

## Politics of the Day.

ADDRESS OF HENRY CLAY,  
TO THE PUBLIC.

Containing certain Testimony in refutation of the Charges against him, made by Gen. Andrew Jackson, touching the last Presidential Election.

I hope no apology to the public is necessary for presenting to it these pages. I am deceived if an ample justification of the act will not be found in the breast of every just and honorable man. If an officer of Government should not be too sensitive, neither should he be too callous, to assaults upon his character. When they relate to the wisdom or expediency of measures which he may have originated or supported, he should silently repose in the candor and good sense of the community, and patiently await the developments of time and experience. But if his integrity be vitally assailed; if the basest and most dishonorable motives for his public conduct be ascribed to him; he owes it to the country, his friends, his family and himself, to vindicate his calumniated reputation. Few men are so elevated that the shafts of calumny cannot reach them. These may securely trust to the invulnerable position which they have attained. The United States have, perhaps, hitherto, produced but one man who could look down from his lofty height, without emotion, upon the missiles and the malice of his enemies; for even he had his enemies. If the malignant character of charges, the acrimony with which they have been asserted and repeated, or the perseverance which has marked their propagation, could ever authorize an appeal to the public, I think I may truly say, that I have this authority. For three years I have been the object of incessant abuse; every art, every species of misrepresentation, has been employed against me. The most innocent acts—acts of ordinary social intercourse, and of common civility—offices of hospitality, even a passing salutation, have been misrepresented and perverted to my prejudice, with an unfairness unprecedented. Circumstances have been assumed, which had no existence, and inferences have been drawn from them which, had they been real, they would not have warranted. Besides, my enemies have, themselves, appealed to the public, exhibited their charges, and summoned their witnesses to its bar. Ready now and anxious as I am, and always have been, to submit any act of my public life to a full examination before any impartial and respectable tribunal whatever, I surely may expect, at least, that I shall be patiently heard by that which my accusers have themselves selected. I assure them that I will present no plea to the jurisdiction.

But desirous as I naturally am to repel the calumnies which have been directed against me, the public would have been spared the trouble of perusing this address, if General Jackson had not, in the course of the last Spring and Summer, given to them the open sanction of his name. In his letter to Mr. Beverly of the 6th of June last, he admits that in inferring my privacy to the proposition which he describes as borne by Mr. Buchanan, he may have done me injustice; and, in his address to the public of the 18th of July last, giving up the name of this gentleman, as his only witness, he repeats that he possibly may have done me injustice in assuming my authority for that proposition. He even deigns to honor me with a declaration of the pleasure which he will experience, if I should be able to acquit myself! Mr. Buchanan has been heard by the public; and I feel justified in asserting that the first impression of the whole nation was, as it is yet that of every intelligent mind, unbiased by party prejudice, that his testimony fully exonerated me, and demonstrated that General Jackson, to say no more, had greatly misconceived the purport of the interview between them. And further; that, so far as any thing improper was disclosed by Mr. B., touching the late Presidential election, it affected General Jackson and his friends exclusively. He having manifestly injured me, speculation was busy, when Mr. Buchanan's statement appeared, as to the course which the General would pursue, after his gratuitous expression of sympathy with me. There were not wanting many persons, who believed his magnanimity would immediately prompt him publicly to retract his charge, and to repair the wrong which he had done me. I did not participate in that just expectation, and therefore felt no disappointment that it was not realized. Whatever other merits he may possess, I have not found among them, in the course of my relations with him, that of forbearing to indulge vindictive passions. His silent contemplation of, if

not his positive acquiescence in, the most extraordinary interpretation of Mr. Buchanan's statement, that ever was given to human language, has not surprised me. If it had been possible for him to render me an act of spontaneous justice, by a frank and manly avowal of his error, the testimony now submitted to the public might have been unnecessary.

Although I feel fully persuaded that the community, under my peculiar circumstances, will see, without dissatisfaction, if not with cordial approbation, this further effort to rescue my character from unmerited imputations, I should nevertheless have remained silent, and cheerfully abided its decision, on the disclosures and explanations heretofore made, if I had no additional facts to offer to its consideration. But a body of highly important evidence has been collected, establishing some material circumstances not before generally known, and confirming others of which the public is already in possession; and I have thought due to the occasion not to withhold it.

