contradiction. After his (father's) death, he expressly permitted it. If he now refuses the publication, and chooses to allow his father's erroneous testimony to stand unrefuted, I must, without repining, acquiesce in the decision.

Our flattering prospects in Kentucky daily increase, instead of declining. And letters which reach me from all quarters of the Union (the four Southern Atlantic States excepted) exhibit a tone of the greatest confidence. Anti-Masonry seems to be the only difficulty now in the way of certain success, both in Pennsylvania and New York. I have been urged, entreated, importuned, to make some declaration, short of renunciation of masonry, which would satisfy the Antis. But I have hitherto declined all interference on that subject. While I do not, and never did, care about Masonry, I shall abstain from making myself any party to that strife. I tell them that Masonry or Anti-Masonry has, legitimately, in my opinion, nothing to do with politics; that I never acted, in public or private life, under any Masonic influence; that I have long since ceased to be a member of any lodge; that I voted for Mr. Adams, no Mason, against General Jackson, a Mason, etc.

Mr. Rush, among others, has urged me to make some declaration. Notwithstanding his late impassioned address, he is firm in his devotion to our cause, and, I think, is worthy of all confidence. I do not believe that he would accept a nomination for the Presidency from the Antis, nor that he would allow of any use of his name prejudicial to me.

How Anti-Masonry will finally operate is an important question. They may, and probably will make a nomination at Baltimore, in September, of some person who is not a Mason. They can not nominate Calhoun, on account of his political principles. They will not nominate Van Buren. If they nominate Rush, I think he will not accept the nomination. It is said that Judge McLean will not. Granger they intend to run as Governor of New York. If they do make a nomination which shall be accepted, I think they will, before the next spring, discover how hopeless it is, and abandon it virtually, if not formally.

Upon the whole, I do not apprehend ultimately any serious mischief from it.

Mrs. Clay unites with me in respectful remembrances to Mrs. Brooke.

## MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, June 25, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—The same anxiety displayed by our friend Mr. Rochester, as evinced in the extract from his letter which you were good enough to send me, in regard to the pending Kentucky elections, pervades our friends throughout the Union. And I do believe that, if they should result, as we hope and believe they might be made to result, the Presidential contest would, in effect, be decided. My information as to our prospects in the State is highly flattering. Still no energy or exertion ought to be spared that can be thrown into the canvass. I concur with you fully in the efficiency of the plan suggested by you for bringing out the voters, and hope you will have it carried into effect in your quarter. Such a proceeding is contemplated here, and it will be also suggested to the Central Committee.

We can not tell, at this distance of time and theater, how the Anti-Masonic excitement will result. Should they make a nomination in September, their first difficulty will be to prevail on any prominent person to accept. I am quite sure, from the tenor of recent letters from Mr. Rush to me, that he will not. I have heard that Mr. McLean would not. They can not nominate Calhoun, without utter ruin to themselves. But if they should succeed in getting some prominent person to stand, I think, before one year, they would discover the hopelessness of the effort, and perceive that perseverance might be highly injurious. As between Jackson and me, I have every reason to count upon their preference.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, July 18, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—According to the wish expressed in your letter of the 2d instant, duly received, I transmit a copy of Mr. Randolph's letter to me. I have another from him, written subsequent to his father's death, on which, however, I have not been able to lay my hands, in which he expresses his consent to my publication of the letter now sent. Notwithstanding, if there be any objection now existing to its publication, on his part, I do not desire it to be done.

I have been much importuned to make some declaration in regard to Masonry (not a formal renunciation or denunciation), which would conciliate and satisfy the Anti-Masons. I have declined to do so, and shall not depart from this resolution. I think it best not to touch the subject. Principle and policy are both opposed to my meddling with it. At the same time I believe it would be politic to leave the Jackson party exclusively to abuse the Antis.

Information has reached me, in which I confide, that about one hundred of the most prominent Jacksonians in and about Philadelphia, have addressed the hero, and requested him not to run again. He had not answered them at my last dates.

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GENERAL BERNARD TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 19, 1831.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that it is with deep regret I am about to leave this hospitable land, and to return to Europe, whose political situation places me under the moral obligation to tender once more my humble services to France.

Before leaving this abode of liberty and peace, permit me to express to you, one of the great citizens of this noble Republic, how my heart is full of gratitude for the honorable and generous patronage you have bestowed upon me during the fifteen years that I have served this great people.

While I shall always remember with pride your kind regard toward me, my family will never forget how much we are indebted to Mrs. Clay for her polite attentions toward us during her stay at Washington.

Be so indulgent, sir, as to receive my most fervent wishes for your happiness, and the expression of my everlasting sentiments of gratitude.

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MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

HARRODSBURG, July 23, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—In passing through Lexington from my residence, yesterday, to this place, where I purpose spending a few days, I received your favor dated at the Balize, and sincerely

hope that this letter may find you safe in port. I should have written you before, as at Louisville I intimated I would do, but you appeared to be in such constant motion in Louisiana, that I did not know how to take you on the wing.

Of the events at Washington which have occurred since I saw you, I need say but little. Every one, fond of his country, must have seen them with mortification and regret. The only consolation deducible from them is, that they may contribute to dispel the delusion which placed those in power who have occasioned them.

I think we are authorized, from all that is now before us, to anticipate confidently General Jackson's defeat. The question of who will be the successor, may be more doubtful. The probabilities are strongly with us. It seems to me that nothing can disappoint the hopes of our friends, but Anti-Masonry. If that party should nominate a candidate at Baltimore, and adhere to him, they may prevent any election by the colleges, and possibly may lead to the election of the present incumbent. I believe they will make a nomination of an Anti-Mason. The wish of many of them, I understand, has been to make such a nomination, and then, that the person designated should decline. Accordingly an application was made to Judge M'Lean, to sound him, and to the surprise of the party he has expressed, it is said, a willingness to accept the nomination! This has produced embarrassment. Whether they will now nominate the Judge, or some person not so accommodating, remains to be seen. Should they nominate Mr. Rush, I presume he will decline. This gentleman has written me several letters since the publication of his famous address, in all of which he has expressed the strongest sentiments of attachment and friendship to me. His main object in them was to prevail upon me to make some declaration against Masonry, which would satisfy and conciliate the Antis. I was opposed to it, both upon principle and policy. I was opposed, not exclusively upon Masonic, but also upon other grounds. I think we ought not to admit the right of mixing Masonry or Anti-Masonry, or any other society, whether literary, benevolent, or religious, with politics. I concluded, and so informed Mr. Rush, not to touch the subject, but to stand still. Reflection since has confirmed my resolution.

Should the Antis make a nomination, as supposed, in September, of an Anti-Mason for the Presidency, it will be an

interesting question what course our friends ought to take in relation to it in New York and Pennsylvania. I submit some observations :

I think our friends in New York erred, last summer, in not hoisting their own colors. The consequence was, that, as a party, they acted with no concert, neither with the Antis nor with the Regency, exclusively, but with both. They got the gratitude of neither. What is more, the Antis were more embittered by the loss of some eighteen or twenty thousand of our friends, than they were gratified by their gain of upward of sixty thousand of them. And they obtained these sixty thousand as a clear addition to their own ranks, or, in fact, so many Antis. The further consequence was, to exhibit a great nominal increase of Anti-Masons since the election of the previous year. This apparent augmentation has had the effect of extending the Anti-Mason principle to other States, which had before been almost exempt from it. If, last fall, Anti-Masonry had, in New York, been restricted to its own legitimate numbers, it would now be less formidable there, or any where else, than it is.

We are taught by past errors what to do in future. That, I think, ought to be done this fall which was omitted the last. Our standard should be raised, whatever may be the number, small or great, flocking to it. There may then be in New York and Pennsylvania, three distinct tickets. Three consequences will ensue : First, that the Anti-Masons will be reduced to their proper numbers, and be taught by the reduction, moderation ; secondly, that the Jackson party may be the strongest of the three ; thirdly, by union, that the Jackson party may be defeated, whereas, by division between the Antis and the National Republicans, the Jackson party may succeed. And if the canvass should be conducted in a conciliatory manner by our friends toward the Antis (which policy evidently enjoins), this final consequence next fall may follow : that they (the Antis) will then come to our support.

The policy of the Antis is to force us into their support. Ours should be to win them to ours. Taking the Union at large, we are certainly the strongest party. Taking any single State in the Union (New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, for example), we are the strongest party. Upon the laws of gravitation, we ought to draw them to us, instead of being drawn to

them. They and we agree as to every thing the general Government can or ought to do. We differ only about Masonry respecting which the general Government has nothing to do. In what part of the Federal Constitution can they find any warrant or authority to put down Masonry? If they, by a pursuit of the delusive object which, as it respects federal politics, they are prosecuting, should endanger the safety, or occasion the loss of great political principles, they will incur a great responsibility, and an overwhelming odium.

I would not abuse them; I would not even attack them. I would leave that to the Jackson party.

Such are my general views on this perplexing question.

We are on the eve of our great Kentucky contest. I think we shall achieve a signal victory. As to the Legislature, we can not fail. But such is the arrangement of the Congressional Districts, and so nicely are many of them balanced, that we may be deceived as to some. Yet I believe we shall gain, at least, seven or eight out of the twelve. Prodigious efforts, seconded by a vast expenditure of money, are making from Washington; and if we fail, it will be because the power of corruption is superior to the power of truth. Be pleased to make my best regards to Mrs. Johnston.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

OLYMPIAN SPRINGS, August 15, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—I avail myself of the conveyance afforded by a passing traveler to drop you a few lines in respect to our recent elections.

