

There was, however, an alteration in his manner just about the meeting of Congress, in 1829; and, on one occasion, I was approached by him with apparent kindness. The cause which led to this, I may or may not, at some future period, lay before the public. When this done, if ever, they will see that I have acted with great forbearance, both towards Gen. Jackson and Mr. Eaton.

Mr. Van Buren, it must be borne in mind, was a widower, without children; and he availed himself of all his privileges as such. His attentions to Mrs. Eaton were of the most marked character. Polite and assiduous on all occasions, he was particularly so in the presence of Gen. Jackson or Mr. Eaton. His influence, in every variety of form, both official and unofficial, was exerted to make it appear that these gentlemen had entered deeply into their feelings; and, in fact, that he cared any thing about them; but he foresaw the power to be acquired by pursuing such a course, and had no scruples to restrain him. Knowing me to be his friend, he made an effort to detach me from the line of conduct I considered it my duty to pursue.

At length Gen. Jackson, after the meeting of Congress in Dec. 1829, finding the ladies of Washington to be impracticable, determined that the families of his Cabinet should submit to terms or be dismissed. Accordingly, Col. Johnson, of Kentucky, duly authorized, as he said, by the President, notified the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General and myself, that he had a communication to make to us. We, therefore, assembled at Judge Berrien's House, and, in a few minutes, the Hon. R. M. Johnson was announced. The ordinary courtesies passed; we awaited, with profound attention, the anticipated terms of submission. Judge Berrien and myself having previously received some information of the character of the mission from Mr. Ingham, who had had an interview with Col. Johnson in the course of the day, were not taken by surprise. Col. Johnson commenced by descending at large on the delicate relations subsisting between the families of the Heads of Departments, and the great anxiety felt by the President to harmonize these relations. He added, that the President had come to the conclusion that Mrs. Eaton must be invited to our large parties; and that our seats in the Cabinet would be vacated, unless these terms were submitted to. He then proceeded to reason the matter with us, in a persuasive manner, remarking, as I well recollect, that "the terms could not be considered hard, as every body was invited to the large parties in Washington." We answered, in substance, that such terms could not be submitted to by us, and that he was authorized as to inform the President. Here, sir, without pursuing the detail, our interview closed. In the morning, after breakfast, I waited on the President, confidently expecting to dissolve our official relations forthwith. As it was highly probable this would prove the last opportunity afforded me of speaking freely to Gen. Jackson, I threw off all restraint, and entered upon the subject with the energy a conscious rectitude of purpose inspired. I told him, among other things, that all the powers on earth should not coerce me to submit to such terms; he might strike as soon as he pleased; I had not supported him from servile fear, or the hope of reward; that, falling in the maintenance of my honour and that of my State, I should only rise the stronger for the knocking down. The results of this session of the General Assembly have convinced me that I was in error, and deeply do I lament that I did not in the estimate I then made of the intelligence and chivalry of my own, my native State. General Jackson, with some confusion in his manner, observed that he had not authorized Col. Johnson to make such a communication to us, and proposed to send for him. I remarked that I surely did not require him to prove what he had said, that his word was sufficient, and here closed this unpleasant interview.

A few days afterwards, Col. Johnson called at the Department on business, and, as he entered the room, offered me his congratulations on the pacific aspect of affairs. I observed to him that the President denied having given him authority to make the communication he had done to Mr. Ingham, Mr. Berrien and myself. "Let that pass," said he, "I represented it to you in the most favorable light."

Other indications very soon convinced me that the malignant influences, which at this time were strong, were deterred from consummating their full purposes. Congress was in session; the ladies of the members from Tennessee, even, held no intercourse with Mrs. Eaton; nor, in fact, the President's own family. The friends of the Administration became alarmed, lest the exercise of such despotic power should overwhelm them all, and, doubtless interposing, warded off the impending blow. The situation of Mrs. Eaton, however, engrossed the President's whole soul, and he continued to be much occupied in collecting certificates, principally from office holders, to sustain her. These were piled one upon another, and his hands were pressed to read them, often, I am persuaded, to their annoyance. This book of certificates, for a folio did