Gen. Jackson having entirely failed to establish, by any affirmative evidence, either positive or presumptive, the charge which he thought proper to promulgate against me, it occurred to me that it might be possible, difficult as the task generally is to substantiate a negative, to adduce proof of that character, which would establish the groundless nature of his accusation. Prior to the appearances in the public prints of the letter from Mr. Carter Beverly to his friend in Fayetteville, dated the 8th of March last, I had never believed that General Jackson had countenanced the truth, or lent himself to the circulation, of the charge. I had indeed long before, seen in one of the Nashville papers, assertions injurious to me, which created some suspicions that they had emanated from him; but I dismissed these suspicions as being altogether incompatible with the lofty character which I wished to believe that he possessed. When, however, I saw that letter, and the uncontradicted corroboration of its contents by the editor of the Washington Telegraph, I was reluctantly compelled to believe that he had given currency to the charge against me. In that letter, Mr. Beverly says: "I have just returned from General Jackson's—I found a crowd of company with him. Seven Virginians were of the number. He gave me a most friendly reception, and urged me to stay some days longer with him. He told me this morning before all his company, in reply to a question I put to him concerning the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that, if they would promise for him not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would in one hour make him (Jackson) the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared he would not compromise himself; and unless most openly and fairly made the President, by Congress, he never would receive it. He declares that he said to them that he would see the whole earth sink under him before he would bargain or intrigue for it." In the Washington City Telegraph of the 26th day of April last, the Editor states: "In the Journal of this morning we have another quotation from the Democratic Press, purporting to be the official contradiction by Mr. Clay of the statement of Gen. Jackson relative to the overtures made to him as to the formation of his cabinet, previous to the late election of President. That Gen. Jackson has spoken of such overtures we personally know." In the same paper of the 28th of April is the following paragraph: "The Journal is out this morning in reply to our remarks of Thursday, in which they affect to consider it highly improper in Gen. Jackson to speak of the overtures made by Mr. Clay's friends—and why? because, says the Journal, he is a candidate against Mr. Adams. Now we stated explicitly that Gen. Jackson spoke of these overtures in March, 1825, before he was announced by the Legislature of Tennessee as a Candidate."

The charge, if it did not originate with, having been thus sanctioned and circulated by Gen. Jackson, and implicating as well my friends as me, I thought it proper, having myself repeatedly and positively denied its truth, to resort to the testimony of those gentlemen from the West who had voted with me for Mr. Adams. Accordingly a friend of mine, Dr. Watkins, at my instance, addressed a circular to those gentlemen, during the last Spring, inviting their attention to the Fayetteville letter, and inquiring if there were any truth in its averments. And he has obtained from all of them but two answers which are now presented to the public. These answers will be found in the Appendix, (see A) arranged according to the respective delegations from which they proceeded. The writers of them are men of as high respectability as any in this Union. Where they are known, (and several of them are well known in various parts of the country,) their statements will command unqualified belief. The excellence of their characters is so well established that a mem-

ber of the House of Representatives, who will not be presumed to be disposed to bestow on them undeserved encomium, felt himself constrained to bear his testimony to it. Mr. McDuffie said in the House of Representatives, on the debate of the proposition to refer to a Committee the appeal which I made on the occasion of Mr. Kremer's card: "Let me add one word to the friends of Mr. Clay on this floor, (and there are no members on this floor, for whom generally I feel more respect,) I have been informed that some of his friends suppose that the amendment I have offered contains something which is intended to bear harshly upon them. Not so; not so. My object is merely to confine the charges made against the honorable Speaker to the very words of the letter of the gentleman from Pennsylvania." This just but voluntary tribute was expressed on the 4th of Feb. 1825. (see National Intelligencer, 5th of the same month.) On the 31st March, 1826, more than thirteen months after, when the amendment to the Constitution was under discussion, proposing a new mode of electing a President, the same gentlemen is reported to have said: "Now I have the greatest respect for those gentlemen who were the personal and political friends of Mr. Clay in the late election of President. Next to my own personal friends, there are none whom I estimate more highly." (See Nat. Intelligencer, 2d May, 1826.) These answers are not only entitled to the fullest credit, from the high respectability of the characters of those gentlemen, but deserve great confidence from the fact that they have been respectively prepared by themselves, without any concert whatever, so far as I know or believe, and when they were at their several residences, widely separated from each other.

The members from Ohio who voted for Mr. Adams, were Gen. McArthur, Gen. Vance, Gen. Beecher, Mr. Sloane, Mr. Wright, Mr. Vinton, Mr. McLean, (brother of the Post Master General,) Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Bartley, and Mr. Patterson. From each of these gentlemen, it will be seen that an explicit and unqualified negative is given to the statements of the Fayetteville letter. Gen. McArthur declares them to be "totally destitute of foundation." He alleges the fact to have been that "the Ohio delegation (or at least a large majority of them) were the first of Mr. Clay's friends who came to the determination of voting for Mr. Adams; and that too without having ascertained Mr. Clay's views on the subject." He states that some of the friends of Gen. Jackson used the language of menace, whilst others of them employed that of persuasion to prevail on my friends to vote for the General; and that they appeared to be willing to make any promises which they thought would induce the friends of Mr. Clay to vote for Gen. Jackson."