I have not seen all the returns, but the results of enough are ascertained to enable me to say, that we shall certainly have the majority in the Legislature, and consequently will elect the United States Senator. As to the members of the House of Representatives, we have heard of the election of five of our friends. There are opposite rumors as to the sixth. If he be elected, the parties will probably stand six to six. Two years ago they were ten to two.

The most extraordinary efforts have been made by the general Government to carry the election; and there is reason to believe

that, in some instances, highly improper means have been employed. For example, in the county of Floyd, composing a part of the district from which I now write, where, in the contest between Daniel and Trimble, the vote was nearly equally divided, Daniel obtained a majority of upward of three hundred votes out of six or seven hundred. That county is in the mountains of Sandy, the most eastern county of the State. It is almost inaccessible. Yet an engineer of the United States arrived there in seven days from Philadelphia, on the 27th ultimo, just four days before the election, upon a service of reconnoissance, to effect objects of internal improvement. It is strongly suspected that he used some efficacious instruments. In every other county of the district, Daniel lost upon the vote between him and Trimble; other parties in the recent contest received respectively about the same support that was given on that occasion. But in Floyd, Daniel got the majority that has been stated. That extraordinary majority is believed to be the result of extraordinary causes.

Upon the whole, the issues of our late elections ought, perhaps, to be deemed satisfactory.

If the Berrian correspondence had reached Kentucky in time to be circulated throughout the State, prior to the election, there would not have been more than two or three Jackson members elected to Congress.

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GENERAL DEARBORN TO MR. CLAY.

BRINLEY PLACE, ROXBURY, September 3, 1831.

MUCH RESPECTED SIR,—FROM conversations with a number of your most influential friends in this State, I am induced to urge upon you the expediency of your going into the Senate of the United States. The next session will be of a very interesting and momentous character, and your talents, independence, and influence extremely desirable. Your presence will be a host. Not only the great interests of the country require your services, but your fellow-citizens, who claim you as their candidate, can not be so well subserved, as by your being in Washington. We hope that no motives of delicacy will restrain you. The times are portentous, and there is no man in the land who can do so much to restore confidence in the stability of the Republic.



There will be many Richmonds in the field, and each endeavoring to augment his forces by all means within his power. We want an abler and better man than any of them, to defeat their ambitious schemes of aggrandizement, and it is indispensable that you should be at the post of conflict.

I trust in your magnanimity to excuse this freedom, but I am but expressing the opinion of your best friends here.

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MR. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

QUINCY, September 7, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—A very few days after transmitting to you a copy of an oration composed at the request of my neighbors at this place, I had the pleasure of receiving your friendly letter of the 26th July, which I have delayed answering till I could have the opportunity of forwarding with my answer a copy of another discourse prepared by invitation of the City Council of Boston in honor of our deceased friend and ex-President, Monroe.

I have availed myself of both these occasions to lay before our countrymen throughout the Union, the opinions which I have constantly entertained upon the doctrine of Nullification, and you will have seen that among the States which I have charged with directly asserting, or imprudently giving countenance to it, is your beloved State of Kentucky, as well as my own Massachusetts. I believe we are even indebted to Kentucky for the word, my remark upon which you will perhaps think savors of hypercriticism. A letter from Mr. Madison to Edward Everett, published last autumn in the "North American Review," disclaims explicitly all intention of resorting to force, by the interposition of the State Legislatures to arrest the operation of acts of Congress, deemed by such State Legislatures unconstitutional. Holding, as I do, that in our country all the powers of Government that can lawfully be exercised emanate from the people, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that neither the General Government, nor the State Governments can lawfully interfere with the appropriate functions of each other, nor exercise any authority or power not delegated to them by the people. The State is the creation of the people. Each of the thirteen original States passed by the will of its people, from

the condition of a subject dependent colony, to that of an independent State, united with twelve others, and this operation was effected, not by the separate action of each colony, but by the joint operation of the people of the whole ; and the Congress of 1776, assuming to speak in their name, and by their authority, fully sanctioned by their acquiescence, proclaimed this Union to the world in the Declaration of Independence.

The State then is the body corporate formed by the association of the people. The Constitution is the organic law or commission of Government. It is the delegation of power to be exercised by the public functionaries for the common good. Those functionaries can not lawfully travel out of the record in the exercise of power. Despotic or autocratic power is not only foreign to our institutions, but is expressly interdicted by the Declaration of Independence.

I assumed then that the people of no one State in the Union have ever delegated to their Government the right to interpose by legislation, to obstruct the operation of any act of Congress. That a State legislature may, as an assembly of individuals, remonstrate or petition I do not deny, and this was the only plausible ground upon which the Hartford Convention attempted to legalize their convocation and proceedings.

The Government of the Union, is, and necessarily must be, the judge of the extent of its own powers. So is the Government of each State. This is an essential attribute not only of sovereign but of independent power, and this is after all the refuge to which the school of despotic sovereignty must fly when pursued by the absurdities of their own argument. The Government of the Union, and the Governments of the States, are in their lawful action each independent of the other. But the Constitution of the United States expressly prohibits the States from the exercise of certain powers—high and transcendent powers—and this prohibition and its lawfulness is expressly recognized in the tenth emendatory article. Prohibits! who prohibits? If the States were the parties to the compact what right would either or all of them have to prohibit the exercise of any power by any one of them. They might stipulate the non-exercise of any given power ; but to prohibit is the action of authority upon obedience—the relation of law to submission. The prohibiting power of the Constitution is—We the People of the United States. That “poor little thing” as Patrick Henry called

it, "the expression, We the People, instead of the States of America." If, therefore, any one State, whether by an act of the Legislature or by a convention of its people, authorizes resistance or obstruction to the execution of any act of Congress, it exercises a power out of the pale of the Union; nullifies its own portion of the Constitution of the United States, violates the Declaration of Independence, and levies war against the United States.

This is and ever has been my opinion. Now the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799; the opinion of Judge M'Kean and the Olmsted case in Pennsylvania; the Hartford Convention, and the proceedings of the Legislature of Massachusetts and Connecticut authorizing that assembly; the opinions of the Judges Parsons, Sewell, and Parker, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, given to the Legislature of the State; Spencer Roane's project of a bill in the "Richmond Enquirer," and the doctrines of Calhoun and his squad at this day, all assert or countenance a right of interposition by the States, against acts of Congress, which I find nowhere delegated to the States. Mr. Madison disclaims for the Virginia Resolutions all purpose of counteracting legislation; his southern disciples appeal from the commentary to the text, and Hamilton, the nullifier, charges him with desertion of his own principles.

The doctrine, in all its parts, is so adverse to my convictions that I can view it in no other light than organized civil war. That it has the sanction of high and venerable names makes it but the more portentous of evil to the Union. Mr. Calhoun is but a pupil of the Hartford Convention, though he takes special care not to include them in his citation of authorities. Parsons and Roane, and M'Kean, and Jefferson have all been nullifiers when in a passion. Mr. Madison alone has explained, when cool, what he said when warm, and it extracts from the doctrine its venom if not its sting.

The doctrine has never yet been carried into effect. In the Olmsted case the issue was made, but nullification, after lighting the match, flinched from her quarters. It is the odious nature of the question that it can be settled only at the cannon's mouth. The South Carolina nullifiers appear determined to come to that point, and I hear our sober friend Langdon Cheves has made up his mind that the Union must be dissolved for incompatibility of interests between North and South. What shall we do with these heroes?

The papers in the "United States Gazette" upon the colonial trade arrangement, were written by Edward Ingersoll.

Mrs. Adams unites with me in offering our respectful regards to Mrs. Clay. We hope her health is entirely restored, and rejoice at the good account we have of yours, particularly from Mr. George Eustis, who lately saw you.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, October 4, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was rejoiced to learn, by your letter of the 4th ultimo, that both your health and spirits were good. I hope they have so continued, and may long remain.

I have received no letter from Mr. Randolph lately. I do not think it worth while longer to press him on a point which he evidently evades.

It appears to me to be right that I should put you in possession of at least a brief outline of the policy which I think adapted to the present state of the country. This I do, not for the purpose of publication, but that you may have the means of correcting any error that may fall in your way as to my real opinions. Such a correction might also, if necessary, be made in "The Whig;" not, however, to be done at my instance, nor upon my authority.

I agree with Mr. Calhoun, that the next session of Congress is a suitable time for such a modification of the Tariff as is called for by the near approach of the payment of the public debt. The modification may be prospective, to take effect on the happening of that event; or, if there be any particular article, the duty on which is burdensome, there might, as to that duty, be an immediate reduction, or abolition. There is a great advantage to merchants, as well as to consumers, to have adequate notice of a change in the existing Tariff. The Executive, too, might avail itself of the contemplated and distant alteration, to secure, in consideration of it, more favorable terms of commercial intercourse with foreign nations.