it soon become, was that on which office seekers first qualified for office. In the mean time, Mr. Van Buren, who had artfully contributed to inflame the President's mind, doubtless, in part, by inducing him to believe that Mrs. Calhoun's refusal to return Mrs. Eaton's card in February, 1829, had influenced the families of the Cabinet to pursue the course they had adopted towards her, finding him wrought up to the mad fury of a "roaring lion," to use Col. Johnson's description, thought it a good time to ungate and turn him loose on his most formidable rival, Mr. Calhoun, who was then Vice President of the United States, and participated with him in the renown which he (Mr. Van Buren) attached to service under such a chief. The manner in which the unfriendly correspondence commenced between General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, taken in connexion with the time, is sufficient to convince any intelligent mind that it was instigated by Mr. Van Buren. I exerted every nerve to defeat his fiend-like purpose. Often have I entreated General Jackson to avoid a rupture with Mr. Calhoun, as no good could result from such a quarrel. Knowing, as he did, that I was not the political friend of Mr. Calhoun, I considered my motives beyond the reach of suspicion.

Let any man read the first letter from General Jackson to Mr. Calhoun, in 1830, and he cannot fail to see a direct purpose to produce a schism. Mr. Calhoun, with the coolness of a philosopher, proceeds to reason with him, and to the satisfaction of every one but the President's advisers, and, doubtless, to their conviction, calmly meets, and drives him from every position he had been induced to assume. To show that his allegation against Mr. Calhoun was a mere pretext, you see him now in sweet communion with those who, in 1819, were his most bitter assailants. By this time, I well understood the character of Mr. Van Buren. With him, I found that the end justified the means; and, as the destruction of Mr. Calhoun was the object nearest his heart, he was very willing the old Chief, for whom he professed so much love and veneration, should accomplish this work for him at any and every hazard to himself.

I believed then that Mr. Van Buren placed too low an estimate on the virtue, patriotism and intelligence of the American people, and that his reliance on General Jackson to accomplish his purposes would prove delusive. He must recollect that I often told him that, in my opinion, he was selling his birthright, like Esau, for a mess of pottage; that General Jackson's popularity, great as it was, attached to the man, and could not be transferred. I then honestly believed what I said. But, Sir, I was again mistaken. His skirts have proved strong enough to bear Mr. Van Buren into the Vice Presidency, and recent indications have induced me to fear that the country is sufficiently corrupt to enable him, through the patronage of the Government, to reach the great object of his ambition. If so, it will be proof conclusive that the days of this Republic are numbered, and that this once-high minded and chivalrous people are ready to bow the knee to Baal, and pass their necks under the yoke of bondage. At the commencement of the session of Congress, in 1830-'31, this war, of passion on the one side, and reason on the other, was so nearly brought to a close, as to enable the President and Vice President to circulate an account of it, in manuscript. On its perusal, there could be but one opinion among the intelligent and disinterested part of the community. The vindication of Mr. Calhoun was, on all hands, acknowledged to be complete. The indirect agency which it was believed Mr. Van Buren had in producing the rupture, connected with other causes, made him perfectly odious to an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress, and he passed his time, during a great part of the session, with a mind deeply agitated, conscious his wicked machinations, and crouching servility had recoiled on himself, and that, after all, they were not likely to avail him. Thus circumstanced, he and his friend Eaton, shortly after the adjournment of Congress, magnanimously tendered their resignations to the President. Before this was done, however, Mr. Van Buren knew that he was to be sent minister to England, and that the new Cabinet would be devoted to his personal views. To silence the unyielding members of the Cabinet, offices were provided for them. Yes, sir, it never entered into the philosophy of this gentleman that there were any higher incentives to virtuous conduct than the hope of office and the expectation of reward. When General Jackson was in the act of executing the purposes of the Cabal, his manner was evidently studied and diplomatic to a degree unusual for him. He commenced by saying that he had desired my attendance, to inform me of the resignations of Mr. Van Buren and Major Eaton, and then a solemn pause ensued. I could but smile, and remarked to him, that he was acting in a character nature never intended him for; that he was no more a diplomatist than myself, and I wished him to tell me frankly what he meant. This unstrained manner of

mine relieved him, and, with great apparent kindness, he spoke out his purpose, and asked me if there was any thing abroad I wanted, adding that the commission for Governor of Florida was on his table, and it would give him pleasure to bestow it on me. To this I replied, that I had not supported him for the sake of office, and soon after retired. This it is apparent that causes contemptible in themselves, and such as ought never to have had the slightest influence on any Administration, were so managed as to produce the dissolution of a Cabinet, and to give a direction to measures, which, it would seem, under no other circumstances, could have been done.