Gen. Vance states, "I say without hesitation that I never heard of those, or any other terms being thought of, as an equivalent for the vote we were about to give; nor do I believe that the friends of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Clay himself, ever thought of making or suggesting any terms to any one of the parties, as the grounds of our acceptance or rejection of either of the three Candidates returned to the House of Representatives." He continues: "as one of the original friends of Mr. Clay, I was in the habit of free and unreserved conversation both with him and his other friends, relative to that election, and I am bold to say that I never heard a whisper of any thing like a condition on which our vote was to be given, mentioned either by Mr. Clay himself, or any of his friends, at any time or under any circumstances."

Gen. Beecher testifies that he did not know that a friend or the friends of Mr. Clay ever made any proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson, respecting the election of Mr. Adams as President in any way, or as respecting Gen. Jackson not putting Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State in case he (Jackson) should be elected President. Neither am I acquainted with a friend of Mr. Clay such a degrading transaction. Nor can I admit that the friends of Mr. Clay had so contemptible an opinion of each other or of Mr. Clay, as to suppose that the appointment or non-appointment of any man to any office would influence them in the discharge of an important public duty."

Mr. Sloane declares, "that I have always supposed myself in the entire confidence of all Mr. Clay's supporters and friends, who were members of Congress at the time of the Presidential election; and that I have no hesitation in saying that I never heard the most distant insinuation from any of them that they would vote for Gen. Jackson, if there was any prospect of choosing either of the other candidates. That any of the friends of Mr. Clay in Congress ever made any proposition of conditions, on which their

votes would depend, to the friends of Gen. Jackson or any other person, I do not believe." "And as to Mr. Clay's accepting an appointment under him, they would to a man most certainly have opposed it. I judge of this from the opinion which I know they entertained of Gen. Jackson's want of capacity, and the fact that it was not until some time after the choice of Mr. Adams that they agreed to advise Mr. Clay to accept of the office he now holds." "In short, I feel confident that the whole is a vile and infamous falsehood, such as honorable men would not resort to, more especially after having upon full consultation and deliberate consideration declined an investigation of the whole matter before a Committee of the House of Representatives."

Mr. Wright states, "I can only say sincerely and unequivocally, that I do not know or believe that any proposition of the kind mentioned as from Gen. Jackson, was ever made to the friends of Gen. Jackson by the friends of Mr. Clay or any of them; and that I am wholly ignorant of any conditions of any sort being proposed to any one by the friends of Mr. Clay, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Vinton is equally explicit. He says, "having been one of the friends of Mr. Clay who voted for Mr. Adams, I cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity to say, that I have no knowledge whatever of the above mentioned propositions or any other proposition having been made to Gen. Jackson or any of his friends, by Mr. Clay or any of his friends as a condition upon which his or their vote was to be given to Gen. Jackson for the Presidency." He subjoins, "that it was well known to my constituents for many months previous to the late Presidential election that, after Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was my next choice among the distinguished individuals, who were then before the people of the United States as candidates for that exalted station."

Mr. McLean declares, "that no such proposition was ever made within my knowledge, nor have I any cause to believe that conditions of any sort were made, at any time, by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend."

Mr. Whittlesey avers that "I do not know or believe that any proposition was ever made by any of Mr. Clay's friends to those of Gen. Jackson, on the morning of the Presidential election, or at any other time, having any bearing on the candidate to be selected from the three returned to the House, nor do I know or believe that any conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend;" but I do believe that the assertion made by Gen. Jackson as reported by a highly respectable Virginian, and all of the charges of a like character, imputing either to Mr. Adams or to Mr. Clay, or to their friends, any improper, inconsistent, corrupt or fraudulent conduct, on that interesting and momentous occasion, are base slanders, known to be such by those who put them in circulation."

Mr. Bartley expresses the belief, in justice to Gen. Jackson, that he never made the declaration alluded to by Mr. Beverly, "for the General was there when the election took place, and must inevitably have known that such a statement would carry falsehood on the very face of it." He adds, "I was in the House, I believe every day of that session, at which the President was elected; and have no hesitation in saying that so far from making any proposition, or overture, were the friends of Mr. Clay, in favor of the General, that had the friends of the General made such a proposition we would have considered it as an indignity offered to our integrity and understanding."

Mr. Patterson is brief but pointed. He says: "I frankly state to you that if any such proposition as yet stated was made by the friends of Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, I had no knowledge of it, and I was one of the friends of Clay. I therefore believe the report to be without an honest foundation."

TO BE CONTINUED.