There ought, I think, to be a dispensation with duties to an amount, after the payment of the public debt, equal to the sinking fund of ten millions, which are annually appropriated to that object. This should be effected by an abolition or reduc-

tion of duties on articles not coming into competition with the produce of our agriculture, or the fabrics of our manufacturers. In other words, I think the principle of protection should be preserved unimpaired, in its application to our domestic industry; but, at the same time, that no more revenue should be collected than is necessary to an economical Administration. Laws ought to be passed to enforce strict execution of the Tariff, by detecting and punishing all evasions. An arrangement of the Tariff upon the principles stated, would be in conformity with what was always admitted by Southern statesmen, that is, that protection might be incidentally afforded in the collection of revenue.

I have no idea of the propriety of laying or continuing duties for the purpose of accumulating surpluses. And as to the doctrine of distributing any such surpluses among the several States, I think there is not the slightest authority for it in the Constitution. The general Government can no more devolve upon the States the duty of discharging any one of its own powers than the States can delegate to the general Government, without an annulment of the Constitution, the duty of local or municipal legislation.

In regard to internal improvements, I never have thought or contended, that a single cent of duty ought to be laid or continued for their promotion. I believe the power is possessed by the general Government. In any prudent adjustment of the Tariff to produce a revenue, say of twelve millions, sound policy requires that a deficit should be guarded against by laying duties enough. In some years, owing to the fluctuations of commerce, there may be a surplus, which might not be wanted. Such an occasional surplus, I would apply to the purpose of internal improvements.

But the great resource on which I think we should rely for that object, after the payment of the public debt, is the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. There is an obvious fitness in such an appropriation. And I think that a more liberal application to the Western States ought to be made, of this fund, than to the others, for two reasons; 1st. That the public domain is there situated, and improvements in that quarter have a tendency to enhance the value of the unsold residue; 2d. As a sort of counterbalance to the expenditures on a navy and fortifications, which are for the more immediate benefit of the maritime fron-

tier. It is true, that each part of the Union is concerned in the safety and prosperity of every other part. But this interest is sometimes only indirect. The maritime States would have quite as much of this indirect interest in internal improvements made under the authority of the general Government, in the West, as the Western States would have in Eastern fortifications and a navy. But I would leave the consideration of what is due to the Western States, from the above views, to the enlightened sense of Congress.

I think the Charter of the Bank of the United States ought to be renewed upon equitable conditions. I am perfectly willing to abide by the reasons which I assigned for a change of my opinion (the only change of opinion I ever made on a great political question) relative to that institution, and which are to be found in my published speeches.

I have thus hastily sketched my views of the policy which is applicable to the present condition of our country. I repeat that they are not intended for publication, nor, for reasons which will readily occur to you, do I wish any copy of this letter given to any one, for any purpose.

The doings of the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore, have not yet reached us. From all I have heard, I presume Mr. McLean, of Ohio, has been nominated. I do not believe that he has the moral courage to accept the nomination. But, to quote from your neighbor, *nous verrons*. If the alternative be between Andrew Jackson and an Anti-Masonic candidate, with his exclusive proscriptive principles, I should be embarrassed in the choice. I am not sure that the old tyranny is not better than a new one. That can endure, at the furthest, only four or five years more, while the latter might be of indefinite duration. The one is an exhausted volcano, the other would be the bursting of a new eruption, spreading no one can tell to what extent, nor how long it would last.

I believe, either that Mr. McLean will not accept, or, if he does, that he will be ultimately abandoned, from the impracticability of his election, in which case the great body of the Anti-Masons will support me, not because they love me, but because they hate Jackson more, and because there is greater coincidence between their political principles and mine.

You suggest the propriety of publishing an extract from a letter you addressed to me, disclaiming any wish for a federal ap-

pointment in any contingency. I have seen nothing which questions your disinterestedness; and, therefore, why make the publication? Might not such a publication be deemed a gratuitous and unnecessary display? I request your reconsideration.

I am glad that Virginia resolves to be represented in the Baltimore Convention. Whatever doubts might originally have existed about the policy of that movement, it has now proceeded too far to be abandoned. And it is therefore desirable that there should be a full and respectable assembly.

I am strongly urged to go to the Senate, and I am now considering whether I can subdue my repugnance to the service.

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DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY..

BOSTON, October 5, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Everett was kind enough to show me your letter to him, stating the results of the Kentucky election.

It is doubtless true that some regret was felt in this quarter, that those results were not more strongly in our favor, but, upon the whole, a general satisfaction as to that matter now prevails, and all think that Kentucky has at least, by a certain, if not by a great majority, declared against the present Administration. For my own part, I can say, with great truth and sincerity, that I know no political men more deserving the thanks of the country, than our friends in Kentucky. I have some conception of the obstacles with which they have had to contend, not for once, but for many times, and their spirit, zeal, and perseverance in maintaining the cause of good government, place them, in my judgment, in the first class of really patriotic citizens. This opinion I often express, and it gives me always pleasure to express it. Whatever events may come upon us, I feel, for one, a debt of gratitude to the good men of Kentucky, for the firmness with which they have breasted a storm, which has threatened, and I think still threatens, to overturn, not only the interests and institutions, but the Constitution of the country.

You must be aware, my dear sir, of the strong desire manifested in many parts of the country, that you should come into the Senate. There is, certainly, a strong feeling of that sort, all along the Atlantic coast. I learn its existence from private letters, as well as from the public newspapers. The wish is en-

tertained here, as earnestly as any where. For myself, I hard y know what my own wishes are, because I suppose Mr. Crittenden will, of course, be thought of again. He has so much talent and fitness for the place, is, according to my apprehension of his character, so true and trustworthy, has done so much for the general good, and been so marked an object besides, for the opposition and reproach of the present dominant party at Washington, that I find myself incapable of desiring any thing incompatible with his wishes or expectations. But I know not what his wishes are. Independent of considerations of this kind, the force of which you can weigh infinitely better than I can, I should entirely concur with others in deeming it most expedient for you to come now into the Senate. We are to have an interesting and an arduous session. Every thing is to be attacked. An array is preparing much more formidable than has ever yet assaulted, what we think, the leading and important public interests. Not only the Tariff, but the Constitution itself, in its elementary and fundamental provisions, will be assailed with talent, vigor, and union. Every thing is to be debated, as if nothing had ever been settled. You perceive imposing proceedings, under high names, going on in Philadelphia. You see measures adopted to try the Constitution, further South. You see, every where, I think, omens of a contest of no ordinary character. At the same time, discouraging things are happening, such as the Baltimore nomination and its acceptance. I assure you, my dear sir, with the prospect of toil and labor which is before me, if honor and conscience were not in the way, I would give my place to another. But these dictate to me, or seem to, that, so far as depends on so humble an individual as myself, the crisis must be met. But it would be an infinite gratification to have your aid, or rather your lead. I speak in unaffected sincerity and truth, when I say that I should rejoice, personally, to meet you in the Senate. I am equally sincere in saying that the cause would, under present circumstances be materially benefited by your presence there. I know nothing so likely to be useful. Every thing valuable in the Government is to be fought for, and we need your arm in the fight. At the same time, my dear sir, I would not, even thus privately and confidentially to you, say any thing not consistent with delicacy and friendship for Mr. Crittenden, for whose character I have great regard, and toward whom you and others have



taught me to entertain the feelings of a friend. Would to God we could have you both, at this crisis in the public councils.

I ought to thank you for your kindness to several friends of mine, who have visited you in the course of the season. They express themselves highly gratified by your hospitality and good offices.

I pray a most respectful remembrance to Mrs. Clay, and hope that at some time, on one or the other side of the mountains, Mrs. Webster may have the pleasure of making her acquaintance. Clark, Letcher, and Kincaird, I believe, are not at great distances from Lexington. If you see them, tender my regards to them. I hope you will let me hear from you.

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TIMOTHY PICKERING TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, October 22, 1831.

DEAR SIR,—Will you permit an ardent political friend to address you upon a subject of the highest importance.

You are already aware that the Hon. William Wirt has been nominated by a very respectable Convention at Baltimore, for the high office of President of the United States.

You are aware that at the election of J. Q. Adams, you were accused of bargain and corruption. You may be aware, also, that no respectable man of good information does now believe it.

You recollect that you stated your conviction of General Jackson's inability, and notorious incompetency to fill that high station, and put your character and motives upon the issue.

You are aware that the present organization renders your election impossible.

You are aware that the sentiments of Mr. Wirt, upon the great and important points of our domestic policy are in unison with your own.

Now, sir, since your own election is impossible, would it not be the greatest blessing which you could possibly confer upon your country, to retire from the contest, and let all your forces be brought over to Mr. Wirt's side, and thus, by securing his election, you would be the means of delivering the country from the domination of the present weak and imbecile Administration.

Please to accept these remarks from a constant political friend.