The tyranny of the President, in this attempt to control the domestic relations of the families of the Heads of Department, is without a parallel in the history of any free Government, and cannot be surpassed by any act of despotism in the lives of the Autocrats of Russia. Viewed in its true light, it is astonishing that any person should be found weak or wicked enough to approve or extenuate its enormity. It does surpass all belief that the cool, dispassionate and unprincipled wire-worker in this plot should, by such means, render himself acceptable to a free, generous, patriotic, and enlightened people.

There is one view which I have taken of the subject that, while it affords an apology for General Jackson's conduct, offers nothing in extenuation of the guilt of his cold-blooded abettor. It is well known that during the canvass for the Presidency in 1824, the party with which the gentleman from Warren stands connected, the Van Buren party, grossly and vilely, in my opinion, slandered the character of Mrs. Jackson. This the gentleman knows was done in a variety of ways: in public and in private circles, through the medium of their presses, and by the circulation, in this State, of thousands and tens of thousands of the Benton pamphlets. Yes, sir, I must render this act of justice to one, whose exemplary life of thirty years in the constant practise of every virtue that adorns her sex, justly entitles her memory to this passing notice. Thus bitterly assailed in his tenderest feelings by these very men, who, when he has the power to reward them, and they find it convenient to float into the Legislature or into office on the popularity of his name, pretend to be his exclusive friends, his sensibilities in relation to female character became morbid, and he may be said to have been literally insane on this subject. Certain it is he was beyond the reach of reason, and was induced to believe that the attacks on his friend Eaton were intended for him; that the case was indeed his own. His generous feelings have been thus aroused, and a vantage taken of them.

Here it may not be inappropriate to enforce the truths I have been presenting to the Senate, by introducing a letter which I received from the Hon. Jesse Speight in the Spring of 1831, immediately after the dissolution of the Cabinet. The production of this letter the Honorable gentleman has seen fit, within the last few days, to challenge by a publication, under his proper name, in one of the newspapers of his district. It is a answer to a circular addressed by me to him and to several friends, in which I gave the earliest intelligence of certain malignant influences, which, as I have shown, already prevailed to an alarming extent, and which have since swept over our land like a blighting Sirocco. Before I read the letter, I will state to the Senate that the gentleman professed to be my ardent friend whilst I was Secretary of the Navy, and thus became intimately acquainted with the causes which embarrassed, and finally dissolved the Cabinet. He then approved, in the most unqualified manner, the course I considered myself called upon to pursue, and made the bitterest denunciations against Gen. Jackson and the Cabal, if they should execute their designs. When he received my letter he returned the following answer:

"Stautonsburg, 2d May, 1831.
My dear friend,
I have at the moment come to hand. I am not mistaken in the opinion I had formed as to the cause of the blow out at Washington (as we call it here). It is impossible for me to express the deep and heartfelt mortification I have and continue to feel for the honor of my country. I too, sir, am disappointed. Never did I believe that the high minded champion of independence, Mr. Andrew Jackson, could be able to bow at the shrine of selfish ambition. Ah! and so as to forsake old tried friends at the polls, and deceitful articles of such men as Martin Van Buren, moved and seduced by the instigation of Mrs. Eaton. So far as I have understood, the feelings of your friends are with you. I have heard a number of your friends intimate a wish that you should return to the Legislature and give the way for a seat in the U. States Senate, when Mr. Brown's time expires; for, says every body, he can never return. I shall return back to the Legislature in two years, and would not most willingly, if I could forsake the district in credit, but you sir know how I am situated. Reflect on what I have here written. I attempt nothing like duplicity. If I know myself, I am incapable of that towards you. You are not politically dead yet I hope. I hope to put you in the Senate, and I will do it again. Remember to Mrs. Branch. (Write me.)
God bless you.
J. SPEIGHT."