The Richmond Enquirer, day after day, assures and reassures its readers that Virginia is safe for Gen. Jackson, that nothing can turn the right current in his favor, and the efforts of the friends of the Administration are like straws thrown against a tide. If so, why write columns after columns to make Virginia believe the statement? If the public opinion there is so decided, why waste time and paper—why give us in the last Enquirer, above a couple of columns of assertion to show that it is so. This officiousness is very suspicious. This perpetual assertion of strength seems to us to smack of weakness. It reminds us of a man going up to Court to be placed on trial, and

stunning all the crowd about him with endless repetitions of his innocence. After all, it proves nothing. If the strength of General Jackson in Virginia is so prodigious, it may as well leave the fact to be proved at the polls.

Nat. Journal.

FRENCH NAVY.—A late London paper, in allusion to the French Navy, says:

"The government of France appears to be making great exertions to recover its Navy, and to become again a formidable naval power. We have frequently alluded to the activity displayed in the dock yards at Brest and Toulon; building ships has also been proceeded with in a very rapid manner at Cherbourg. No less than three three-deckers appear to have been launched at that arsenal during the present year; and two other three-deckers, two ships of one hundred guns on two decks, several frigates, and large steam-boats are now on the stocks there."

From the Virginia Advocate.

The Jefferson Manuscripts.—We are authorized to state, that the Prospectus for the publication of the MSS. of the late Thomas Jefferson, will be offered for subscription next month, and that it is contemplated to deliver the work to subscribers early next Summer. These papers were, for the most part, noted for publication, and arranged chronologically, by the author, during his life, and then designated to the person to whom they were afterwards consigned at his death.

They are miscellaneous in their character, consisting of a biography of himself, terminating in 1789, when Secretary of State to Gen. Washington, and a voluminous correspondence from 1779, to his death. All his letters will not, of course, be published. It is designed, however, only to omit those which relate to the private affairs of himself or others, or the ordinary details of business, and to offer to the public all, which in any manner, indicate his views, feelings and principles, in regard to the subjects of general interest, whether moral or political. We believe that, in these papers, the Moralist, the Philosopher, and the Politician, will find much to amuse, instruct, and interest him.

It is supposed that the work will comprise three octavo volumes, of about 500 pages each; and it will be accompanied by a portrait of the author and a fac simile of the Declaration of Independence, as originally prepared, and of the subsequent alterations made by the different members of the Committee.

Boston, Dec. 19.

Rare Production.—In the market yesterday, at the stall of Mr. Towner, was exhibited a lot of very large and beautiful lemons, from the green house of the Rev. A. Bigelow, of Medford. They were chiefly attached to small boughs, the fresh and verdant leaves of which set off the fruit to fine effect. On one of these boughs no less than six lemons were hanging when picked. The largest specimen of the latter measured seventeen inches round the longest girth, by thirteen in the smaller. Eighteen of these lemons with their stems, were ascertained to weigh precisely eighteen pounds and two ounces. The display altogether was truly superb, and the more gratifying from being the production of our northern clime, offered at this inclement season. The fruit, we understand, was gathered for the purpose of relieving the tree which bore it, of a part of its redundant stock, and to aid the growth of another vigorous crop.—Contincl.

From the N. C. Journal.

Major Cameron.—The editorial remarks in your paper of the 19th inst. relative to the "Anson Administration Meeting," being calculated to make an erroneous impression on the public mind as to the political sentiments of this county, I trust to your wonted liberality in giving publicity to a fair statement of facts. The meeting held in Wadesboro, was not numerous and probably did not exceed your greatest limits; this was owing to the short notice that was given, as but few persons from the county attended; but the measure was sanctioned and met the entire approbation of a majority of the most respectable and influential citizens of the county.—perhaps it is not generally known that Mr. Adams received a majority of the votes in this county at the last Presidential Election; and that he still retains his popularity, there is not the smallest doubt, except perhaps at an occasional *Mostr*, where the Military ardour of the parties gets the better of their judgment. Yours, &c.

FAIR PLAY.

Anson County, December 27th, 1827.

Christmas Cargo.—The steam boat Richmond, arrived at New York, on the 23d ult. from Poughkeepsie, with a cargo of about 400 tons, consisting of the following articles: 500 dead hogs, 900 live sheep, 90 live oxen, 1 horse, 5000 geese, turkeys, rabbits, quails, partridges, ducks, chickens, &c., 200 saddles of mutton, a quantity of beef, 2000 bushels oats, 500 bushels corn, 500 do. of barley, 200 bbls. flour, 100 bags of meal, 400 bushels walnuts, 40 bundles hay, 8000 horn tips, 5000 lbs. castings, 120 tubs butter, and sundry other articles of produce, all of which is for sale on board, at foot of Dey-street. The Richmond also brought 50 passengers.