MRS. ERWIN TO HER FATHER, MR. CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, December 8, 1831.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I wrote mamma last from Cahaba. Not being certain whether she would go to Washington or not, I addressed my letter to Lexington, so that you will probably receive this one before that. We went on board of the boat a few hours after I wrote, and had a very pleasant passage of two days to Mobile, where we remained a week with our friends. We left there on the 4th, expecting to be here in twenty-four hours, but, owing to the steamboat being badly managed, we were two days and three nights in coming. We had a most comfortless time, and on arriving here found our friends very anxious about us, as there was a report that we were lost. I was delighted at finding Henry here. He has not been very well for a day or two past, but is in good spirits and appears to be very much pleased with the prospect of settling here. All of our friends have been very kind and attentive to him. Old Mr. Henderson gave him a dinner at which he invited some of the oldest gentlemen in the city to meet him. This was intended, of course, as a great compliment to his understanding. We found our rooms, that Mr. Erwin had engaged last spring, ready for us, and I think we shall be quite pleasantly situated. I am as yet the only lady in the house, but as we have a private table I shall prefer it, as I must necessarily be a greater belle, there being no competition in the case; and you know, my dear father, too well for me to disguise the fact, that all ladies like the attention of gentlemen. I have not as yet had time to see any of my friends except Aunt Clay. The weather for the last two weeks has been detestable. Judge Porter called this morning to see us. He appears to be in good health, but is of course very dejected. His daughter will remain in the city this winter with Mrs. Judge Matthews, and will spend next summer with me in Kentucky.

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I hope, my dear father, you will not be so entirely absorbed in politics but that you will find time to write us frequently. Present me affectionately to all those persons who remember me in Washington, and give Mr. Erwin's love as well as mine to mamma.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 7th instant. That to which it refers was not received by me until after my return from Illinois, and after my election to the Senate. As this latter event brought me nearer to you, I concluded to postpone writing until I reached this city, and even now I have nothing material to communicate which the papers do not present. Parties have not yet exhibited their respective strength; nor, except the election of Speaker, has there been any occasion for its display. In that instance, there was evidently no concert between those opposed to the Administration; and such a concert I apprehend to be extremely difficult, if not impossible. You will have seen from the message, and from the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, and his colleagues, that the entire policy of the Government, in relation to every one of the great interests of the country, is proposed to be changed. Was there ever a wilder scheme than that respecting the public lands?

The impression here is, that the Baltimore Convention will make a nomination of me. I wish I could add that the impression was more favorable than it is of the success of such a nomination. Something, however, may turn up (and that must be our encouraging hope) to give a brighter aspect to our affairs.

I shall be glad to receive the long letter promised in your last.

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 HORTON HOWARD TO MR. CLAY.

COLUMBUS, December 19, 1831.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I had but one objection to thy going to Washington at present, and the good that I hoped would result from it overcame that objection. I nevertheless feel it my duty, as one of thy real friends, to caution thee to be at all times on thy guard. I have no doubt that attempts will be made, in many ways, to get thee out of the way.

Now, so long as thou bears in mind that thou art accountable to thy Creator for the talents he has committed to thee for the promotion of his glory, and that while on earth it must be promoted by rendering benefits to his creature man, so long his protecting Providence will preserve thee from harm. So long as

the knowledge thou possesses that this nation claims thee as its property, and has a right to thy services in this eventful period, continues to be duly estimated, so long, I conceive, thou wilt so far disregard the machinations of the wicked as to contemn the foolish laws of honor, as they are falsely called. They have already been an injury to thee. Thy country knows thou possesses courage enough of this kind, as well as of a much higher and dignified kind. If insults or challenges should be again offered, it now expects thee to give the most unequivocal evidence that thou also possesses courage of a vastly more exalted and dignified character, and of course that with the stern independence and elevation of mind which has marked or distinguished thy political course, thou wilt with fearless intrepidity discountenance such false pretenses to honor, both by example and precept.

I do not fear its giving offense, and make no apology for this freedom of communication.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,—With the compliments of the season, I acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 15th instant. Here we have nothing new. Opinions are in a progress of formation on the leading measures of the session. That of the Tariff will be the most difficult and agitating. I fear that there will be no agreement among parties, either as to the amount of the reduction of the revenue, or the objects on which it shall be effected. The ultras of South Carolina are very wrong-headed on the latter point. They appear to be bent on the destruction of the system of protection, or on their own destruction.

The Executive is playing a deep game to avoid, at this session, the responsibility of any decision on the Bank question. It is not yet ascertained whether the bank, by forbearing to apply for a renewal of their Charter, will or will not conform to the wishes of the President. I think they will act very unwisely if they do not apply.

You say the Calhoun party has almost disappeared at Richmond. Judging from the number of the members of the General Assembly who attended the late caucus, I should suppose all parties but that of Jackson had disappeared in Virginia. I see

“The Whig” has repeatedly admitted that the National Republican party is in the minority. I suppose it is so, but is it politic to make such an admission? Will such an admission secure additional strength, or any credit even for candor? Is it consistent with the purpose of making a struggle, if that be designed in Virginia?

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MRS. ERWIN\* TO HER FATHER, MR. CLAY.

NEW ORLEANS, January 7, 1832.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I to-day received your favor of the 25th of December, and read it with more than ordinary pleasure as we had not heard a word from you since your arrival at Washington, although we had been tantalized with a sight of your handwriting, as you had inclosed the Message both to Mr. Erwin and Henry. You have no doubt heard before this, that Claiborne has declined returning this winter; it is owing to his health, which is much better than it was when he left here; but he writes that his eyes are still so much affected that he thinks it prudent for him to remain at least another year. They have elected Mr. Dixon to fill his place; he is a warm partisan of yours, and was elected by one vote over Mr. Marigny, but the opposite party speak of contesting the election. It is not supposed, however, that they will succeed in turning Mr. Dixon out. So much for politics. You see it is impossible to be the daughter of a politician without, at least, knowing what is going on.

We have been suffering here with the same influenza which appears to be prevailing at the North. The Creoles have felt it more than the Americans. Indeed in some cases where the individuals were old, it has proved fatal. Mrs. Clay has been severely attacked. She was confined to her bed for several days, and has not left the house for more than two weeks. I am glad to be able to say that she is much better now. Mr. Duralde also has been quite sick with it; but I believe he is well enough now to go down to his saw-mill.

Henry has commenced the study of law under Judge Porter's

\* Mrs. Erwin was a favorite child, and obtained the strongest hold on her father's heart. Mr. Erwin had a country seat at Lexington, adjoining Ashland, called the “Woodlands,” a beautiful place, where the family resided in summer

directions. He complains a little of the large folios he sends him, and thinks the Judge does not estimate his talents quite high enough when he supposes it will require two years of hard study to prepare him to commence the practice. The Judge's family appears to be completely broken up since the death of Miss Eliza. He has taken lodgings in town, and his daughter is passing the winter with Mrs. Mathews. I have invited her to spend the ensuing summer with me, and her father has promised that she should accompany us on our return to Kentucky. We have not heard a word from Lexington since the 29th of November. The river being frozen up, there is no communication at all between this and the Western country. The last letter I received was from James. I was very much gratified to find that he writes an uncommonly good letter for so young a boy.

I have been so fortunate as to find an infant-school established here upon the same plan as those at the North, where I send the boys. They did not like to go much at first, but by giving them a few sugar-plums every day I hired them for the first week, and they are now becoming interested in it. It is a very great relief to me to know that they are doing well and are out of mischief from nine until three every day. Little Lucretia grows every day. She is the most mischievous child of her age I ever saw. Aunt Lotty and she have at least a dozen quarrels a day. I can not thank my dear mother enough, for having spared Lotty to me. She is the best creature I ever saw, and appears to be quite as much attached to the children, as she ever was to yours.

Tell mamma I shall certainly execute her commission with a great deal of pleasure, and if she can think of any thing else she wishes, you will have quite time to let me know, as we shall not leave this before the 1st of March. I have begun to make her the collection of baskets she wished me to get for her. The children all send a kiss to their dear grandparents, as well as their love to Henry Duralde. Mr. Erwin joins me in love both to mamma and yourself. If Uncle Brown is with you, you will remember us both affectionately to him. You will please say to him that Mr. Erwin will be happy to render him any service in this country in his power.

## JOSEPH HOWARD TO MR. CLAY.

TUFFIN, Ohio, January 27, 1832.

MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Permit me to herewith inclose to thy acceptance the last Annual Report of our Canal Commissioners. by which it will be seen that one more link will shortly be completed in the great chain which, I hope, when completed, will add greatly to the strength and perpetuity of our Union. As it is at all times a source of gratitude to the parent to see his children as they advance in years advance toward perfection, so it must be a source of great satisfaction to the great parent and author of a system which but a few years ago existed only in theory, now to see it rapidly advancing toward the highest state of perfection that was anticipated by its author. Under this view of the subject it is then that I take the liberty of presenting the inclosed document to the universally-acknowledged author of a system which has, either directly or indirectly, contributed greatly to the projection and consummation of this stupendous work ; a system which, if cherished, will be a rich legacy for future generations.

## LESLIE COMBS TO MR. CLAY.

LEXINGTON, January 27, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—You have made a very sensible speech on your proposition to take off certain duties and reduce others. You occupied the true ground on every point you made, and did it with becoming temper. I regret that the Southrons are crazy, but let them fret ; you must not quarrel with them. You occupy higher ground than any of them, and must look down upon them and sooth them, not yourself play the gladiator. That would do for me, if I were in Congress ; as I am not, others must do it. Your course must be above all partisan warfare, and God will speed you. It must be for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union.

I am daily laboring to raise the caloric in our friends on this side the mountains. They are too cold, and selfish, and lethargic for me, but I never give up a good cause while there is a man in the field or a shot in the locker.

PATRICK HENRY TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1832.