With an administration that properly appreciated the virtue, the patriotism, and the talents of the country, such signal subservency as the Hon. Gentleman has since displayed, in a blind and ardent support of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Brown, and, in fact, of every odious man and measure of the powers that be, could not fail to excite loathing and disgust. But, under this ad-

ministration, the Hon. Gentleman is well known to be a distinguished favorite.

The Senate will now see the reasons why I have given this narrative of the causes which produced the dissolution of Gen. Jackson's first Cabinet. Such facts should never indeed have disgraced the annals of our country; but am I responsible for them? Surely not. I have certainly been the victim of the malignant influences which they have generated, which now control the whole patronage of the General Government, and threaten to sap the foundations of public liberty. Having clearly established their existence, & depicted their corrupting tendencies, I feel that I have a right to call on every friend to the institutions of our country to abstain from the adoption of any measures calculated to promote them. Under what influences are you now about to act? Those very influences against which I have been endeavoring to guard you. By their official agent, they have issued their mandate, and, through an appropriate organ, have called upon you to offer up as a sacrifice one of your most distinguished fellow citizens. What has he done to deserve the stigma you are attempting to fasten on his character? Has he deserted the principles that carried him into the Senate? No, I deny it, and challenge you to the proof. What then? It is true, he has called in question the infallibility of Gen. Jackson, in saying he had no right to seize the public purse; and that, in doing so, he had encroached on the powers of Congress. Had he not a right to do so? I maintain that he had, and defy you to show where the right has been denied, for the last fifty years, either in this country or Great Britain. Did not the gentleman from Warren exercise the same right, while a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, in 1819, in relation to this same Gen. Jackson? I assert that he did, and will prove it from the Journals of Congress. In 1819, Gen. Jackson, with orders from his Government, to bring the war with the Seminole Indians to a speedy termination, captured and executed two vile incendiaries, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, & pursued the hostile tribe to Pensacola, where they had taken shelter at a time the Government of Spain was too imbecile to perform her neutral duties. This the gentleman and his party then said was a virtual declaration of war against Spain, and, as the Constitution gave to Congress the power to declare war, that Gen. Jackson had invaded the rights of that body, and violated the Constitution by the occupation of Pensacola and the Barrancas. They accordingly

Resolved, That the late seizure of the Spanish posts of Pensacola and San Carlos de Barrancas, in West Florida, by the army of the United States, was contrary to the Constitution of the United States."

Now what right had he thus to censure Gen. Jackson for having violated the Constitution, if Judge Mangum had no right to pass a similar censure or exercise a similar power? I speak of the abstract right. Again: I would ask what right had he to defend the legislative powers of the House of Representatives, which does not equally belong to a member of the Senate of the United States? The legislative powers of the Senate are co-extensive with those of the House, with the exception of the power to originate revenue bills. Does the gentleman from Warren desire the floor to explain? (Mr. Edwards remarked, that "the House were legitimately in the exercise of their impeaching powers.") Ah! said Mr. Branch. Do you call this the process used in originating and preparing articles of impeachment? Does not this partake of all the attributes of a judicial sentence, as just explained by the gentleman himself? Gen. Jackson was here not only arraigned, but condemned by the gentleman's own votes, without an opportunity of being heard in self-defence. The gentleman was his judge, his juror and witness. He condemned him first, in order that he might impeach him afterwards. How supremely absurd!

Again: Civil officers only are constitutionally subject to impeachment. Does the gentleman again desire the floor to explain? If so, it will be cheerfully yielded to him. (Here Mr. Edwards observed, "he would take occasion, in his reply, to explain.") It is manifest the gentleman is embarrassed by the inconsistency of his conduct. Let me entreat him, then, to pause and abstain from the consummation of this partizan act, which, while it purports, on its face, to condemn Mr. Mangum, will thrice, on record, condemn himself. If it is his object to expunge from the Journals of Congress all censure of Gen. Jackson for violating the Constitution, he should move to amend the resolutions by including his own votes censuring Gen. Jackson for the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister; and the forcible occupation of Pensacola and the Barrancas. The only difference between the two gentlemen is this: when the gentleman from Warren censured General Jackson, the General was powerless, and had no patronage to dispense. When Mr. Mangum censured him, he had every thing to risk, and nothing to gain. His elevated and patriotic bearing entitles him to the plaudits of his countrymen; but he has certainly yielded up all claims to the favor of the Administration. In the exercise of this high censorial power, which you