SIR,—I have not yet had the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, but as we claim Virginia as our nativity (where I live and expect to die), and as my admiration for your character and principles admits of no comparison with the most distinguished living, I feel at liberty to make a suggestion, and, if it should meet with your views of liberal policy, for which you have been so much distinguished, I shall be very much gratified. It is that Henry Clay should forthwith introduce a resolution for the purchase of Mount Vernon; the improved grounds including the park, extending to the gate leading to Alexandria, with any other addition of land to the north and south of the mansion as may be thought desirable by Congress. If it should be the pleasure of Congress to make the purchase, the country would not only be in possession of the remains of the Father of the Republic, but would be enabled to preserve and use the property for some national purpose. It would be advisable (should this project meet with your approbation) first to ascertain through your friend, G. C. Washington, whether the proprietor of Mount Vernon would be willing to sell the property to the United States. Wishing you all the honors that can be conferred by your country, I am, sir, your most obedient servant.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been so constantly occupied, that I have not been able to write you as much or as often as I wished. That terrible long speech of mine in the Senate, which gave me less trouble in its delivery than it has since occasioned me, is now in the hands of the printer, and being disposed of, leaves me at leisure to say a few words.

Every thing is going on well. Van Buren, old Hickory, and the whole crew, will, I think, in due time, be gotten rid of. The attempt to excite public sympathy in behalf of the little Magician has totally failed; and I sincerely wish that he may be nominated as Vice-President. That is exactly the point to



which I wish to see matters brought. Do urge our Jackson friends (if there be any that you can approach) to nominate him on the 28th. It will be so consistent that they should support him who is, or at least pretends to have been, for the Tariff, and oppose all others who are for it.

We have had various affairs here, and of which the papers will give you some account. The most bitter of the opposition is the Calhoun element. I heard to-day that a South Carolina Governor is in correspondence with a Virginia Lieutenant-Governor. Will our friend Lloyd on that occasion call out the posse, as he was supposed by some here to have intended to prevent the removal of the remains of Washington?

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

NEW ORLEANS, February 28, 1832.

DEAR FATHER,—I am now living at Judge Porter's, on the coast. I found that in the city I was so much interrupted by the kindness of friends and acquaintance, that I could not devote that time to study which I desired. At the solicitation of the Judge, I therefore determined to spend in the country the few months that I shall be in Louisiana.

Judge Porter's residence, as you will recollect, is near the battle-ground, three or four miles from the city. He has an excellent library, and is himself a learned man in the law, animated with the best spirit of learning, that which applies useful maxims to the common wants of mankind.

The civil law begins to open before me. What I thought the study of a year, I perceive now would exhaust the energies of a lifetime. But I am determined, if ever I shall arrive at an independence of fortune, to carry what little talents and attainments I may possess to another tribunal than the bar of justice, the tribunal of public debate.

I am at present making all exertions to gain a knowledge of the law, and I have no reason, I think, to be dissatisfied with my progress. By the winter after next, I shall be able to come to the bar with a fair prospect of ultimate success.

JAMES BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

BARBOURSVILLE, March 7, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—You have obliged me much by furnishing me with your speech on the Tariff. It is the strongest view I have ever seen on the subject. If the facts are true to which you refer as the basis of your argument, your argument is unanswerable. I duly appreciate the necessity which induced you to introduce some remarks merely *ad captandum*. Contending as you are with an enemy using poisoned weapons, the right of defense extends to the employment of what otherwise might not be considered very legitimate means.

Your positions are judicious, and you have ably defended them. Great perspicuity is your leading characteristic.

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HARRISON GREY OTIS TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, March 8, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—I had read your admirable speech with great delight, and pondered its contents, before I received the copy which you did me the honor to transmit. This, however, was not the less acceptable, as, in addition to the value of the attention, it gives me a right and an excuse for making my personal acknowledgment, without claiming or expecting a reply; knowing by long experience that no class of men are more in need of "protecting duties" from the uninvited consignments of correspondents, who expect remittances which interfere with time and convenience, than the members of Congress. And though the voice of one individual contributes little to swell the note of acclamation which you hear from all quarters, yet mine is entitled to something of more value than that of anybody, inasmuch as the only lance I ever broke with you was in defense of hemp and molasses, when you came forth as the champion of Mr. Baldwin's bill, which I dare say you have forgotten. But *tempora mutantur*, and I am among those who have been coerced by the policy of government *mutari cum illis*. Among the excellencies of your speech, that in my mind predominates which calls the agricultural, and especially the mechanical class, to look to the case as their own.

## MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, March 13, 1832.

J. Madison, with his best respects to Mr. Clay, thanks him for the copy of his speech "In defense of the American System," etc. It is a very able, a very eloquent, and a very interesting one. If it does not establish all its positions, in all their extent, it demolishes not a few of those relied on by the opponents. J. M. feels a pleasure in offering this tribute to its merits. But he must be pardoned for expressing a regret that an effusion of personal feeling was, in one instance, admitted into the discussion.

## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 15th. I am sorry that I can give you no satisfactory information as to the course of Georgia in respect to the recent decision of the Supreme Court. It is rumored that the President has repeatedly said that he will not enforce it, and that he even went so far as to express his hope, to a Georgia member of Congress, that Georgia would support her rights.

The Committee of Investigation into the conduct of the Bank, leave here on Wednesday, for Philadelphia. The impression now is, that the Bank Charter will pass at this session. Mr. Adams, being appointed one of the Committee, took the occasion to ask to be excused from serving on the Committee of Manufactures, as its Chairman; whereupon the head was immediately knocked out of a barrel of oil, and the whole quantity poured on him by Southern gentlemen, and other anti-Tariffites. He was induced to postpone his motion.

I have requested Messrs. Gales & Seaton to send fifty of my peeches to Mr. White.

## MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, March 22, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received yours of the 17th. Although you kindly release me from a reply, it may be proper to say, that

some of the circumstances to which you refer were not before known to me.

On the great question before Congress, on which so much depends out of Congress, I ought the less to obtrude an opinion, as its merits essentially depend on details which I never investigated, and of which I am an incompetent judge. I know only that the Tariff, in its present amount and form, is a source of deep and extensive discontent; and I fear that, without alleviations, separating the more moderate from the more violent opponents, very serious effects are threatened. Of these, the most formidable, and not the least probable, would be a Southern Convention, the avowed object of some, and the unavowed object of others whose views are, perhaps, still more to be dreaded. The disastrous consequences of disunion, obvious to all, would no doubt be a powerful check on its partisans; but such a convention, characterized as it would be by selected talents, ardent zeal, and the confidence of those represented, would not be easily stopped in their course; especially, as many of the members, though not carrying with them particular aspirations for the honors, etc., presented to ambition on a new political theater, would find them germinating in such a hot-bed.

To these painful ideas I can only oppose hopes and wishes, that notwithstanding the wide space and warm feelings which divide the parties, some accommodating arrangements may be devised that will prove an immediate anodyne, and involve a lasting remedy to the Tariff discords.

Mrs. Madison charges me with her affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Clay, to whom I beg to be at the same time respectfully presented, with a re-assurance to yourself of my high esteem and cordial regards.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will have seen the disposition made on Thursday last of my resolution respecting the Tariff. On that occasion some developments were made of a scheme which I have long since suspected—that certain portions of the South were disposed to purchase support to the anti-Tariff doctrines, by a total sacrifice of the public lands to States within which they are situated.

A more stupendous, and more flagitious project was never conceived. It will fail in its object, but it ought to be denounced. A majority of the Senate (composed of all the anti-Tariff Senators, and some of the Jackson Tariff Senators), referred a resolution concerning the public lands to the Committee of Manufactures! Can you conceive a more incongruous association of subjects? There were two objects. The first I have suggested; the second was to affect me personally, by placing me in a situation in which I must report unfavorably to the Western and South-Western States, which are desirous of possessing themselves of the public lands. I think I shall disappoint the design, by presenting such views of that great interest as will be sanctioned by the nation. Meantime, I should be glad if you would give some hints to our friend Pleasants, and let him sound the tocsin. In Illinois there are about forty millions of acres of public land, and about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty thousand people. What think you of giving that large amount of land to that comparatively small number of people? If it were nominally sold to them, it would, in the end, amount to a mere donation.

We have nothing new about the course of Georgia, and the President's intention as to the decision of the Supreme Court. The current opinion is that he will not enforce it.

We shall report in part, in a day or two, a bill limited to a repeal of duties on the unprotected class of foreign imports, reserving for future report the other class, as to which, however, I do not anticipate that any thing can be done to satisfy South Carolina.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 1, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 29th ultimo, communicating the tenor of a conversation with Governor Floyd. At the time that the Governor appeared as a witness before the public to testify against me, during the late Administration, I was surprised and hurt, and thought he took a course utterly inconsistent with the friendly relations which had previously existed between us, to say nothing of the opposite views which he and I took of the matter to which his testimony related. But, whatever feelings were excited in my mind at the time, they have

been long since thrown aside, with a mass of analogous feelings awakened during an ardent and angry Presidential contest. My nature is such as to prompt me to forget these things, and I should be sorry if it were otherwise.

The clew to the motives which induced Governor Floyd voluntarily to make that explanation, I have discovered here since I received your letter. A design exists, on the part of Mr. Calhoun and his friends, to have his name presented as a candidate, provided they conceive that he will stand any chance of getting three or four Southern States; and provided, as the means of their accomplishing that object, our friends will co-operate in Virginia, and south of it, with his, to give him their votes. Mr. Calhoun had, at his instance, a conversation with a friend of mine, which was general, and understood by that friend to be preliminary to another which Duff Green subsequently sought with him. In the course of this latter, Duff explained fully the views and wishes of the Calhoun party. These are, that his name shall, in the course of the ensuing summer (say August), be presented as a candidate; that, if no ticket is run in Virginia by our friends, and if they will co-operate with his, he can obtain the vote of that State; that, with a fair prospect of receiving the vote of Virginia, he will obtain those also of North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina, and probably of Alabama and Mississippi; that the result would be to defeat the re-election of General Jackson, and to devolve the election on the House; that there they suppose I would be elected; and that they would be satisfied with my election. Such is the general outline of their project, the details of which were communicated by Duff after the previous general conversation with Mr. Calhoun. My friend presumed their intention was that he should communicate to me what passed, and he has accordingly communicated it. Duff stated that the success of the whole plan of the campaign, on their part, required that our friends should not present an electoral ticket; and, moreover, should support them in Virginia.

I have neither said nor done any thing in reply to all this, to commit my friends or myself. I could not, without dishonor, have ventured upon any sort of commitment of them. They are, in fact, free, and so I wish them to remain, to act according to their own sense of propriety.

As to the project itself, I have supposed that Mr. Calhoun has too little capital any where, out of South Carolina, to engraft

upon ; that it would be impracticable, if it were desirable, to induce our friends in Virginia to abandon all purpose of supporting a ticket on our side, and of co-operating in the support of one for Mr. Calhoun ; that if such a concocted movement were made, it would be very probably defeated by the imputations which would be brought against it ; and that the whole idea has sprung out of the desperate condition of Mr. Calhoun's prospects. If there could be any movement at the South which would secure to Mr. Calhoun the vote of three or four Southern States, next to their being given to our cause, it would, undoubtedly, be the best thing that could happen for us. It would every where else stimulate our friends to the greatest exertions, by holding out the hope of certain success. It would break the power of Jacksonism, and discourage his friends in other States quite as much as it would animate ours.

Let me, my dear friend, hear from you on this matter, and particularly your views as to the strength of the party of Mr. Calhoun in Virginia. Has it not relapsed into Jacksonism ? Could it be brought forth again, in its original force, to the support of Mr. Calhoun ? Supposing Mr. Calhoun is not put forward as a candidate, what course, generally, will his friends in Virginia pursue ? Could our friends be prevailed upon to unite on a ticket for Mr. Calhoun ? Or, in the event of no ticket being put up for our cause, would they not divide between Jackson and Calhoun, the larger part probably going to Jackson ? When do our friends contemplate bringing out the ticket which has been thought of for our side ?

How long will you remain at St. Julien ? that is, when will you return to your official duties at Richmond ?

If I am to judge of what I see and hear, and know, there is a general persuasion in the public mind of the insecurity and danger in the existing state of the general Administration. That there is too much cause for that persuasion, I sincerely believe. The important inquiry is, what ought to be done—what can be done ? As to myself, I am ready to consent to any disposition that would rid the country from impending perils, if any disposal of myself could contribute to that most desirable result. You are upon the judgment bench, and, perhaps, may there see more calmly than we can who are in the contending arena, what the good of our common country, in the present crisis, really demands from her true and devoted sons, among whom,

whatever to the contrary others may profess to think or say, I know none to be more sincerely and zealously attached, than your faithful friend.

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R. S. BROWNING TO MR. CLAY.

ROME, April 5, 1832

SIR,—IN visiting the relics of ancient Rome, my attention was naturally called to the tomb of Cicero. It stands on the spot where that immortal orator was assassinated by some base creatures of Mark Antony, near his villa, at Mola. I could not contemplate the monument, whose solidity had defied the ravages of nearly two thousand years, or tread the consecrated sod, without feelings of excitement. His unrivaled eloquence, that was ever raised for the rights of man—his fearless defense of the Roman Republic—his eminence as a lawyer—the ability with which he presided over the Roman people—all hurried upon my memory in rapid succession. Nor did I forget that the enemies of Cicero were numerous. But they were the enemies of the Republic, and sought to destroy Roman liberty by blasting the character of its most able defender. But Cicero was virtuous, and the Roman people were not yet dazzled by the success of a military chieftain, and rewarded his virtue by their highest gift. How could these reflections cross my mind without recalling you to my recollection? Your eloquence in defense of our Republic has been heard from the Mississippi to the Rhine. Your legal knowledge and abilities as a statesman, that give you the first rank in “the land of liberty,” like Cicero’s, have ever been directed to the good of the people. And you, too, have your enemies. May wisdom and virtue weaken their strength. May the Republicans of the United States prove to the world that they are not deluded by the success of a military chieftain, by rewarding your virtue and talents with the first gift of the nation. May they show themselves superior to the Romans by never deserting the cause of liberty, and by confiding only in wise and virtuous lovers of liberty.

With these reflections, I cut a bough of an abavita, that shaded the tomb, and have had a cane made of it, which I forward you by the bearer of this note, and beg your acceptance of it.



## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 5th instant. I have some thoughts of running away from this place for a few days, wearied and exhausted as I am by public business, and I have an inclination to go to St. Julien, if you will give me an asylum, and receive me *incognito*. If I go, it would be on Thursday or Friday. Will you be at home for four or five days? Will you receive me, and promise, upon your sacred honor, not to invite to your house any company in consequence of my enjoying the advantage of your protection? Perhaps I may carry with me a friend. I shall be governed by your reply. Whatever that may be, I pray you always to consider me faithfully your friend.

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## MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall leave here on Thursday next, in the steamboat for Fredericksburg, and reach St. Julien, if I can, that evening. General Vance and Mr. Letcher will probably accompany me. Mrs. Clay thinks she had better remain here with our grandson, etc.

Mr. McDuffie of the Bank Committee, has returned from Philadelphia, and the rest of the Committee are expected this evening or to-morrow. It is understood that the Committee were not very harmonious, but it is not known what will be the character of their report.

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## FRANCIS BROOKE TO MR. CLAY.

ST. JULIEN, April 23, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was deeply affected by our last conversation on the subject of your health, and I conjure you to take care of it. I have some experience, and no little information from books, of the effect of diet, etc., upon the animal economy, and I am aware of the truth of the vulgar maxim, that "what is one man's meat, is another's poison," and therefore will not pre-

tend to prescribe any specific course to you. It is perfectly true that if you will not permit your inclinations to control your judgment, you will better decide than the most experienced of the faculty, what diet is most conducive to your health; but there are some general principles that we can not be mistaken in, and one is, that after high excitement from any cause, there is invariably a consequent debility, which will always increase materially any predisposition to torpor, and even paralysis. High excitement, then, from any cause, ought to be avoided, and especially from causes that always precede great debility. I think I can not warn you too strongly, against the excessive use of tobacco, in any form. As Milo learned to carry the ox by carrying the calf every day, the quantity of tobacco may be diminished from day to day. This also may be said of wine; but there is another cause of high excitement which is more pernicious, and more difficult in your situation to be avoided, that which results from dwelling too much on the deplorable condition of our public affairs, and on the relation in which you are placed in regard to them. It is the more difficult for you to look on them in the calm lights of a mild philosophy, but yet you ought to be satisfied with performing your duty, and to leave the rest to others, and to that Providence which has heretofore watched over us. It is in vain to attempt to do more, and I shall be truly rejoiced when I find you less anxious, and, of course, less excited. There are times, when, as we have seen in history, patriotism made things that were bad, worse. I trust that we are not yet in that condition, but if that virtue is worth any thing, you ought to take care of your health; it is of great importance that you should. I hope I shall have a letter from you, giving me a better account of it than when you were here.

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HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

ASHLAND, April 24, 1832.

I wish to communicate the joyful intelligence that you are grandfather by a new title. Heaven, as if jealous of our fondness for Anne, has attempted to divide it by a new object of affection, but it will only give rise to a new source of feeling. Yesterday, between 2 and 3 P. M., Anne gave life and light to a fine daughter.

We shall be happy to introduce you when you come, to the youthful stranger. Mary is to be her name, and her aunt, Miss Mary Erwin, her godmother.

I am now, for the first time for many years, enjoying the pleasures and scenes of a youthful spring in Kentucky. It is a charming country, and Ashland and the Woodlands have a thousand interests for me. I do not at all envy you your heated political atmosphere at Washington. I much prefer the serene happiness which the perusal of the elegant Thompson infuses, while surrounded with the beauties which the season of bloom opens to the view.