have gratuitously assumed, why shrink from the discharge of your whole duty? Is it because Gen. Jackson's conduct may be called in question? Does he, too, possess inherent powers, authorizing him to do what no body else has a right to do? When we dissolved our connexion with the mother country, we repudiated the doctrine of the divine right of Kings; but, it seems, this odious attribute of royalty is to be revived under a new name.

With a hope that you would dispense justice to all parties, I have passed in review before you the abuses of Mr. Adams's administration. Let me entreat you to go along with me, in comparing the abuses of this administration with those of the preceding one. Mr. Adams's you have condemned in the most unmeasured terms. Will you approve in this what you have condemned in that? We shall see. Mr. Adams expressed the opinion, that it was competent for him alone to appoint Ministers to Panama. But he took care not to exercise the power. Gen. Jackson expressed no opinion, but, without the consent of the Senate, he actually sent a Minister to the Ottoman Porte, and has, in utter contempt of the Senate, and in palpable violation of the Constitution, put men in office, who had previously been rejected by the Senate, on his nomination for the same offices as for instance, the case of Gunn. Mr. Clay displaced a few printers, who had been appointed by his predecessor to print the laws of Congress. Gen. Jackson has done the same thing through his Secretary of State. Nay, more—in defiance of recorded pledges, he has appointed scores of partizan editors to offices of profit and honor. Against this I remonstrated at the time; and yet, sir, truth compels me to acknowledge that, in one instance, I participated in it. Without the knowledge of Gen. Jackson, I appointed your newly elected State Printer to a highly lucrative office in the Navy, whence he has been sent to you. You, my friend from Burke, may smile; but you advised it. Whether we served the country, or strengthened the malignant influences with which we are now grappling, time will determine. I must acknowledge, however, that I have some misgivings.

I may now ask, what has General Jackson not done to corrupt the press, and make it subservient to his purposes? Permit me to lay before you an instance of the indirect action of the government, through its patronage, on a leading press in the Old Dominion—a press which Mr. Van Buren, I know, was anxious to conciliate, and bind by the strongest cords. I mean the "Richmond Enquirer." When Mr. Stephenson was nominated to the Senate of the United States as Minister to England, I was lost in wonder; for I well knew Gen. Jackson's opinion of him; it was never disguised. When, sir, I separated from General Jackson, but a short time previous to his determination to appoint Mr. Stephenson Minister to the Court of St. James, he did not regard him as "worth the powder and ball it would take to kill him." This very expression I have heard used or assented to by him, and candor compels me to admit that I heartily concurred with Gen. Jackson in his estimate of Mr. Stephenson's worth. When the developments which took place in the Senate of the United States were laid before the public, more particularly the correspondence between William B. Lewis and Mr. Ritchie, the mystery was unravelled, and thus it appears that the first diplomatic appointment in the gift of the President was conferred on Mr. Stephenson for the patriotic purpose of conciliating this Editor.

Again: the last year of Mr. Adams's administration, he expended a little upwards of twelve millions of dollars. Gen. Jackson, the last year of his administration, expended nearly double that sum. You charged Mr. Adams with negligence and prodigality; but have no censures to impose on this economical administration! Where are the pledges, we made to the people, to curtail expenses and abolish useless offices? Unredeemed and abandoned! Where is your regard for the freedom of the press, and your abhorrence of Executive patronage when brought into conflict with the freedom of elections? When you see the patronage of the government, through one of its well fed officers, buying up a press in this city, can you not be roused from your deathlike slumbers to a proper sense of the true condition of the country, and of the obligations you are under to hand down to posterity that liberty which a race of illustrious ancestors has bequeathed to you? or will you rather prefer the ignoble fate that awaits the degenerate sons of noble sires? Can you overlook the means which are daily practiced to control the freedom of our elections, and thus virtually take from the people the right to choose a successor to Gen. Jackson? In whatever direction you turn your eyes, you have the most convincing proofs that the money and the offices which belong to the people are bestowed with a lavish hand to influence their choice. So daring have these corrupters of public morals become, that it matters not whether the applicant for executive favors be for the Bank or not. State Rights or not, Gen. Jackson or not, provided he be in favor of Mr. Van Buren for the succession.