When may we expect you? My mother, I suppose, will not precede you. I hope to show her when she comes, that Ashland has not fallen into bad hands. A little severity, which I used in the first place, and a continued exertion of energy, have introduced a system and regularity into the concerns of the place, which were much wanting when I came.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 26, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your affectionate letter of the 23d instant, and the interest which it manifests in my health and prosperity has affected me sensibly. Among the many circumstances to disgust me with life and my fellow man, the warmth, fidelity, and duration of your friendship have ever been a source of cheering satisfaction. You have described, I believe correctly, the true causes of my indisposition; and your advice is full of wisdom. Naturally ardent, perhaps too ardent, I can not avoid being too much excited and provoked by the scenes of tergiversation, hypocrisy, degeneracy, and corruption which are daily exhibited. I would fly from them, and renounce forever public life, if I were not restrained by a sentiment of duty, and of attachment to my friends. I shall endeavor to profit by your kindness, and to avoid as much as possible, in future, all causes of irritation. I have quit the use of tobacco, in one of the two forms to which I had been accustomed, and will gradually discontinue the other. I will also endeavor to moderate the interest excited by public affairs.

Since my return I have felt, with the exception of one day,

better. I wish I could have remained longer with you. Should I not feel my strength and health returning, I will make another excursion to Maryland or Philadelphia.

Nothing material has transpired here. Our friends are acquiring daily more confidence, and the Jackson party are greatly alarmed. It was remarked to me this morning that they have become panic struck.

A report is anticipated from a bare majority of the Bank Committee, recommending further investigation to be prosecuted in the recess. There will probably be a counter report.

Two reports may be expected from the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Committee of Manufactures, next week, on the Tariff, and presenting different plans of modification.

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AMBROSE SPENCER TO MR. CLAY.

Near ALBANY, April 28, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the copy of your report on the public lands, which you kindly sent me, and I avail myself of the occasion to trouble you with a letter. I have considered myself unfortunate in never having had the pleasure of seeing you, or corresponding with you. When you were in power I had no favor to ask, although as far as my influence extended it was in favor of the last Administration. I admit that there were some passages in your public life which I disapproved; but I am happy also to be able to say that explanations given to me at Washington by honorable men, removed impressions of an unfavorable nature. The report you have sent me, and the general tenor of your public life, have indelibly impressed me that you are actuated, as a public man, by the purest principles and the sternest integrity.

You may think it strange that I should open a correspondence in this manner, but I consider it proper and necessary you should be informed by me of the undisguised state of my past and present feelings toward you. \* \* \* \*

Being myself thoroughly convinced that we are doomed to national degradation, and to the ruin of all our most valuable institutions, if General Jackson is re-elected, I will endeavor to do my duty in averting these calamities.

## CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL TO MR. CLAY.

RICHMOND, May 7, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—On my return to this place, from a visit to my friends in our upper country, I had the pleasure of receiving your report on the public lands, which I have read with attention. The subject is of immense interest, and has long produced and is still producing great excitement.

My sentiments concur entirely with those contained in the report, which are so clearly and so well expressed that it must, I think, be approved by a great majority of Congress. Unanimity is not to be expected in any thing.

I thank you for this mark of attention, and am with great and respectful esteem your obedient servant.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I did not answer your last, because I had some hopes of seeing you here, and because I wished to be able to communicate to you something about the proceedings of the N. R. Convention at Harrisburg. The inclosed letter from Mr. Sergeant (which you can return after reading) will give you the latest information from that place. Other letters which I have received corroborate his views. The progress of the work of co-operation between the Anti-Masons and N. R.'s in New York continues, and every day adds to our confidence that it will be secured, and that its result will be to deprive Jackson of the support of that State. It is an affair, however, of much delicacy and of no little difficulty, from the fanaticism of some, and the perverseness of others, of the Anti-Masons. The letter which you procured Governor Barbour to write to Rose has had good effect, and if he could repeat the anodyne it would not be amiss. Stevens (the Anti-Masonic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in New York) was here a few days ago, and assured me that he was fully persuaded that we should succeed in New York. Lieutenant-Governor Pilcher (now a member of the House of Representatives from that State, and elected as a Jackson man) said to me, last evening, that he had no doubt of our success there.

We are going on with the Bank in the Senate, and, I presume, will pass the bill on Monday or Tuesday. In the House of Representatives Mr. M'Duffie's Tariff bill had only about forty-four supporters. No time of adjournment yet spoken of. Mr. Hith, from Richmond, is here, and I am highly pleased with him.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—Pennsylvania continues daily to exhibit signs of the most cheering character, and there is just reason to hope that she is lost to General Jackson.

A Tariff has passed the House of Representatives by a large majority. It will finally pass the Senate with or without modifications. It is a law which, with some alterations, will be a very good measure of protection.

The Bank bill will, I think, pass the Senate in a few days; and if Jackson is to be believed, he will veto it.

Congress will adjourn on the 9th or 16th, most probably on the latter day. Afterward I believe I shall go to the White Sulphur Springs, but it may not be until the 1st of August that I shall reach there. I hope I shall find you there.

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A DAUGHTER OF MASSACHUSETTS TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1832.

SIR,—I beg leave, through this medium, to offer you my sincere acknowledgment for your recent noble and spirited avowal of your belief of the Christian religion, and of your reverence for its precepts; and I can assure you, sir, that a large majority of the daughters of the descendants of the Pilgrims unite with me in the same sentiment.

Our prayers will be offered to Almighty God, and our influence exerted with our friends, for your elevation to that office which is the first in the gift of the people of this Union; and should our prayers be answered, may you prove "a terror to evil doers, and a praise to those who do well."

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, July 20, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I intend to take my departure from this city on Monday next (the 23d), and hope to reach St. Julien that evening. I design going from your house by Colonel William Bolling's, in Goochland, and thence viâ Charlottesville or Lynchburg to the White Sulphur Springs. I do not think we can remain longer with you than Tuesday, and I hope, on one account, my dear sir, you will not invite any company to St. Julien.

Nothing new, or at least nothing that will not keep new until I have the pleasure to meet you.

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 NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, August 1, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—You ask what is the effect of the veto? My impression is, that it is working as well as the friends of the Bank and of the country could desire. I have always deplored making the Bank a party question, but since the President will have it so, he must pay the penalty of his own rashness. As to the veto message, I am delighted with it. It has all the fury of a chained panther, biting the bars of his cage. It is really a manifesto of anarchy, such as Marat or Robespierre might have issued to the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine; and my hope is, that it will contribute to relieve the country from the dominion of these miserable people. You are destined to be the instrument of that deliverance, and at no period of your life has the country ever had a deeper stake in you. I wish you success, most cordially, because I believe the institutions of the Union are involved in it.

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 MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, August 5, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—We reached here safely on Thursday last and find a very great crowd. Two of your sons are here, and we saw the third at Staunton. They are all well. I feel much better already, and hope the water will completely eradicate the disease under which I was suffering at St Julien.

I am informed, from Washington, that the President has resolved to suspend the execution of the parts of the law passed at the last session, relating to internal improvements, to which he objects. What think you of this high-handed measure? What of his daring violation of the Constitution, in re-appointing Gwinn? Is proud Virginia ready to bend her neck to these usurpations?

Speaking of your State, I do believe, with proper exertions, it might be carried against Jackson. The two parties exhibit, at this time, apathy and confidence on one side, and despondency on the other. If you would exchange for your despondency zeal and concert, I am half persuaded that you would triumph. Your strength is greater than you are aware of. The weakness of the other side is greater than is believed. Let our friends organize, throughout the State; let each county be divided into sections, and let one or more members of your Committees of Vigilance be designated in each to bring the voters to the polls, and I incline to think that you would win the day. All this should be put in motion by some central committee. What would serve to animate our friends, and to dispirit our opponents, is the high probability of success, whatever may happen to be the vote of Virginia.

We shall remain here until the 15th. Be pleased to make the respects of Mrs. Clay and myself to Mrs. Brooke and the young ladies, and believe me your affectionate friend.

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JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 3, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received, with feelings of the deepest sorrow, the intelligence of the decease of our lamented Mrs. Hart, conveyed by your letter. I had resided, for twelve months after my marriage, under her hospitable roof, during which time, and ever since, I received from her every proof of kindness and affection which could have been bestowed on me by my own mother. Alas! how much, in many essential particulars, she resembled my dear Nancy, and how soon she has followed her! I fondly trust that that beneficent Father of the Universe who has, during their lives, bestowed on them so many blessings, has graciously re-united them in the regions of everlasting bliss.



## JAMES BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, November 5, 1832.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive, by the newspapers, the intelligence of Henry's marriage, and to learn by your last letter that his choice is every way agreeable to his family, and what is more important, such as to promise him future happiness. Be so kind as to accept my congratulations on the event, and to offer to the newly married pair my sincere wishes that they may enjoy a long life of union and prosperity.

The intelligence of your death was accompanied, perhaps preceded, by its contradiction. I sincerely hope that you may feel no serious consequences from your indisposition, and that you may resume your seat in the Senate with a disposition to be satisfied with a place which I would have preferred to any within the reach of American ambition. You know that I have never for a moment doubted that General Jackson would be re-elected. He will have a large majority in this State, and I shall not be surprised should he be the choice of every State south of the Potomac, and west of the Alleghany. If I have proved more generally correct in my calculations than many of our active politicians, it may be accounted for by the fact that I derive my information almost exclusively from my knowledge of the American tendencies, my acquaintance with nearly all the prominent actors in the political theater, and the perusal of the journals, without entering into the busy scenes of active electioneering, by which my deliberate judgment might be warped, or conversing with eloquent and heated partisans, who might inflame my imagination.

## HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

LOUISVILLE, November 27, 1832.

MY DEAR FATHER,—In regard to myself I am now perfectly happy. I am united to a lady who possesses my entire love and veneration, and who returns me, in over-measure, the affection to which I am entitled. We are not rich, but it will be a source of pleasurable occupation to become so. Like all young men of ambition and aspiring temperaments, the mere possibility of ill success keeps alive in me a thousand unnecessary and annoying fears. But I hope ere long to become settled in life, and then I shall begin in good earnest to mold my future destinies. In the

meantime, I shall devote my principal energies to the law, and shall endeavor to compose my mind to a state of profitable study.

Whatever, my dear father, may have been my errors, I have always entertained for you the most unvarying filial attachment; and it shall always be my highest pleasure to endeavor to meet your wishes and commands.

Julia desires me to express her love to you all in the most tender and affectionate terms.

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SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD TO MR. CLAY.

TRENTON, December 1, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should have written to you several days ago, but I feared that you would leave Lexington before my letter reached there.

I am in deep distress at the situation of our country. I fear that the Union and Government are gone. Nothing can save them but a wisdom and patriotism which I almost despair of finding, in the present day of madness. I should despair, if I did not feel, that a citizen can commit no crime short of treason, worse than to despair of the Republic.

The recent elections have greatly astonished me. Even in New Jersey, no one of any party, who was well informed, doubted a different result. We owe our defeat to two causes—The overconfidence of our friends, who feared no danger, and the course of the Anti-Masons. We were assured that they would support our ticket, in preference to General Jackson's, until the last moment; but the result shows that my early and constant fears respecting them were well founded. They tried me—painfully.

I am now myself in as unpleasant a condition as any man can well be. Forced into an annual office, to gratify my friends, and promote the success of the party—giving up a practice necessary for the comfort of myself and family, and destined, in all probability, to be cast out in another year. But for myself I care little. I have never looked to popular favor for happiness, nor to office for support. I have always given more than I received when I have accepted public stations.

There are many who wish me to change my position to the Senate, in place of Dickenson, under the belief that I can, in the present melancholy times, do more good to the country there than where I now am. Whether this will be the wish of the

joint meeting in January I know not. I took this office with no anticipations of good to myself. I felt it a sacrifice of myself to my country, and I am now content to remain in it ; and while I do, let the period be short or long, to do my duty, and my whole duty, fearlessly and fully, and meet, without flinching, all consequences. What shall I do ? Of the future I anticipate nothing of good to the country, unless trials and calamities may open blind eyes. What are we to do with South Carolina ? Do tell me your plan—prophecy for me. I would write on that topic, I intended to do so when I began, but my time is out. Other duties call me. Let me hear from you, and fully.

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MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 12, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—On my arrival here, a few days ago, I found your favor of the 28th ultimo. Mrs. Clay did not accompany me, but remained at home, in consequence of the shortness of the session, and the apprehended bad state of the roads, both in coming and returning.

It is useless to dwell on the issue of the Presidential election, respecting which we were so greatly disappointed. From whatever causes it proceeded, it is now irrevocable.

You ask, what is to be done with nullification ? I must refer you to the President's proclamation. One short week produced the message and the proclamation—the former ultra on the side of State rights, the latter ultra on the side of consolidation. How they can be reconciled, I must leave to our Virginia friends. As to the proclamation, although there are good things in it, especially what relates to the Judiciary, there are some entirely too ultra for me, and which I can not stomach. A proclamation ought to have been issued weeks ago, but I think it should have been a very different paper from the present, which, I apprehend, will irritate instead of allaying any excited feeling.

Congress has not yet been called upon, and I sincerely hope it may not be necessary to call upon it, in this unfortunate affair. How is the proclamation received at Richmond ?

I shall leave here to-morrow, to accompany my fourth son as far as Philadelphia, on his way to New England. And, in great haste, I add assurances of my constant and cordial esteem.

## MRS. ERWIN TO HER FATHER, MR. CLAY.

THE WOODLANDS, December 13, 1832.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I suppose, by the time this reaches you, that you will have arrived safely at Washington. We heard from you at Wheeling, but not since; you have been seeing new faces and new things every day, while we have been going on in the same quiet routine—I will not say dull—that you left us in. The only change in our society is the arrival of Henry and Julia from Louisiana; they came a week since, and are at Post-tethwaites. They have been out frequently, and we all spent a very pleasant day yesterday with mamma, whom we found in good health and spirits. Theodore went home the day after you left, and although mamma is now fully convinced that he is deranged, he has so far conducted himself quietly, and she is much happier than if he were any where else.

Henry has recommenced the study of the law with increased energy. He is disgusted with the prospect of making a living at the bar in Kentucky, and as a last determination, which he does not intend to change, he is to go to New Orleans in February, and at last open an office this winter, preparatory to commencing business next year. This I think a wise course, and I hope he will persevere in it. His health and spirits are better than when he left us.

Nothing has occurred worth noticing in the family, except the very sudden death of Alfred Shelby, who fell in a fit of apoplexy, and died a few hours afterward. Mrs. M. Harrison gave birth to a fine son on Saturday, who, I hope, will not prove, like his father, a good Jackson man.

We are positively to leave on the 15th, that is, day after to-morrow, and we have every prospect of a quick and pleasant passage, as the weather is fine, and both rivers in fine order. I leave the boys with mamma. I expect they will occasion me to return very early in the spring.

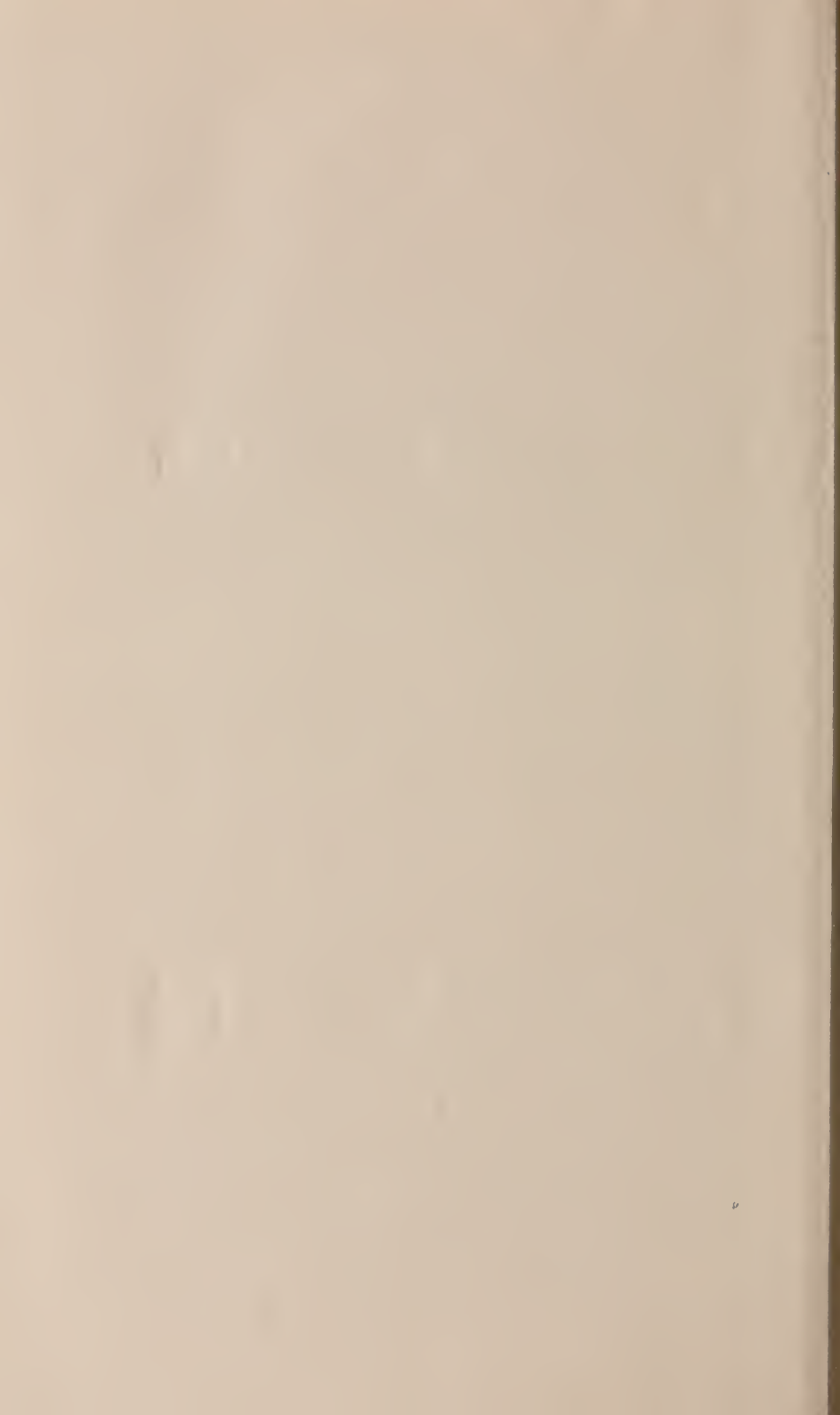
Give my love to all those who may be so kind as to inquire for me, and particularly to James; do, my dear father, make him write me to New Orleans, if you can not find time to do so yourself. Mr. Denton begs to be respectfully remembered to you. Mr. Erwin and the children join me in love to you.

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