Can you flatter yourselves with the belief that our representative form of

government can long be maintained, if the source whence our just liberties emanate becomes impure? The elective franchise, which is vital to liberty, and should be guarded with unweary vigilance. But, say you, my constituents are men, and, as I am told the Jackson measure, I feel bound to sustain it. It is to be borne in mind, most of us are planters; and, therefore, I must observe, without incurring any disrespect, but ill qualified to settle and adjust such difficult constitutional questions as we shall necessarily have to encounter in reviewing the decisions of the Senate of the United States. Does your being a member of this General Assembly, by magic, convert you into a profound constitutional lawyer? Did your constituents expect you here for such purposes, or such expectations? No, gentlemen, you deceive yourselves and mislead them grossly, if you believe you would willingly see their Senator Mangum, who has risen from a them without the aid of parental feet of Gen. Jackson, thereby degrading himself and the sovereignty he so ably represents. But, say other, I don't expect him to resign; I wish him to resign. Then why let the resolutions speak your wish? It is obvious, Mr. Speaker, that your intention is to drag down this distinguished Senator from that high office he has attained to their own level. When you shall have done this, thereby made yourselves acceptable to the influences which dictated resolutions, what will you have to shield yourselves from the indignation of the virtuous and enlightened portion of the community? Can you not flatter yourselves with the belief, that you will have secure glorious immortality, or entitled yourselves to the gratitude of the country?

But it is said that, in opposing resolutions, we are taking sides with the Bank. Against whom could a charge be made with less semblance of truth than myself? I own no stock, am not indebted to any Bank, and have no sympathies in common with any such institution. My opinions and official acts for near a quarter of a century, are conclusive to my decided hostility to a paper system in every variety of form. No man knows me, believes any thing of kind.

In what section of the country is the President most severely censured, having seized the public treasure, taken it out of the custody of the Bank? The South—Who, or what portion of our people are most opposed, on principle, to rechartering the United States Bank? That portion which inhabit the Southern States. While we believe that the Constitution has not conferred on Congress the power, we nevertheless, know that it has been exercised from the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and, as I observed before, that it has received the direct approval of Washington and Madison.

We are further told that the Bank gave no equivalent for the use of Government deposits. Permit me to say, I think I know better. In 1816 some person or persons, who I know not, appointed me one of three commissioners to open books in this city for the subscription of stock to this Bank. The charter came to us; it had passed Congress, and was referred to the people for their acceptance or rejection. No persons' names were attached to it as its proprietors. Applications were made, we received them from A., B., C. and D. You are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of exclusive banking in the United States for twenty years; you are entitled to the use of the Government deposits for the same time, as to every other right which the charter confers on you; for which you are to give to the Government one million a half of dollars. This, sir, was the language, and these were the terms held out to the subscribers, and whom were to be found the widows of the orphan, relying implicitly upon the plighted faith of the Government for strict performance of all its promises. And yet, Mr. Speaker, because Senator Mangum has condemned the bad faith of the Executive, in depriving the stockholders of the benefit of these deposits without good and sufficient reason, you are urged to condemn and denigrate him. Where, sir, is the man reckless enough to declare that the reasons of the Secretary of the Treasury are sufficient to justify the President in executing this rash and lawless measure? Thrice were the House of Representatives of the United States, planted at every other instance they had shewn themselves to be, pressed to approve this course, and thrice did they refuse their assent.

Then, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Mangum has done nothing more than to bear him to do; and, instead of deserving your censure, he is justly entitled your applause. For General Jackson's virtues, patriotism and distinguished public services, I respect and admire him. For him personally, I entertain no unfriendly feeling; on the contrary, there is an irrepressible feeling of kindness for him in my bosom, (instigated by the reminiscences of long days,) which often impels me to rise into his presence and attempt his liberation from the perfidious embrace of his vile betrayers. But it is impracticable. We are separated, forever.